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THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS,

Under the following HEADS:

In THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Agriculture, Commerce, Architecture, Sculpture,
Painting, Music, the Art Military.

VOL. II.

Art Military, Grammar, Philology, Rhetoric, Poetry.

VOL. III.

Poetry, History, Eloquence, Philosophy, Civil Law,
Metaphysics and Physics, Physic, Botany, Chymisty,
Anatomy, Mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy,
Arithmetic, Geography, and Navigation.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.

Tranſlated from the French.

The SECOND EDITION.

Illuſtrated with Fifty-two Copper Plates, repreſenting the Civil and Military Architecture of the ANTIENTS, their Temples, Machines, Engines of War, Painting, &c.

LONDON:
Printed for J. and F. Rivington; R. Baldwin; Hawes,
Clarke and Collins; R. Horsfield; W. Johnston;
W. Owen; T. Caslon; S. Crowder; B. Law; Z. Stuart;
Robinson and Roberts; and, Newbery and Carnan.
MDCCLXVIII.

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PAINTING and PAINTERS, MUSIC and
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MDCCLXVIII.

THE

TRANSLATOR

TO THE

READER.

UPON reading this part of the antient hiſtory in French, it was obſerved by ſeveral judicious perſons, that the author's accounts of many things relating to civil and military architecture, machines and engines of war, &c. were, (as was unavoidable in deſcribing ſuch things) obſcure, and in a manner unintelligible. He was ſenſible of this himſelf, in treating the Orders of architecture and the Roman camp; and therefore added the Plates of them, without which they could not be explaided.

To remove this Obſcurity, and render this verſion the more perfect, the editors were advisſed adviſed to have recourſe to the ſeveral works cited by Mr. Rollin. From theſe (*Perrault*'s *Vitruvius*, *Folard*'s *Polybius*, *Montfaucon*'s *Antiquities*, &c.) the plates in theſe volumes are engraven, and the explanations of them extracted in as brief a manner as poſſible; which, it is hoped, will not only anſwer the purpoſe they were intended for, but throw ſuch a new light into many parts of the preceding hiſtory, where the things they repreſent are mentioned, as will be equally uſeful and agreeable to the reader.

Dr. Richard Mead has been pleaſed to communicate an antient picture in his poſſeſſion, which was lately found at Rome, in the ruins of the palace of Auguſtus Cæſar, and ſuppoſed to be painted in his time, a Print from which, engraven by Mr. Baron, exactly the ſame ſize with the original, is inſerted in the ſection of painting. This print being a reverſe of the picture, occaſions the crown's appearing in the left hand of Auguſtus. The reaſon an account of it was not inſerted in the ſame place, is becauſe the original did not arrive from Italy, till this volume was almoſt printed off: And as the Latin inſcription at the bottom is the beſt explanation that can be given of it, it is neceſſary to inſert the following tranſlation of it in this place, for the uſe of the Engliſh reader.

" A fragment of an antient painting in " freſco, found anno 1737, in the ruins of " the palace of Auguſtus Cæſar, in the gar- " dens of Farneſe upon mount Palatine at " Rome. It contains ſix figures exquiſitely " painted in the moſt lively and beautiful " colours; by one of which Auguſtus is re- " preſented ſitting, and holding out a crown " to ſome perſon, whoſe figure is broke off: " the reſt repreſent the courtiers attending, " amongſt whom are Mæcenas in an azure " robe, and behind him M. Agrippa with " his right hand upon the ſhoulder of the " former; as appears from the reſemblance " of theſe figures to their coins and gems.

THE

AUTHOR

TO THE

READER

THE treating of the arts and ſciences has carried me much farther than I imagined. I have repented more than once my having embarked in an undertaking, which required a great variety of knowledge, and that too in no common degree of perfection, to give a juſt, preciſe, and entire idea of the ſeveral ſubjects to which it extends. I ſoon diſcovered how unequal I was to the taſk, and have endeavoured to ſupply my own defects, by making the beſt uſe I could of the labours of ſuch as are moſt expert in each art, that I might not loſe myſelf in ways, of which ſome were little familiar, and others entirely unknown, to me.

I ſaw with ſecret joy the approaching end of my journey; not that I might abandon myſelf to a ſoft and trivial inertion, inconſiſtent with an honeſt man, and ſtill more ſo with a chriſtian; but to enjoy a tranquillity and repoſe, which might admit me to devote the few days I have yet to live, ſolely to the ſtudies and exerciſes neceſſary to prepare me for that laſt moment, which is to determine my fate for evermore. I imagined, that, after having laboured more than fifty years for others, I might be permitted to take pains for the future only for myſelf, and to renounce entirely the ſtudy of profane authors, which may pleaſe the underſtanding, but are not capable of nouriſhing the ſoul. I was ſtrongly inclined to make a choice that appeared ſo ſuitable, and almoſt neceſſary to me.

However, the deſire of the public, of which I could not be ignorant, gave me ſome pauſe upon this head. I did not think proper to determine for myſelf, nor to take my own inclination for the rule of my conduct. I conſulted ſeparately ſeveral learned and wiſe friends, who all condemned me to undertake the Roman hiſtory: I mean that of the Republic. So unexpected a uniformity of ſentiments ſurprized me, and made it no longer difficult for me to comply with advice, which I conſidered as an aſſured token of the will of God in regard to me.

I ſhall begin this new work, as ſoon as I have finiſhed the other, which I am in hopes to do very ſpeedily*. At ſeventy-ſix years of age I have no time to loſe; not that I flatter myſelf with being able to compleat it, though I ſhall apply myſelf to it as much as my ſtrength and health will admit. Having only undertaken my firſt hiſtory, in diſcharge of the function, to which I conceived God had called me; that of beginning to form the hearts of youth, to give them the firſt tincture of virtue by the examples of the great men of the pagan world, and to lay thoſe firſt foundations for conducting them on to more ſolid virtue; I find myſelf more than ever obliged to have the ſame views in the hiſtory I am about to undertake. I ſhall endeavour not to forget, that God, in taking me off in the courſe of my work (for that I ought to expect) will not examine whether it be well or ill wrote, or received with, or without applauſe; but whether I compoſed it ſolely to pleaſe him, and render ſome ſervice to mankind. That thought will only augment my ardor and zeal, when I reflect for whom I take pains; and engage me to make new efforts, in order to anſwer the expectation of the public, improving as much as I can, from the good advice that has been kindly given me, in regard to my firſt hiſtory.

I have only to add, that I ſhould be much to be pitied, if I expected no other reward for my long and laborious application, than the praiſes of this world. And yet who can flatter himſelf with being ſufficiently upon his guard againſt ſo grateful an illuſion? The labours of the pagans had no other view; and it is accordingly written of them: *Receperunt mercedem ſuam*; *Vani vanam*, adds one of the fathers, *They have received their reward, as vain as themſelves.* I ought much rather to propoſe to myſelf the example of that ſervant, who employs the whole induſtry and application in making the beſt uſe he can of the few talents his maſter has confided to him; in order to hear like him at the laſt day theſe words of conſolation, far ſuperior to all human praiſes: *Well done thou good and faithful ſervant, thou haſt been faithful over a few things; I will make the ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.* Amen. Amen. Mat. xxv. 21.

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* This hiſtory of the Roman republic is tranſlated into Engliſh.

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THE

THE ANTIENT HISTORY, &c.

Of ARTS and SCIENCES.

INTRODUCTION.

How uſeful the invention of arts and ſciences has been to mankind. It ought to be attributed to God.

THE hiſtory of arts and ſciences, and of the perſons, who have moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves by them, to ſpeak properly, is the hiſtory of human wit, which in ſome ſenſe does not give place to that of princes and heroes, whom common opinion places in the higheſt degree of elevation and glory. I do not intend, by ſpeaking in this manner, to ſtrike at the difference of rank and condition, nor to confound or level the order, which God himſelf has inſtituted amongſt men. He has placed princes, kings, and rulers of ſtates over our heads, with whom he has depoſited his authority; and after them generals of armies, miniſters, magiſtrates, and all thoſe with whom the ſovereign divides the cares of government. The honours paid them, and the pre-eminence they poſſeſs, are no uſurpation on their ſide. It is the divine providence itſelf, that has aſſigned them their high ſtations, and demands ſubmiſſion, obedience, and reſpect for thoſe that ſit in its place.

But there is alſo another order of things, and, if I may be permitted to ſay ſo, another diſpoſition of the ſame providence, which, without regard to the firſt kind of greatneſs I have mentioned, eſtabliſhes a quite different ſpecies of eminence, in which diſtinction ariſes neither from birth, riches, authority, nor elevation of place; but from merit and knowledge alone. It is the ſame providence, that regulates rank alſo of this kind, by the free and entirely voluntary diſpenſation of the talents of the mind, which it diſtributes in what proportion, and to whom it pleaſes, without any regard to quality and nobility of perſon. It forms, from the aſſemblage of the learned of all kinds, a new ſpecies of empire, infinitely more extenſive than all others, which takes in all ages and nations, without regard to age, ſex, condition, or climate. Here the plebeian finds himſelf upon the level with the nobleman, the ſubject with the prince, nay, often his ſuperior.

The principal law and juſteſt title to deſerving ſolid praiſes in this empire of literature, is, that every member of it be contented with his own place; that he be void of all envy for the glory of others; that he looks upon them as his collegues, deſtined as well as himſelf, by providence, to enrich ſociety, and become its benefactors; and that he remembers, with gratitude, from whom he holds his talents, and for what ends they have been conferred upon him. For, indeed, how can thoſe, who diſtinguiſh themſelves moſt amongſt the learned, believe, that they have that extent of memory, facility of comprehending, induſtry to invent and make diſcoveries; that beauty, vivacity, and penetration of mind from themſelves; and, if they poſſeſs all theſe advantages from ſomething exterior, how can they aſſume any vanity from them? But can they believe they may uſe them at their own pleaſure, and ſeek, in the application they make of them, only their own glory and reputation? As providence places kings upon their thrones ſolely for the good of their people, it diſtributes alſo the different talents of the mind ſolely for the benefit of the public. But in the ſame manner as we ſometimes ſee in ſtates uſurpers, and tyrants, who, to exalt themſelves alone, oppreſs all others; there may alſo ariſe amongſt the learned, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, a kind of tyranny of the mind, which conſiſts in regarding the ſucceſſes of others with an evil eye; in being offended at their reputation; in leſſening their merit; in eſteeming only one's ſelf, and in affecting to reign alone: A hateful defect, and very diſhonourable to learning. The ſolid glory of the empire of learning in the preſent queſtion, I cannot repeat it too often, is not to labour for one's ſelf, but for mankind; and this, I am ſo bold to ſay, is what places it exceedingly above all the other empires of the world.

The victories which take up the greateſt part of hiſtory, and attract admiration the moſt, have generally no other effects, but the deſolation of countries, the deſtruction of cities, and the ſlaughter of men. Thoſe ſo much boaſted heroes of antiquity, have they made a ſingle man the better? Have they made many men happy? And if, by the founding of ſtates and empires, they have procured poſterity ſome advantage, how dearly have they made their cotemporaries pay for it, by the rivers of blood they have ſhed? Thoſe very advantages are confined to certain places, and have a certain duration. Of what utility to us, at this day, are either Nimrod, Cyrus, or Alexander? All thoſe great names, all thoſe victories, which have aſtoniſhed mankind from time to time; thoſe princes and conquerors, with all their magnificence and vaſt deſigns, are returned into nothing with regard to us; they are diſperſed like vapours, and are vaniſhed like phantoms.

But the inventors of arts and ſciences have laboured for all ages of the world. We ſtill enjoy the fruits of their application and induſtry. They have provided, at a great diſtance, for all our occaſions. They have procured for us all the conveniencies of life. They have converted all nature to our uſes. They have reduced the moſt indocile matter to our ſervice. They have taught us to extract from the bowels of the earth, and even from the deeps of the ſea, the moſt precious riches; and, what is infinitely more eſtimable, they have opened to us the treaſures of all the ſciences, and have guided us to knowledge the moſt ſublime, the moſt uſeful, and the moſt worthy of our nature. They have put into our hands, and placed before our eyes, whatever is moſt proper to adorn the mind, to direct our manners, and to form good citizens, good magiſtrates, and good princes.

Theſe are part of the benefits we have received from thoſe who have invented and brought arts and ſciences to perfection. The better to know their value, let us tranſport ourſelves in imagination back to the infancy of the world, and thoſe groſs ages, when man, condemned to eat his bread by the ſweat of his brow, was without aids and inſtruments, and obliged however to cultivate the earth, that he might extract nouriſhment from it; to erect himſelf huts and roofs for his ſecurity; to provide cloathing for his defence againſt the froſts and rains; and, in a word, to find out the means to ſatisfy all the neceſſities of life. What labours, what difficulties, what diſquiets! All which are ſpared us.

We do not ſufficiently conſider the obligations we are under to thoſe equally induſtrious and laborious men, who made the firſt eſſays in arts, and applied themſelves in thoſe uſeful but elaborate reſearches. That we are commodiouſly houſed, that we are cloathed, that we have cities, walls, habitations, temples; to their induſtry and labour we are indebted for them all. It is by their aid our hands cultivate the fields, build houſes, make ſtuffs and habits, work in braſs and iron; and, to make a tranſition from the uſeful to the agreeable, that we uſe the pencil, handle the chiſſel and graver, and touch inſtruments of muſic; theſe are ſolid and permanent advantages and emoluments, which have always been increaſing from their origin; which extend to all ages and nations, and to all mankind in particular; which will perpetuate themſelves throughout all times, and continue to the end of the world. Have all the conquerors together done any thing, that can be imagined parallel with ſuch ſervices? All our admiration, however, turns generally on the ſide of theſe heroes in blood, whilſt we ſcarce take notice of what we owe to the inventors of arts.

But we muſt go farther back, and render the juſt homage of praiſe and acknowledgment to him, who alone has been, and was capable of being, their author. This is a truth confeſſed by the Pagans themſelves; and Cicero atteſts moſt expreſsly, that men have all the conveniencies of life from God alone: *Omnes mortales ſic habent, externas commoditates a diis ſe habere.*

Lib. 3. De nat. deor. n. 86.

Pliny the naturaliſt explains himſelf ſtill in a ſtronger manner, where he ſpeaks of the wonderful effects of ſimples and herbs in regard to diſtempers; and the ſame principle may be applied to a thouſand other effects, which ſeem more aſtoniſhing than thoſe. * "It is, ſays he, to underſtand very ill the

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* Quæ ſi quis ullo fortè ab homine excogitari potuiſſe credit, ingratè deorum munera intelligit——Quod certe caſu repertum quis dubitet? Hic ergo caſus, hic eſt ille, qui plurima in vita invenit Deus. Hoc habet nomen, per quem intelligitur eadem & parens rerum omnium & magiſtra natura. *Plin.*

“ gifts of the divinity, and to repay them with
“ ingratitude, to believe them capable of being
“ invented by man. It is true, chance ſeems
“ to have given birth to theſe diſcoveries; but
“ that chance is God himſelf; by which name,
“ as well as by that of Nature, we are to under-
“ ſtand him alone, who is the great parent of all
“ things.”

In effect, how little ſoever we reflect upon the relation and proportion which appears, for inſtance, between the works of gold, ſilver, iron, braſs, lead, and the rude maſs as it lies hid in the earth, of which they are formed; between linen cloth, whether fine and thin, or coarſe and ſtrong, and flax and hemp; between ſtuffs of all ſorts, and the fleece of ſheep; between the gloſſy beauty of wrought ſilks, and the deformity of an hideous inſect: we ought to aſſure ourſelves, that man, abandoned to his own faculties, could never have been able to make ſuch happy diſcoveries. It is true, as Pliny has obſerved, that chance has ſeemed to give birth to moſt inventions: But who does not ſee, that God, to put our gratitude to trial, takes pleaſure to conceal himſelf under thoſe fortuitous events, as under ſo many veils, through which our reaſon, whenever ſo little enlightened by faith, traces with eaſe the beneficent hand, which confers ſo many gifts upon us?

The divine providence ſhews itſelf no leſs in many modern diſcoveries, which now appear to us exceedingly eaſy; and however eſcaped, during all preceding ages, the knowledge and inquiries of the many perſons, always intent upon the ſtudy and perfection of arts; till it pleaſed God to open their eyes, and to ſhew them what they did not ſee before.

In this number may be reckoned both wind and water mills, ſo commodious for the uſes of life, which however are not very antient. The antients engraved upon copper. Whence was it, that they never reflected, that, by impreſſing upon paper what they had engraved, they might write that in a moment, which they had been ſo long in cutting with a tool? It is, notwithſtanding, only about three hundred years ſince the art of printing books has been diſcovered. The ſame may be ſaid of gunpowder, of which our antient conquerors were in great want, and which would have very much abridged the length of their ſieges. The compaſs, that is to ſay, the needle touched with the loadſtone, ſuſpended upon an axis, is of ſuch wonderful uſe, that to it alone we ſtand indebted for the knowledge of the new world, and all the people of the earth are united by commerce. How came it, that mankind, who knew all the other properties of the loadſtone, were ſo long without diſcovering one of ſuch great importance?

We may conclude in the ſame manner, I think, not only in regard to the incredible difficulty of ſome diſcoveries, which do not offer themſelves by any outward appearances, and are, however, almoſt as old as the world; but from the extreme facility of other inventions, which ſeem to guide us to them, and yet have not been diſcovered till after many ages; that both the one and the other are abſolutely diſpoſed by the direction of a ſuperior Being, which governs the univerſe with infinite wiſdom and power.

We are indeed ignorant of the reaſons, which have induced God to obſerve a different conduct in the manifeſtation of theſe myſteries of nature, at leaſt in a great meaſure; but that conduct is, however, no leſs to be revered. What he ſuffers us ſometimes to ſee of it, ought to inſtruct us in reſpect to all the reſt. Chriſtopher Columbus conceives the deſign to go in ſearch of new worlds. He addreſſes himſelf, for that end, to ſeveral princes, who look upon his enterprize as madneſs, and it ſeemed ſuch in effect. But he had within him, with regard to this enterprize, an inherent impulſe, an ardent and continual deſire, which rendered him paſſionate, reſtleſs, and invincible to all obſtacles and remonſtrances. Who was it, that inſpired him with this bold deſign, and gave him ſuch inflexible conſtancy, but God alone, who had reſolved from all eternity to enlighten the people of that new world with the lights of the goſpel? The invention of the compaſs was the occaſion of it. Providence had aſſigned a preciſe time for this great event. The moment could neither be advanced nor retarded. Hence it was that this diſcovery had been ſo long deferred, and was afterwards ſo ſuddenly and ſo courageouſly executed.

After theſe obſervations, which I thought uſeful to many of my readers, I ſhall proceed to my ſubject. I ſhall divide all that relates to the arts and ſciences into three books. In the firſt I ſhall treat of agriculture, commerce, architecture, ſculpture, painting, and muſic. In the ſecond, I ſhall treat of the art military, and what regards the raiſing and maintaining troops, battles, and ſieges, both by ſea and land. In the laſt book, with which my work will conclude, I ſhall run over the arts and ſciences, that have moſt relation to the mind: Grammar, poetry, hiſtory, rhetoric, and philoſophy, with all the branches that either depend on, or have any relation to them.

I muſt obſerve beforehand, with the ſame freedom I have profeſſed hitherto, that I undertake to treat a ſubject of which many parts are almoſt entirely unknown to me. For this reaſon, I ſhall have occaſion for new indulgence. I demand permiſſion therefore to make uſe freely, as I have always done, (and am now reduced to do more than ever) of all the helps I ſhall meet with in my way. I ſhall hazard loſing the glory of being an author and inventor: But I willingly renounce it, provided I have that of pleaſing my readers, and of being any way uſeful to them. Profound Erudition muſt not be expected here, though the ſubject ſeems to imply it. I do not pretend to inſtruct the learned; my aim is to make choice of that from all the arts, which may beſt ſuit the capacities of the generality of readers.

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

OF AGRICULTURE.

ARTICLE I.

Antiquity of agriculture. Its utility. The eſteem it was in amongſt the antients. How important it is to place it in honour, and how dangerous to neglect the application to it.

I MAY with juſtice place agriculture at the head of the arts, which has certainly the advantage of all others, as well with regard to its antiquity as utility. It may be ſaid to be as antient as the world, having taken birth in the terreſtrial Paradiſe itſelf, when Adam, newly come forth from the hands of his Creator, ſtill poſſeſſed the precious but frail treaſure of his innocence; God, having placed him in the garden of delights, commanded him to cultivate it; *ut operaretur illum: to dreſs and keep it.* That culture was not painful and laborious, but eaſy and agreeable; it was to ſerve him Gen. ii. 15.

him for amuſement, and to make him contemplate in the productions of the earth the wiſdom and liberality of his Maſter.

The ſin of Adam having overthrown this order, and drawn upon him the mournful decree, which condemned him to eat his bread by the ſweat of his brow; God changed his delight into chaſtiſement, and ſubjected him to hard labour and toil; which he had never known, had he continued ignorant of evil. The earth, become ſtubborn and rebellious to his orders, to puniſh his revolt againſt God, brought forth thorns and thiſtles. Violent means were neceſſary to compel it to pay him the tribute, of which his ingratitude had rendered him unworthy, and to force it, by labour, to ſupply him every year with the nouriſhment, which before was given him freely and without trouble.

From hence therefore we are to trace the origin of agriculture, which, from the puniſhment it was at firſt, is become, by the ſingular goodneſs of God, in a manner the mother and nurſe of the human race. It is in effect the ſource of ſolid wealth and treaſures of a real value, which do not depend upon the opinion of men; which ſuffice at once to neceſſity and enjoyment, by which a nation is in no want of its neighbours, and often neceſſary to them; which make the principal revenue of a ſtate, and ſupply the defect of all others, when they happen to fail. Though mines of gold and ſilver ſhould be exhauſted, and the ſpecies made of them loſt; though pearls and diamonds ſhould remain hid in the womb of the earth and ſea; though commerce with ſtrangers ſhould be prohibited; though all arts, which have no other object than embelliſhment and ſplendor, ſhould be aboliſhed; the fertility of the earth alone would afford an abundant ſupply for the occaſions of the public, and furniſh ſubſiſtence both for the people, and armies to defend it.

We ought not to be ſurprized therefore, that agriculture was in ſo much honour amongſt the antients; it ought rather to ſeem wonderful that it ever ſhould ceaſe to be ſo, and that of all profeſſions the moſt neceſſary and moſt indiſpenſable ſhould have fallen into ſo great contempt. We have ſeen in the whole courſe of our hiſtory, that the principal attention of the wiſeſt princes, and the moſt able miniſters, was to ſupport and encourage huſbandry.

Amongſt the Aſſyrians and Perſians the Satrapæ were rewarded, in whoſe governments the lands were well cultivated, and thoſe puniſhed who neglected that part of their duty. Numa Pompilius, one of the wiſeſt kings antiquity mentions, and who beſt underſtood and diſcharged the duties of the ſovereignty, divided the whole territory of Rome into different cantons. An exact account was rendered him of the manner in which they were cultivated, and he cauſed the huſbandmen to come before him, that he might praiſe and encourage thoſe whoſe lands were well manured, and reproach others with their want of induſtry. The riches of the earth, ſays the hiſtorian, were looked upon as the juſteſt and moſt legitimate of all riches, and much preferred to the advantages obtained by war, which are of no long duration. Ancus Martius, the fourth king of the Romans, who piqued himſelf upon treading in the ſteps of Numa, next to the adoration of the gods, and reverence for religion, recommended nothing ſo much to the people, as the cultivation of lands, and the breeding of cattle. The Romans long retained this diſpoſition, and * in the latter times, whoever did not diſcharge this duty well, drew upon himſelf the animadverſion of the cenſor.

Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. p. 135.

Id. l. 3. p. 177.

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* Agrum malè colere Cenſorium probrum adjudicabatur. *Plin.* l. 18. c. 3.

It is known from never-failing experience, that the culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, which is a conſequence and neceſſary part of it, has always been a certain and inexhauſtible ſource of wealth and abundance. Agriculture was in no part of the world in higher conſideration than in Egypt, where it was the particular object of government and policy: and no country was ever better peopled, richer, or more powerful. The ſtrength of a ſtate is not to be computed by extent of country, but by the number of its citizens, and the utility of their labour.

It is hard to conceive how ſo ſmall a tract as the land of Promiſe ſhould be able to contain and nouriſh an almoſt innumerable multitude of inhabitants: this was from the whole country's being cultivated with extreme application.

What hiſtory relates of the opulence of ſeveral cities in Sicily, and in particular of the immenſe riches of Syracuſe, of the magnificence of its buildings, of the powerful fleets it fitted out, and the numerous armies it had on foot, would appear incredible, if not atteſted by all the antient authors. From whence can we believe, that Sicily could raiſe wherewith to ſupport ſuch enormous expences, if not from the increaſe of their lands, which were improved with wonderful induſtry? We may judge of their application to the culture of land, from the care taken by one of the moſt powerful kings of Syracuſe, (Hiero II.) to compoſe a book upon that ſubject, in which he gave wiſe advice and excellent rules, for ſupporting and augmenting the fertility of the country.

Beſides Hiero, * other princes are mentioned, who did not think it unworthy their birth and rank to leave poſterity precepts upon agriculture; ſo ſenſible were they of its utility and value: Of this

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* De cultura agri præcipere principale fuit, etiam apud exteros. *Plin.* l. 18. c. 3.

number were Attalus, ſirnamed Philometer, king of Pergamus, and Archelaus of Cappadocia. I am leſs ſurprized, that Plato, Xenophon, Ariſtotle, and other philoſophers, who have treated politics in particular, have not omitted this article, which makes an eſſential part of that ſubject. But who would expect to ſee a Carthaginian general amongſt theſe authors? I mean Mago. He muſt have treated this matter with great extent, as his work, which was found at the taking of Carthage, conſiſted of twenty-eight volumes. So high a value was ſet on it, that the ſenate ordered it to be tranſlated, and one of the principal magiſtrates took upon himſelf the care of doing it. D. Syllanus. Caſſius Dionyſius of Utica had before tranſlated it out of the Punic language into Greek. Varr. de re ruſt. l. 1. c. 1.

Cato, the cenſor, had however publiſhed his books upon the ſame ſubject. For Rome was not then entirely depraved, and the taſte for the antient ſimplicity ſtill continued in a certain degree. She remembered with joy and admiration, that in antient times her ſenators lived almoſt continually in the country; that they cultivated their lands with their own hands, without ever deviating into rapacious and unjuſt deſires of thoſe of other men; and that * conſuls and dictators were often taken from the plow. In thoſe happy times, ſays Pliny, † the earth, glorious in ſeeing herſelf cultivated by the hands of triumphant victors, ſeemed to make new efforts, and to produce her fruits with greater abundance; that is,

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* Antiquitùs ab aratro arceſſebantur ut conſules fierent——Atilium ſua manu ſpargentem ſemen qui miſſi erant convenerunt——Suos agros ſtudioſè colebant, non alienos cupidè appetebant. *Cic. pro Roſc. Amer.* n. 50.

† Quæ nam ergo tantæ ubertatis cauſa erat? Ipſorum tunc manibus Imperatorum colebantur agri (ut fas eſt credere) gaudente terra vomere laureato, & triumphali aratore: ſive illi eâdem curâ ſemina tractabant, quâ bella, eâdemque diligentiâ arva diſponebant, quâ caſtra: ſive honeſtis manibus omnia lætiùs proveniunt, quoniam & curioſiùs fiunt. *Plin.* l. 18. c. 3.

no doubt, becauſe thoſe great men, equally capable of handling the plow and their arms, of ſowing and conquering lands, applied themſelves, with more attention to their labour, and were alſo more ſucceſsful in effect of it.

And indeed, when a perſon of condition, with a ſuperior genius, applies himſelf to arts, experience ſhews us, that he does it with greater ability, force of mind, induſtry, taſte, and with more inventions, new diſcoveries, and various experiments; whereas an ordinary man confines himſelf ſervilely within the common road, and to his antient cuſtoms. Nothing opens his eyes, nothing raiſes him above his old habitudes; and after many years of labour he continues ſtill the ſame, without making any progreſs in the profeſſion he follows.

Thoſe great men I have mentioned, had never undertaken to write upon agriculture, if they had not been ſenſible of its importance, which moſt of them had perſonally experienced. We know what a taſte Cato had for a rural life, and with what application he employed himſelf in it. The example of an antient Roman, whoſe farm adjoined to his, was of infinite ſervice to him. (This was Manlius Curius Dentatus, who had thrice received the honour of triumph.) Cato often went to walk in it, and conſidering the * ſmall extent of that land, the poverty and ſimplicity of the houſe, he was ſtruck with admiration for that illuſtrious perſon, who, when he became the greateſt of the Romans, having conquered the moſt warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little land with his own hands, and, after ſo many triumphs, inhabited ſo wretched a houſe. Is it

* Hunc, & incomptis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tulit & Camillum
Sæva paupertas, & avitus apto
Cum lare fundus.

here, [*] ſaid he to himſelf, that the ambaſſadors of the Samnites found him by his fire-ſide, boiling roots, and received this wiſe anſwer from him, after having offered him a great ſum of money: That gold was a thing of ſmall value to one who could be ſatisfied with ſuch a dinner; and that, for his part, he thought it more glorious to conquer thoſe who had that gold, than to poſſeſs it himſelf. Full of theſe thoughts, Cato returned home, and making an eſtimate of his houſe, lands, ſlaves, and expences, he applied himſelf to huſbandry with more ardor, and retrenched all needleſs ſuperfluity.

Though very young at that time, he was the admiration of all that knew him. Valerius Flaccus, one of the moſt noble and moſt powerful perſons of Rome, had lands contiguous to Cato's ſmall farm. He there often heard his ſlaves ſpeak of his neighbour's manner of living, and of his labour in the field. He was told, that in the morning he uſed to go to the ſmall cities in the neighbourhood, to plead and defend the cauſes of thoſe, who applied to him for that purpoſe. That from thence he returned into the field, where throwing a mean coat over his ſhoulders in winter, and almoſt naked in ſummer, he worked with his ſervants, and after they had done, he ſate down with them at table, and eat the ſame bread, and drank the [†] ſame wine.

We ſee by theſe examples how far the antient Romans carried the love of ſimplicity, poverty,

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[*] Curio ad focum ſedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attuliſſent repudiati ab eo ſunt. *Non enim aurum habere præclarum ſibi videri dixit, ſed iis qui haberent aurum imperare. Cicero makes Cato himſelf ſpeak thus, in his book upon old age,* n. 55.

[†] *This puts me in mind of a fine ſaying of Pliny the younger's, who gave his freedmen the ſame wine he drank himſelf. When ſomebody repreſented that this muſt be very chargeable to him: No, ſaid he; my freedmen don't drink the ſame wine I drink, but I the ſame they do.* Quia ſcilicet liberti mei non idem quod ego bibunt, ſed idem ego quod liberti. *Plin.* l. 2. *Epiſt.* 6.

Var. l. 3. c. 2. and labour. I read with ſingular pleaſure the tart and ſenſible reproaches, which a Roman ſenator makes to the augur Appius Claudius, upon the magnificence of his country-houſes, by comparing them to the farm where they then were. “ Here, “ ſaid he, we ſee neither painting, ſtatues, carving, “ nor moſaic work; but, to make us amends, we “ have all that is neceſſary to the cultivation of “ lands, the dreſſing of vines, and the feeding of “ cattle. In your houſe every thing ſhines with “ gold, ſilver, and marble; but there is no ſign “ of arable lands or vineyards. We find there “ neither ox, nor cow, nor ſheep. There is neither “ hay in cocks, vintage in the cellars, nor harveſt “ in the barn, Can this be called a farm? In what “ does it reſemble that of your grandfather, and “ great-grandfather?”

After luxury was introduced to this height amongſt the Romans, the lands were far from being cultivated, or producing revenues as in antient days. * At a time when they were in the hands of ſlaves or abject mercenaries, what could be expected from ſuch workmen, who were forced to their labour only by ill treatment? This was one of the great, and moſt imprudent neglects, remarked by all the writers upon this ſubject in the latter times: becauſe to cultivate lands properly, it is neceſſary to take pleaſure and be delighted with the work, and for that end to find it for one's intereſt and gain to follow it.

It is therefore highly important, that the whole land of a kingdom ſhould be employed to the beſt advantage, which is much more uſeful than to extend its limits; in order to this each maſter of a family, reſiding in the ſmall towns and villages, ſhould have ſome portion of land appropriated to

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* Nunc eadem illa (arva) vincti pedes, damnatæ manus, inſcripti vultus exercenti——Nos miramur ergaſtulorum non eadem emolumenta eſſe, quæ fuerint Imperatorum. *Plin.* l. 18. c. 3.

himſelf; whence it would follow, that this field, by being his own, would be dearer to him than all others, and be cultivated with application; that his family would think ſuch employment their intereſt, attach themſelves to their farm, ſubſiſt upon it, and by that means be kept within the country. When the country-people are not in their own eſtates, and are only employed for hire, they are very negligent in their labour, and even work with regret. * A lord and land-holder ought to deſire, that their lands and eſtates ſhould continue a long time in the ſame family, and that their farmers ſhould ſucceed in them from father to ſon; from whence a quite different regard for them would ariſe: And what conduced to the intereſt of particulars, would alſo promote the general good of the ſtate.

But when an huſbandman or farmer has acquired ſome wealth by their induſtry and application, which is much to be deſired by the landlord for his own advantage; † it is not by this gain, ſays Cicero, the rents laid on them are to be meaſured, but by the lands themſelves, they turn ſo much to their account; the produce of which ought to be equitably eſtimated and examined into, for aſcertaining what new impoſition of rents they will bear. For to rack-rent and oppreſs thoſe who have applied themſelves well to their buſineſs, only becauſe they have done ſo, is to puniſh, and indeed to aboliſh, induſtry; whereas, in all well regulated ſtates, it has always been thought neceſſary to animate it by emulation and reward.

One reaſon of the ſmall produce of the lands, is, becauſe agriculture is not looked upon as an art

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* Lucium Voluſium aſſeverantem audivi, patris familias fælicifſimum fundum eſſe, qui colonos indigenas haberet, & tanquam in paterna poſſeſſione notois, jam inde a cunabulis longa familiaritate retineret. *Colum.* l. 1. c. 7.

† Cum Aratori aliquod onus imponitur, non omnes, ſi quæ ſunt præterea, facultates ſed arationis ipſius vis ac ratio conſideranda eſt, quid ea ſuſtinere, quid pati, quid efficere poſſit ac debeat. *Cic. Verr. de frum.* n. 199.

that requires ſtudy, reflections, and rules: every one abandons himſelf to his own taſte and method, whilſt no-body thinks of making a ſerious ſcrutiny into them, of trying experiments, and * of uniting precepts with experience. The antients did not think in this manner. They judged three things neceſſary to ſucceſs in agriculture. *The will:* this employment ſhould be loved, deſired, and delighted in, and followed in conſequence out of pleaſure. *The power:* it is requiſite to be in a condition to make the neceſſary expences for the breeding and fattening of cattle and fowl of all ſorts, for labour, and for whatever is neceſſary to the manuring and improving of lands; and this is what moſt of our huſbandmen want. *The ſkill:* it is neceſſary to have ſtudied maturely all that relates to the cultivation of lands, without which the two firſt things are not only ineffectual, but occaſion great loſſes to the maſter of a family, who has the affliction to ſee, that the produce of the land is far from anſwering the expences he has been at, or the hopes he had conceived from them; becauſe thoſe expences have been laid out without diſcretion, and without knowledge of the application of them. To theſe three heads a fourth may be added, which the antients had not forgot, that is, † *experience*, which preſides in all arts, is infinitely above precepts, and makes even the faults we have committed our advantage: for, from doing wrong, we often learn to do right.

Colum. l. 1. c. 1.

Agriculture was in quite different eſteem with the antients, to what it is with us: which is evident from the multitude and quality of the writers upon this ſubject. Varro cites to the number of fifty amongſt the Greeks only. He wrote upon it alſo himſelf, and Columella after him. The three Latin authors, Cato, Varro, and Columella, entered into a wonderful detail upon all the parts of agriculture. Would it be an ungrateful and barren employment to compare their opinions and reflections with the modern practice?

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* Debemus & imitari alios, & aliter ut faciamus quadam experientia tentare. *Varro.* l. 1. c. 18.

† Uſus & experientia dominantur in artibus, neque eſt ulla diſciplina in qua non peccando diſcatur. Nam ubi quid perperam adminiſtratum ceſſerit improſperè, vitatur quod fefellerat, illuminatque rectam viam docentis magiſterium. *Colum.* ibid.

Colum. in proœm. l. 1.

Columella, who lived in the time of Tiberius, deplores, in a very varm and eloquent manner, the general contempt into which agriculture was fallen in his time, and the perſuaſion men were under, that, to ſucceed in it, there was no occaſion for a maſter. "I ſee at Rome, ſaid he, the ſchools "of philoſophers, rhetoricians, geometricians, "muſicians, and, what is more aſtoniſhing, of people ſolely employed, ſome in preparing diſhes "proper to pique the appetite, and excite gluttony; and others to adorn the head with artificial "curls, but not one for agriculture*. However, "the reſt might be well ſpared; and the republic "flouriſhed long without any of thoſe frivolous "arts; but it is not poſſible to want that of huſbandry, becauſe life depends upon it.

"Beſides, is there a more honeſt or legal means "of preſerving, or increaſing, a patrimony? Is the "profeſſion of arms of this kind, and the acquiſition of ſpoils always dyed with human blood, "and amaſſed by the ruin of an infinity of perſons? Or is commerce ſo, which, tearing citizens "away from their native country, expoſes them to "the fury of the winds and ſeas, and drags them "into unknown worlds in purſuit of riches? Or is "the trade † of money and uſury more laudable, "odious and fatal as they are, even to thoſe they "ſeem to relieve? Can any one compare any of

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* Sine ludicris artibus—olim ſatis fælices fuere futuræque ſunt urbes; at ſine agricultoribus nec conſiſtere mortales, nec ali poſſe manifeſtum eſt.

† An fœneratio probabilior ſit etiam his inviſa quibus ſuccurrere videtur.

" theſe methods with wiſe and innocent agriculture, which only the depravity of our manners can render contemptible, and, by a neceſſary conſequence, almoſt barren and uſeleſs?

" Many people imagine, that the ſterility of our lands, which are much leſs fertile now than in times paſt, proceeds from the intemperance of the air, the inclemency of ſeaſons, or from the alteration of the lands themſelves, that, weakened and exhauſted by long and continual labour, are no longer capable of producing their fruits with the ſame vigour and abundance. This is a miſtake, ſays Columella: we ought not to imagine, that the earth, to whom the author of nature has communicated a perpetual fecundity, is liable to barrenneſs, as to a kind of diſeaſe. After its having received from its maſter a divine and immortal youth, which has occaſioned its being called the common mother of all things, becauſe it always has brought forth, and ever will bring forth from its womb, whatever ſubſiſts, it is not to be feared, that it will fall into decay and old age like man. It is neither to the badneſs of the air, nor to length of time, that the barrenneſs of our lands is to be imputed; but ſolely to our own fault and neglect: we ſhould blame only ourſelves, who abandon thoſe eſtates to our ſlaves, which, in the days of our anceſtors, were cultivated by the moſt noble and illuſtrious."

This reflection of Columella's ſeems very ſolid, and is confirmed by experience. The land of Canaan (and as much may be ſaid of other countries) was very fertile, at the time the people of God took poſſeſſion of it, and had been ſeven hundred years inhabited by the Canaanites. From thence to the Babyloniſh captivity was almoſt a thouſand years. In the latter days, there is no mention of its being exhauſted, or worn out by time, without ſpeaking of the after-ages. If therefore it has been almoſt entirely barren during a long courſe of years, as it is ſaid, we ought to conclude with Columella, that * it is not from its being exhauſted or grown old, but becauſe it is deſerted and neglected. And we ought alſo to conclude, that the fertility of ſome countries, of which ſo much is ſaid in hiſtory, ariſes from the particular attention of the inhabitants in tilling the land, in cultivating the vines, and breeding of cattle: which important article it is now expedient to conſider in a particular manner.

ARTICLE II.

Of tillage. Countries famous amongſt the antients for abounding with corn.

I Shall confine myſelf, in ſpeaking of tillage, to what relates to wheat, as the moſt important part of that ſubject.

The countries moſt famous for abounding in corn were Thrace, Sardinia, Sicily, Egypt, and Africa. Demoſt. in orat. cont. Lept. p. 546.

Athens brought every year only from Byzantium four hundred thouſand *medimni* of wheat, as Demoſthenes informs us. The *medimnus* contained ſix buſhels, and was ſold in his time for no more than five drachmas, that is to ſay, for fifty pence *French*. How many other cities and countries did Thrace furniſh with corn, and how fertile muſt it conſequently have been? Id. in Phorm. p. 346.

It is not without reaſon that * Cato the cenſor, whoſe gravity of manners occaſioned him to be ſirnamed *the Wiſe*, called Sicily the magazine and nurſing mother of the Roman people. And, indeed, it was from thence Rome brought almoſt all her corn, both for the uſe of the city, and the ſubſiſtence of her armies. We ſee alſo in Livy, that Sardinia ſupplied the Romans with abundance of corn.

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* Non igitur fatigatione, quemadmodum plurimi crediderunt, nec ſenio, ſed noſtra ſcilicet inertiâ minus benignè nobis arva reſpondent. *Colum.* l. 2. c. 2.

* Ille M. Cato Sapiens cellam penariam reip. noſtræ, nutricem plebis Romanæ Siciliam nominavit——Itaque ad omnes res Sicilia provincia ſemper uſi ſumus; ut, quicquid ex ſe poſſet afferre, id non apud eos naſci ſed domi noſtri conditum putaremus. *Cic. Verr.* c. 3. n. 5.

All the world knows how much the land of Egypt, watered and enriched by the Nile, which ſerved it inſtead * of the huſbandman, abounded with corn. When Auguſtus had reduced it into a Roman province, he took particular care of the bed and canals of this beneficent river, which by degrees had been clogged with mud, through the neglect of the kings of Egypt, and cauſed them to be cleanſed by the Roman troops, whom he left there. From thence came regularly every year twenty millions of buſhels of wheat. Without this ſupply, the capitol of the world was in danger of periſhing by famine. She ſaw herſelf in this condition under Auguſtus, for there remained only three days proviſion of corn in the city. That prince, who was full of tenderneſs for the people, had reſolved to poiſon himſelf, if the expected fleets did not arrive before the expiration of that time. They came, and the preſervation of the people was attributed to the good fortune of the prince. We ſhall ſee, that wiſe precautions were afterwards taken to avoid the like danger for the future.

Sext. Aurel. Vict. in epito.

Africa did not give place to Egypt in point of fertility. In one of its countries, one buſhel of wheat ſown has been obſerved to produce an hundred and fifty. From a ſingle grain almoſt four hundred ears would ſometimes ſpring up, as we find by letters to Auguſtus and Nero, from thoſe who governed Africa under them. This was no doubt very uncommon. But the ſame Pliny, who

Plin. l. 18. c. 8.

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* Nihil ibi coloni vice fungitur. *Plin.*

relates theſe facts, aſſures us, that in Bœotia and Egypt it was a very common thing for a grain to produce an hundred and fifty ears; and he obſerves, upon this occaſion, the attention of the divine providence, which hath ordained, that of all the plants that which it had appointed for the nouriſhment of man, and in conſequence the moſt neceſſary, ſhould be alſo the moſt fruitful.

I have ſaid, that Rome at firſt brought almoſt all her corn from Sicily and Sardinia. In proceſs of time, when ſhe had made herſelf miſtreſs of Carthage and Alexandria, Africa and Egypt became her ſtore-houſes. Thoſe cities ſent numerous fleets every year, freighted with wheat for the uſe of the people, then lords of the univerſe. And, when the harveſt happened to fail in one of theſe provinces, the other came in to its aid, and ſupported the capitol of the world. Corn, by this means, was at Liv. l. 31. n. 50. a very low price at Rome, and ſometimes ſold for no more than two *aſſes*, or pence, a buſhel. The Id. l. 35. n. 62. whole coaſt of Africa abounded exceedingly with corn, in which part of the wealth of Carthage conſiſted. The city of Leptis only, ſituated in the leſſer Syrtis, paid a daily tribute to it of a talent, that is to ſay, of three thouſand livres. In the war Id. l. 43. n. 6. againſt Philip, the Carthaginian ambaſſadors ſupplied the Romans with a million of buſhels of corn, and five hundred thouſand of barley. Thoſe of Maſſiniſſa gave them alſo as much.

Conſtantinople was ſupplied in the ſame manner, when the ſeat of empire was tranſplanted thither. An admirable order was obſerved in both theſe cities, for ſubſiſting the immenſe number of people that inhabited them. The emperor Conſtantine Socrat. l. 2. c. 13. cauſed almoſt fourſcore thouſand buſhels of corn, which came from Alexandria, to be diſtributed daily at Conſtantinople; this was for the ſubſiſtence of ſix hundred and forty thouſand men, the Roman buſhel ſerving only eight men. When the emperor

Ælian. Spartian. in Sever. emperor Septimus Severus died, there was corn in the public magazines for ſeven years, expending daily ſeventy-five thouſand buſhels, that is to ſay, bread for ſix hundred thouſand men. What a proviſion was this againſt the dearth of any future years!

Beſides theſe I have mentioned, there were many other countries very fruitful in corn.

Cic. in Verr. de frum. n. 112. Plin. l. 18. c. 7. For the ſowing of an acre only one *medimnus* of corn was required: *Medimnum.* The *medimnus* conſiſted of ſix buſhels, each of which contained very near twenty pounds weight of corn. (It is obſerved, in the *Spectacle de la Nature*, that the uſual and ſufficient quantity for ſowing an acre is an hundred and twenty pounds of corn: which comes to the ſame amount.) The higheſt produce of an acre was ten *medimni* of corn, that is to ſay, ten for one; but the ordinary produce was eight, with which the huſbandmen were well ſatisfied. It is from Cicero we have this account; and he muſt have known the ſubject very well, as he uſes it in the cauſe of the Sicilians againſt Verres. He ſpeaks of the country of the Leontines, which was one of the moſt fruitful in Sicily. The higheſt price of a buſhel of corn amounted to three Seſterces, or ſeven pence half-penny. It was leſs than that of France by almoſt one fourth. Our Septier contains twelve buſhels, and is often ſold for ten livres. By that eſtimate our buſhel is worth ſixteen pence, and ſomething more; that is to ſay, twice the price of the buſhel of the antients, and ſomething more. Cic. ibid. n. 173.

All that Cicero relates upon the ſubject of corn, as to its price, how much of it was neceſſary for ſowing an acre, and what quantity it produced being ſown, ought not to be conſidered as an eſtabliſhed rule; for that might vary conſiderably according to ſoils, countries, and times.

The antients had different methods of threſhing their corn; they made uſe, for that purpoſe, either of ſledges armed with points; or of horſes, which they made trample upon it; or of flails, with which they beat the ſheaves, as is now cuſtomary in many places. Plin. l. 18. c. 30.

They alſo uſed various methods for preſerving corn a great while, eſpecially by ſhutting it up cloſe in the ear in ſubterranean caverns, which they covered on all ſides with ſtraw, to defend it againſt damps; cloſing the entrance with great care, to prevent the air from getting in. Varro aſſures us, that corn would keep good in that manner for fifty years. Lib. 1. de re ruſt. c. 5.

ARTICLE III.

SECT I.

Cultivation of the vine. Wines celebrated in Greece and Italy.

We may believe, that mankind have been no leſs induſtrious in the cultivation of the vine, than in that of corn, though they applied themſelves to it later. The Scripture informs us, that the uſe of wine was not known till after the deluge: *Noah began to be an huſbandman, and he planted a vineyard.* Gen. ix. 20. It was, no doubt, known before, but only in the grape, and not as liquor. Noah planted it by order, and diſcovered the uſe that might be made of the fruit, by preſſing out and preſerving the liquor. He was deceived by its ſweetneſs and ſtrength, which he had not experienced: *And he drank of the wine and was drunken.* The Pagans transferred the honour of the invention of wine to Bacchus, of which they never had much knowledge; and what is ſaid of Noah's drunkenneſs, made them conſider Bacchus as the god of drunkenneſs and debauch.

The offspring of Noah, having diſperſed into the ſeveral countries of the world, carried the vine with them from place to place, and taught the uſe to be made of it. Aſia was the firſt that experienced the ſweetneſs of this gift, and ſoon imparted it to Iliad. l. 7. Europe and Africa. We ſee in Homer, that in the time of the Trojan war, part of the commerce conſiſted in the freight of wines.

The wine was kept in thoſe days in large earthen jars, or in the ſkins of beaſts, which cuſtom continues to this day in countries where wood is not in plenty. It is believed that we are indebted to the Gauls, that ſettled on the banks of the Po, for the uſeful invention of preſerving our wine in veſſels of wood exactly cloſed, and for retaining it with in bounds, notwithſtanding its fermentation and ſtrength. From that time the keeping and tranſporting it became more eaſy, than when it was kept in earthen veſſels, which were liable to be broke; or in bags of ſkin, apt to unſew, or grow mouldy.

Odyſſ. l. 9. v. 197. Homer mentions a very famous wine of Maronæ in Thrace, which would bear mixing with twenty times as much water. But it was common for the natives to drink it unmixed. * Nor have authors been ſilent upon the exceſſive brutalities, to which that nation were ſubject. Pliny tells us, that † Mucianus, who had been thrice Conſul, being in Plin. l. 14. c. 4. that country in his own time, had experienced the truth of what Homer ſays, and ſeen, that in a certain meaſure of wine they put fourſcore times as

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* Natis in uſum lætitiæ ſcyphis
Pugnare Thracum eſt.
Hor. *Od.* 27. l. 1.
With bowls for mirth and joy deſign'd
To fight beſits the Thracian hind.

† *This was the celebrated Mucianus, who had ſo much ſhare in the election of Veſpaſian to the empire.*

much water; which is four times as much as the Grecian poet ſpeaks of.

The ſame author mentions wines much celebrated in Italy, which took their name from Opimius, in whoſe conſulate they were made, which were preſerved to his time, that is, almoſt two hundred years, and were not to be purchaſed for money. A very ſmall quantity of this, mingled with other wines, communicated to them, as was pretended, a very ſurprizing ſtrength and exquiſite flavour. * How great ſoever the reputation of the wines, made in the conſulate of Opimius might be, or in that of Anicius, for the latter were much cried up, Cicero ſet no ſuch great value upon them; and above an hundred years before Pliny writes, he found them too old to be ſupportable. Plin. l. 14. c. 4.

Greece and Italy, which were diſtinguiſhed in ſo many other reſpects, were particularly ſo, by the excellency of their wines.

In Greece, beſides many others, the wines of Cyprus, Leſbos, and Chio, were much celebrated. Thoſe of Cyprus are in great eſteem to this day. † Horace often mentions thoſe of Leſbos, and repreſents them as very wholeſome and agreeable. But Chio carried it from all the other countries, and eclipſed their reputation ſo much, that the inhabitants of that iſland were thought to be the firſt who planted the vine, and taught the uſe of it to other nations. Athen. l. 1. p. 26, 32. ‡ All theſe wines were in ſo great eſteem, and of ſo high a price, that at Rome, ſo late as to the in-

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* Atqui eæ notæ ſunt optimæ credo; ſed nimia vetuſtas nec habet eam, quam quærimus, ſuavitatem, nec eſt ſanè jam tolerabilis. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 287.

† Hic innocentis pocula Leſbii
Duces ſub umbra, *Od.* 7. l. 1.
Beneath the ſhade you here may dine,
And quaff the harmleſs Leſbian wine.

‡ Tanta vino Græco gratia erat, ut ſingulæ portiones in convictu darentur.——L. Lucullus puer apud patrem nunquam lautum convivium vidit, in quo plus ſemel Græcum vinum daretur. *Plin. ex Varro*, l. 14. c. 14.

ſancy of Lucullus, in their greateſt entertainments they drank only one cup of them at the end of the feaſt. Their prevailing qualities were ſweetneſs and a delicious flavour.

Plin. l. 14. c. 12. Pliny was convinced, that the libations of milk inſtituted by Romulus, and Numa's prohibition to honour the dead by pouring wine upon the funeral pile, were proofs that in thoſe days vines were very ſcarce in Italy. They increaſed conſiderably in the following ages; and it is very probable, the Romans were obliged to the Greeks, whoſe vines were in high repute, on that account; as they were, in proceſs of time alſo, for their taſte for arts and ſciences. It was [*] the wines of Italy, in the times of Camillus, that brought the Gauls again thither. The charms of that liquor, which was entirely new to them, were powerful attractions to induce them to quit their country.

Two thirds of all the places famed for the goodneſs of wine were in Italy. [†] The antient cuſtom of that country, which it ſtill retains, was to faſten their [‡] vines to trees, and eſpecially to the poplar, to the tops of which they projected their ſlender circling-branches: this had a very fine effect, and was a moſt agreeable object to the eye. In ſeveral places they made uſe of props as we do.

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[*] Eam gentem (Gallorum) traditur fama, dulcedine frugum, maximéque vini nova tum voluptate captam, Alpes tranſiſſe. *Liv.* l. 5. n. 33.

[†] In Campano agro vites populis nubunt, maritoſque complexæ atque per ramos earum procacibus brachiis geniculato curſu ſcandentes, cacumina æquant. *Plin.* l. 14. c. 1.

[‡] *From this cuſtom three elegant expreſſions in Horace take birth, all derived from the ſame metaphor. He ſays, he* marries *the trees to the vines.* Epod. 2.

Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos.

He calls the ſame trees widowers, *when the vines are no longer faſtened to them.* Od. 5. l. 4. Aut vitem viduas ducit ad arbores. *And gives the name of* batchelors *to the trees which never had the vine annexed to them:* Platanuſque cælebs evincet ulmos. *Od.* 15. l. 2.

The country of Capua alone ſupplied them with the Maſſic, * Calenian, Formian, Cæcuban, and Falernian, ſo much celebrated by Horace. It muſt be allowed, that the goodneſs of the ſoil, and the happy ſituation of all thoſe places, contributed very much to the excellency of theſe wines; but we muſt alſo admit, that they owed it more to the care and induſtry of the huſbandmen, who applied themſelves with the utmoſt attention to the cultivation of the vines. The proof of which is, that in † Pliny's time, which was about an hundred years after Horace, the reputation of theſe wines, formerly ſo famous, was entirely come to nothing, through the negligence and ignorance of the vine-dreſſers, who, blinded by the hope of gain, were more intent upon having a great quantity, than good wine.

Lib. 14. c. 3. Pliny cites ſeveral examples of the extreme difference which cultivation will produce in the ſame land. Amongſt others, he tells us of a celebrated Grammarian, who lived in the reign of Tiberius and Claudius, and purchaſed a vineyard at a ſmall price, which had long been neglected by its antient maſters. The extraordinary care he took of it, and the peculiar manner in which he cultivated it, occaſioned a change in a few years, that ſeemed little leſs than a prodigy; *ad vix credibile miraculum perduxit.* So wonderful a ſucceſs, in the midſt of other vineyards, which were almoſt always barren, drew upon him the envy of all his neighbours;

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* Cæcubum, & prælo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernæ
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles. *Od.* 20. l. 1.
Cæcubus and Calenum join
To fill thy bowls with richeſt wine:
My humble cups do not produce
The Formian or Falernian juice.

† Quod jam intercidit incuria coloni——Cura, culturaque id contigerat. Exoluit hoc quoque culpa (Vinitorum) copiæ potius quam bonitati ſtudentium. *Plin.* l. 14. c. 6.

who, to cover their own ſloth and ignorance, accuſed him of magic and ſorcery.

Athen. l. 1. p. 26. Amongſt the vines of Campania, which I have mentioned, the Falernian was in great vogue. It was very ſtrong and rough, and was not to be drank till it had been kept ten years. To ſoften that roughneſs, and qualify its auſterity, they made uſe of honey, or mingled it with Chio, and by that mixture made it excellent. This ought, in my opinion, to be aſcribed to the refined and delicate taſte of thoſe voluptuous Romans, who, in the latter times, ſpared nothing to exalt the pleaſures of the table, by whatever was moſt agreeable, and moſt capable of gratifying the ſenſes. There were other Falernian wines more temperate and ſoft, but not ſo much eſteemed.

Athen. l. 10. p. 429. The antients, who ſo well knew the excellency of wine, were not ignorant of the dangers attending too free an uſe of it. I need not mention the law of Zaleucus, by which the Epizephyrian Locrians were univerſally forbid the uſe of wine upon pain of death, except in caſe of ſickneſs. The inhabitants of Marſeilles and Melitus ſhewed more moderation and indulgence, and contented themſelves with prohibiting it to women. At * Rome in the early ages, young perſons of liberal condition were not permitted to drink wine till the age of thirty; but as for the women, the uſe of it was abſolutely forbid to them; and the reaſon of that prohibition was, becauſe intemperance of that kind might induce them to commit the moſt exceſſive crimes. Seneca complains bitterly, that this cuſtom was almoſt univerſally violated in his times. The † weak and delicate complexion of the women, ſays he,

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* Vini uſus olim Romanis fœminis ignotus fuit, ne ſcilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur: quia proximus a libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconceſſam venerem eſſe conſuevit. *Val. Max.* l. 1. c. 1.

† Non minus, pervigilant, non minus, potant; & mero viros provocant.

he, is not changed; but their manners are changed, and no longer the ſame. They value themſelves upon carrying exceſs of wine to as great an height as the moſt robuſt men. Like them they paſs whole nights at tables, and, with a full glaſs of unmixed wine in their hands, they glory in vying with them, and, if they can, in overcoming them.

The emperor Domitian paſſed an edict in relation to wine, which ſeemed to have a juſt foundation. One year having produced abundance of wine, and very little corn, he believed they had more occaſion for one than for the other, and therefore decreed, that no more vines ſhould be planted in Italy; and that, in the provinces, at leaſt one half of the vines ſhould be rooted up. Philoſtratus expreſſes himſelf, as if the decree ordained, that they ſhould all be pulled up, at leaſt in Aſia; becauſe, ſays he, the ſeditions, which aroſe in the cities of that province, were attributed to wine. All Aſia deputed Scopelianus to Rome upon that occaſion, who profeſſed eloquence at Smyrna. He ſucceeded ſo well in his remonſtrances, that he obtained not only, that vines ſhould continue to be cultivated, but that thoſe who neglected to do ſo, ſhould be laid under a fine. It is believed, that his principal motive for aboliſhing his edict was the diſperſing of papers with two Greek verſes in them, ſignifying, that, let him do what he would, there would ſtill remain wine enough for the ſacrifice, in which an emperor ſhould be the offering.

Sueton. in Domit. c. 7.

Philoſt. vit. Apollon. l. 6. c. 7.

Sueton. in Domitian. c. 14.

I ſeems, however, ſays Mr. Tillemont, that his edict ſubſiſted throughout the greateſt part of the weſt to the reign of Probus; that is, almoſt two hundred years. That emperor, who after many wars had eſtabliſhed a ſolid peace in the empire, employed the troops in many different works, uſeful to the public; to prevent their growing enervated through ſloth, and that the ſoldier might not eat his pay without deſerving it. So that as Hannibal had formerly planted the whole country of Africa with olive-trees, leſt his ſoldiers, for want of ſomething to do, ſhould form ſeditions; Probus, in like manner, employed his troops in planting vines upon the hills of Gaul, Pannonia, Mæſia, and in many other countries. He permitted in general the Gauls, Pannonians, and Spaniards, to have as many vines as they thought fit; whereas, from the time of Domitian, that permiſſion had not been granted to any nation of the world.

SECT. II.

Produce of the vines in Italy in Columella's time.

BEFORE I conclude this article upon vines, I cannot omit extracting a paſſage of Columella, which explains what profit was made of them in his time. He enters, for this purpoſe, into a detail, which ſeemed ſufficiently curious to me, and makes an exact calculation of the expence and produce of a vineyard of ſeven acres. His deſign is to prove, that the cultivation of vines is more beneficial than any other kind of huſbandry, and than that of corn itſelf. That might be true in his times, but it is not ſo in ours, at leaſt in the general opinion. This difference ariſes, perhaps, from the various accidents to which the vine is ſubject in France, froſts, rains, blights, which are not ſo much to be apprehended in hot countries. To theſe may be added the high price of caſks in plentiful years, which ſwallows up the greateſt part of the vine-dreſſer's profit; and the cuſtoms, which very much diminiſh the price of wines. Even amongſt the antients, all were not of Columella's opinion. * Cato, indeed, gave vines the firſt rank, but thoſe only which produced the moſt excellent liquor, and in great abundance. With the ſame conditions we ſtill think in the ſame manner. Many gave the preference to paſture lands; and their principal reaſon was, that the charges in the culture of vines were almoſt equal to their produce.

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* Cato quidem dicit [primum agrum eſſe] ubi vineæ poſſunt eſſe bono vino & multo——Alii dant primatum bonis pratis—Vineam ſunt qui putent ſumptu fructum devorare. *Varr. de re ruſtic.* l. 1. c. 7, 8.

I. *The charges neceſſary for ſeven acres of vines.*

Theſe are,	*livres.*
1. For the purchaſe of a ſlave, whoſe labour ſufficed for the cultivation of ſeven acres of vines, eight thouſand ſeſtertii	1000
2. For a land of ſeven acres, ſeven thouſand ſeſtertii — — — — — —	875
3. For the props and other neceſſary expences for ſeven acres, fourteen thouſand ſeſtertii — — — — —	1750
Theſe three ſums, added together, amount to twenty-nine thouſand ſeſtertii —	3625
4. For the intereſt of the aforeſaid ſum of twenty-nine thouſand ſeſtertii for two years, during which the land does not bear, and the money lies dead, three thouſand four hundred and fourſcore ſeſtertii — — — — — —	486
The total of the expence amounts to thirty-two thouſand, four hundred and eighty ſeſtertii — — — — — —	4060

II. *Produce of ſeven acres of vines.*

The yearly produce of ſeven acres of vines is ſix thouſand three hundred ſeſterces: that is, ſeven hundred fourſcore and ſeven livres ten ſols. Of which what follows is the proof.

The *Culeus* is a meaſure which contains twenty *amphoræ*, or forty *urnæ*. The *Amphora* contains twenty-ſix quarts, and ſomewhat more. The *Culeus*, in conſequence, contains five hundred and twenty quarts, which make two hogſheads of the Paris meaſure, wanting fifty-ſix quarts.

The loweſt value of the *Culeus* is three hundred ſeſtertii; that is to ſay, thirty ſeven livres ten ſols. The leaſt produce of each acre was three *Culei*, which were worth nine hundred ſeſtertii, * or an hundred and twelve livres ten ſols. The ſeven acres therefore produced a profit of ſix thouſand three hundred ſeſtertii, which make ſeven hundred fourſcore and ſeven livres ten ſols.

The intereſt of the total expence, which is thirty-two thouſand four hundred and fourſcore ſeſtertii, that is, four thouſand and ſixty livres; this intereſt, I ſay, at ſix *per cent. per annum*, amounts to one thouſand, nine hundred and forty-four ſeſtertii, or ſomething more, or two hundred and forty
243 l. three livres. The intereſt of the ſame ſum, ariſing from the annual produce of a vineyard of ſeven
787 l. acres, is ſix thouſand three hundred ſeſtertii; that is, ſeven hundred fourſcore and ſeven livres ten pence. From whence may be ſeen, how much the latter intereſt exceeds the former, which was, however, the common intereſt of money. This is what Columella would prove.

Beſides this produce, Columella reckons another
Vivi radices. profit ariſing from *Layers*. The layer is a young ſhoot or branch of a vine, which is ſet in the earth, where it takes root in order for the propagation of the plant. Each acre produced yearly ten thouſand of theſe layers at leaſt, which ſold for three thouſand ſeſtertii, or three hundred and ſeventy-five livres. The layers produced therefore from the ſeven acres, twenty-one thouſand ſeſtertii, or two thouſand ſix hundred and twenty livres. Columella computes the produce of theſe layers at the loweſt value; for

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* *Columella obſerves, that each acre of Seneca's vineyards produced eight* Culei, l. 3. c. 3. *And Varro, that in many places an acre produced from ten to fifteen,* l. 1. c. 2.

as to himſelf, he aſſures us, his own vineyards produced regularly twice as much. He ſpeaks only of the vines of Italy, and not of thoſe of other provinces.

Adding the produce of the wine to that of the plants or layers, the profit upon ſeven acres of vines amounted to three thouſand four hundred livres.

The produce of theſe layers, unknown to our vine-dreſſers, proceeded, no doubt, from the vines being very rare in a great number of provinces; and, the reputation of the vines of Italy having ſpread univerſally, people came from all parts to buy thoſe layers, and to enable themſelves, by their means, to plant good vineyards in places which had none before, or which had only ſuch as were indifferent.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the breeding of cattle.

I Have ſaid, that the breeding of cattle is a part of agriculture. It certainly is an eſſential part of it, not only becauſe cattle, from the abundance of the dung, ſupply the earth with the manure, which is neceſſary to the preſervation and renovation of its vigour, but becauſe they ſhare with man in the labours of huſbandry, and ſpare him the greateſt part of the toil. * Hence it was that the ox, the laborious companion of man in tilling the ground, was ſo highly conſidered by the antients, that whoever had killed one of them, was puniſhed with death, as if he had killed a citizen; no doubt, becauſe he was eſteemed a ſort of murtherer of the human race, whoſe nouriſhment and life ſtand in abſolute need of the aid of this animal.

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* Bos laborioſiſſimus hominis ſocius agricultura cujus tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio, ut tam capitale eſſet bovem neceſſe quam civem. *Colum. in præf.* l. 6.

The * farther we look back into antiquity, the more we are aſſured, that in all nations the breeding of cattle produced conſiderable revenues, without ſpeaking of Abraham, whoſe numerous family of domeſtics ſhews the multitude of his flocks and herds, or of his kinſman Laban; the holy Scripture obſerves, that the greateſt part of Job's riches conſiſted in cattle; and that he poſſeſſed ſeven thouſand ſheep, three thouſand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred ſhe-aſſes. Job i. 3.

It was by this the land of Promiſe, though of very moderate extent, enriched its princes, and the inhabitants of the country, whoſe numbers were incredible, amounting to more than three millions of ſouls, including women and children.

2 Kings iii. 4. We read that Ahab, king of Iſrael, impoſed an annual tribute upon the Moabites, whom he had conquered, of an hundred thouſand ſheep. How much muſt this number have multiplied in a ſhort time, and what abundance occaſioned throughout the whole country!

2 Chron. xxvi. 10. The holy Scripture, in repreſenting Uzziah as a prince accompliſhed for every part of a wiſe government, does not fail to inform us, that he had a great number of huſbandmen and vineyards, and that he fed abundance of cattle. He cauſed great incloſures to be made in the countries, and vaſt houſes for fothering the flocks and herds, with lodges, fortified with towers, for the ſhepherds to retire to with their flocks, and to ſecure them againſt irruptions; he alſo took care to have great numbers of ciſterns cut for watering the flocks; works not ſo ſplendid, but no leſs eſtimable than the moſt ſuperb palaces. It was, without doubt, the particular protection, which he gave to all who were employed in the cultivation of lands, or the

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* In ruſticatione vel antiquiſſima eſt ratio paſcendi, eademque & quæſtuoſiſſima. *Ibid.*

breeding of cattle, that rendered his reign one of the moſt opulent Judæa had ever ſeen. And he did thus, ſaith the Scripture, *becauſe he loved huſbandry: Erat enim homo agriculturæ deditus.* The text is ſtill ſtronger in the Hebrew; *quia diligebat terram, becauſe he loved the ground.* He took delight in it; perhaps cultivated it with his own hands; at leaſt, he made huſbandry honourable, he knew all the value of it, and was ſenſible that the earth, manured with diligence and ſkill, was an aſſured ſource of riches both to the prince and people; he therefore thought attention to huſbandry one of the principal duties of the ſovereignty, though often the moſt neglected.

The Scripture ſays alſo of the holy King Hezekiah, *Moreover he provided him cities and poſſeſſions of flocks and herds in abundance, for God had given him ſubſtance very much.* 2 Chron. xxxii. 29. It is eaſy to conceive, that the ſhearing of ſheep alone, without mentioning other advantages from them, could not but produce a very conſiderable revenue in the country, where an almoſt innumerable multitude were continually fed. And hence we find, that the time for ſhearing of ſheep was a ſeaſon of feſtivity and rejoicing.

Amongſt the antient Pagans, the riches of the kings conſiſted in cattle; as we find from Latinus in Virgil, and Ulyſſes in Homer. It was the ſame amongſt the Romans, who, by the antient laws, did not pay fines in money, but in oxen and ſheep.

We muſt not be ſurpriſed, after having conſidered the great advantages produced by the breeding and feeding of cattle, that ſo wiſe a man as Varro has not diſdained to give us an extenſive account of all the beaſts that are of any uſe to the country, either for tillage, breed, or for carriage, and the other conveniencies of man. He ſpeaks firſt of ſmall cattle, ſheep, goats, and hogs: *greges.* He proceeds next to the large beaſts, oxen, aſſes, horſes, and camels: *armenta.* And he concludes with fowl, which may be called domeſtic animals, *villaticæ pecudes*; pigeons, turtle-doves, fowls, geeſe, and many others. Columella enters into the ſame detail; and Cato the cenſor runs over part of it. The latter, upon being aſked what was the ſureſt and ſhorteſt method to enrich a country, replied, the feeding of cattle, which is attended with an infinity of advantages to thoſe who apply themſelves to it with diligence and induſtry.

Columel. præf. l. 6.

And, indeed, the beaſts, that labour in the field, render mankind continual and important ſervices; and the advantages he reaps from them, do not conclude even with their lives. They ſhare with him, or rather ſpare him the moſt laborious part of the work, without which the earth, however fruitful in itſelf, would continue barren, and not produce him any increaſe. They ſerve him in bringing home with ſafety into his houſe, the riches he has amaſſed without doors, and to carry him on his journies. Many of them cover his table with milk, cheeſe, wholeſome food, and even the moſt exquiſite diſhes; and ſupply him with the rich materials of the ſtuffs he is in want of for cloathing himſelf, and with a thouſand other conveniencies of life.

We ſee, from what has been ſaid hitherto, that the country covered with corn, wine, flocks, and herds, is a real Peru to man, and a much more valuable and eſtimable one, than that from whence he extracts gold and ſilver, which, without the other, would not preſerve him from periſhing with hunger, thirſt, and cold. Placed in the midſt of a fertile territory, he beholds around him at one view all his riches; and, without quitting his little empire, he finds immenſe and innocent treaſures within his reach. Theſe he regards, no doubt, as gifts from the liberal hand of that ſupreme Maſter, to whom he is indebted for all things; but he regards them alſo as the fruits of his own labour, and that renders them ſtill more grateful to him.

SECT. V.

Innocency and pleaſure of a rural life, and of agriculture.

THE revenues and profits which ariſe from the culture of lands, are neither the ſole, nor the greateſt advantage accruing from it. All the authors, who have wrote upon * rural life, have always ſpoken of it with the higheſt praiſes, as of a wiſe and happy ſtate, which inclines a man to juſtice, temperance, ſobriety, ſincerity, and, in a word, to every virtue; which in a manner ſhelters him from all paſſions, by keeping him within the limits of his duty, and of a daily employment, that leaves him little leiſure for vices: luxury, avarice, injuſtice, violence, and ambition, the almoſt inſeparable companions of riches, take up their ordinary reſidence in great cities, which ſupply them with the means and occaſions: the hard and laborious life of the country does not admit of theſe vices. This gave room for the poets to feign, that Aſtræa, the goddeſs of juſtice, had her laſt reſidence there, before ſhe intirely quitted the earth.

We ſee in Cato the form of a prayer uſed by the country-people, wherein may be diſcerned the precious tokens of the antient tradition of men, who attributed every thing to God, and addreſſed themſelves to him in all their temporal neceſſities, becauſe they knew he preſided over all things, and that all things depended on him. I ſhall repeat a good part of it, and hope it will not be unacceptable. It is in a ceremony, called *Solitaurilia*, and, according to ſome, *Suovetaurilia*, in which the country-people made a proceſſion round their lands, and offered libations and ſacrifices to certain gods.

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* In urbe luxuries creatur: ex luxuria exiſtat avaritia neceſſe eſt: ex avaritia erumpat audacia: inde omnia ſcelera gignuntur—In ruſticis moribus, in victu arido, in hac horrida incultaque vita iſtiuſmodi maleficia gigni non ſolunt——Cupiditates porro quæ poſſunt eſſe in eo, qui ruri ſemper habitârit, & in agro colendo vixerit? Quæ vita maximè disjuncta a cupiditate, & cum officio conjuncta——Vita autem ruſtica parſimoniæ, diligentiæ, juſtitiæ, magiſtra eſt. *Cic. pro Roſc. Amer.* n. 39. & 75.

" Father Mars, ſaid the ſuppliant, I humbly " implore and conjure you to be propitious and " favourable to me, my family, and all my do-" meſtics, in regard to the occaſion of the preſent " proceſſion in the fields, lands, and eſtate: To " prevent, avert, and remove from us all diſeaſes " known and unknown, deſolations, ſtorms, cala-" mities, and peſtilential air: to make our plants, " corn, vines, and trees, grow and come to per-" fection: to preſerve our ſhepherds and flocks: " To grant thy preſervation of life and health to " me, my family, and all my domeſtics." What a reproach is it that Chriſtians, and often thoſe who have the greateſt ſhare in the goods of this world, ſhould in theſe days be ſo little careful to demand them from God, and be aſhamed to thank him for them! Amongſt the Pagans all their meals began and ended with prayers, which are now baniſhed from almoſt all our tables.

Columel. l. 1. c. 8. Columella enters into a detail upon the duties of the maſter or farmer, in regard to his domeſtics, which ſeems full of reaſon and humanity. " Care " ought to be taken, ſays he, that they are well " clad, but without finery: that they are defended " againſt the wind, cold, and rain. In directing " them, a * medium ſhould be obſerved between " too great indulgence and exceſſive rigour, in " order to make them rather fear, than experience, " ſeverities and chaſtiſements; and they ſhould be " prevented from doing amiſs by diligence, and " their maſter's preſence: for good conduct con-" ſiſts in preventing, inſtead of puniſhing, faults. Ibid. l. 12. " When they are ſick, care ſhould be taken, that

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* *The lands were cultivated by ſlaves.*

" they are well tended, and that they want for " nothing; which is the certain means to make " their buſineſs grateful to them." He recommends alſo the ſame uſage of ſlaves, who often worked laden with chains, and who were generally treated with great rigour.

Colum. in præf. l. 12.

What he ſays, with regard to the miſtreſs of a country-family, is very remarkable: Providence, in uniting man and woman, intended they ſhould be a mutual ſupport to each other, and for that reaſon aſſigned to each of them their peculiar functions. The man, deſigned for buſineſs without doors, is obliged to expoſe himſelf to heat and cold; to undertake voyages by ſea, and journeys by land; to ſupport the labours of peace and war; that is, to apply himſelf to the works of the field, and in carrying arms: all exerciſes which require a body robuſt, and capable of bearing fatigues. The woman, on the contrary, too weak to ſuſtain theſe offices, is reſerved for affairs within doors. The care of the houſe is confided to her; and as the proper qualities for her employment are attention and exactneſs, and as fear renders us more exact and attentive, it was neceſſary that the woman ſhould be more timorous. On the contrary, becauſe the man acts and labours almoſt always without doors, and is often obliged to defend himſelf againſt injuries, God has infuſed into him boldneſs and courage. Hence * in all ages, both amongſt the Greeks and Romans, the government of the houſe devolved upon the women, that their huſbands, after having tranſacted their buſineſs abroad, might return to their houſes free from all cares, and find a perfect tranquillity at home.

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* Nam & apud Græcos, & mox apud Romanos uſque in patrum noſtrorum memoriam, fere domeſticis labor matronalis fuit, tanquam ad requiem forenſium exercitationum omni cura depoſita patribusfamilias intra domeſticos penates recipientibus.

This is what Horace deſcribes ſo elegantly in one of his odes*, which Dryden tranſlates thus:

But if a chaſte and pleaſing wife,
To eaſe the bus'neſs of his life,
Divides with him his houſhold care,
Such as the Sabine matrons were,
Such as the ſwift Apulian's bride.
Sun burnt and ſwarthy though ſhe be,
Will fire for winter's nights provide,
And without noiſe will overſee
His children and his family;
And order all things till he come,
Sweaty, and over-labour'd, home;
If ſhe in pens his flock will fold,
And then produce her dairy ſtore,
And wine to drive away the cold,
And unbought dainties of the poor, &c.

The antients ſeem to have excelled themſelves in treating this on ſubject, ſo many fine thoughts and beautiful expreſſions it ſupplies. *Mr. Rollin gives here a proſe tranſlation of the paſſage at bottom, in the Georgics; which, it was conceived, would be no leſs agreeable in Mr. Dryden's Verſion:*

† *O happy, if he knew his happy ſtate,*
The ſwain, who, free from bus'neſs and debate,
Receives

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* Quod ſi pudica mulier in partem juvet
Domum atque dulces liberos,
(Sabina qualis aut peruſta ſolibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli)
Sacrum vetuſtis extruat lignis focum
Laſſi ſub adventum viri;
Claudenſque textis cratibus lætum pecus,
Diſtenta ſiccet ubera,
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio,
Dapes inemptas apparet, &c. Hor. *Ep.* 2.

† O fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona nôrint,
Agricolas! quibus ipſa, procul diſcordibus armis,
Fundit

Receives his eaſy food from nature's hand,
And juſt returns of cultivated land.
No palace, &c.
But eaſy, quiet, a ſecure retreat,
A harmleſs life, that knows not how to cheat,
With home-bred plenty the rich owner bleſs,
And rural pleaſures crown his happineſs.
Unvex'd with quarrels, undiſturb'd with noiſe,
The country king his peaceful realm enjoys:
Cool grots, and living lakes, the flow'ry pride
Of meads, and ſtreams, that thro' the valleys glide;
And ſhady groves, that eaſy ſleep invite,
And, after toilſome days, a ſoft repoſe at night.
Wild beaſts of nature in his woods abound,
And youth, of labour patient, plough the ground,
Inur'd, to hardſhip, and to homely fare.
Nor venerable age is wanting there
In great examples to the youthful train:
Nor are the Gods ador'd with rites prophane.
From hence Aſtræa took her flight, and here
The prints of her departing ſteps appear.
Georg. Lib. II. l. 439.

The fine deſcription Cicero gives us, in his eſſay upon old-age, of the manner in which corn and grapes gradually arrive at perfect maturity, ſhews his taſte for a country life, and inſtructs us, at the ſame time, in what manner we ought to conſider thoſe wonderful productions, that merit our admiration no leſs from their being common and

Fundit humo facilem victum juſtiſſima tellus.
Si non, &c.
At ſecura quies, & neſcia fallere vita,
Dives opum variarum; at latis otia fundis,
Speluncæ, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
Mugituſque boum, molleſque ſub arbore ſomni
Non abſunt: illic ſaltus ac luſtra ferarum,
Et patiens operum, parvoque aſſueta juventus,
Sacra Deûm, ſanctique patres. Extrema per illos
Juſtitia excedens terris veſtigia fecit.
Virg. Georg. l. 2.

annual. And, indeed, if a ſimple deſcription gives ſo much pleaſure, what effect, in a mind rationally curious, ought the reality itſelf to have, and the actual view of what paſſes in vines and fields of corn, till the fruits of both are brought in and laid up in cellars and barns? And as much may be ſaid of all the other riches, with which the earth annually cloaths herſelf.

This is what makes reſidence in the country ſo agreeable and delightful, and ſo much the deſire of magiſtrates and perſons employed in ſerious and important affairs. Tired and fatigued with the continual cares of the city, they naturally cry out with Horace: * " O country, when ſhall I ſee you? " When will it be allowed me to forget, in thy " charming retreats, my cares and ſolicitude, either " in amuſing myſelf with the books of the antients, " or enjoying the pleaſure of having nothing to " do, or repoſing myſelf in ſweet ſlumber?" The pureſt pleaſures, are no doubt, to be found there. The country ſeems, according to the happy expreſſion of the ſame poet, to † reſtore us to ourſelves, in relieving us from a kind of ſlavery, and in placing us where we may juſtly be ſaid to live and reign. We enter, in a manner, into a converſation with the trees and plants; we queſtion them; we make them give us an account of the fruits they

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* O rus, quando ego te aſpiciam, quandoque licebit
Nunc veterum libris, nunc ſomno, & inertibus horis,
Ducere ſollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?

O rural ſcenes, and O ſerene abodes,
Wherein we ſeem to emulate the gods,
When, void of care, of paſſion, and of ſtrife,
And all the buſy ills of tedious life,
With you my happy hours ſhall I employ
In ſweet viciſſitudes of reſt and joy,
In books that raiſe the Soul, and learned eaſe,
In ſleep, in leiſure, and in what I pleaſe? Paraph.

† Vilice ſylvarum, & mihi me reddentis agelli.
HOR. *Ep.* 14. l. 1.

Vivo & regno, ſimul iſta reliqui, &c.
HOR. *Ep.* 10. l. 1.

produce, and receive ſuch excuſes as they have to make, when defective in bearing*: alledging ſometimes the great rains, ſometimes exceſſive heats, ſometimes the ſeverity of the cold. It is Horace who lends them this language.

All I have ſaid ſufficiently implies, that I ſpeak no longer of that painful and laborious tillage, to which man was at firſt condemned: but that I have another in view, intended for his pleaſure, and to employ him with delight; an employment perfectly conformable to his original inſtitution, and the deſign of his Creator, as it was commanded Adam immediately after his formation. In effect, it ſeems to ſuggeſt to us the idea of the terreſtrial paradiſe, and to partake, in ſome meaſure, of the happy ſimplicity and innocence which reigned there. We find that in all times, it has been the moſt grateful amuſement of princes, and the moſt powerful kings. Without mentioning the famous hanging gardens, with which Babylon was adorned, the Scripture informs us, that Ahaſuerus (Darius, ſon of Darius Hyſtaſpes) had planted part of the trees of his garden, and that he cultivated it with his own royal hands: *Juſſit convivium præparari in* Eſther i. 5. *veſtibulo horti & nemoris, quod regio cultu & manu conſitum erat.* [*I do not find the latter part of this text in the Engliſh Bible.*] We have ſaid, that Cyrus the younger anſwered Lyſander, who admired the beauty, œconomy, and diſpoſition of his gardens, that himſelf had drawn the plan, laid them out, and planted many of the trees with his own hands: *Ego omnia iſta ſum dimenſus: mei ſunt ordines, mea* Cic. de *deſcriptio: multæ etiam iſtarum arborum mea manu ſunt* Senec. tut. *ſatæ.* n. 59.

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* Funduſque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sidera, nunc hiemes iniquas. Hor. *Od.* 1. l. 3.
When the land fails, and in its fruits,
Againſt the ſhow'ry skies imputes,
Or the whole blame with equal reaſon caſts
On ſummer's ſultry ſuns, or winter's fatal blaſts.

We ſhould never be willing to quit ſo delightful a reſidence, were it poſſible for us to poſſeſs it always; and have endeavoured, at leaſt for our conſolation, to impoſe a kind of illuſion upon ourſelves, by tranſporting the country in a manner into the midſt of cities; not a ſimple and almoſt wild country, but a trimmed, laid out, embelliſhed, I had almoſt ſaid, painted country. I mean thoſe adorned and elegant gardens, which preſent ſo grateful and ſplendid a view to our eyes. What beauty, riches, abundance, variety of ſweets, colours and objects! To ſee * the invariable conſtancy and regularity of flowers, in ſucceeding each other, (and as much may be ſaid of fruits) one would think that the earth, attentive to pleaſing its maſter, endeavours to perpetuate her preſents, by continually paying him the new tributes of every ſeaſon. What a throng of reflexions does not this ſuggeſt to a curious, and ſtill more to a religious, mind!

Pliny, after having confeſſed, that no eloquence was capable of expreſſing duly the incredible abundance and wonderful variety of the riches and beauties, which nature ſeems to ſpread with complacency and delight throughout gardens, adds a very juſt and inſtructive remark. † He obſerves upon the difference nature has made, as to the duration of trees and flowers. To the trees and plants deſigned for the nouriſhment of man with their fruits, and for the ſtructure of ſhips and edifices, ſhe has granted years, and even ages of time. To flowers and ſweets, which ſerve only for pleaſure, ſhe has given only ſome moments and days of life;

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* Sed illa quanta benignitas naturæ, quod tam multa ad veſcendum, tam varia, tamque jucunda gignit; neque ea uno tempore anni, ut ſemper & novitate delectemur, & copia. *Cic. de nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 131.

† Quippe reliqua uſus alimentique gratia genuit: ideoque ſeculæ annoſque tribuit iis. Flores vero odoreſque in diem gignit: magna, ut palam eſt, admonitione hominum, quæ ſpectatiſſimè floreant celerrime marceſſere. *Plin.* l. 2. c. 1.

as if ſhe intended to admoniſh us, that what is moſt ſhining and ſplendid ſooneſt fades, and paſſes away with rapidity. Malherbe expreſſes this latter thought in a very lively manner, where he deplores the death of a very young and beautiful perſon:

Et roſe ella a vecu ce qui vivant les roſes,
L'eſpace d'un matin.
And liv'd a roſe, as roſes live,
A ſingle morning's ſpace.

It is the great advantage of agriculture to be more ſtrictly united with religion and alſo moral virtue, than any other art; which made Cicero ſay, as we have ſeen, that a country life came neareſt to that of the wiſe man; that is, it was a kind of practical philoſophy.

To conclude this ſmall treatiſe where I began it, it muſt be confeſſed, that, of all human employments, which have no immediate relation to God and juſtice, the moſt innocent is agriculture. It was, as has been ſaid, that of the firſt man in his ſtate of innocence and duty. It afterwards became part of the penance impoſed on him by God. So that, both in the ſtates of innocence and ſin, * it was commanded to him, and in his perſon to all his deſcendants. It is, however, become, in the judgment of pride, the meaneſt and moſt contemptible of employments: and, whilſt uſeleſs arts, which conduce only to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, are protected and honoured, all thoſe who labour for the welfare and happineſs of others are abandoned to poverty and miſery.

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* *Hate not laborious work, nor the huſbandry, which the moſt High hath created.* Eccleſiaſt. vii. 15.

CHAPTER II.

OF COMMERCE.

ARTICLE I.

Excellency and advantages of commerce.

IT may be ſaid, without fear of being ſuſpected of exaggeration, that commerce is the moſt ſolid foundation of civil ſociety, and the moſt neceſſary principle to unite all men, of whatever country or condition they are, with each other. By its means the whole world is but one city, and one family. It is the ſource of univerſal plenty to every part of it. The riches of one nation become thoſe of all people, and no country is barren, or at leaſt ſenſible of its ſterility. All its neceſſities are provided for in time from the extremities of the univerſe; and every region is amazed to find itſelf abound in foreign productions, and inriched with a thouſand commodities, unknown to itſelf, and which however compoſe all that is moſt agreeable in life. It is by the commerce of the ſea and rivers, that is to ſay, by navigation, that God has united all mankind amongſt themſelves in ſo wonderful a manner, by teaching them * to direct and govern the two moſt violent things in nature, the ſea and the winds, and to ſubſtitute them to their uſes and occaſions. He has joined the moſt remote people by this means, and preſerved, amongſt the different nations, an image of the dependance he has ordained,

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* Quas res violentiſſimas natura genuit, earum moderationem nos ſoli habemus, maris atque ventorum, propter nauticarum rerum ſcientiam. *Cic. de Nat. deor.* l. 2. p. 15.

dained in the ſeveral parts of the ſame body by the veins and arteries.

This is but a weak, a ſlight idea, of the advantages ariſing from commerce to ſociety in general. With the leaſt attention to particulars, what wonders might we not diſcover? But this is not the proper place for ſuch inquiries. I ſhall confine myſelf to one reflection, which ſeems very proper for our underſtanding at once the weakneſs and grandeur of man.

I ſhall conſider him at firſt in the higheſt degree of elevation to which he is capable of attaining, I mean upon the throne: lodged in ſuperb palaces; ſurrounded with all the ſplendor of the royal dignity; honoured and almoſt adored by throngs of courtiers, who tremble in his preſence; placed in the centre of riches and pleaſures, which vie with each other for his favour; and ſupported by numerous armies, who wait only to obey his orders. Behold the weight of human greatneſs! But what becomes of this ſo powerful, ſo awful, prince, if commerce happens to ceaſe on a ſudden; if he is reduced to himſelf, to his own induſtry and perſonal endeavours? Abandoned to himſelf in this manner; diveſted of that pompous outſide, which is not him, and is abſolutely foreign to his perſon; deprived of the ſupport of others, he falls back into his native miſery and indigence; and, to ſum up all in a word, he is no longer any thing.

Let us now conſider man in a mean condition, inhabiting a little houſe; reduced to ſubſiſt on a little bread, meat, and drink; covered with the plaineſt cloaths; and enjoying, in his family, not without difficulty, the other conveniencies of life. What ſeeming ſolitude, what a forlorn ſtate, what oblivion ſeems he in, with regard to all other mortals! We are much deceived, when we think in this manner. The whole univerſe is attentive to him. A thouſand hands work for his occaſions, and to cloath and nouriſh him. For him manufactures are eſtabliſhed, granaries and cellars filled with corn and wine, and different metals extracted from the bowels of the earth with ſo much danger and difficulty.

There is nothing, even to the things that miniſter to pleaſure and voluptuouſneſs, which the moſt remote nations are not ſollicitous to transfer to him through the moſt ſtormy ſeas. Such are the ſupplies, which commerce, or to ſpeak more properly, Divine Providence, always employed for our occaſions, continually procures for us all, for each of us in particular: ſupplies, which to judge aright of them, are, in a manner, miraculous, which ought to fill us with perpetual admiration, and make us cry out with the prophet, in the tranſports of a lively gratitude: *O Lord, what is man, that thou art mindful of him, or the ſon of man that thou viſiteſt him?* Pſal. viii. 4.

It would be to no purpoſe for us to ſay, that we have no obligation for thoſe who labour for us in this manner, becauſe their particular intereſt puts them in motion. This is true; but is their work therefore of leſs advantage to us? God, to whom alone it belongs to produce good from evil itſelf, makes uſe of the covetouſneſs of ſome for the benefit of others. It is with this view providence has eſtabliſhed ſo wonderful a diverſity of conditions amongſt us, and has diſtributed the goods of life with ſo prodigious an inequality. If all men were eaſy in their fortunes, were rich and opulent, who amongſt us would give himſelf the trouble to till the earth, to dig in the mine, or to croſs the ſeas? Poverty or covetouſneſs charge themſelves with theſe laborious, but uſeful toils. From whence it is plain, that all mankind, rich or poor, powerful or impotent, kings or ſubjects, have a mutual dependance upon each other for the demands of life; the poor not being able to live without the rich, nor the rich without the labour of the poor. And it is commerce, ſubſiſting from theſe different intereſts, which ſupplies mankind with all their neceſſities, and, at the ſame time, with all their conveniencies.

ARTICLE II.

Antiquity of commerce. Countries and cities moſt famed for it.

IT is very probable, that commerce is no leſs antient than agriculture. It begun, as was natural, between private perſons, mankind aſſiſting each other with whatſoever they had of uſeful and neceſſary to human life. Cain, no doubt, ſupplied Abel with corn, and the fruits of the earth for his food: and Abel, in exchange, ſupplied Cain with ſkins and fleeces for his cloathing, and with milk, curds, and perhaps meat for his table. Tubalcain, ſolely employed in works of copper and iron, for the various uſes and occaſions of life, and for arms to defend men, either againſt human enemies or wild beaſts, was certainly obliged to exchange his braſs and iron works for other merchandiſe, neceſſary to feeding, cloathing, and lodging him. Commerce afterwards, extending gradually from neighbour to neighbour, eſtabliſhed itſelf between cities and adjacent countries, and, after the deluge, enlarged its bounds to the extremities of the world.

The holy Scripture gives us a very antient example of traffic by the caravans of the Iſhmaelites and Midianites, to whom Joſeph was ſold by his brethren. They were upon their return from Gilead, with their camels laden with ſpices, aromatic goods, and with other precious merchandiſe of that country. Theſe they were carrying into Egypt, where there was a great demand for them, occa- Gen. xxvii. 25.

ſioned

ſioned by their cuſtom of embalming the bodies of men, after their death, with great care and expence.

Homer * informs us, that it was the cuſtom of the heroic age of the ſiege of Troy, for the different nations to exchange the things that were moſt neceſſary for life with each other; a proof, ſays Pliny, that it was rather neceſſity than avarice, that gave birth to this primitive commerce. We read, in the ſeventh book of the Iliad, that upon the arrival of certain veſſels, the troops went in crowds to purchaſe wine, ſome with copper, and others with iron, ſkins, oxen, and ſlaves.

We find no navigators in hiſtory ſo antient as the Egyptians and Phœnicians. Theſe two neighbouring nations ſeem to have divided the commerce by ſea between them: the Egyptians had poſſeſſed themſelves chiefly of the trade of the Eaſt, by the Red ſea; and the Phœnicians of that of the Weſt, by the Mediterranean.

What fabulous authors ſay of Oſiris, who is the Bacchus of the Greeks, that he undertook the conqueſt of the Indies, as Seſoſtris did afterwards, makes it probable, that the Egyptians carried on a great trade with the Indians.

As the commerce of the Phœnicians was much more to the weſt than that of the Egyptians, it is no wonder that they are more celebrated upon that account by the Greek and Roman authors. Herodotus ſays, that they were the carriers of the merchandiſe of Egypt and Aſſyria, and tranſacted all their trade for them, as if the Egyptians had not employed themſelves in it; and that they have been believed the inventors of traffic and navigation, though the Egyptians have a more legitimate claim to that glory.

Herod. l. 1. c. 1.

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* Quantum feliciore ævo, cum res ipſæ permutabantur inter ſeſe, ſicut & Trojanis temporibus factitatum Homero credi convenit! Ita enim, ut opinor, commercia victûs gratiâ inventa. Alios coriis boum, alios ferro captiviſque rebus emptitaſſe tradit. *Plin.* l. 33. c. 1.

glory. Certain it is, the Phœnicians diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt by antient commerce, and are alſo a proof to what an height of glory, power, and wealth, a nation is capable of raiſing itſelf only by trade.

This people poſſeſſed a narrow track of land upon the ſea-coaſt, and Tyre itſelf was built in a very poor ſoil; and, had it been richer and more fertile, it would not have been ſufficient for the ſupport of the great number of inhabitants, which the early ſucceſs of its commerce drew thither.

Two advantages made them amends for this defect. They had excellent ports upon the coaſts of their ſmall ſtate, particularly that of their capitol; and they had naturally ſo happy a genius for trade, that they were looked upon as the inventors of commerce by ſea, eſpecially of that carried on by long voyages.

The Phœnicians knew ſo well how to improve both theſe advantages, that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the ſea, and of trade. Libanus, and other neighbouring mountains, ſupplying them with excellent timber for building of veſſels, in a little time they fitted out numerous fleets of merchant-ſhips, which hazarded voyages into unknown regions, in order to eſtabliſh a trade with them. They did not confine themſelves to the coaſts and ports of the Mediterranean, they entered the ocean by the ſtreights of Cadiz or Gibraltar, and extended their correſpondence to the right and left. As their people multiplied almoſt infinitely, by the great number of ſtrangers, whom the deſire of gain, and the certain opportunity of inriching themſelves, drew to their city, they ſaw themſelves in a condition to plant many remote colonies, and particularly the famous one of Carthage, which, retaining the Phœnician ſpirit, with regard to traffic, did not give place to Tyre itſelf in trading, and ſurpaſſed it exceedingly by the extent of dominion, and the glory of military expeditions.

The degree of glory and power, to which commerce and navigation had elevated the city of Tyre, rendered it ſo famous, that we could ſcarce believe there is no exaggeration in what profane authors report of it, if the prophets themſelves had not ſpoken of it with ſtill greater magnificence. Tyre, ſays Ezekiel, to give us ſome idea of its power, is a ſuperb veſſel. *They have made all thy ſhip-boards of fir-trees of Senir*; *they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make maſts for thee. Of the oaks of Baſhan have they made thine oars: the company of the Aſhurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the iſles of Chittim. Fine linnen, with broidered work from Egypt, was that which thou ſpreadeſt forth to be thy ſail: blue and purple from the iſles of Eliſha was that which covered thee. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners: thy wiſe men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots.* The prophet, by this figurative language, deſigns to ſhew us the power of this city. But he gives, with more energy, a circumſtantial account of the different people with whom it traded. The merchandiſes of the whole earth ſeemed to be laid up in this city, and the reſt of the world appeared leſs its allies than tributaries.

Ezekiel, ch. xxvii. v. 5—10.

Id. v. 20—24.

The Carthaginians trafficked with Tyre for all ſorts of riches, and filled its markets with ſilver, iron, pewter, and lead. Greece, * Tubal and Meſhech, brought it ſlaves, and veſſels of copper. † Togarmah ſupplied it with horſes and mules. ‡ Dedan with elephants teeth and ebony. The Syrians expoſed to ſale in it pearls, purple, wrought cloaths, lawn, ſilk, and all ſorts of precious merchandiſe. The people of Judah and Iſrael brought thither the fineſt wheat, balm, honey, oyl, and fruits. Damaſcus ſent it excellent wine, and wool of the moſt lively and moſt exquiſite dyes: other people furniſhed it with iron work, myrrh, the aromatic calamus, and carpets of exquiſite workmanſhip to ſit upon. * Arabia, and all the princes of Cedar, brought thither their flocks of lambs, ſheep, and goats. † Shebah and Raamah, the moſt excellent fumes, precious ſtones, and gold; and others cedar-wood, bales of purple, embroidered cloathing, and every kind of rich goods.

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* Tubal and Meſhech. *The holy Scripture always joins theſe two people. The latter intends Muſcovy; the former, without doubt, was its neighbour.*

† Togarmah, *Cappadocia, from whence came the fineſt horſes, of which the emperors reſerved the beſt for their own ſtables.*

‡ Dedan. *The people of Arabia.*

I ſhall not undertake to diſtinguiſh exactly the ſituation of the different nations, of whom Ezekiel ſpeaks, this not being the proper place for ſuch a diſquiſition. It ſuffices to obſerve, that this long enumeration, into which the holy Spirit has thought fit to deſcend, with regard to the city of Tyre, is an evident proof, that its commerce had no other bounds than the world, as known at that time. Hence it was conſidered, as the common metropolis of all nations, and as the queen of the ſea. Iſaiah paints its grandeur and ſtate in moſt lively, but very natural, colours, where he ſays, that Tyre wore a diadem upon her brows; that the moſt illuſtrious princes of the univerſe were her correſpondents, and could not be without her traffic; that the rich merchants, incloſed within her walls, were in a condition to diſpute precedency with crowned heads, and pretended, at leaſt, to an equality with them: *Who hath taken this* Iſa. xxiii. 8.
counſel againſt Tyre, the crowned city, whoſe merchants are princes, whoſe traffickers are the honourable of the earth?

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* Arabia Deſerta, Cedar *was near it.*

† Shebah and Raamah. *People of Arabia Felix. All antiquity mentions the riches and ſpices of this people.*

I have related elſewhere the deſtruction of the antient Tyre by Nebuchadonoſor, after a ſiege of thirteen years; and the eſtabliſhment of the new Tyre, which ſoon repoſſeſſed itſelf of the empire of the ſea, and continued its commerce with more ſucceſs, and more ſplendor, than before; till at length, being ſtormed by Alexander the Great, he deprived it of its maritime ſtrength and trade, which were transferred to Alexandria, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Whilſt both the old and new Tyre experienced ſuch great revolutions, Carthage, the moſt conſiderable of their colonies, was become very flouriſhing. Traffic had given it birth: traffic augmented it, and put it into a condition to diſpute the empire of the world for many years with Rome. Its ſituation was much more advantageous than that of Tyre. It was equally diſtant from all the extremities of the Mediterranean ſea; and the coaſt of Africa, upon which it was ſituated, a vaſt and fertile region, ſupplied it abundantly with the corn neceſſary to its ſubſiſtence. With ſuch advantages thoſe Africans, making the beſt uſe of the happy genius for trade and navigation which they had brought from Phœnicia, attained ſo great a knowledge of the ſea, that in that point, according to the teſtimony of Polybius, no nation was equal to them. By this means they roſe to ſuch an height of power, that in the beginning of their third war with the Romans, which occaſioned their final ruin, Carthage had ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants, and three hundred cities in its dependance upon the continent of Africa only. They had been maſters not only of the tract of land extending from the great Syrtes to the pillars of Hercules, but alſo of that which extends itſelf from the ſame pillars to the ſouthward, where Hanno, the Carthaginian, had founded ſo many cities, and ſettled ſo many colonies. In Spain, which they had almoſt

moſt entirely conquered, Aſdrubal, who commanded there after Barca, Hannibal's father, had founded Carthagena, one of the moſt celebrated cities of thoſe times. Great part alſo of Sicily and Sardinia had formerly ſubmitted to their yoke.

Poſterity might have been indebted for great lights to the two illuſtrious monuments of the navigation of this people, in the hiſtory of the voyages of Hanno, ſtiled King of the Carthaginians, and of Imilco, if time had preſerved them. The firſt related the voyages he had made in the ocean beyond the pillars of Hercules, along the weſtern coaſt of Africa; and the other his on the weſtern coaſt of Europe; both by the order of the ſenate of Carthage. But time has conſumed thoſe writings.

This people ſpared neither pains nor expences to bring navigation to perfection. That was their only ſtudy. The other arts and ſciences were not cultivated at Carthage. They did not pique themſelves upon polite knowledge. They profeſſed neither poetry, eloquence, nor philoſophy. The young people, from their infancy, heard of nothing in converſation, but merchandiſe, accounts, ſhips, and voyages. Addreſs in commerce was a kind of inheritance in their families, and was the beſt part of their fortunes; and, as they added their own obſervations to the experience of their fathers, we ought not to be ſurpriſed, that their ability in this way always increaſed, and made ſuch a wonderful progreſs.

Hence it was that commerce raiſed Carthage to ſo high a degree of wealth and power, that it coſt the Romans two wars; the one of twenty-three, and the other of ſeventeen, years, both bloody and doubtful, to ſubdue that rival; and that at laſt victorious Rome did not believe it in her power to ſubject her enemy entirely, but by depriving her of the reſources ſhe might ſtill have found in trade; and which, during ſo long a ſeries of years, ſupported her againſt all the forces of the republic.

Carthage had never been more powerful by ſea, than when Alexander beſieged Tyre, the metropolis of her people. Her fortune began to decline from that time. Ambition was the ruin of the Carthaginians. Their being weary of the pacific condition of merchants, and preferring the glory of arms to that of traffic, coſt them dear. Their city, which commerce had peopled with ſo great a multitude of inhabitants, ſaw its numbers diminiſh to ſupply troops, and recruit armies. Their fleets, accuſtomed to tranſport merchants and merchandiſe, were no longer freighted with any thing, but munitions of war and ſoldiers; and, out of the wiſeſt and moſt ſucceſsful traders, they elected officers and generals of armies, who acquired them an exalted degree of glory indeed, but one of ſhort duration, and ſoon followed with their utter ruin.

The taking of Tyre by Alexander the Great, and the founding of Alexandria, which ſoon followed, occaſioned a great revolution in the affairs of commerce. That new ſettlement was, without diſpute, the greateſt, the moſt noble, the wiſeſt, and the moſt uſeful deſign that conqueror ever formed.

It was not poſſible to find a more happy ſituation, nor one more likely to become the mart for all the merchandiſe of the eaſt and weſt. That city had on one ſide a free commerce with Aſia, and the whole Eaſt by the Red ſea. The ſame ſea, and the river Nile, gave it a communication with the vaſt and rich countries of Ethiopia. The commerce of the reſt of Africa and Europe was open to it by the Mediterranean; and, for the inland trade of Egypt, it had, beſides the navigation of the Nile, and the canals cut out of it, the aſſiſtance of the caravans, ſo convenient for the ſecurity of merchants, and the conveyance of their effects.

This induced Alexander to believe it a proper place for founding one of the fineſt cities and ports in the world. For the iſle of Pharos, which at that time was not joined to the continent, ſupplied him with the happieſt ſituation, after he had joined them by a mole, having two entrances, in which the veſſels of foreign nations arrived from all parts, and from whence the Egyptian ſhips were continually ſailing to carry their factors, and commerce, to all parts of the world then known.

Alexander lived too ſhort a time to ſee the happy and flouriſhing condition, to which commerce raiſed his city. The Ptolomies, to whoſe ſhare, after his death, Egypt fell, took care to improve the growing trade of Alexandria, and ſoon raiſed it to a degree of perfection and extent, that made Tyre and Carthage be forgotten, which, for a long ſeries of time, had tranſacted, and engroſſed to themſelves, the commerce of all nations.

Of all the kings of Egypt, Ptolomæus Philadelphus was the prince who contributed moſt to the bringing of commerce to perfection in his country. For that purpoſe he kept great fleets at ſea, of which Athenæus gives us the number, and deſcription, that cannot be read without aſtoniſhment. Beſides upwards of ſix-ſcore ſail of galleys of an extraordinary ſize, he gives him more than four thouſand other ſhips, which were employed in the ſervice of the ſtate, and the improvement of trade. He poſſeſſed a great empire, which he had formed, by extending the bounds of the kingdom of Egypt into Africa, Ethiopia, Syria, and beyond the ſea, having made himſelf maſter of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, poſſeſſing almoſt four thouſand cities in his dominions. To raiſe the happineſs of theſe provinces as high as poſſible, he endeavoured to draw into them,

Athen. l. 5. p. 203.

them, by commerce, the riches and commodities of the Eaſt; and, to facilitate their paſſage, he built a city expreſsly on the weſtern coaſt of the Red ſea, cut a canal from Coptus to that ſea, and cauſed houſes to be erected along that canal, for the convenience of the merchants and travellers, as I have obſerved in its place. Vol. VII. p. 306.

It was the convenience of this ſtaple for merchandiſe, at Alexandria, which diffuſed immenſe riches over all Egypt; riches ſo conſiderable, that it is affirmed the cuſtoms only, for the importation and exportation of merchandiſe at the port of Alexandria, amounted yearly to more than thirty-ſeven millions of livres, though moſt of the Ptolomies were moderate enough in the impoſts they laid on their people. Cic. apud Strab. l. 17. p. 798.

Tyre, Carthage, and Alexandria were, without diſpute, the moſt famous cities of antiquity for commerce: It was alſo followed with ſucceſs at Corinth, Rhodes, Marſeilles, and many other cities, but not with ſuch extent and reputation.

ARTICLE III.

The end and materials of commerce.

THE paſſage of Ezekiel, which I have cited in regard to Tyre, includes almoſt all the materials, in which the antient commerce conſiſted: Gold, ſilver, iron, copper, tin, lead, pearls, diamonds, and all ſorts of precious ſtones; purple, ſtuffs, cloths, ivory, ebony, cedar, myrrh, aromatic reeds, or the calamus; perfumes, ſlaves, horſes, mules, grain, wine, cattle; and, in a word, all kind of precious merchandiſe. I ſhall not dwell here upon any thing, but what relates to mines of iron, copper, gold, ſilver, pearls, purple, and ſilk; nor treat even theſe heads with any great extent. Pliny the naturaliſt will be my ordinary guide, as to thoſe of my ſubjects he has wrote upon. And I ſhall make great uſe of the learned remarks of the author of the natural hiſtory of gold and ſilver, extracted from the thirty-third book of Pliny, and printed at London.

SECT. I.

Mines of iron.

IT is certain, that the uſe of metals, eſpecially of iron and copper, is almoſt as old as the world: but it does not appear, that gold or ſilver were much regarded in the firſt ages. Solely intent upon the neceſſities of life, the firſt inhabitants of the earth did what new colonies are obliged to do. They applied themſelves in building them houſes, clearing lands, and furniſhing themſelves with the inſtruments neceſſary for cutting wood, hewing ſtone, and other mechanical uſes. As all theſe tools could be formed only of iron, copper, or ſteel, thoſe eſſential materials became, by a neceſſary conſequence, the principal objects of their purſuit. Thoſe who were ſettled in countries which produced them, were not long without knowing their importance. People came from all parts in queſt of them; and their land, though in appearance poor and barren in every other reſpect, became an abundant and fertile ſoil to them. They wanted nothing, having that merchandiſe; and their iron bars were ingots, which procured them all the conveniencies and elegancies of life.

It would be very grateful to know where, when, how, and by whom theſe materials were firſt diſcovered. Concealed as they are from our eyes, and hid in the bowels of the earth in ſmall and almoſt imperceptible particles, which have no apparent relation, or viſible diſpoſition for the different works compoſed of them, who was it that inſtructed man in the uſes to be made of them? It would be doing chance too much honour to impute to it this diſcovery. The infinite importance, and almoſt indiſpenſable neceſſity for the inſtruments, with which they ſupply us, well deſerve, that we ſhould acknowledge it to proceed from the concurrence and goodneſs of Divine Providence. It is true, that providence commonly takes delight in concealing its moſt wonderful gifts under events, which have all the appearance of chance and accident. But attentive and religious eyes are not deceived in them, and eaſily diſcover, under theſe diſguiſes, the beneficence and liberality of God, ſo much the more worthy of admiration and acknowledgment, as leſs viſible to man. This is a truth confeſſed by the Pagans themſelves, as I have already obſerved elſewhere.

It is remarkable, that * iron, which, of all metals, is the moſt neceſſary, is alſo the moſt common, the eaſieſt to be found, leſs deep in the earth than any other, and moſt abundant.

As I find little in Pliny upon the manner in which the antients diſcovered and prepared metals, I am obliged to have recourſe to what the moderns ſay upon that head, in order to give the reader, at leaſt, ſome ſlight idea of the uſual methods in the diſcovery, preparation, and melting of thoſe metals; which were in part practiſed by the antients.

Plin. l. 34. c. 14, 15. The matter, from which iron is extracted, (which the term of art calls *iron-ore*) is found in mines of different depth, ſometimes in ſtones as big as the fiſt, and ſometimes only in ſand.

After having amaſſed the quantity of matter to be melted, it is put into large furnaces, where a great fire has been kindled. When the ore is melted and well ſkimmed, they make it run out of the furnace through a hole prepared for that purpoſe,

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* Ferri metalla ubique propemodum reperiuntur—Metallorum omnium vena ferri largiſſima eſt. *Plin.* l. 34. c. 14.

poſe, from which running with rapidity like a torrent of fire, it falls into different moulds, according to the variety of works to be caſt, as kettles, and ſuch kind of utenſils.

In the ſame manner they form alſo the large lumps of iron, called *ſows*, of different ſizes, which weigh ſometimes two or three thouſand pounds, and upwards. Theſe are afterwards carried to the forge or foundery, to be forged or fined with the aſſiſtance of mills, which keep great hammers continually going.

Steel is a kind of iron refined and purified by fire, which renders it whiter, more ſolid, and of a ſmaller and finer grain. It is the hardeſt of all metals, when prepared and *tempered* as it ought. That *temper* is derived from cold water, and acquires a nice attention in the workman, in taking the ſteel out of the fire, when it has attained a certain degree of heat.

Stridentia tingunt æra lacu.

When we conſider a ſharp and well poliſhed knife or razor, could we believe it was poſſible to form them out of a little earth, or ſome blackiſh ſtone? What difference is there between ſo rude a matter, and ſuch poliſhed and ſhining inſtruments! Of what is not human induſtry capable!

Mr. Reaumur * obſerves, in ſpeaking of iron, one thing well worthy of obſervation. Though fire ſeldom or ever renders it ſo liquid as it does gold, braſs, pewter, and lead; of metals, however, there is not one that takes the mould ſo perfectly, inſinuates itſelf ſo well into the moſt minute parts of it, and receives impreſſions with ſuch exactneſs.

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* *Memoires de l'Acad. de Scienc. an.* 1726.

SECT. II.

Mines of copper or braſs.

COPPER, which is otherwiſe called braſs, is an hard, dry, weighty metal. It is taken out of mines like other metals, where it is found, as well as iron, either in powder or ſtone.

Before it is melted, it muſt be waſhed very much, in order to ſeparate the earth from it, with which it is mixed. It is afterwards melted in the furnaces by great fires, and when melted, poured off into moulds. The copper which has had only one melting, is the common and ordinary copper.

To [*] render it purer and finer, it is melted once or twice more. When it has paſſed the fire ſeveral times, and the groſſeſt parts are ſeparated from it, it is called *Roſette*, or the pureſt and fineſt copper.

Copper is naturally red, of which braſs is a ſpecies made yellow with *Lapis calaminaris.*

The *Lapis calaminaris*, which is alſo called *Cadmia* [†], is a mineral or foſſile, which founders uſe to change the colour of copper yellow. This ſtone does not become yellow, till after it has been baked in the manner of bricks; it is then uſed either to make yellow, or increaſe, the red fine copper.

The yellow copper, or braſs, is therefore a mixture of the red, with *lapis calaminaris*, which augments its weight from ten to fifty in the hundred, according to the different goodneſs of the copper. It is called alſo *Latten*, and in the Roman language *Aurichalcum.*

Bronze is a made metal, conſiſting of a mixture of ſeveral metals.

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[*] Præterea ſemel recoquunt: quod ſæpius feciſſe, bonitati plurimùm confert. *Plin.* l. 34. c. 8.

[†] Vena (æris) quo dictum eſt modo effoditur ignique perficitur. Fit & è lapide æroſo, quem vocant *Cadmiam.* *Plin.* l. 34. c. 1.

For the fine ſtatues of this metal, the mixture is half fine copper and half braſs. In the ordinary ſort, the mixture is of pewter, and ſometimes of lead, to ſave coſt.

There is alſo another ſpecies of mixt copper, called by the French *Fonte*, which differs from the *Bronze*, only by being more or leſs mixed.

The art of founding, or, as it is vulgarly called, of caſting in braſs, is very antient. All ages have made their veſſels, and other curious works, in metal. Caſting muſt have been very common in Egypt, when the Iſraelites left it, as they could form in the deſart, without any great preparations, a ſtatue with lineaments and ſhape, repreſenting a calf. Soon after they made the molten ſea, and all other veſſels for the tabernacle, and afterwards for the temple. It was not uncommon to form ſtatues of plates hammered into form, and rivetted together.

The invention of theſe images, either caſt or hammered, took birth in the Eaſt, as well as idolatry, and afterwards communicated itſelf to Greece, which carried the art to the higheſt degree of perfection.

The moſt celebrated and valuable copper amongſt the Greeks was that of Corinth, of which I have ſpoken elſewhere, and that of Delos. Cicero[*] joins them together in one of his orations, where he mentions a veſſel of braſs, called *authepſa*, in which meat was dreſſed with very little fire, and almoſt of itſelf: this veſſel was ſold ſo dear, that thoſe who paſſed by, and heard the ſum bid for it at the ſale, imagined the purchaſe of an eſtate was in queſtion.

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[*] Domus referta vaſis Corinthiis & Deliacis: in quibus eſt authepſa illa, quam tanto pretio nuper mercatus eſt, ut qui pretereuntes pretium enumerari audiebant, fundum vænire arbitrarentur. *Orat. pro Roſc. Amer.* n. 133.

It is ſaid, that braſs was uſed before iron for the making of arms. It certainly was ſo before gold and ſilver for money, at leaſt with the Romans. It conſiſted at firſt in lumps of braſs, of different bigneſs, and was taken by weight, without having any fixed mark or figure upon it; from whence came the form of ſpeaking uſed in ſales, *per æs & libram.* * Servius Tullius, the ſixth king of the Romans, was the firſt that reduced it to form, and ſtamped it with a particular impreſſion. And as at that time the greateſt riches conſiſted in cattle, oxen, ſheep, hogs, &c. the figure of thoſe animals, or of their heads, was ſtamped upon the firſt money that was coined, and it was called *pecunia*, from the word *pecus*, which ſignifies cattle in general. Plin. l. 34. c. 1. It was not till the conſulſhip of Q. Fabius and Ogulnius, five years before the firſt Punic war, in the 485th year of Rome, that ſilver ſpecies was uſed at Rome. They, however, always retained the antient language, and denomination, taken from the word *æs*, braſs. From thence the expreſſion, *æs grave*, (heavy braſs) to ſignify, at leaſt in the origin of that term, the *aſſes* of a pound weight; *ærarium*, the public treaſury, wherein, in antient times, there was only braſs-money; *æs alienum*, borrowed money; with many others of like ſignification.

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* Servius Rex, primus ſignavit æs. Antea rudi uſos Romæ Timæus tradit. Signatum eſt nota pecudum: unde pecunia appellata. *Plin.* l. 33. c. 3.

SECT III.

Mines of gold.

TO find gold, ſays Pliny, we have three different methods. It is extracted either from rivers, the bowels of the earth, or the ruins of mountains, by undermining and throwing them down. Plin. l. 33. c. 4.

1. *Gold found in rivers.*

Gold is gathered in ſmall grains, or little quantities, upon the ſhores of rivers, as in Spain upon the brink of the Tagus, in Italy upon the Po, in Thrace upon the Hebrus, in Aſia upon the Pactolus, and, laſtly, upon the Ganges in India; and* it is agreed, that the gold found in this manner is the beſt of all; becauſe, having long run through rocks, and over ſands, it has had time to cleanſe and purify itſelf.

The rivers I mention were not the only ones in which gold was to be found. Our Gaul had the ſame advantage. Diodorus ſays, that nature had given it gold in a peculiar manner without obliging the natives to hunt after it with art and labour; that it was mingled with the ſands of the rivers; that the Gauls knew how to waſh thoſe ſands, extract the gold, and melt it down; and that they made themſelves rings, bracelets, girdles, and other ornaments of it. Some rivers of France are† ſaid to have retained this privilege: the Rhine, the Rhone, the Garonne, the Doux in Franche Comté, the Cëze, and the Gardon, which have their ſources in the Cevennes, the Ariége in the county of Foix, Diod. l. 5.

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* Nec ullum abſolutum aurum eſt, ut curſu ipſo trituque perpolitum. *Plin.*

† *Memoirs of the Acad. of Sciences, an.* 1718.

and ſome others. The gathering of it indeed does not turn to any conſiderable account, ſcarce ſufficing to the maintenance of the country-people, who employ themſelves for ſome months in that work. They have ſometimes their lucky days, when they get more than a piſtole for their trouble; but they pay for them on others, which produce little or nothing.

2. *Gold found in the bowels of the earth.*

Thoſe who ſearch after gold, begin by finding what we call, in French, *la manne*, manna, a kind of earth, which by its colour, and the exhalations that riſe from it, informs thoſe, who underſtand mines, that there is gold underneath it.

As ſoon as the vein of gold appears, the water muſt be turned off, and the ore dug out induſtriouſly, which muſt be taken away, and waſhed in proper lavers. The ore being put into them, a ſtream of water is poured on continually, in proportion to the quantity of the ore to be waſhed; and, to aſſiſt the force of the water, an iron fork is uſed, with which the ore is ſtirred, and broken, till nothing remains in the laver, but a ſediment of black ſand, with which the gold is mingled. This ſediment is put into a large wooden diſh, in the midſt of which four or five deep lines are cut, and by waſhing it, ſtirring it well in ſeveral waters, *conjectura*, the terrene parts diſſolve, and nothing remains but pure gold duſt. This is the method now uſed in Chili, and the ſame as was practiſed in the time of Pliny: *Aurum qui quærunt, ante omnia ſegullum tollunt: ita vocatur indicium. Alveus hic eſt, arenæ lavantur, atque ex eo quod reſedit, conjectura capitur.* Every thing is comprehended in theſe few words. *Segullum:* which is what the *French* call *la manne*, or manna. *Alveus hic eſt:* that is, the vein of gold ore. *Arenæ lavantur:* this implies the lavers. *Atque ex eo quod reſedit:*

See Dict. of Commerce. Plin. l. 33. c. 4.

this is the ſediment of black ſand, in which the gold is contained. *Conjectura capitur:* here the ſtirring of the ſediment, the running off of the water, and the gold-duſt that remains are intimated.

It ſometimes happens, that, without digging far, the gold is found upon the ſuperficies of the earth: but this good fortune is not frequent, though there have been examples of it. For not long ago, ſays Pliny, gold was found in this manner in Nero's reign, and in ſo great a quantity, that fifty pounds a day, at leaſt, have been gathered of it. This was in Dalmatia. Plin. l. 33. c. 4.

It is commonly neceſſary to dig a great way, and to form ſubterraneous caverns, in which marble and ſmall flints are found, covered with the gold. Theſe caverns are carried on to the right or left according to the running of the vein: and the earth above it is ſupported with ſtrong props at proper diſtances. When the metallic ſtone, commonly called the ore in which the gold forms itſelf, is brought out of the mine, it is broken, pounded, waſhed, and put into the furnace. The firſt melting is called only ſilver, for there is always ſome mingled with the gold.

The ſcum which riſes in the furnace, is called *Scoria* in Latin. This is the droſs of the metal, which the fire throws up, and is not peculiar to gold, but common to all metallic bodies. This droſs is not thrown away, but pounded and calcined over again, to extract what remains of good in it. The crucible, in which this preparation is made, ought to be of a certain white earth, not unlike that uſed by the potters. There is ſcarce any other, which can bear the fire, bellows, and exceſſive heat of this ſubſtance melted. *It is called Taſconium.*

This metal is very precious, but coſts infinite pains in getting it. Slaves and criminals condemned to death, were employed in working the mines. The thirſt of gold has always extinguiſhed all ſenſe Diod. l. 3.

of humanity in the human heart. Diodorus Siculus obſerves, that theſe unhappy creatures, laden with chains, were allowed no reſt either by night or day: that they were treated with exceſſive cruelty; and, to deprive them of all hopes of being able to eſcape by corrupting their guards, ſoldiers were choſen for that office, who ſpoke a language unknown to them, and with whom, in conſequence, they could have no correſpondence nor form any conſpiracy.

3. *Gold found in the mountains.*

Plin. l. 33. c. 4. There is another method to find gold, which regards properly only high and mountainous places, ſuch as are frequently met with in Spain. * Theſe are dry and barren mountains in every other reſpect, which are obliged to give up their gold, to make amends, in ſome meaſure, for their ſterility in every thing elſe.

The work begins at firſt by cutting great holes on the right and left. The mountain itſelf is afterwards attacked by the aſſiſtance of torches and lamps. For the day is ſoon loſt, and the night continues as long as the work, that is, for ſeveral months. Before any great progreſs is made, great flaws appear in the earth, which falls in, and often cruſhes the poor miners to death; ſo that, ſays † Pliny, people are much more bold and venturous in ſearching after pearls at the bottom of the waves in the Eaſt, than in digging for gold in the bowels of the earth, which is become, by our avarice, more dangerous than the ſea itſelf.

It is therefore neceſſary in theſe mines, as well as in the firſt I ſpoke of, to form good arches at proper diſtances, to ſupport the hollowed mountain.

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* Cæteri montes Hiſpaniarum aridi ſterileſque, in quibus nihil aliud gignatur, huic bono fertiles eſſe coguntur. *Plin.*

† Ut jam minùs temerarium videatur è profundo maris petere margaritas: tanto nocentiores fecimus terras. *Plin.*

There are great rocks and veins of ſtone found alſo in theſe, which muſt be broken by fire and vinegar. But, as the ſmoke and ſteam would ſoon ſuffocate the workmen, it is often more neceſſary, and eſpecially when the work is a little advanced, to break thoſe enormous maſſes with pick-axes and crows, and to cut away large pieces by degrees, which muſt be given from hand to hand, or from ſhoulder to ſhoulder, till thrown out of the mine. Day and night are paſſed in this manner. Only the hindmoſt workmen ſee day-light; all the reſt work by lamps. If the rock is found to be too long, or too thick, they proceed on the ſide, and carry on the work in a curve line.

When the work is finiſhed, and the ſubterraneous paſſages are carried their proper length, they cut away the props of the arches, that had been formed at due diſtances from each other. This is the uſual ſignal of the ruin which is to follow, and which thoſe, who are placed to watch it, perceive firſt, by the ſinking in of the mountain, which begins to ſhake: upon which they immediately, either by hallowing, or beating upon a brazen inſtrument, give notice to the workmen to take care of themſelves, and run away the firſt for their own ſafety. The mountain, ſapped on all ſides in this manner, falls upon itſelf, and breaks to pieces with a dreadful noiſe. The * victorious workmen then enjoy the ſight of nature overturned. The gold, however, is not yet found; and, when they began to pierce the hill, they did not know whether there was any in it. Hope and avarice were ſufficient motives for undertaking the labour, and confronting ſuch dangers.

But this is only the prelude to new toils, ſtill greater and more heavy than the firſt. For the

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* Spectant victores ruinam naturæ; nec tamen adhuc aurum eſt. *Plin.*

waters of the higher neighbouring mountains muſt be carried through very * long trenches, in order to its being poured with impetuoſity upon the ruins they have formed, and to carry off the precious metal. For this purpoſe new canals muſt be made, ſometimes higher or lower, according to the ground; and hence the greateſt part of the labour ariſes. For the level muſt be well placed, and the heights well taken in all the places, over which the torrent is to paſs to the lower mountain, that has been thrown down; in order that the water may have ſufficient force to tear away the gold wherever it paſſes, which obliges them to make it fall from the greateſt height they can. And, as to the inequality of the ground in its courſe, they remedy that by artificial canals, which preſerve the deſcent, and keep the water within their bounds. And if there are any large rocks, which oppoſe its paſſage, they muſt be hewn down, made level, and have tracks cut in them for the wood-work, which is to receive and continue the canal. Having united the waters of the higheſt neighbouring mountains, from whence they are to fall, they make great reſervoirs, of the breadth of two hundred, and the depth of ten, feet. They generally leave five openings, of three or four feet ſquare, to receive the water at ſeveral places.

After which, when the reſervoirs are full, they open the ſluice, from whence falls ſo violent and impetuous a torrent, that it carries all away before it, and even ſtones of conſiderable magnitude.

There is another work in the plain, at the foot of the mine. New trenches muſt be dug there, which form ſeveral beds, for the falling of the torrent from height to height, till it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea. But, to prevent the gold from being carried off with the current, they lay, at proper diſtances, good dams

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* A centeſimo plerumque lapide.

of *Ulex*, a ſort of ſhrub, much reſembling our roſemary, but ſomething thicker of leaves, and conſequently fitter for catching this prey as in nets. Add to this, that good planks are neceſſary on each ſide of theſe trenches, to keep the water within them; and where there are any dangerous inequalities of ground, theſe new canals muſt be ſupported with * ſhores, till the torrent loſes itſelf at laſt in the ſand of the ocean, in the neighbourhood of which the mines commonly are.

The gold, got in this manner at the feet of mountains, has no need of being purified by fire; for it is at firſt what it ought to be. It is found in lumps of different bigneſs, as it is alſo in deep mines, but not ſo commonly.

As to the wild roſemary branches uſed on this occaſion, they are taken up with care, dried, and then burnt; after this the aſhes are waſhed on the turf, upon which the gold falls, and is eaſily gathered.

Pliny examines wherefore gold is preferred to other metals, and gives ſeveral reaſons for it. Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

It is the only metal, which loſes nothing, or almoſt nothing by the fire, not even of funeral piles, or conflagrations, in which the flames are generally moſt violent. It is even affirmed to be rather the better for having paſt the fire ſeveral times. It is by fire alſo that proof is made of it; for, when it is good, it takes its colour from it. This the workmen call *obryzum*, refined gold. What is wonderful in this proof, is, that the hotteſt charcoal has no effect on it: to melt it, † a clear fire of ſtraw is neceſſary, with a little lead thrown in to refine it.

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* *Machines to ſupport thoſe canals made of board.*

† *Strabo makes the ſame remark, and gives the reaſon for this effect:* Paleâ faciliùs liquefit aurum: quia flamma mollis cum fit proportionem habet temperatam ad id quod cedit & facilè funditur; carbo autem multum abſumit, nimis colliquans ſua vehementia & elevans. *Strab.* l. 3. p. 146.

Gold loſes very little by uſe, and much leſs than any other metal: whereas ſilver, copper, and pewter, ſoil the hands, and draw black lines upon any thing, which is a proof that they waſte, and loſe their ſubſtance more eaſily.

It is the only metal that contracts no ruſt, nor any thing which changes its beauty, or diminiſhes its weight. It is a thing well worthy of admiration, that of all ſubſtances gold preſerves itſelf beſt, and entire, without ruſt or dirt, in water, the earth, dung, and ſepulchres, and that throughout all ages. There are medals in being, which have been ſtruck above two thouſand years, which ſeem juſt come from the workman's hands.

It is obſerved, that * gold reſiſts the impreſſions and corroſion of ſalt and vinegar, which melt and ſubdue all other matter.

There is † no metal which extends better, nor divides into ſo great a number of particles of different kinds. An ounce of gold, for inſtance, will form ſeven hundred and fifty leaves, each leaf of four inches ſquare and upwards. What Pliny ſays here, is certainly very wonderful; but we ſhall preſently ſee, that our modern artificers have carried their ſkill much farther than the antients in this, as well as many other points.

In fine, gold will admit to be ſpun and wove, like wool, into any form. It may be worked even without wool (or ſilk) or with both. The firſt of the Tarquins triumphed in a veſt of cloth made of gold; and Agrippina, the mother of Nero, when the emperor Claudius her huſband gave the people the repreſentation of a ſea-fight, appeared at it in

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* Jam contra ſalis & aceti ſuccos, domitores rerum, conſtantia. *Plin.*

† Nec aliud laxius dilatatur, aut numeroſius dividitur, utpote cujus unciæ in ſeptingenas, pluresque bracteas, quaternum utroque digitorum, ſpargantur. *Plin.*

a long robe made of gold wires, without any mixture whatſoever.

What is related of the extreme ſmallneſs of gold and ſilver, when reduced into wire, would ſeem incredible, if not confirmed by daily experience. I ſhall only copy here what I find in the memoirs of the academy of ſciences upon this head. An. 1718.

We know, ſay thoſe memoirs, that gold-wire is only ſilver-wire gilt. By the means of the engine for drawing wire, a cylinder of ſilver, covered with leaf gold, being extended, becomes wire, and continues gilt to the utmoſt length it can be drawn. It is generally of the weight of forty-five *marks*; its diameter is an inch and a quarter French, and its length almoſt two and twenty inches. Mr. Reaumur proves, that this cylinder of ſilver, of two and twenty inches, is extended by the engine to thirteen million, nine hundred and ſixty-three thouſand, two hundred and forty inches, or, one million, one hundred and ſixty-three thouſand, five hundred and twenty feet; that is to ſay, ſix hundred and thirty-four thouſand, ſix hundred and ninety-two times, longer than it was, which is very near ninety-ſeven leagues in length, allowing two thouſand perches to each league. This wire is ſpun over ſilk-thread, and before ſpun is made flat from round as it was, when firſt drawn, and in flatting generally lengthens one ſeventh at leaſt; ſo that its firſt length of tweny two inches is changed into that of an hundred and eleven leagues. But this wire may be lengthened a fourth in flatting, inſtead of a ſeventh, and in conſequence be ſixſcore leagues in extent. This ſhould ſeem a prodigious extenſion, and yet is nothing.

The cylinder of ſilver of forty-five marks, and twenty two inches length, requires only to be covered with one ounce of leaf gold. It is true, the gilding will be light, but it will always be gilding; and, though the cylinder in paſſing the engine attains the length of a hundred and twenty leagues, the gold will ſtill continue to cover the ſilver without variation. We may ſee how exceedingly ſmall the ounce of gold, which covers the cylinder of ſilver of forty-five marks, muſt become, in continuing to cover it throughout ſo vaſt an extent. Mr. Reaumur adds to this conſideration, that it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh, that the ſilver is more gilt in ſome than in other places; and he finds, by a calculation of wire the moſt equally gilt, that the thickneſs of the gold is $\frac{1}{1050600}$th of a line, or twelfth part of an inch; ſo enormous a ſmallneſs, that it is as inconceivable to us, as the infinite points of the geometricians. It is, however, real, and produced by mechanical inſtruments, which, though ever ſo fine to our ſenſes, muſt ſtill be very groſs in fact. Our underſtanding is loſt and confounded in the conſideration of ſuch objects; and how much more in the *infinitely Small of* God!

ELECTRUM.

Lib. 33. c. 3. It is neceſſary to obſerve, ſays Pliny, whom I copy in all that follows, that in all kinds of gold there is always ſome ſilver, more or leſs: ſometimes a tenth, ſometimes a ninth or an eighth. There is but one mine in Gaul from whence gold is extracted, that contains only a thirtieth part of ſilver, which makes it far more valuable than all others. This gold is called *Albicratenſe*, of *Albicrate*, (an ancient place in Gaul near Tarbæ.) There were ſeveral mines in Gaul, which have been ſince either Strab. l. 4. p. 190. neglected or exhauſted. Strabo mentions ſome of them, amongſt which are thoſe of Tarbæ, that were, as he ſays, *very fruitful in gold.* For, without digging far, they found it in quantities large enough to fill the palm of the hand, which had no great occaſion for being refined. They had alſo

abundance of gold duſt, and gold in grains of equal Βώδȣς.
goodneſs with the other.

To the gold, continues Pliny, which was found to have a fifth part of ſilver in it, they gave the name of ELECTRUM. It might be called white gold, becauſe it came near that colour, and is paler than the other.) The moſt antient people ſeemed to have ſet a great value upon it. Homer, in his Odyſ. l. 4.
deſcription of Menelaus's palace, ſays, it ſhone uni- v. 71.
verſally with gold, electrum, ſilver, and ivory. The electrum has this property peculiar to it, that it brightens much more by the light of lamps than either gold or ſilver.

SECT. IV.

Silver-mines.

SILVER-MINES, in many reſpects, reſemble Plin. l. 33.
thoſe of gold, The earth is bored, and long c. 6.
caverns cut on the right or left, according to the courſe of the vein. The colour of the metal does not enliven the hopes of the workmen, nor the ore glitter and ſparkle as in the others. The earth which contains the ſilver is ſometimes reddiſh, and ſometimes of an aſh colour; which the workmen diſtinguiſh by uſe. As for the ſilver, it can be only refined by fire, with lead, or with * pewter-ore. This ore is called *galena*, and found commonly in the veins of ſilver mines. The fire only ſeparates theſe ſubſtances; the one of which it reduces into lead or pewter, and the other into ſilver; but the laſt always ſwims at top, becauſe it is lighteſt, almoſt like oil upon water.

There were ſilver-mines in almoſt all the provinces of the Roman empire. That metal was found in Italy near Vercellæ; in Sardinia, where there was abundance of it; in ſeveral places of the Gauls; even in Britain; in Alſace, witneſs Straſburgh, which took its name *Argentoratum*, as Colmar did *Argentaria*, from it; in Dalmatia and Pannonia, now called Hungary; and, laſtly, in Spain and Portugal, which produced the fineſt gold.

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* *This ore is the rude and mixed ſubſtance which contains the metal. It is commonly called the* Marcaſite ſtone, *eſpecially with relation to gold and ſilver.*

What is moſt ſurpriſing in the mines of Spain, is, that the works, begun in them by Hannibal's * orders, ſubſiſt in our days, ſays Pliny; that is to ſay, above three hundred years; and that they ſtill retain the names of the firſt diſcoverers of them, who were all Carthaginians. One of theſe mines, amongſt the reſt, exiſts now, and is called *Bebulo*. It is the ſame from which Hannibal daily extracted three hundred pounds of ſilver, and has been run fifteen hundred paces in extent, and even through the mountains, by the † Accitanian people; who, without reſting themſelves, either by night or day, and ſupporting themſelves only by the aid of their lamps, have drawn off all the water from them. There are alſo veins of ſilver, diſcovered in that country, almoſt upon the ſurface of the earth. Plin. ibid.

For the reſt, the antients eaſily knew when they were come to the end of the vein, which was when they found allum; after that, they ſearched no farther, though lately, (it is ſtill Pliny who ſpeaks) beyond the allum, they have found a white vein of copper, which ſerved the workmen as a new token, that they were at the end of the vein of ſilver.

The diſcovery of the metals we have hitherto ſpoken of, is a wonder we can never ſufficiently admire. There was nothing more hidden in nature than gold and ſilver. They were buried deep in the earth, mingled with the hardeſt ſtones, and in appearance perfectly uſeleſs; the parts of theſe precious metals were ſo confounded with foreign bodies, ſo imperceptible from that mixture, and ſo difficult to ſeparate, that it did not ſeem poſſible to cleanſe, collect, refine, and apply them to their uſes. Man, however, has ſurmounted this difficulty, and, by experiments, has brought his firſt diſcoveries to ſuch perfection, that one would imagine gold and ſilver were formed from the firſt in ſolid pieces, and were as eaſily diſtinguiſhed as the flints, which lie on the ſurface of the earth. But was man of himſelf capable of making ſuch diſcoveries? Cicero* ſays, in expreſs terms, that God had in vain formed gold, ſilver, copper, and iron, in the bowels of the earth, if he had not vouchſafed to teach man the means, by which he might come at the veins, that conceal thoſe precious metals.

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* *When he went thither to beſiege Saguntum.*

† *The people of Murcia and Valentia, which were part of the diſtrict of new Carthage.*

SECT. VI.

Product of gold and ſilver mines, one of the principal ſources of the riches of the antients.

IT is eaſy to conceive that mines of gold and ſilver muſt have produced great profits to the private perſons and princes who poſſeſſed them, if they took the leaſt trouble to work them.

Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, had Diod. l. 16.
gold-mines near Pydna, a city of Macedonia, from
which he drew yearly a thouſand talents, that is to
ſay, three millions. He had alſo other mines of Juſtin. l. 8.
gold and ſilver in Theſſaly and Thrace; and it ap- c. 3. Strab. l. 7,
pears, that theſe mines ſubſiſted as long as the p. 331.

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* Aurum & argentum, æs & ferrum fruſtrà natura divina genuiſſet, niſi eadem docuiſſet quemadmodum ad eorum venas perveniretur. *De Divinat.* l. 1. n. 116.

kingdom of Macedonia; for * the Romans, when they had conquered Perſeus, prohibited the uſe and exerciſe of them to the Macedonians.

Xenoph. de ration. redit.

The Athenians had ſilver mines not only at Laurium in Attica, but particularly in Thrace, from which they were great gainers. Xenophon mentions many citizens enriched by them. Hipponius had ſix hundred ſlaves: Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, had a thouſand. The farmers of their mines paid daily to the firſt fifty livres, clear of all charges, allowing an obolus † a day for each ſlave; and as much in proportion to the ſecond, which amounted to a conſiderable revenue.

Xenophon, in the treatiſe wherein he propoſes ſeveral methods for augmenting the revenues of Athens, gives the Athenians excellent advice upon this head, and exhorts them, above all, to make commerce honourable; to encourage and protect thoſe, who applied themſelves to it, whether citizens or ſtrangers; to advance money for their uſe, taking ſecurity for the payment; to ſupply them with ſhips for the tranſportation of merchandiſe; and to be aſſured, that, with regard to trade, the opulence and ſtrength of the ſtate conſiſted in the wealth of individuals, and of the people. He inſiſts very much in relation to mines, and is earneſ that the republic ſhould cultivate them in its ow name, and for its own advantage, without being afraid of injuring particulars in that conduct; becauſe they ſufficed for the enriching both the on and the other, and that mines were not wanting t workmen, but workmen to the mines.

But the produce of the mines of Attica an Thrace was nothing in compariſon with what th Spaniſh mines produced. The Tyrians had th

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* Metalli quoque Macedonici, quod ingens vectigal erat, loc tiones tolli placebat. *Liv.* l. 45. n. 18.

† *Six oboli made one drachma, which was worth ten pence French a hundred drachmas a mina, and ſixty minæ, a talent.*

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firſt profits of them; the inhabitants of the country not knowing their value. The Carthaginians ſucceeded them; and as ſoon as they had ſet foot in Spain, perceived the mines would be an inexhauſtible ſource of riches for them. Pliny informs us, that one of them alone ſupplied Hannibal daily with three hundred pounds of ſilver, which amounts to twelve thouſand ſix hundred livres; as the ſame Pliny obſerves elſewhere. Plin. l. 33. c. 6.

Polybius, cited by Strabo, ſays, that in his time there were forty thouſand men employed in the mines in the neighbourhood of Carthagena, and that they paid daily twenty-five thouſand drachmas to the Roman people, that is, twelve thouſand five hundred livres. Ibid. c. 9.

Hiſtory mentions private perſons, who had immenſe and incredible revenues. Varro ſpeaks of one Ptolomy, a private perſon, who, in the time of Pompey, commanded in Syria, and maintained eight thouſand horſe, at his own expences; and had generally a thouſand gueſts at his table, who had each a gold cup, which was changed at every courſe. This is nothing to Pythius of Bithynia, who made king Darius a preſent of the *Plantane* and *Vine*, ſo much extolled in hiſtory, both of maſſy gold, and feaſted the whole army of Xerxes one day in a ſplendid manner, though it conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men; offering that prince five months pay for that prodigious hoſt, and the neceſſary proviſions for the whole time. From what ſource could ſuch enormous treaſures ariſe, if not principally from the mines of gold and ſilver poſſeſſed by theſe particulars? Varr. apud Plin. l. 33. c. 10. Plin. ibid. Herod. l. 7. c. 27.

We are ſurpriſed to read in Plutarch, the account of the ſums carried to Rome, for the triumphs of Paulus Emilius, Lucullus, and many other victorious generals.

But all this is is inconſiderable to the endleſs millions amaſſed by David and Solomon, and employed in the building and ornaments of the temple of Jeruſalem. Thoſe immenſe riches, of which the recital aſtoniſhes us, were partly the fruits of the commerce eſtabliſhed by David in Arabia, Perſia, and Indoſtan, by the means of two ports he had cauſed to be built in Idumæa, at the extremity of the Red ſea; which trade Solomon muſt have conſiderably augmented, as, in one voyage only, his fleet brought home four hundred and fifty talents of gold, which amount to above one hundred and thirty-five millions of livres. Judæa was but a ſmall country, and nevertheleſs the annual revenue of it in the time of Solomon, without reckoning many other ſums, amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix talents of gold, which make near two hundred millions of livres. Many mines muſt have been dug in thoſe days, for ſupplying ſo incredible a quantity of gold; and thoſe of Mexico and Peru were not then diſcovered.

Eloth and Ezioneg-ber.

2 Chron. viii. 18.

2 Chron. ix. 13.

SECT. VI.

Of coins and medals.

THOUGH commerce began by the exchange of commodities, as appears in Homer; experience ſoon made the inconvenience of that traffic evident, from the nature of the ſeveral merchandiſes, that could neither be divided, nor cut without conſiderable prejudice to their value; which obliged the dealers in them, by little and little, to have recourſe to metals, which diminiſhed neither in goodneſs nor fabric by diviſion. Hence from the time of Abraham, and without doub before him, gold and ſilver were introduced in commerce, and, perhaps, copper alſo for the leſſe wares. As frauds were committed in regard t the weight and quality of the metal, the civil government and public authority interpoſed, for eſtabliſhin bliſhing the ſecurity of commerce, and ſtamped metals with impreſſions to diſtinguiſh and authorize them. From thence came the various dyes for money, the names of the coiners, the effigies of princes, the years of conſulſhips, and the like marks.

The Greeks put enigmatical hieroglyphics upon their coins, which were peculiar to each province. The people of Delphos repreſented a dolphin upon theirs: this was a kind of ſpeaking blazonry: the Athenians the bird of their Minerva, the owl, the ſymbol of vigilance, even during the night: the Bœotians a Bacchus, with a bunch of grapes and a large cup, to imply the plenty and delicioufneſs of their country: the Macedonians a ſhield, in alluſion to the force and valour of their ſoldiery: the Rhodians the head of Apollo, or the ſun, to whom they dedicated their famous Coloſſus. In fine, every magiſtrate took pleaſure to expreſs in his money the glory of his province, or the advantages of his city.

The making bad money has been practiſed in all ages and nations. In the firſt payment made by the * Carthaginians of the ſum, to which the Romans had condemned them at the end of the ſecond Punic war, the money brought by their ambaſſadors was not of good alloy, and it was diſcovered, upon melting it, that the fourth part was bad. They were obliged to make good the deficiency by borrowing money at Rome. Antony, Plin. l. 33. c. 9.
the Triumvir, at the time of his greateſt neceſſity, cauſed iron to be mixed with the money coined by his order.

This bad coin was either made by a mixture of copper, or wanted more or leſs of its juſt weight.

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* Carthaginenſes eo anno argentum in ſtipendium impoſitum primùm Romam advexerunt. Id quia probum non eſſe quæſtores renunciaverant, ex percentibuſque pars quarta decocta erat pecuniâ Romæ mutua ſumptâ intertrimentam ſuppleverunt. *Liv.* l. 32. n. 2.

A pound of gold and ſilver ought to be, as Pliny obſerves, fourſcore and ſixteen, or an hundred drachmas in weight. Marius Gratidianus, brother of the famous Marius, when he was prætor, ſuppreſſed ſeveral diſorders at Rome, relating to the coin, by wiſe regulations. The people, always ſenſible of amendments of that kind, to expreſs their gratitude, erected ſtatues to him in all the quarters of that city: It was * this Marius, whom Sylla, to avenge the cruelties committed by his brother, ordered to have his hands cut off, his legs broken, and his eyes put out, by the miniſtration of Catiline.

Flor. l. 3. c. 21. Senec. de ira, l. 3. c. 18.

The inconveniencies of exchanges were happily remedied by the coining of gold and ſilver ſpecies, that became the common price for all merchandiſe, of which the painful, and often uſeleſs, carriage, was thereby ſaved. But the antient commerce was ſtill in want of another advantage, which has been ſince wiſely contrived. I mean the method of remitting money from place to place, by bill directing the payment of it.

It is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh with certainty the difference between coins and medals, opinions differing very much upon that head. What ſeems moſt probable is, that a piece of metal ought to be called coin, when it has, on one ſide, the head of the reigning prince, or ſome divinity, and is always the ſame on the reverſe. Becauſe money being intended to be always current, the people ought to know it with eaſe, that they may not be ignorant of its value. Thus the head of Janus, with the beak of a galley on the reverſe, was the firſt money of Rome. Servius Tullius, inſtead of the head of a ſhip, ſtamped that of a ſheep, or an ox,

Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

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* M. Mario, cui vicatim populus ſtatuas poſuerat, cui thure & vino Romanus Populus ſupplicabat. L. Sylla perfringi crura, oculos erui, amputari manus juſſit; & quaſi toties occideret, quoties vulnerabat, paulatim & per ſingulos artus laceravit. *Senec.*

on it, from whence came the word *pecunia*, becauſe thoſe animals were of the kind called *pecus*. To the head of Janus, a woman armed was afterwards ſubſtituted, with the inſcription ROMA; and on the other ſide, a chariot drawn by two or four horſes, of which were the pieces of money called *Bigati*, and *Quadrigati*. Victories were alſo put on them, *Victoriati*. All theſe different ſpecies are allowed to be coins, as are thoſe which have certain marks on them; as an X, that is to ſay *Denarius*; an L, *Libra*; an S, *Semis*. Theſe different marks explain the weight and value of the piece.

Medals are pieces of metal, which generally expreſs on the reverſe ſome conſiderable event.

The parts of a medal are its two ſides, of which the one is called the face or head, and the other the reverſe. On each ſide of it there is a field, which is the middle of the medal; the circumference or border; and the exergue, which is the part at the bottom of the piece, upon which the figures repreſented by the medal are placed. Upon theſe two faces the type, and the inſcription or legend, are diſtinguiſhed. The figures repreſented are the type; the inſcription or legend is the writing we ſee on it, and principally that upon the border or circumference of the medal.

To have ſome idea of the ſcience of medals, it is neceſſary to know their origin and uſe; their diviſion into antient and modern, into Greek and Roman; what is meant by the medals of the early or later empire; of the great or ſmall bronze; what a ſeries is in the language of antiquarians. But this is not the proper place for explaining all theſe things. The book of father Joubert the jeſuit, on the knowledge of medals, contains what is neceſſary to be known, when a profound knowledge of them is not required.

I content myſelf with informing young perſons, who are deſirous to ſtudy hiſtory in all its extent, that the knowledge of medals is abſolutely neceſſary to that kind of learning. For hiſtory is not to be learnt in books only, which do not always tell the whole, or the truth of things. Recourſe muſt therefore be had to pieces, which ſupport it; and which neither malice nor ignorance can injure or vary; and ſuch are the monuments which we call medals. A thouſand things, equally important and curious are to be learnt from them, which are not to be found elſewhere. The pious and learned author of the memoirs upon the hiſtory of the emperors gives us a proof and model of the uſe which may be made of the knowledge of medals.

Mr. Tillemont.

As much may be ſaid of antique ſeals and carved ſtones, which have this advantage of medals, that being of a harder ſubſtance, and repreſenting the figures upon them in hollow, they preſerve them perpetually in all their perfection; whereas medals are more ſubject to ſpoil, either by being rubbed, or by the corroſion of ſaline particles, to which they are always expoſed. But to make amends, the latter being all of them far more abundant than the former in their various ſpecies, they are of much greater uſe to the learned.

The royal academy of *inſcriptions and polite learning*, eſtabliſhed and renewed ſo ſucceſsfully under the preceding reign, and which takes in all erudition, antient and modern for its object, will not a little contribute to preſerve amongſt us, not only a good taſte for inſcriptions and medals, which conſiſts in a noble ſimplicity; but one in general for all works of wit, that are principally founded upon antient authors, whoſe writings this academy make their peculiar ſtudy. I dare not expreſs here all that I think of a ſociety, into which I am admitted, and of which I am a member. I was choſen into it upon its being revived, without making any intereſt for ſo honourable a place, and indeed without knowing any thing of it; an introduction, in my opinion, highly worthy of learned Bodies. I could wiſh that I had merited it better, and had diſcharged the functions of a fellow of the academy with greater abilities.

SECT. VII.

Of pearls.

THE pearl is an hard, white, clear ſubſtance, which forms itſelf in the inſide of a certain kind of oyſters.

The teſtaceous fiſh, in which the pearls are found, is three or four times as large as the common oyſter. It is commonly called *pearl*, or *mother of pearl.*

Each mother of pearl generally produces ten or twelve pearls. An author, however, who has treated of their production, pretends to have ſeen to the number of an hundred and fifty in one of them, but in various degrees of perfection. The moſt perfect always appear the firſt, the reſt remain under the oyſter, at the bottom of the ſhell.

Pearl-fiſhing amongſt the antients was followed principally in the Indian ſeas, as it ſtill is, as well as in thoſe of America, and ſome parts of Europe. The divers, under whoſe arms a cord is tied, of which the end is made faſt to the bark, go down into the ſea ſeveral times ſucceſſively, and after having torn the oyſters from the rocks, and filled a baſket with them, they come up again with great agility.

This fiſhing is followed in a certain ſeaſon of the year. The oyſters are commonly put into the ſand, where they corrupt by the extraordinary heat of the ſun; and opening of themſelves ſhew their pearls, which, after that, it is ſufficient to clean and dry.

The other precious ſtones are quite rough, when taken from the rocks, where they grow, and derive their luſtre only from the induſtry of man. Nature alone furniſhes the ſubſtance which art muſt finiſh by cutting and poliſhing. But, as to pearls, that clear and ſhining * water, for which they are ſo much eſteemed, comes into the world with them. They are found compleatly poliſhed in the abyſſes of the ſea, and nature puts the laſt hand to them before they are torn from their ſhells.

The † perfection of pearls, according to Pliny, conſiſts in their being of a glittering whiteneſs, large, round, ſmooth, and of a great weight, qualities ſeldom united in the ſubject.

Plin. l. 9. c. 35. It is chimerical to imagine, that pearls take birth from dew drops; that they are ſoft in the ſea, and only harden when the air comes to them; that they waſte and come to nothing, when it thunders, as Pliny and ſeveral authors after him ſay.

Many things are highly prized only for being ſcarce, whoſe ‡ principal merit conſiſts in the danger people are at to get them. It is ſtrange that men ſhould ſet ſo ſmall a value upon their lives, and ſhould judge them of leſs worth than ſhells hidden in the ſea. If it were neceſſary, for the acquiring of wiſdom, to undergo all the pains taken to find ſome pearl of uncommon beauty and magnitude, (and as much may be ſaid of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones) we ought not to be a moment in reſolving to venture life, and that often for ſuch ineſtimable treaſure. Wiſdom is the greateſt of all fortunes; a pearl the moſt frivolous of riches: men, however, do nothing for the former, and hazard every thing for the latter.

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* *In the terms of jewellers, they call the ſhining colour of pearls water, from their being ſuppoſed to be made of water. Hence the pearl-pendants of Cleopatra were ſaid to be ineſtimable, both for their* water *and large ſize.*

† Dos omnis in candore, magnitudine orbe, livore, pondere; haud promptis rebus. *Plin.* l. 9. c. 35.

‡ Animâ hominis quæſita maxime placent. *Plin.* ibid.

SECT. VIII.

PURPLE.

STUFFS dyed with purple were one of the moſt conſiderable branches of the commerce of the antients, eſpecially of Tyre, which by induſtry and extreme ſkill had carried that precious dye to the higheſt poſſible degree of perfection. The purple diſputed value with gold itſelf in thoſe remote times, and was the diſtinguiſhing mark of the greateſt dignities of the univerſe, being principally appropriated to * princes, kings, ſenators, conſuls, dictators, emperors, and thoſe to whom Rome granted the honour of a triumph.

The purple is a colour, compounded between red and violet, taken from a ſea-fiſh covered with † a ſhell, called alſo *The purple.* Notwithſtanding various treatiſes written by the moderns upon this colour ſo highly prized by the antients, we are little acquainted with the nature of the liquor which produced it. Ariſtotle and Pliny have left many remarkable things upon this point, but ſuch as are more proper to excite, than fully to ſatiſfy curioſity. Ariſt. de Hiſt. Anim. l. 5. c. 15. The latter, who has ſpoken the moſt at large upon the preparation of purple, has confined all he ſays of it to a few lines. Plin. l. 9. c. 38. Theſe might ſuffice for the deſcription of a known practice in thoſe times; but is too little to give a proper idea of it to ours, after the uſe of it has ceaſed for many ages.

Pliny divides the ſeveral ſpecies of ſhells, from which the purple dye is taken, into two kinds; the Plin. l. 9. c. 39. firſt of which includes the ſmall kind of *Buccinum*, ſo called from the reſemblance between that fiſh's ſhell and a hunting-horn; and the ſecond the ſhells called purple, from the dye they contain.

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* Color nimio lepore vernans, obſcuritas rubens, nigredo ſanguinea regnantem diſcernit, dominum conſpicuum facit, & præſtat humano generi ne de conſpectu principis poſſit errari. *Caſſiod.* l. 1. *Var. Ep.* 2.

† *From thence purple habits are called in Latin,* conchyliatæ veſtes.

I,

It is believed that this latter kind were called alſo *Murex*.

Jul. Pollux. l. 1. c. 4. Caſſiod. l. 1. Var. Ep. 2.

Some authors affirm, that the Tyrians diſcovered the dye we ſpeak of by accident. An hungry dog having broke one of theſe ſhells with his teeth upon the ſea-ſide, and devoured one of theſe fiſh, all around his mouth and throat were dyed by it with ſo fine a colour, that it ſurpriſed every body that ſaw it, and gave birth to the deſire of making uſe of it.

Plin. l. 9. c. 36—39.

The purple * of Getulia in Africa, and that of † Laconia in Europe, were in great eſtimation; but the Tyrian in Aſia was preferred to all others; and that principally which was twice dipt, called for that reaſon *dibapha*. A pound of it was ſold at Rome for a thouſand denarii, that is, five hundred livres.

Memoirs of the Acad. of Sciences. An 1711.

The *Buccinum* and *Murex* ſcarce differed in any thing but the bigneſs of ſhell, and the preparation of them. The *Murex* was fiſhed for generally in the open ſea; whereas the *Buccinum* was taken from the ſtones and rocks to which it adhered. I ſhall ſpeak here only of the *Buccinum*, and ſhall extract a ſmall part of what I find upon it, in the learned diſſertation of Monſieur Reaumur.

The liquor could not be extracted from the *Buccinum*, without employing a very conſiderable length of time for that purpoſe. It was firſt neceſſary to break the hard ſhell, that covered them. This ſhell being broke at ſome diſtance from its opening, or the head of the *Buccinum*, the broken pieces were taken away. A ſmall vein then appeared, to uſe the expreſſion of the antients; or with greater propriety of ſpeech, a ſmall reſervoir, full of the proper liquor for dying purple. The colour of the liquor contained in this ſmall reſervoir, made it very diſtinguiſhable, and differs much from the fleſh of the animal. Ariſtole and Pliny ſay, it is white; and it is indeed inclining to white, or between white and yellow. The little reſervoir, in which it is contained, is not of equal bigneſs in all the *Buccina*; it is, however, commonly about a line, the twelfth part of an inch in breadth, and two or three in length.——It was this little reſervoir the antients were obliged to take from the *Buccinum*, in order to ſeparate the liquor contained in it. They were under a neceſſity of cutting it from each fiſh, which was a tedious work, at leaſt with regard to what it held: for there is not above a large drop of liquor in each reſervoir. From whence it is not ſurpriſing that fine purple ſhould be of ſo high a price amongſt them.

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* Veſtes Getulo murice tectas. Hor.
Robes with Getulian purple dy'd.

† Nec Laconicas mihi
Trahunt honeſtæ purpuras clientæ. Hor.
Nor do my noble clients wives with care
Laconia's purple ſpin for me to wear.

Ariſtotle and Pliny ſay indeed, that they did not take the pains to cut theſe little veſſels from the ſmaller fiſh of this kind ſeparately, but only pounded them in mortars, which was a means to ſhorten the work conſiderably. Vitruvius ſeems even to give this as the general preparation. It is, however, not eaſy to conceive, how a fine purple colour could be attained by this means. The excrements of the animal muſt conſiderably change the purple colour, when heated together, after being put into the water. For that ſubſtance is itſelf of a brown, greeniſh colour, which, no doubt, it communicated to the water, and muſt very much have changed the purple colour; the quantity of it being exceedingly greater than that of the liquor.

Architect. l. 7. c. 13.

In the preparation of purple, the cutting out the ſmall reſervoir of liquor from each *Buccinum*, was not the whole trouble. All thoſe ſmall veſſels were afterwards thrown into a great quantity of water, which was ſet over a ſlow fire for the ſpace of ten hours. As this mixture was left ſo long upon the fire, it was impoſſible for it not to take the purple colour: it took it much ſooner, as I am well convinced, ſays Mr. Reaumur, by a great number of experiments. But it was neceſſary to ſeparate the fleſhy parts, or little veſſels, wherein the liquor was contained; which could not be done without loſing much of the liquor, but by making thoſe fleſhy membranes diſſolve in hot water, to the top of which they roſe at length in ſcum, which was taken off with great care.

This was one manner in which the antients made the purple dye; that was not intirely loſt, as is believed, or at leaſt, was diſcovered again about fifty years ago by the royal ſociety of England. One ſpecies of the ſhells from which it is extracted, a kind of *Buccinum*, is common on the coaſt of that country. The obſervations of an Engliſhman upon this new diſcovery, were printed in the journals of France in 1686.

Another *Buccinum*, which gives alſo the purple dye, and is evidently one of thoſe deſcribed by Pliny, is found upon the coaſt of Poitou. The greateſt ſhells of this kind are from twelve to thirteen lines (of an inch) in length, and from ſeven to eight in diameter, in the thickeſt part of them. They are a ſingle ſhell turned ſpirally, like that of a garden ſnail, but ſomewhat longer.

In the journal of the learned for 1686, the various changes of colour through which the *Buccinum*'s liquor paſſes are deſcribed. If inſtead of taking out the veſſel which contains it according to the method of the antients, in making their purple, that veſſel be only opened, and the liquor preſſed out of it, the linnen or other ſtuffs, either of ſilk or wool, that imbibe this liquor, will appear only of a yellowiſh colour. But the ſame linnen or ſtuffs, expoſed to a moderate heat of the ſun, ſuch as it is in ſummer-mornings, in a few hours take very different colours. That yellow begins at firſt to incline a little to the green; thence it becomes of a lemon colour. To that ſucceeds a livelier green, which changes into a deep green; this terminates in a violet colour, and afterwards fixes in a very fine purple. Thus theſe linnens or ſtuffs, from their firſt yellow, proceed to a fine purple through all the various degrees of green. I paſs over many very curious obſervations of Monſieur Reaumur's upon theſe changes, which do not immediately come into my ſubject.

It ſeems ſurpriſing, that Ariſtotle and Pliny, in ſpeaking of the purple dye, and the ſhells or ſeveral countries from which it is extracted, ſhould not ſay a word of the changes of colour, ſo worthy of remark, through which the dye paſſes before it attains the purple. Perhaps not having ſufficiently examined theſe ſhells themſelves, and being acquainted with them only from accounts little exact, they make no mention of changes which did not happen in the ordinary preparation of purple; for, in that, the liquor being mingled in cauldrons with a great quantity of water, it turned immediately red.

Mr. Reaumur, in the voyage he made in the year 1710, upon the coaſt of Poitou, in conſidering the ſhells called *Buccinum*, which the ſea in its ebb had left upon the ſhore, he found a new ſpecies of purple dye, which he did not ſearch after; and which, according to all appearances, had not been known to the antients, though of the ſame ſpecies with their own. He obſerved that the *Buccina* generally thronged about certain ſtones, and arched heaps of ſand, in ſuch great quantities, that they might be taken up there by handfuls, though diſperſed and ſingle every-where elſe. He perceived, at the ſame time, that thoſe ſtones or heaps of ſand were covered with certain grains, of which the form reſembled that of a ſmall oblong bowl. The length of theſe grains was ſomewhat more than three lines, (a quarter of an inch) and their bigneſs ſomething above one line. They ſeemed to him to contain white liquor inclining to yellow. He preſſed out the juice of ſome of them upon his ruffle, which at firſt ſeemed only a little ſoiled with it; and he could perceive with difficulty, only a ſmall yellowiſh ſpeck here and there in the ſpot. The different objects, which diverted his attention, made him forget what he had done, and he thought no farther of it, till caſting his eyes, by accident, upon the ſame ruffle, about a quarter of an hour after, he was ſtruck with an agreeable ſurpriſe, to ſee a fine purple colour on the places where the grains had been ſqueezed. This adventure occaſioned many experiments, which give a wonderful pleaſure in the relation, and ſhew what great advantage it is to a nation to produce men of a peculiar genius, born with a taſte and natural diſpoſition for making happy diſcoveries in the works of nature.

Mr. Reaumur remarks, that the liquor was extracted from theſe grains, which he calls *the eggs of purple*, in an infinitely more commodious manner, than that practiſed by the antients for the liquor of the *Buccinum*. For there was nothing more to do, after having gathered theſe eggs, than to have them well waſhed in the ſea-water, to take off as much as poſſible the filth which might change the purple colour by mixing with it; there was, I ſay, nothing more to do than to put them into clean cloths. The liquor was then preſſed out, by twiſting the ends of theſe cloths different ways, in the ſame manner almoſt that the juice is preſſed out of gooſeberries to make jelly. And to abridge this trouble ſtill more, ſmall preſſes might be uſed, which would immediately preſs out all the liquor. We have ſeen before, how much time and pains were neceſſary for extracting the liquor from the *Buccina*.

Plin. l. 22. c. 2. The *Coccus* or *Coccum* ſupplied the antients with the fine colour and dye we call ſcarlet, which in ſome meaſure diſputed beauty and ſplendor with purple. Quintilian * joins them together; where he complains, that the parents of his times dreſſed their children, from their cradles in ſcarlet and purple, and inſpired them in that early age, with a taſte for luxury and magnificence. Scarlet, according to * Pliny, ſupplied men with more ſplendid garments than purple, and at the ſame time more innocent, becauſe it was not neceſſary to hazard life in attaining it.

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* Quid non adultus concupiſcet, qui in purpuris repit? Nondum prima verba exprimit, & jam coccum intelligit, jam conchylium poſcit. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 1.

Scarlet is generally belived the ſeed of a tree, of the holm-tree kind. It has been diſcovered to be a ſmall round excreſcence, red, and of the bigneſs of a pea, which grows upon the leaves of a little ſhrub, of the holm ſpecies, called *ilex aculeata cocciglandifera.* This excreſcence is cauſed by the bite of an inſect, which lays its eggs in it. The Arabians term this grain *Kermes*; the Latins, *Coccus* and *vermiculas*; from whence the words *vermilion*, and *Cuſculum* or *quiſquilium*, are derived. A great quantity of it is gathered in Provence and Languedoc. The water of the Gobelin's river is proper for dying ſcarlet.

There are two kinds of ſcarlet. The ſcarlet of France or of the Gobelins, which is made of the grain I have mentioned; and the ſcarlet of Holland, which derives itſelf from cochineal. This is a drug that comes from the Eaſt-Indies. Authors do not agree upon the nature of cochineal. Some believe it a kind of worm, and others that it is only the ſeed of a tree.

The firſt kind is ſeldom uſed ſince the diſcovery of cochineal, which produces a much more beautiful and lively ſcarlet than that of the *Kermes*, which is deeper, and comes nearer to the Roman purple. It has, however, one advantage of the cochineal-ſcarlet; which is, that it does not change colour when wet falls upon it, as the other does, that turns blackiſh immediately after.

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* Tranſalpina Gallia herbis Tyrium atque conchylium tingit, omneſque alios colores. Nec quærit in profundis murices—ut inveniat per quod matrona adultero placeat, corruptor inſidietur nuptæ: Stans & in ſicco carpit, quo fruges modo. *Plin.*

SECT. IX.

Of ſilken ſtuffs.

SILK, as Monſieur Mahudal obſerves in the diſſertation * he has given us on this ſubject, of which I ſhall make great uſe in this place; ſilk, I ſay, is one of the things made uſe of for many ages almoſt through all Aſia, in Africa, and many parts of Europe, without peoples knowing what it was; whether it was, that the people's amongſt whom it grew, gave ſtrangers little acceſs to them; or that, jealous of an advantage peculiar to themſelves, they apprehended being deprived of it by foreigners. It was undoubtedly from the difficulty of being informed of the origin of this precious thread ſo many ſingular opinions of the moſt antient authors took birth.

Herod. l. 3. c. 106. To judge of the deſcription Herodotus makes of a kind of wool much finer and more beautiful than the ordinary kind, and which, he ſays, was the growth of a tree in the Indies, (the moſt remote country known by the eaſtern people of his times to the eaſtward) that idea ſeems the firſt they had of ſilk. It was not extraordinary, that the people ſent into that country to make diſcoveries, ſeeing only the bags of the ſilk-worms hanging from the trees in a climate, where thoſe inſects breed, feed upon the leaves, and naturally aſcend the branches, ſhould take thoſe bags for lumps of wool.

It is likely, that Theophraſtus, upon the relation of thoſe miſtaken perſons, might conceive theſe a real a real ſpecied of trees, and rank them in a particular claſs, which he enumerates, of trees bearing wool. There is good reaſon to believe Virgil of the ſame opinion:

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* *Memoirs of the academy of Inſcriptions,* Vol. V.

> Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.
> *Georg.* l. 2. v. 121.
> *As India's ſons*
> *Comb the ſoft ſlender fleeces of the bough.*

Ariſtotle, though the moſt antient of the naturaliſts, has given a deſcription of an inſect that comes neareſt the ſilk-worm. It is where he ſpeaks of the different ſpecies of the caterpillar, that he deſcribes one, which comes from an horned worm, to which he does not give the name of Βόμβυξ, till it has ſhut itſelf up in a cod or bag, from whence, he ſays, it comes out a butterfly; it paſſes through theſe ſeveral changes, according to him, in ſix months.

Ariſt. l. 5. hiſt. anim. c. 19.

About four hundred years after Ariſtotle, Pliny, to whom that philoſopher's hiſtory of animals was perfectly known, has repeated the ſame fact literally in his own. He places alſo, under the name *Bombyx*, not only this ſpecies of worm, which, as ſome report produced the ſilk of Cos; but ſeveral other caterpillars found in the ſame iſland, that he ſuppoſes to form there the cods or bags, from which, he ſays, the women of the country ſpin ſilk, and make ſtuffs of great fineneſs and beauty.

Plin. l. 11. c. 22, 23.

Pauſanias, that wrote ſome years after Pliny, is the firſt who informs us, that this worm was of Indian extraction, and that the Greeks called it Σηρής, from whence it derived the name of *Seres*, the inhabitants of the Indies, amongſt whom we are ſince convinced, this inſect was firſt found.

Pauſan. l. 6. p. 394.

The worm, which produces ſilk, is an inſect ſtill leſs wonderful, for the precious matter it ſupplies for the making of different ſtuffs, than for the various forms it takes, either before or after its having wrapped itſelf up in the rich bag, or cod, it ſpins for itſelf. From the grain or egg it is at firſt, it becomes a worm of conſiderable ſize, and of a white colour inclining to yellow. When it is grown large, it incloſes itſelf within its bag, where it takes the form of a kind of grey bean, in which there ſeems neither life nor motion. It comes to life again to take the form of a butterfly, after having made itſelf an opening through its tomb of ſilk. At laſt, dying in reality, it prepares itſelf, by the egg or ſeed it leaves, a new life, which the fine weather and the heat of the ſummer are to aſſiſt it to reſume. In the firſt volume of the *Spectacle de la Nature*, may be ſeen a more extenſive and more exact deſcription of theſe various changes.

It is from this bag or cod, into which the worm ſhuts itſelf, that the different kinds of ſilken manufactures are made, which ſerve not only for the luxury and magnificence of the rich, but the ſubſiſtance of the poor, who ſpin, wind, and work them. Each bag or cod is found to contain more than nine hundred feet of thread; and this thread is double, and glued together throughout its whole length, which in conſequence amounts to almoſt two thouſand feet. How wonderful it is, that out of a ſubſtance ſo ſlight and fine, as almoſt to eſcape the eye, ſtuffs ſhould be compoſed of ſuch ſtrength, and duration, as thoſe made of ſilk! But what luſtre, beauty, and delicacy, are there in thoſe ſtuffs! It is not ſurpriſing, that the commerce of the antients conſiſted conſiderably in them; and that, as they were very ſcarce in thoſe times, their price ran exceding high. Vopiſcus * aſſures us, that the emperor Aurelian, for that reaſon, refuſed the empreſs his wife an habit of ſilk, which ſhe earneſtly ſolicited him to give her; and that he ſaid to her: *The gods forbid that I ſhould purchaſe ſilk at the price of its weight in gold*; for the price of a pound of ſilk was at that time a pound of gold.

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* Vellem holoſericam neque ipſe in veſtiario ſuo habuit, neque alteri utendum dedit. Et cum ab eo uxor ſua peteret, ut unico pallio blatteo Serico uteretur, ille reſpondit: *Abſit, ut auro fila penſentur*. Libra enim auri tunc libra Serici fuit. *Vopiſc. in Aurel.*

It was not till very late, that the uſe of ſilk was known and became common in Europe. The hiſtorian Procopius dates the æra of it about the middle of the fifth century, under the the emperor Juſtinian. He gives the honour of this diſcovery to two monks, who, ſoon after their arrival at Conſtantinople from the Indies, heard, in converſation, that Juſtinian, was extremely ſolicitous about depriving the Perſians, of their ſilk trade with the Romans. They found means to be preſented to him, and propoſed a ſhorter way to deprive the Perſians of that trade, than that of a commerce with the Ethiopians, which he had thoughts of ſetting on foot; and this was, by teaching the Romans the art of making ſilks for themſelves. The emperor, convinced by the account they gave him of the poſſibility of the means, ſent them back to Serinda (the city's name where they had reſided) to get the eggs of the inſects, which they told him could not be brought alive. Thoſe monks, after their ſecond voyage, returning to Conſtantinople, hatched the eggs, they had brought from Serinda, in warm dung. When the worms came out of them, they fed them with white mulberry leaves, and demonſtrated by the ſucceſs of that experiment all the mechaniſm of ſilk in which the emperor had deſired to be informed.

Procop. l. 2. de bell. Vandal.

From that time the uſe of ſilk ſpread by degrees into ſeveral parts of Europe. Manufactures of it were ſet up at Athens, Thebes, and Corinth. It was not till about 1130, that Roger, king of Sicily, eſtabliſhed one at Palermo. It was at that time, in this iſland and Calabria, workment in ſilk were firſt ſeen, who were part of the booty that prince brought from the cities of Greece I have mentioned, which he conquered in his expedition to the Holy Land. In fine, the reſt of Italy and Spain having learnt of the Sicilians and Calabrians to breed the worms, and to ſpin and work their ſilk, the ſtuffs made of it began to be manufactured in France, eſpecially in the ſouth parts of that kingdom, where mulberry-trees were raiſed with moſt eaſe. Lewis XI, in 1470, eſtabliſhed ſilken manufactures at Tours. The firſt workmen employed in them were brought from Genoa, Venice, Florence, and even from Greece. Works of ſilk were, however, ſo ſcarce even at court, that Henry II. was the firſt prince that wore ſilk ſtockings which he did at the nuptials of his ſiſter.

They are now become very common, but do not ceaſe to be one of the moſt aſtoniſhing wonders of nature. Have the moſt ſkilful artificers been able hitherto to imitate the curious work of the ſilkworm? Have they found the ſecret to form ſo fine, ſo ſtrong, ſo even, ſo ſhining and ſo extended a thread? Have they a more valuable ſubſtance for the fabric of the richeſt ſtuffs? Do they know in what manner this worm converts the juice of a leaf into threads of gold? Can they give a reaſon why a matter, liquid before the air comes to it, ſhould condenſe and extend to infinitude afterwards? Can we explain how this worm comes to have ſenſe to form itſelf a retreat for the winter, within the innumerable folds of the ſilk, of which itſelf is the principal; and to expect, in that rich tomb, a kind of reſurrection, which ſupplies it with the wings its firſt birth had not given it? Theſe are the reflections made by the author of the new commentary upon Job, upon account of theſe words: *Quis* * *poſuit in nentibus ſapientiam? Who hath given Wiſdom to certain animals, that have the induſtry to ſpin?*

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* *This, Mr. Rollin ſays in the margent, is the ſenſe, according to the Hebrew of the 36th verſe of the 38th chapter of Job: Which in the Engliſh verſion is only,* Who hath put wiſdom in the inward parts.

CONCLUSION.

FROM what has been ſaid hitherto, we may conclude commerce one of the parts of government, capable of contributing the moſt to the riches and plenty of a ſtate: and therefore that it merits the particular attention of princes and their miniſters. It does not appear indeed, that the Romans ſet any value upon it. Dazzled with the glory of arms, they would have believed it a diſgrace to them to have applied their cares to the intereſt of trade, and in ſome meaſure to become merchants: they, who believed themſelves intended by fate to govern mankind, and were ſolely intent upon the conqueſt of the univerſe. Neither does it ſeem poſſible, that the ſpirit of conqueſt and the ſpirit of commerce ſhould not mutually exclude each other in the ſame nation. The one neceſſarily introduces tumult, diſorder, and deſolation, and carries trouble and confuſion along with it into all places: the other, on the contrary, breathes nothing but peace and tranquillity. I ſhall not examine in this place, whether the averſion of the Romans for commerce were founded in reaſon; or if a people, ſolely devoted to war, are thereby the happier. I only ſay, that a king who truly loves his ſubjects, and endeavours to plant abundance in his dominions, will ſpare no pains to make traffic flouriſh and ſucceed in them without difficulty. It has been often ſaid, and it is a maxim generally received, that commerce demands only liberty and protection: liberty within wiſe reſtrictions, in not tying down ſuch as exerciſe it to the obſervance of inconvenient, burthenſome, and frequently uſeleſs regulations; protection in granting them all the ſupports they have occaſion for. We have ſeen the vaſt expences Ptolomy Philadelphus was at, in making commerce flouriſh in Egypt; and how much glory the ſucceſs of his meaſures acquired him. An intelligent and well-inclined prince will intermeddle only in commerce, to baniſh fraud and bad arts from it by ſeverity, and will leave all the profits to his ſubjects, who have the trouble of it; well convinced, that he ſhall find ſufficient advantages from it by the great riches it will bring into his dominions.

I am ſenſible that commerce has its inconveniencies and dangers. Gold, ſilver, diamonds, pearls, rich ſtuffs, in which it conſiſts in a great meaſure, contribute to ſupport an infinity of pernicious arts which tend only to enervate and corrupt a people's manners. It were to be deſired, that the commerce might be removed from a Chriſtian nation, which regards only ſuch things as promote luxury, vanity, effeminacy, and idle expences. But this is impoſſible. As long as bad deſires ſhall have dominion over mankind, all things, even the beſt, will be abuſed by them. The abuſe merits condemnation, but is no reaſon for aboliſhing uſes, which are not bad in their own nature. This maxim will have its weight with regard to all the ſciences I ſhall treat of in the ſequel of this work.

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

Of the liberal arts. Honours rendered thoſe who excelled in them.

WE come now to treat of the *arts* which are call *Liberal*, in oppoſition to ſuch as are *Mechanic*, becauſe the firſt are conſidered as the moſt noble and more immediately dependent upon the underſtanding. Theſe arts are principally architecture, ſculpture, painting, and muſic.

The arts as well as ſciences have had their happy ages, in which they have appeared with greater ſplendor, and caſt a ſtronger light: but, as the [*] hiſtorian obſerves, this ſplendor, this light, was ſoon obſcured, and the duration of theſe times of perfection of no great continuance. It was longer in

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[*] Hoc idem eveniſſe grammaticis, plaſtis, pictoribus, ſculptoribus, quiſquis temporum notis inſtiterit reperiet, & eminentia cujuſq; operis arctiſſimis temporum clauſtris circumdata. *Paterc.* l. 1.

Greece than in any other part of the world. To begin the reign of the liberal arts no higher than the time of Pericles, and make it endure only to the death of Alexander's firſt ſucceſſors, (and each of theſs Æras may be extended both at their beginning and end,) the ſpace will be at leaſt two hundred years, during which appeared a multitude of perſons illuſtrious for excelling in all the arts.

It is not to be doubted but rewards, honours, and emulation, contributed very much in forming theſe great men. What ardour muſt the laudable cuſtom have excited, which prevailed in many cities of Greece, of exhibiting in the ſhews ſuch as ſucceeded beſt in the arts of inſtituting public diſputes between them, and of diſtributing prizes to the victors, in the ſight and with the applauſes of an whole people!

Greece, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, thought herſelf obliged to render as much honour to the celebrated Polygnotus, as ſhe could have paid to Lycurgus and Solon; to prepare magnificent entries for him into the cities where he had finiſhed ſome paintings; and to appoint, by a decree of the Amphitryons, that he ſhould be maintained at the public expence in all the places to which he ſhould go.

What honours have not the greateſt princes paid in all ages to ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the arts! We have ſeen Alexander the Great, and Demetrius Poliorcetes, forget their rank to familiarize themſelves with two illuſtrious painters, and come where they worked, to pay homage, in ſome manner, to the rare talents and ſuperior merit of thoſe extraordinary perſons.

Cav. Ridolphi in the life of Titian.

One of the greateſt emperors that reigned in the Weſt ſince Charlemagne, ſhewed the value he ſet upon painting when he made Titian Count Palatine, and honoured him with the golden key, and all the orders of knighthood.

Francis I, king of France, his illuſtrious rival as well in the actions of peace as thoſe of war, outdid him much, when he ſaid to the lords of his court of Leonardo da Vinci, then expiring in his arms: *You are in the wrong to wonder at the honour I pay this great painter; I can make a great many ſuch Lords as you every day, but only God can make ſuch a man as him I now loſe.*

Vaſari in the life of Leonardo da Vinci.

Princes who ſpeak and act in this manner, do themſelves at leaſt as much honour as thoſe whoſe merit they extol and reſpect. * It is true, the arts, by the eſteem kings profeſs for them, acquire a dignity and ſplendor that render them more illuſtrious and exalted: but the arts, in their turn, reflect a like luſtre upon kings, and ennoble them alſo in ſome meaſure, in immortalizing their names and actions by works tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity.

Paterculus, whom I have already cited upon the ſhort duration of arts when they have attained their perfection, makes another very true remark, confirmed not only by the experience of the remote, but later, ages; which is, † that great men in every kind, arts, ſciences, policy, and war, are generally cotemporaries.

If we recal the times when Apelles, Praxiteles, Lyſippus, and other excellent artiſts flouriſhed in Greece, we find her greateſt poets, orators, and philoſophers, were then alive. Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, Demoſthenes, Iſocrates, Thucydides, Xenophon, Æſchylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Ariſtophanes, Menander, and many others, lived all of them almoſt in the ſame age. What men, what generals, had Greece at the ſame time? Had ever the world any ſo conſummate?

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* De pictura, arte quondam nobili, tunc cum expeteretur a regibus populiſq; & illos nobilitante, quos dignata eſſet poſteris tradere. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 1.

† Quis abunde mirari poteſt, quod eminentiſſima cujuſq; profeſſionis ingenia in eandem formam & in idem arctati temporis * congruant ſpatium. *Paterc.* l. 1. c. 16.

* Sic Lipſius legit, pro *congruens.*

The Auguſtan age had the ſame fate in every reſpect. In that of Lewis XIV, what a number of great men lived of every kind, whoſe names, actions, and works, will celebrate that glorious reign for ever?

It ſeems as if there were certain periods of time, in which I know not what ſpirit of perfection univerſally diffuſes itſelf in the ſame country throughout all profeſſions, without it being poſſible to aſſign how or why it ſhould happen ſo. We may ſay, however that all arts and talents are allied in ſome manner to each other. The taſte of perfection is the ſame in whatever depends upon genius. If cultivation be wanting, an infinity of talents lie buried. When true taſte awakes, thoſe talents deriving mutual aid from each other, ſhine out in a peculiar manner. The misfortune is, that this perfection itſelf, when arrived at its ſupreme degree, is the forerunner of the decline of arts and ſciences, which are never nearer their ruin, than when they appear the moſt remote from it: Such are the inſtability and variation of all human things!

CHAPTER III.

OF ARCHITECTURE.

ARTICLE I.

Of Architecture in general.

SECT. I.

Riſe, progreſs, and perfection of Architecture.

IT is not to be doubted but the care of building houſes immediately ſucceeded that of cultivating lands, and that architecture is not of a much later date than agriculture. Hence Theodoret calls the latter the eldeſt ſiſter of architecture. The exceſſive heats of ſummer, the ſeverity of winter, the inconvenience of rain, and the violence of wind, ſoon inſtructed mankind to ſeek for ſhelter, and provide themſelves a retreat to defend them againſt the inclemencies of weather. Theodor. orat. 4. de Provid. p. 359.

At firſt, theſe were only little huts, built very rudely with the branches of trees, and very indifferently covered. In the time of Vitruvius, they ſhewed at Athens, as curious remains of antiquity, the roofs of the Areopagus, made of clay; and at Rome in the temple of the capitol, the cottage of Romulus, thatched with ſtraw. Vitr. l. 1. c. 1.

There were afterwards buildings of wood, which ſuggeſted the idea of columns and architraves. Thoſe columns took their model from the trees which were uſed at firſt to ſupport the roof, and the architrave is only the large beam, as its name implies.

implies, that was laid between the columns and the roof.

The workmen, in conſequence of their application to building, became every day more induſtrious, and expert. Inſtead of thoſe ſlight huts with which they contented themſelves at firſt, they began to erect walls of ſtone and brick upon ſolid foundations, and to cover them with boards and tiles. In proceſs of time, their reflections, founded upon experience, led them on to the knowledge of the juſt rules of proportion; the taſte of which is natural to man, the author of his being having implanted in him the invariable principles of it, to make him ſenſible that he is born for order in all things. * Hence it is, as St. Auſtin obſerves, that in a building, where all the parts have a mutual relation to each other, and are ranged each in its proper place, the ſymmetry catches the eye, and occaſions pleaſure: whereas if the windows, for inſtance, are ill diſpoſed, ſome large and others ſmall, ſome placed higher and ſome lower, the irregularity offends the ſight, and ſeems to do it a kind of injury, as St. Auſtin expreſſes it.

It was therefore by degrees, that architecture attained the height of perfection, to which the maſters in the art have carried it. At firſt it confined itſelf to what was neceſſary to man in the uſes of life, having nothing in view but ſolidity, healthfulneſs, and conveniency. An houſe ſhould be durable, ſituated in an wholeſome place, and have all the conveniencies that can be deſired. Architecture afterwards laboured to adorn buildings, and make them more ſplendid, and for that reaſon called in other arts to its aid. At laſt came pomp, grandeur,

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* Itaque in hoc ipſo ædificio ſingula bene conſiderantes, non poſſumus non offendi, quod unum oſtium videmus in latere, alterum prope in medio, nec tamen in medio collocatum. Quippe in rebus fabricatis, nulla cogente neceſſitate, iniqua dimenſio partium facere ipſi adſpectui velut quamdam videtur injuriam. *S. Auguſtin. de ord.* l. 2. c. 11. n. 34.

and magnificence, highly laudable on many occaſions, but ſoon ſtrangely abuſed by luxury.

The holy Scripture ſpeaks of a city built by Cain, Gen. iv. 17. after God had curſed him for the murder of his brother Abel; which is the firſt mentioned of edifices in hiſtory. From thence we learn the time and place in which architecture had its origin. The deſcendants of Cain, to whom the ſame Scripture aſcribes the invention of almoſt all the arts, carried this no doubt to a conſiderable height of perfection. And it is certain, that after the deluge, men, before they ſeparated from each other, and diſperſed themſelves into the different regions of the world, reſolved to ſignalize themſelves by a ſuperb building, which again drew down the wrath of God upon them. Aſia therefore was the cradle of architecture, where it had its birth, where it attained a great degree of perfection, and from whence it ſpread into the other parts of the univerſe.

Babylon and Nineveh, the vaſteſt and moſt magnificent cities mentioned in hiſtory, were built by Nimrod, Noah's great grandſon, and the moſt ancient of conquerors. I do not believe, that they were carried at firſt to that prodigious magnificence, which was afterwards the aſtoniſhment of the world; but certainly they were very great and extenſive from thenceforth, as the * names of ſeveral Gen. x. other cities, built in the ſame times after the model v. 11, 12. of the capital, teſtify.

The erection of the famous pyramids, of the lake Mœris, the labyrinth, of the conſiderable number of temples in Egypt, and of the obeliſks which are to this day the admiration and ornament of Rome, ſhew with what ardour and ſucceſs the Egyptians applied themſelves to architecture.

It is however neither to Aſia nor Egypt that this art is indebted for that degree of perfection, to

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* Erech, *the long city.* Rehoboth, *the broad city.* Reſen, *the great city.* *According to the Hebrew.*

which it attained; and there is reaſon to doubt, whether the buildings, ſo much boaſted by both, were as eſtimable for their juſtneſs and regularity, as their enormous magnitude; in which perhaps their principal merit conſiſted. The deſigns, which we have of the ruins of Perſepolis, prove that the kings of Perſia, of whoſe opulence ancient hiſtory ſays ſo much, had but indifferent artiſts in their pay.

However it be, it appears from the very names of the three principal orders of architecture, that the invention, if not perfection, of them is to be aſcribed to Greece, and that it was ſhe who preſcribed the rules, and ſupplied the models of them. As much may be ſaid with regard to all the other arts, and almoſt all the ſciences. Not to ſpeak in this place of the great captains, philoſophers of every ſect, poets, orators, geometricians, painters, ſculptors, architects, and, in general, of all that relates to the underſtanding, which Greece produced: whither we muſt ſtill go as to the ſchool of good taſte in every kind, if we deſire to excel.

It is a misfortune that there is nothing written by the Greeks upon architecture now extant. The only books we have of theirs upon this ſubject, are the ſtructures of thoſe ancient maſters ſtill ſubſiſting, whoſe beauty, univerſally acknowledged, has for almoſt two thouſand years been the admiration of all good judges: works infinitely ſuperior to all the precepts they could have left us; * practice in all things being infinitely preferable to theory.

For want of Greeks, Vitruvius, a Latin author, will come in to my aſſiſtance. His being architect to Julius and Auguſtus Cæſar (for according to the moſt received opinion he lived in their times) gives good reaſon to preſume upon the excellency of his work, and the merit of the author. And the

* In omnibus ferè minus valent præcepta, quam experimenta. *Quintil.*

Critics accordingly place him in the firſt claſs of the great geniuſſes of antiquity. To this firſt motive may be added the character of the age in which he lived, when good taſte prevailed univerſally, and the emperor Auguſtus piqued himſelf upon adorning Rome with buildings equal to the grandeur and majeſty of the empire; which made him ſay, * that he found the city of brick, but left almoſt entirely of marble. I had great occaſion for ſo excellent a guide as Vitruvius, in a ſubject entirely new to me, I ſhall make great uſe of the notes Mr. Perrault has annexed to his tranſlation of this author, as well as of Mr. Chambrai's reflections in his work intitled, *Ancient and modern architecture compared*, which I know is in high eſteem with the judges; and thoſe of Mr. Felibian, in his book, called, *Of the principles of architecture*, &c.

The antients, as well as we, had three ſorts of architecture; the civil, the military, and the naval. The firſt lays down rules for all public and private buildings for the uſe of citizens in time of peace. The ſecond treats of the fortification of places, and every thing of that kind relating to war: And the third the building of ſhips, and whatever is conſequential of, or relates to it. I ſhall ſpeak here only of the firſt; intending to ſay ſomething elſewhere of the two others; and ſhall begin by giving a general idea of the ſeveral orders of building.

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* Urbem, neque pro majeſtate imperii ornatam, & inundationibus incendiiſque obnoxiam, excoluit adeò, ut jure ſit gloriatus, marmoream ſe relinquere, quam lateritiam accepiſſet. *Sueton. in Aug.* c. 28.

SECT. II.

Of the three orders of architecture of the Greeks, and the two others, which have been added to them.

THE occaſion there was for erecting different ſorts of buildings made artiſts alſo eſtabliſh different proportions, in order to have ſuch as were proper for every kind of ſtructure, according to the magnitude, ſtrength, ſplendor and beauty, they were directed to give them: and from theſe different proportions they compoſed different orders.

Order, as a term of architecture, ſignifies the different ornaments, meaſures and proportions of the columns and pilaſters, which ſupport or adorn great buildings.

There are three orders of the architecture of the Greeks, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. They may with reaſon be called the ſupreme perfection of the orders, as they contain not only all that is fine, but all that is neceſſary in the art; there being only three ways of building, the ſolid, the middle, and the delicate, which are all perfectly executed in theſe three orders.

To theſe the Latins have added two others, the Tuſcan and Compoſite orders, which are far below the former in value and excellency.

I. *Doric Order.*

The Doric order may be ſaid to have been the firſt regular idea of architecture, and as the eldeſt ſon of this art, had the honour to be alſo the firſt in building temples and palaces. The antiquity of its origin is almoſt immemorial: Vitruvius however aſcribes it with probability enough to a prince of Achaia, named Dorus, the ſame evidently who gave his name to the Dorians, and being ſovereign of

Vitr. l. 4. c. 1.

of Peloponneſus, cauſed a magnificent temple to be erected in the city of Argos to the goddeſs Juno. That temple was the firſt model of this order; in imitation of which, the neighbouring people built ſeveral others: the moſt famous of theſe was that conſecrated by the inhabitants of the city of Olympia to Jupiter, ſurnamed the Olympic.

The eſſential character and ſpecific quality of the Doric order is ſolidity. For this reaſon it ought principally to be uſed in great edifices and magnificent ſtructures, as in the gates of citadels and cities, the outſides of temples, in public halls, and the like places, where delicacy of ornaments ſeems leſs conſiſtent: whereas the bold and gigantic manner of this order has a wonderful happy effect, and carries a certain manly and ſimple beauty, which forms properly what is called the grand manner.

II. *Ionic Order.*

After the appearance of theſe regular buildings, and famous Doric temples, architecture did not confine itſelf long to theſe firſt eſſays: the emulation of the neighbouring people ſoon enlarged and carried it to its perfection. The Ionians were the Vitr. l. 4. c. 1. firſt rivals of the Dorians; and as they had not the honour of the invention, they endeavoured to refine upon the authors. Conſidering, therefore, that the form of a man, ſuch for example as Hercules was, from which the Doric order had been formed, was too robuſt and heavy to agree with ſacred manſions and the repreſentation of heavenly things, they compoſed one after their own manner, and choſe a model of a more delicate and elegant proportion, which was that of a woman, having more regard to the beauty than ſolidity of the work, to which they added abundance of ornaments.

Amongſt the celebrated temples built by the people of Ionia, the moſt memorable, though the moſt antient, is the famous temple of Diana at Epheſus, of which I ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

III. *Corinthian Order.*

The Corinthian order, which is the higheſt degree of perfection architecture ever attained, was invented at Corinth. Though its antiquity be not exactly known, nor the preciſe time in which Callimachus lived, to whom Vitruvius gives the whole glory of it, we may judge, however, from the nobleneſs of its ornaments, that it was invented during the magnificence and ſplendor of Corinth, and ſoon after the Ionic, which it much reſembles, except only in the capital or chapiter. A kind of
Vitr. l. 4. c. 1. chance gave birth to it. Callimachus having ſeen, as he paſſed by a tomb, a baſket, which ſome body had ſet upon a plant of Acanthus or bearsfoot, was ſtruck with the accidental ſymmetry and happy effect produced by the leaves of the plant, growing through and incircling the baſket; and though the baſket with the Acanthus had no natural relation to the capital of a column and a maſſy building, he imitated the manner of it in the columns he afterwards made at Corinth, eſtabliſhing and regulating by this model the proportions and ornaments of the Corinthian order.

This Callimachus was called by the Athenians κατάτεχνος, *expert and excellent in art*, from his delicacy and addreſs in cutting marble: and according
Plin. l. 34. c. 9. Pauſan. l. 1. p. 48. to Pliny and Pauſanias, he was alſo called κακιζότεχνος, becauſe he was never contented with himſelf, and was always retouching his works, with which he was never entirely ſatisfied: full of ſuperior ideas of the beautiful and the grand, he never found the execution ſufficiently equal to them; *ſemper calumniator ſui, nec finem habens diligentiæ*, ſays Pliny.

IV. *Tuſcan Order.*

The Tuſcan order, according to the general opinion, had its origin in Tuſcany, of which it retains the name. Of all the orders it is the moſt ſimple, and has the feweſt ornaments. It is even ſo groſs, that it is ſeldom uſed except for ſome ruſtic building, wherein there is occaſion only for a ſingle order; or at beſt for ſome great edifice, as an amphitheatre, or other the like works.

In Mr. Chambrai's judgment the Tuſcan column, without any architrave, is the only one that deſerves to be uſed; and to confirm his opinion of this order, he cites an example of it from Trajan's pillar, one of the moſt ſuperb remains of the Roman magnificence now in being, and which has more immortalized that emperor, than all the pens of hiſtorians could have done. This mauſolæum, if it may be called ſo, was erected to him by the ſenate and people of Rome, in acknowledgment of the great ſervices he had done to his country. And that the memory of them might ſubſiſt throughout all ages, and endure as long as the empire, they cauſed them to be engraven in marble, and in the richeſt ſtile that ever was conceived. Architecture was the writer of this ingenious kind of hiſtory: and becauſe ſhe was to record a Roman, ſhe did not make uſe of the Greek orders, though incomparably more perfect, and more uſed even in Italy than the two others of their own growth; leſt the glory of that admirable monument ſhould in ſome meaſure be divided, and to ſhew at the ſame time, that there is nothing ſo ſimple to which art cannot add perfection. She choſe therefore the column of the Tuſcan order, which till then had been only uſed in groſs and ruſtic things, and made their rude maſs bring forth the choiceſt and moſt noble maſter-piece of art in the world, which time has ſpared and preſerved entire down to us, amidſt the infinity of ruins, with which Rome abounds. And indeed it is a kind of wonder to ſee that the Coliſæum, the theatre of Marcellus, the great Circuſes, the baths of Diocleſian, Caracalla, and Antoninus, the ſuperb mole of Adrian's burying-place, the Septizonum of Severus, the Mauſolæum of Auguſtus, and ſo many other ſtructures, which ſeemed to be built for eternity, are now ſo defaced and ruinous, that their original form can ſcarce be diſcerned, whilſt Trajan's pillar, of which the ſtructure ſeems far leſs durable, ſtill ſubſiſts entire in all its parts.

V. *Compoſite Order.*

The Compoſite order was added to the others by the Romans. It participates and is compoſed of the Ionic and Corinthian, which occaſioned its being called the Compoſite: but it has ſtill more ornaments than the Corinthian. Vitruvius, the father of the architects, ſays nothing of it.

Mr. Chambrai objects ſtrongly againſt the bad taſte of the modern Compoſitors, who, amidſt ſo many examples of the incomparable architecture of the Greeks, which alone merits that name, abandoning the guidance of thoſe great maſters, take a quite different route, and blindly give into that bad taſte of art, which has by their means crept into the orders under the name of Compoſite.

Gothic architecture.

That which is remote from the antient proportions, and is loaded with chimerical ornaments, is called the Gothic architecture, and was brought by the Goths from the north.

There are two ſpecies of Gothic architecture; the one antient, the other modern. The antient is that which the Goths brought from the north in the fifth century. The edifices built in the antient Gothic manner were maſſy, heavy, and groſs. The works of the modern Gothic ſtile were more delicate, eaſy, light, and of an aſtoniſhing boldneſs of workmanſhip. It was long in uſe, eſpecially in Italy. It is ſurpriſing, that Italy, abounding with monuments of ſo exquiſite a taſte, ſhould quit its own noble architecture, eſtabliſhed by antiquity, ſucceſs, and poſſeſſion, to adopt a barbarous, foreign, confuſed, irregular, and hideous manner. But it has made amends for that fault, by being the firſt to return to the antient taſte, which is now ſolely and univerſally practiſed. The modern Gothic continued from the thirteenth century till the re-eſtabliſhment of the antient architecture in the fourteenth. All the antient cathedrals are of Gothic architecture. There are ſome very antient churches built entirely in the Gothic taſte, that want neither ſolidity nor beauty, and which are ſtill admired by the greateſt architects, upon account of ſome general proportions remarkable in them.

A plate of the five orders of architecture, of which I have ſpoken, will enable youth, whom I have always in view, to form ſome idea of them. I ſhall prefix to it an explanation of the terms of art, which Mr. Camus, fellow of the academy of ſciences, and profeſſor and ſecretary of the academy of architecture, was pleaſed to draw up expreſsly for my work. At my requeſt he abridged it very much, which makes it leſs compleat than it might otherwiſe have been.

SECT. III.

Explanation of the terms of art, relating to the five orders of architecture.

AMongſt the Greeks, an order was compoſed of columns and an entablature. The Romans added pedeſtals under the columns of moſt orders to increaſe their height.

The Column is a round pillar, made either to ſupport or adorn a building.

Every column, except the Doric, to which the Romans give no baſe, is compoſed of a baſe, a ſhaft, and a capital or chapiter.

The Base is that part of the column, which is beneath the ſhaft, and upon the pedeſtal, when there is any. It has a plinth, of a flat and ſquare form like a brick, called in Greek ϖλίνθος and mouldings, that repreſent rings, with which the bottoms of pillars were bound, to prevent their cleaving. Theſe rings, when large, are called *Tori*, and, when ſmall, *Aſtragals*. The Tori generally have hollow ſpaces cut round between them, called *Rundels*, *Scotia* or *Trochylus*.

The Shaft of the column is the round and even part extending from the baſe to the capital. This part of the column is narrower at top than at bottom. Some architects are for giving the column a greater breadth at the third part of their height, than at the bottom of their ſhaft. But there is no inſtance of any ſuch practice amongſt the antients. Others make the ſhaft of the ſame ſize from the bottom to the third, and then leſſen it from the third to the top. And ſome are of opinion, that it ſhould begin to leſſen from the bottom.

The Capital is that upper part of the column which is placed immediately upon the ſhaft.

The Entablature is the part of the order above the columns, and contains the architrave, the frize, and the corniſh.

The *Architrave* repreſents a beam, and lies next immediately to the capitals of the columns. The Greeks call it Epiſtyle, Ἐπιϛύλιον.

The *Frize* is the ſpace between the architrave and the corniſh. It repreſents the cieling of the building.

The *Corniſh* is the beginning of the whole order. It is compoſed of ſeveral mouldings, which projecting over one another, ſerve to ſhelter the order from the waters of the roof.

The *Pedeſtal* is the loweſt part of the order. It is a ſquare body, containing three parts: The *foot*, which ſtands on the area or pavement; the *die*, that lies upon the foot; and the *wave* (cymatium) which is the corniſh of the pedeſtal, upon which the column is placed.

Architects do not agree among themſelves about the proportion of the columns to the entablature and pedeſtals. In following that of Vignola, when an order with pedeſtals is to be made to an height given, the height muſt be divided into nineteen equal parts, of which the column, with its baſe and capital, is to have twelve, the entablature three, and the pedeſtal four. But if the order is to have no pedeſtal, the height given muſt be divided into fifteen parts only, of which the column is to have twelve, and the entablature three.

It is by the diameter of the bottom of the ſhaft of the columns that all the parts of the orders are regulated. But this diameter has not the ſame proportion with the height of the column in all the orders.

The ſemidiameter of the bottom of the ſhaft is called *module* or *model*. This model ſerves as a ſcale to meaſure the ſmaller parts of the orders. Many architects divide it into thirty parts, ſo that the whole diameter contains ſixty, which may be called *minutes*.

The difference between the relation of the heights of columns to their diameters, and between their baſes, capitals, and entablatures, forms the difference between the five orders of architecture. But they are principally to be diſtinguiſhed by the capitals; except the Tuſcan, which might be confounded with the Doric, if only their capitals were conſidered.

The Doric and Ionic pillars have in their capitals only mouldings in the form of rings with a flat ſquare ſtone over them, called *Plinth* or *Abacus*. But the Doric is eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the Tuſcan order; the frize is plain, and in the Doric adorned with *Triglyphs*, which are long, ſquare ruſtics, not unlike the ends of ſeveral beams which project over the architrave to form a roof or cieling. This ornament is affected by the Doric order, and is not to be found in the others.

The Ionic capital is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by its volutes, ears, or ſpiral rolls, projecting underneath the plinth or abacus.

The Corinthian capital is adorned with two rows of eight leaves each, and with eight ſmall volutes, which project between the leaves.

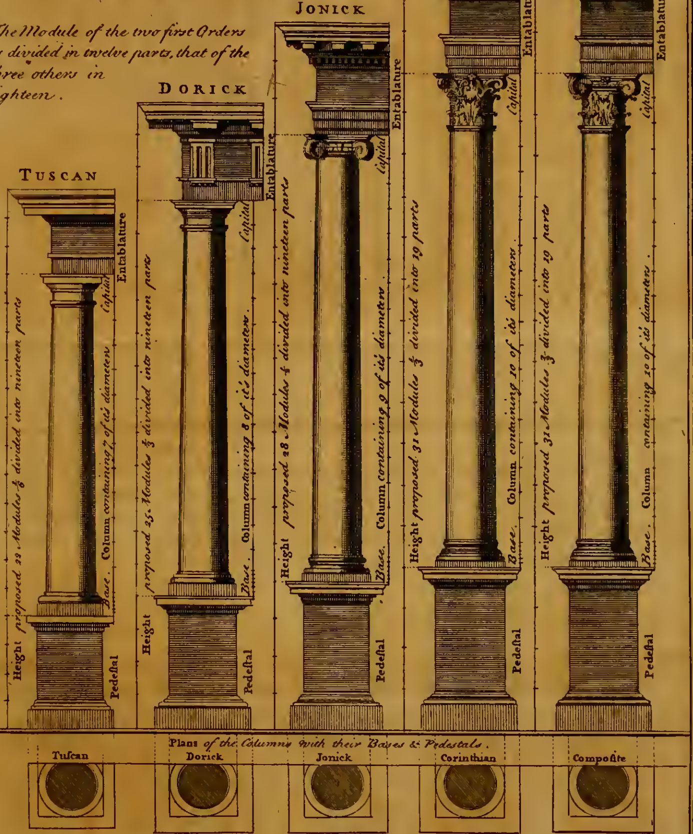
And laſtly, the Compoſite capital is compounded from the Corinthian and Ionic capitals. It has two rows of eight leaves, and four great volutes, which ſeem to project under the abacus.

To relate at large all the particularities affected by the different orders, it would be neceſſary to expatiate upon particulars much more than is conſiſtent with the plan of my work.

Mr. Buache, Fellow of the academy of ſciences, has given himſelf the trouble to trace the plan of the five orders of architecture in the plate annexed.

PLANS AND ELEVATIONS
OF THE FIVE ORDERS OF ARCHITECTURE
Executed in February 1736.

The Module of the two first Orders is divided in twelve parts, that of the three others in eighteen.


TUSCAN
Height proposed 22 Modules $\frac{5}{6}$ divided into nineteen parts
Pedestal
Base. Column containing 7 of its diameters
Capital
Entablature
DORICK
Height proposed 25 Modules $\frac{1}{3}$ divided into nineteen parts
Pedestal
Base. Column containing 8 of its diameters.
Capital
Entablature
JONICK
Height proposed 28 Modules $\frac{1}{4}$ divided into nineteen parts
Pedestal
Base. Column containing 9 of its diameters.
Capital
Entablature
CORINTHIAN
Height proposed 31 Modules $\frac{1}{3}$ divided into 19 parts
Pedestal
Base. Column containing 10 of its diameters.
Capital
Entablature
COMPOSITE
Height proposed 31 Modules $\frac{2}{3}$ divided into 19 parts
Pedestal
Base. Column containing 10 of its diameters.
Capital
Entablature
Plans of the Columns with their Bases & Pedestals.
Tuſcan
Dorick
Jonick
Corinthian
Compoſite

These Five Orders *of* Columns *or Pillars, used in Civil Architecture after the* Greeks *and* Romans, *who invented them, are executed according to the System of the Ancients & upon the same Scale of Modules, & rectified by the Proportions of ye Orders, which adorn ye Buildings of the King of France, & other Edifices composed & erected by different Modern Architects, & last of all by Messrs Mansard.*

J. Basire Sculp.

ARTICLE II.

Of the architects and buildings moſt celebrated by the antients.

I Can only touch very lightly upon this ſubject, which would require whole volumes to treat it in its extent; and ſhall make choice of what ſeems moſt proper to inform the reader, and ſatisfy his juſt curioſity, without excluding what the Roman hiſtory may ſupply, as I have before obſerved.

The Holy Scripture, in ſpeaking of the building Exod. of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple of xxv. 8, 9. Jeruſalem that ſucceeded it, tells us one circum- 1 Chron. xxviii. 19. ſtance highly to the honour of architecture, which is, that God vouchſafed to be the firſt architect of thoſe two great works, and traced the plans of them himſelf with his own divine hand, which he afterwards gave to Moſes and David, to be the models for the workmen employed in them. This was not all. That the execution might fully anſwer his deſigns, *he filled Bezaleel with the Spirit of God*, Exod. whom he had appointed to preſide in building the xxxi. 16. tabernacle; that is to ſay, in the expreſs words of the Scripture, *he had filled him with the Spirit of God in wiſdom, and in underſtanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanſhip. To deviſe cunning works, to work in gold, and in ſilver, and in braſs. And in cutting of ſtones to ſet them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanſhip.* And he joined Aholiab with him, *whom he had filled with wiſdom as well as all the other* Artiſans, *that they may make all that I have commanded thee.* It is ſaid in like manner, that Hiram, who was employed by Solomon in building the temple, *was filled with* 1 Kings, *wiſdom, and underſtanding, and cunning, to work in* vii. 14. *all*

all works of braſs. The words I have now quoted eſpecially thoſe from Exodus, ſhew that the knowledge, ſkill, and induſtry of the moſt excellen workmen are not their own, but the gift of God, c which they ſeldom know the origin, and make th uſe they ought. We muſt not expect to find ſuc purity of ſentiments amongſt the Pagans, of whor we have to ſpeak.

I ſhall paſs over in ſilence the famous building of Babylonia and Egypt, that I have mentione more than once elſewhere, and in which brick wa uſed with ſo much ſucceſs. I ſhall only inſert hei a remark from Vitruvius, that has ſome relation t them.

Vitruv. l. 2, c. 8.

This excellent architect obſerves, that the ar tients in their buildings made moſt uſe of brick becauſe brick-work is far more durable than that c ſtone. Hence there were many cities, in whic both the public and private buildings, and eve the royal palaces, were only of brick. Among many other examples, he cites that of Mauſolu king of Caria. In the city of Halicarnaſſus, ſay he, the palace of the potent king Mauſolus is walle with brick, though univerſally adorned with th marble of Proconneſus; and thoſe walls are * ſti very fine and entire, caſed over with a plaiſter ſmooth as glaſs. It cannot however be ſaid, th this king could not build walls of more coſtly ma terials, who was ſo powerful, and at the ſame tin had ſo great a taſte for fine architecture, as th ſuperb buildings, with which he adorned his cap tal, ſufficiently prove.

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* *Vitruvius lived* 350 *years after Mauſolus.*

1. *Temple of Epheſus.*

The temple of Diana, of Epheſus, was deemed one of the ſeven wonders * of the world.

Cteſiphon or Cherſiphron (for authors differ in the name) made himſelf very famous by building this temple. He traced the plans of it, which were partly executed under his own direction, and that of his ſon Metagenes; and the reſt by other architects, who worked upon it after them, for the ſpace of two hundred and twenty years, which that ſuperb edifice took up in building. Cteſiphon worked before the LXth olympiad. Vitruvius ſays, that the form of this temple is *dipteric*, that is to ſay, that it was ſurrounded with two rows of columns in form of a double portico. It was almoſt one hundred and forty two yards in length, and ſeventy two in breadth. * In this edifice there were one hundred and twenty ſeven columns of marble ſixty feet high, given by as many kings. Thirty ſix of theſe columns were carved by the moſt excellent artiſts of their times. Scopas, one of the moſt celebrated ſculptors of Greece, finiſhed one of them, which was the fineſt ornament of this magnificent ſtructure. All Aſia had contributed with incredible ardour to the erecting and adorning it.

Plin. l. 36. c. 14.

A. M. 3464. Vitr. l. 3. c. 1.

Vitruvius relates the manner of getting the marble for this pile. Though the account ſeems a little fabulous, I ſhall, however, repeat it. A ſhepherd, named Pyxodorus, often drove his ſheep to feed in the country about Epheſus, at the time when the Epheſians propoſed to bring the marble that was neceſſary for building the temple of Diana, from Paros, Proconneſus, and other places. One day, whilſt he was with his flock, it happened, two

Vitr. l. 10. c. 7.

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* *See plate and further deſcription of this temple, as the ſixth ſpecies of the temples of the antients, a little lower.*

rams that were fighting miſſed each other in thei carier, and one of them hit his horn ſo violentl againſt a rock, that he ſtruck off a piece of it which ſeemed ſo exquiſitely white to the ſhepherd that immediately leaving his flock upon the mountain, he ran with that ſplinter to Epheſus, at tha time in great difficulty about the importation o marble. Great honours were inſtantly decreed him His name Pyxodorus was changed into Evangelus which ſignifies *the meſſenger of good news*; and to thi day, adds Vitruvius, the magiſtrate of the cit goes every month to ſacrifice upon the ſpot; an in caſe he fails to do ſo, is ſubject to a ſever penalty.

Vitr. l. 10. c. 6. It was not ſufficient to have found marble; i was neceſſary to remove it into the temple, afte being worked upon the ſpot, which could not b executed without difficulty and danger. Cteſipho invented a machine, which very much facilitate the carriage of it. His ſon Metagenes invente another for carrying the architraves. Vitruvius ha left us the deſcription of both theſe machines.

PLAT

Plate II.

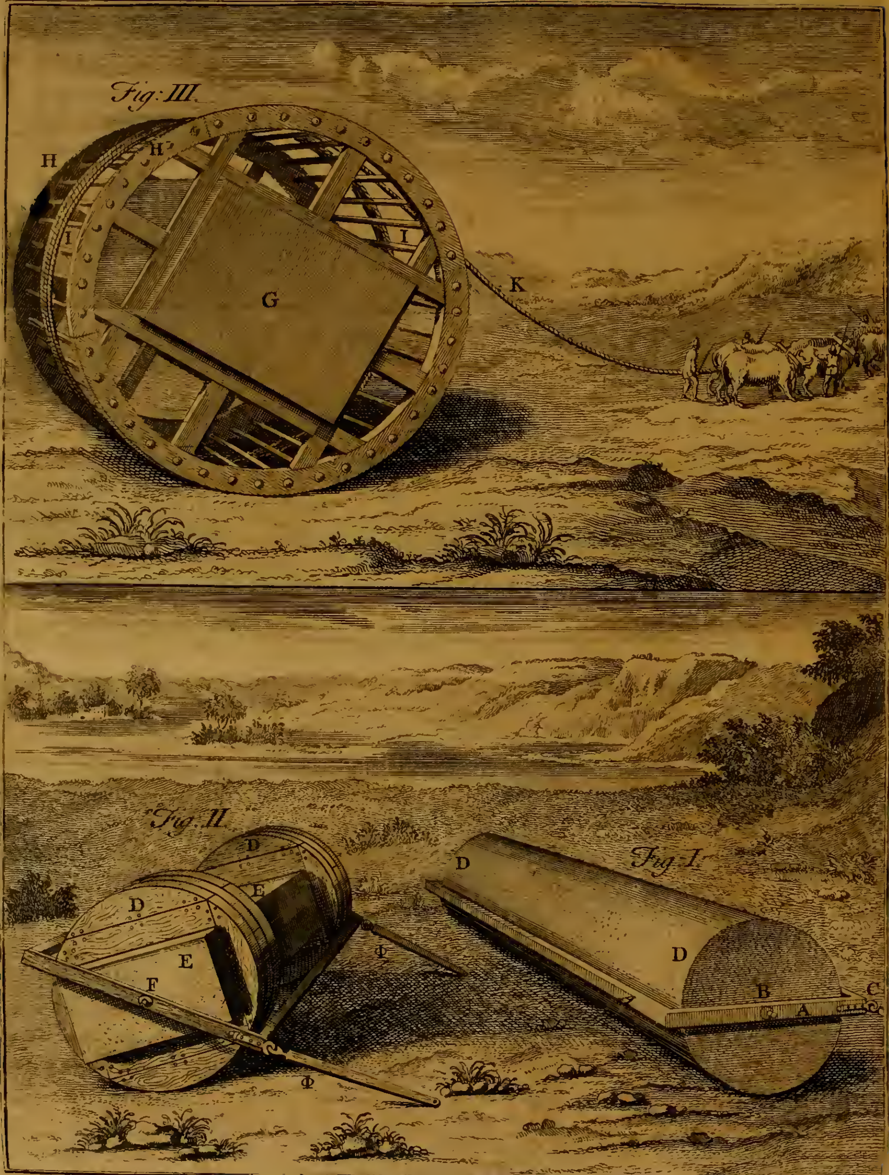
Fig: III.
H
H
I
I
G
K
Fig. II
D
E
D
E
F
Φ
Φ
Fig. I.
D
D
B
A
C

Machines of Ctesiphon, Metagenes and Paeonius for removing great Stones.

T. Basire sculp.

PLATE II. explained.

he machines of Cteſiphon, Metagenes, and Paconius, for removing great ſtones.

Vitr. l. 10. c. 6.

CTESIPHON obſerving that the ways were not firm enough to bear the weight of aſt columns, from the quarry to Epheſus, upon arriages, and that the wheels would ſink into the round, and fruſtrate the endeavour of removing em in that manner, he contrived a frame, as in *ig.* 1. of four pieces of wood, four inches ſquare; vo of them, ſomething more than the length of e column AA, croſſed at the ends by the other vo, ſomething more than its diameter.

At each end of the column, in the center, he afxed a large iron pin, barbed at the ends within he ſtone, and well ſealed with lead; theſe came hrough iron rings in the croſs pieces of the rame, B.

To each corner of the frame, on the ſide the achine was to be drawn, poles of oak were joined, y iron hooks to ſtrong iron rings, C.

When the oxen drew at theſe poles, the columns D turned round in the manner of a rolling-tone, and were drawn with no great difficulty to pheſus; eight thouſand paces. Theſe pillars vere only rough hewn at the quarry.

Fig. 2. Upon the model of the former machine, Metagenes, the ſon of Cteſiphon, contrived another or the carriage of architraves. He made ſtrong nd broad wheels, of about twelve feet in diameer DD, in the middle of which he fixed the arhitraves EE with large iron pins in the center, at ach end of them, F. The pins came through a ring f iron in a frame, like that of *Fig.* 1. to which oles for the beaſts to draw by were affixed in the ame manner ΦΦ.

Fig. 3. In the time of Vitruvius, Paconius undertook to bring from the mines the baſe, for a vaſ ſtatue of Apollo, of twelve feet high, eight broad and ſix thick. His machine, though not unlik that of Metagenes, was of a different make. I conſiſted of two ſtrong wheels of fifteen feet high H H. Into theſe he fixed the ends of the ſtone G Through the whole circumference of both thei wheels, at only a foot's diſtance from each othe he drove round ſpokes two inches thick, I I. Roun theſe ſpokes the cable K was wound, which, whe drawn by the oxen, ſet the machine a moving but Vitruvius ſays, that the cable never drawin from any fixed or central point, the engine cont nually turned either to the right or left, in ſuc a manner, that it could not be made to perfor what it was deſigned for. Mr. Perrault expreſſ his ſurpriſe at this, as, ſays he, by adding only another cable, to draw equally on each ſide at the ſam time, it might have been made a better machin than that of Metagenes. He adds, that it wa ſtrange a man could have ſenſe enough to inven ſuch an engine, and not know ſo eaſy an expedien to rectify its operations.]

In præf. l. 7. The ſame Vitruvius informs us, that Demetriu whom he calls the ſervant of Diana, *ſervus Dian* and Pæonius, the Epheſian, finiſhed the buildin of this temple, which was of the Ionic order. H does not preciſely mark the time when theſe tw architects lived.

The frantic extravagance of a private man deſtroyed in one day the work of two hundred yea Every body knows that Heroſtratus, to immort lize his name, ſet fire to this famous temple, an conſumed it to aſhes. This happened on the d Alexander the Great was born; which ſuggeſt the frigid conceit to an hiſtorian, that Diana w ſo buſy at the labour of Olympia, that ſhe could not ſpare time to preſerve her temple.

The ſame Alexander, who was inſatiably fond of every kind of glory, offered afterwards to ſupply the Epheſians with all the expences neceſſary for the rebuilding of their temple, provided they would conſent; that he ſhould have the ſole honour of it, and that no other name ſhould be added to his in the inſcription upon it. The Epheſians did not approve this condition: but they covered their refuſal with a flattery, with which that prince ſeemed ſatisfied, in anſwering him, *That it was not conſiſtent for one god to erect a monument to another.* The temple was rebuilt with ſtill greater magnificence than the firſt.

2. *Buildings erected at Athens, eſpecially under Pericles.*

I ſhould never have done, if I undertook to deſcribe all the famous buildings with which the city of Athens was adorned. I ſhall place the Piræum at the head of the reſt, becauſe that port contributed moſt to the grandeur and power of Athens. Before Themiſtocles, it was a ſimple hamlet, the Athenians, at that time, having no port but Phalerus, which was very ſmall and incommodious. Themiſtocles, whoſe deſign was to make the whole force of Athens maritime, rightly obſerved, that, to accompliſh a deſign truly worthy of ſo great a man, it was neceſſary to provide a ſecure retreat for a very conſiderable number of ſhips. He caſt his eyes upon the Piræum, which, by its natural ſituation, afforded three different ports within the ſame incloſure. He immediately cauſed it to be worked upon with the utmoſt diſpatch, took care o fortify it well, and ſoon put it into a condition o receive numerous fleets. This port was about wo leagues (forty ſtadia) from the city; an ad-

Cor. Nep. in Themiſt. c. 6. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 121. Thucyd. c. 1. p. 62. Pauſan. l. 1. p. 1. &c.

vantageous ſituation, as Plutarch obſerves, for removing from the city the licentiouſneſs which generally prevails in ports. The city might be ſupported by the Piræum, and the Piræum by the city, without prejudice to the good order it was neceſſary to obſerve in the city. Pauſanias mentions a great number of temples, which adorned this part of Athens, that in a manner formed a ſecond city diſtinct from the firſt.

Pericles joined theſe two parts by the famous wall, that extended two leagues, and was the beauty and ſecurity of both the Piræum and the city: it
Cic. l. 1. de orat. n. 62. was called *the long wall.* Demetrius Phaleræus, whilſt he governed Athens, applied himſelf particularly in fortifying and embelliſhing the Piræum. The arſenal, built at that time, was looked upon as one of the fineſt pieces of work Greece ever had. Demetrius gave the direction of it to Philo, one o the moſt famous architects of his time. He diſcharged that commiſſion with all the ſucceſs whic could be expected from a man of his reputation. * When he gave an account of his conduct in th public aſſembly, he expreſſed himſelf with ſo muc elegance, perſpicuity, and preciſion, that the peo ple of Athens, excellent judges in point of elo quence, conceived him as fine an orator as he wa an architect, and admired no leſs his talent fo
Vitr. l. 7. in præfat. ſpeaking than his ability for building. The fam philoſopher was charged with the alterations it wa thought proper to make in the magnificent templ of Ceres and Proſerpine at Eleuſis, of which I ſhal ſoon ſpeak.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 158. To return to Pericles, it was under his equall long and glorious government, that Athens, in riched with temples, porticoes, and ſtatues, became the admiration of all the neighbouring ſtates, and rendered herſelf almoſt as illuſtrious by the magnificence of her buildings, as ſhe was for the glory of her militaty exploits. Pericles, finding her the depoſitary and diſpenſer of the public treaſures of Greece, that is to ſay, of the contributions paid by the ſeveral ſtates, for the ſupport of troops and fleets, believed, after having ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of the country, that he could not employ the ſums that remained to better purpoſe, than to adorn and improve a city, that was the honour and great defence of all the reſt.

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* Gloriantur Athenæ armamentario ſuo, nec ſine cauſa: eſt eni illud opus & impenſa & elegantia viſendum. Cujus architectu Philonem ita facundè rationem inſtitutionis ſuæ in theatro reddidiſ conſtat, ut diſertiſſimus populus non minorem laudem eloquenti ejus, quam arti tribuerit. *Val. Max.* l. 8. c. 12.

I do not examine here whether he were in the right or not; for this conduct was imputed to him as a crime; nor whether this uſe of the public money was conformable to the intention of thoſe who ſupplied it: I have ſaid elſewhere what we ought to think of it; and content myſelf with obſerving, that a ſingle man inſpired the Athenians with a aſte for all the arts; that he ſet all the able hands at work, and raiſed ſo lively an emulation amongſt he moſt excellent workmen in every kind, that, olely intent upon immortalizing their names, they uſed their utmoſt endeavours, in all the works conided to their care, to ſurmount each other, and urpaſs the magnificence of the deſign by the beauty and ſpirit of the execution. One would have believed, that there was not one of thoſe buildings but muſt have required a great number of years, and a long ſucceſſion of men, to compleat t: and yet, to the aſtoniſhment of every body, hey had been all carried to ſo ſupreme a degree f perfection during the government of one man; nd that too in no conſiderable number of years, onſidering the difficulty and excellency of workmanſhip.

Another conſideration, which I have already touched upon elſewhere, ſtill infinitely exalts their

value:

value: I only copy Plutarch in this place, and ſhould be very glad if I could come near the energy and vivacity of his expreſſions. Facility and expedition do nor generally communicate ſolid and laſting graces, nor perfect beauty to works: but time, united with labour, pays delay with uſury, and gives the ſame works a force capable of preſerving, and of making them triumph, through all ages. This renders the works of Pericles the more admirable, which were finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time, and yet had ſo long a duration. For, from the moment they came from the workman's hands, they had the beauty and ſpirit of antiques; and even now, ſays Plutarch, that is to ſay, about ſix hundred years after, they have the freſhneſs of youth, as if but lately finiſhed; ſo much do they ſtill retain a bloom of grace and novelty, that prevents time itſelf from diminiſhing their beauty, as if they poſſeſſed within themſelves a principle of immortal youth, and an animating ſpirit incapable of growing old.

Plutarch afterwards mentions ſeveral temples and ſuperb edifices, in which the moſt excellent artiſt had been employed. Pericles had choſen Phidia to preſide in erecting theſe ſtructures. He was th moſt famous architect, and, at the ſame time, th moſt excellent ſculptor and ſtatuary of his times. I ſhall ſpeak of him preſently, when I come t treat of the article of ſculpture.

3. *The Mauſolæum.*

The ſuperb monument which Artemiſia erecte for her huſband Mauſolus, king of Caria, was on of the moſt famous buildings of antiquity, as it wa thought worthy of being ranked amongſt the ſeve wonders of the world. I ſhall cite, in the follow ing article upon ſculpture, what Pliny ſays of it.

4. *City and light-houſe of Alexandria.*

It is natural to expect, that whatever derives itſelf from Alexander, muſt have ſomething great, noble, and majeſtic in it; which are the characters of the city he cauſed to be built, and called after his name in Egypt. He charged Dinocrates with the direction of this important undertaking. The hiſtory of that architect is very ſingular.

He was a Macedonian. Confiding in his genius and great ideas, he ſet out for the army of Alexander, with deſign to make himſelf known to that prince, and to propoſe views to him as he conceived would ſuit his taſte. He got letters of recommendation from his relations and friends to the great officers and leading men at the court, in order to obtain a more eaſy acceſs to the king. He was very well received by thoſe to whom he applied, who promiſed to introduce him as ſoon as poſſible to Alexander. As they deferred doing it from day to day, under pretence of wanting a favourable opportunity, he took their delays to imply evaſion, and reſolved to preſent himſelf. His ſtature was advantageous, his viſage agreeable, and his addreſs ſpoke a perſon of condition. Relying therefore upon his good mien, he ſtripped himſelf of his uſual habit, anointed his whole body with oil, crowned himſelf with a wreath of poplar, and throwing a lion's ſkin over his ſhoulders, took a club in his hand, and in that equipage approached the throne, upon which the king ſat diſpenſing juſtice. The novelty of his ſight having opened his way through the crowd, he was perceived by Alexander, who, ſurpriſed at his appearance, ordered him to approach, and aſked him who he was. He replied, "I am Dinocrates the Macedonian, "an architect, who bring thoughts and deſigns to

Vitr. in præfat. l. 2.

"Alexander worthy his greatneſs." The king gave him the hearing. He told him, that he had formed a deſign of cutting mount Athos into the form of a man, that ſhould hold a great city in his left hand, and in his right a cup to receive all the rivers, which ran from that mountain, and to pour them into the ſea. Alexander, reliſhing this gigantic deſign, aſked him whether there were lands enough about this city to ſupply corn for its ſubſiſtence? And having been anſwered, that it would be neceſſary to bring that by ſea, he told him that he applauded the boldneſs of his deſign, but could not approve the choice of the place he had pitched upon for the execution of it. He however retained him near his perſon, adding, that he would employ his ability in other undertakings.

Alexander accordingly, in the voyage he made into Egypt, having diſcovered a port there, tha was very well ſheltered and of eaſy acceſs, ſurrounded by a fertile country, and abounding with conveniencies on account of its neighbourhood to the Nile, he commanded Dinocrates to build a city adjoining to it, which was called Alexandria after his name. The architect's ſkill and th prince's magnificence vied with each other in embelliſhing it, and ſeemed to exceed themſelves in order to render it one of the greateſt and moſt ſuperb cities of the world. It was incloſed within a vaſt extent of walls, and fortified with towers. I had a port, aqueducts, fountains, and canals o great beauty; an almoſt infinite number of houſe for the inhabitants, ſquares, lofty edifices, publi places for the celebration of games and ſhews; i a word, temples and palaces ſo ſpacious, and i ſo great a number, that they took up almoſt third part of the whole city. I have obſerve elſewhere in what manner Alexandria became th center of the commerce of the eaſt and weſt.

Strab. l. 17. p. 791, &c.

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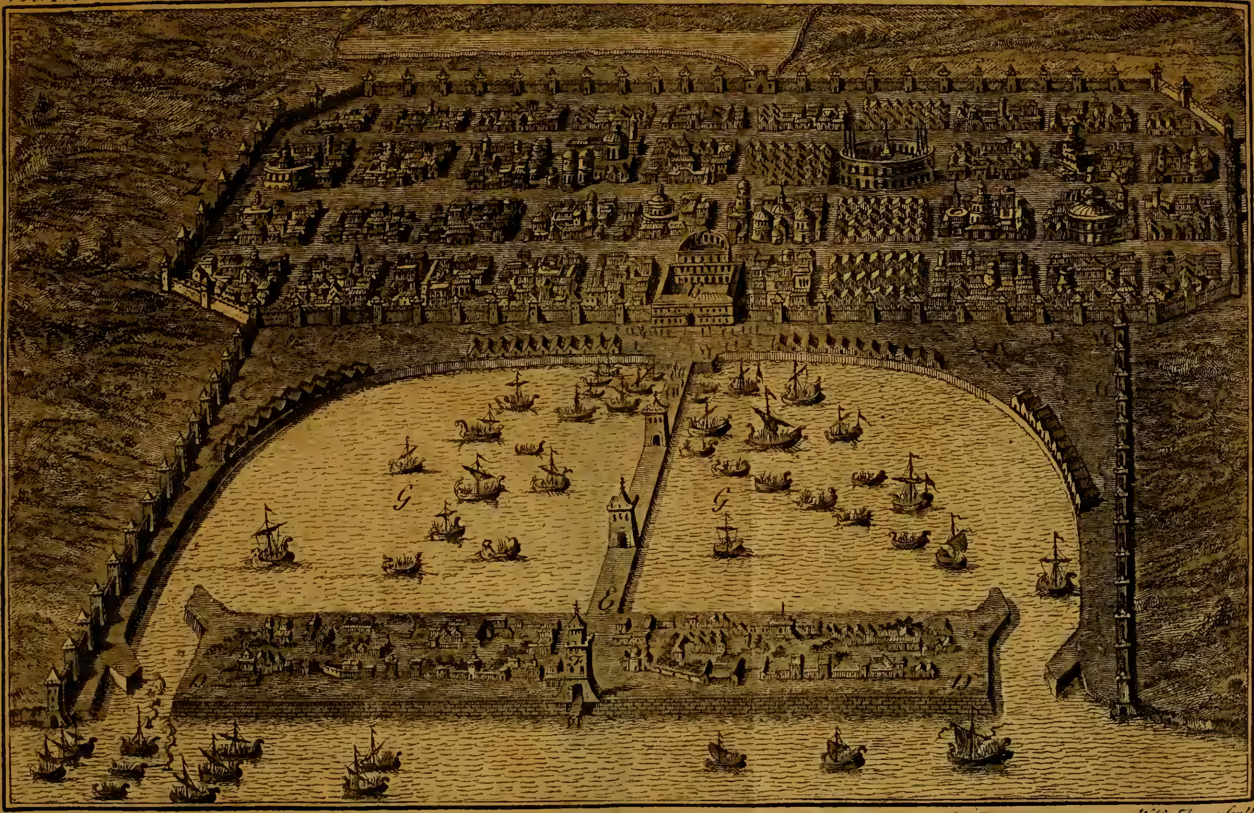
Vol. I. Pag. 26 Rollin's Hist:



W.H. Toms sculp

A View of the City & Port of Alexandria & Isle of Pharos.

A. The City B. The Kings Palace C. The Theatre adjoining to it D. The Island of Pharos E. The narrow way that joyns it to the Town F. The Lighthouse G. The Port.

Publish'd Feb. 1st 1754. by J. & P. Knapton

A conſiderable ſtructure, afterwards erected in the neighbourhood of this city, ſtill rendered it more famous; I mean the light-houſe of the iſland of Pharos, Sea-ports were uſually fortified with towers, as well for their defence, as to guide thoſe who ſailed in the night, by the means of fires kindled upon them. Theſe towers were at firſt of a very ſimple ſpecies: but Ptolomæus Philadelphus cauſed one ſo great and magnificent to be erected in the iſland of Pharos, that ſome have ranked it amongſt the wonders of the world: it coſt eight hundred talents, that is to ſay,one million eight hundred thouſand livres.

The iſle of Pharos was about ſeven ſtadia, or ſomething more than a quarter of a league, from the continent. It had a pomontory or rock againſt which the waves of the ſea broke. It was upon this rock Ptolomæus Philadelphus built the tower of Pharos of white ſtone, of ſurpriſing magnificence, with ſeveral arched ſtories not unlike the tower of Babylon, which had eight ſuch ſtories. He gave the direction of this work to a celebrated architect called Soſtratus, who cut this inſcription upon the tower: *Soſtratus of Cnidos, ſon of Dexiphanes, to the gods preſervers, in favour of thoſe who go by ſea.* In the hiſtory of Philadelphus, the reader may ſee what has been ſaid upon this inſcription.

Strab. ibid. Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

An author, who lived about ſix hundred years ago, ſpeaks of the tower of Pharos, as of an edifice ſubſiſting in his time. The height of the tower, according to him, was three hundred cubits, that is to ſay, four hundred and fifty feet, or an hundred and fifty yards. A manuſcript ſcholiaſt upon Lucian, cited by Iſaac Voſſius, affirms, that for its ſize it might be compared with the pyramids of Egypt; that it was ſquare, that its ſides were almoſt a ſtadium, near two hundred and eight yards; that its top might be deſcried an hundred miles, or about thirty or forty leagues.

The Nubian Geographer.

Iſ. Voſſ. ad Pomp. Mel. p. 205.

This tower ſoon took the name of the iſland, and was called Pharos; which name was afterwards given to other towers erected for the ſame uſe. The iſle on which it was built became a peninſula in proceſs of time. Queen Cleopatra joined it to the main land by a mole, and a bridge from the mole to the iſland: a conſiderable work, in which Dexiphanes, a native of the iſle of Cyprus, preſided. She gave him by way of reward a conſiderable office in her court, and the direction of all the buildings ſhe afterwards cauſed to be erected. Tzetzes Chil. 2. hiſt. 33.

We find from more than one example, that expert architects were very much honoured and eſteemed amongſt the antients. The inhabitants of Rhodes had ſettled a conſiderable penſion upon Diognetus, one of their citizens, to reward him for the machines of war which he had made for them. It happened that a foreign architect, who called himſelf Callias, had made a model in little, of a machine capable, as he pretended, of lifting and removing any weight whatſoever, and thereby excelling all other machines. Diognetus, judging the thing abſolutely impoſſible, was not aſhamed to confeſs that it ſurpaſſed his ſkill. The penſion of the latter was transferred to Callias, as far the more expert artiſt. When Demetrius Poliorcetes was preparing to make his terrible *Helepolis* approach the walls of Rhodes, which he beſieged, the inhabitants called upon Callias to make uſe of his machine. He declared it to be too weak to remove ſo great a weight. The Rhodians then perceived the enormous fault they had committed, in treating a citizen to whom they had ſuch great obligations with ſo much ingratitude. They beſeeched Diognetus in the moſt earneſt manner to aſſiſt his country, expoſed to the utmoſt danger. He refuſed at firſt, and remained for ſome time inflexible to their intreaties. But when he ſaw the prieſts, and the moſt noble children of Vitr. l. 10. ſ. 33.

of the city, bathed in their tears, come to implore his aid, he complied at laſt, and could not withſtand ſo moving a ſpectacle. The queſtion was to prevent the enemy's approaching their formidable machine to the wall. He effected it without much difficulty, having laid the land under water, over which the Helepolis was to paſs, which rendered it abſolutely uſeleſs, and obliged Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege, by an accommodation with the Rhodians. Diognetus was loaded with honours, and double his former penſion ſettled upon him.

5. *The four principal temples of Greece.*

Vitruvius ſays, that there were amongſt others four temples in Greece, entirely built of marble, and adorned with ſuch exquiſite ornaments, that they were the admiration of all good judges, and became the rule and model of buildings in the three orders of architecture. The firſt of theſe ſtructures is the temple of Diana at Epheſus. The ſecond that of Apollo in the city of Miletus: Both theſe were of the Ionic order. The third is the temple of Ceres and Proſerpine at Eleuſis, which Ictinus built in the Doric order, of extraordinary dimenſions, capable of containing thirty thouſand perſons: for there were as many, and often more, at the celebrated proceſſion of the feaſt of Eleuſis. This temple at firſt had no columns without, in order to leave the more room for the ſacrifices. But Philo afterwards, when Demetrius Phalenæus governed Athens, placed ſome pillars in the front, to render the edifice more majeſtic. The fourth s the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, of he Corinthian order. Piſiſtratus had begun it, but t remained unfiniſhed after his death, upon account of the troubles in which the republic was involved. More than three hundred years after, Antiochus Epiphanes,

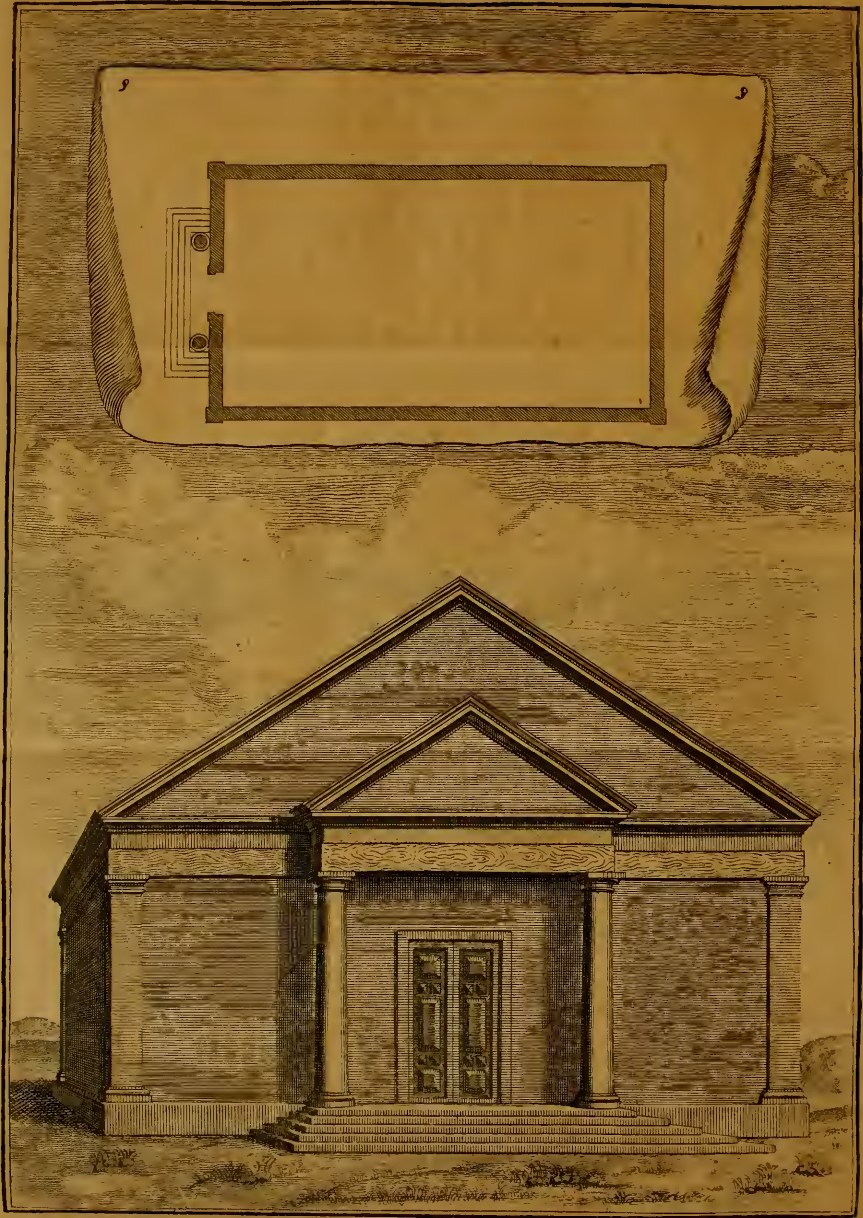
Vitruv. in præf. l. 7.

Her. l. 3. c. 65. Strab. l. 9. p. 395.

Vitr. ibid.

Liv. l. 41. n. 20. Epiphanes, king of Syria, took upon him to defray the expences that were neceſſary for finiſhing the body of the temple, which was very large, and the columns of the portico. Coſſutius, a Roman citizen, who had made himſelf famous amongſt the architects, was choſen to execute this great work. He acquired great honour by it, this pile being eſteemed to have very few equal to it in magnificence. The ſame Coſſutius was one of the firſt amongſt the Romans who built in the Grecian taſte. He gives me occaſion to ſpeak of ſeveral edifices at Rome, which often employed Greek architects, and thereby in ſome meaſure to reſume my plan.

Plate III.



I. Temple of Fortune near the Porta Collina at Rome J. Baſire ſculp.

[In order to render this article upon architecture the more uſeful and entertaining, it was thought proper to add here the following plates of the ſeven different kinds of ancient temples, with a brief deſcription of each of them. The reader may obſerve that all the different orders of architecture are introduced in them.

TEMPLE I. Plate 3.

Of Fortune.

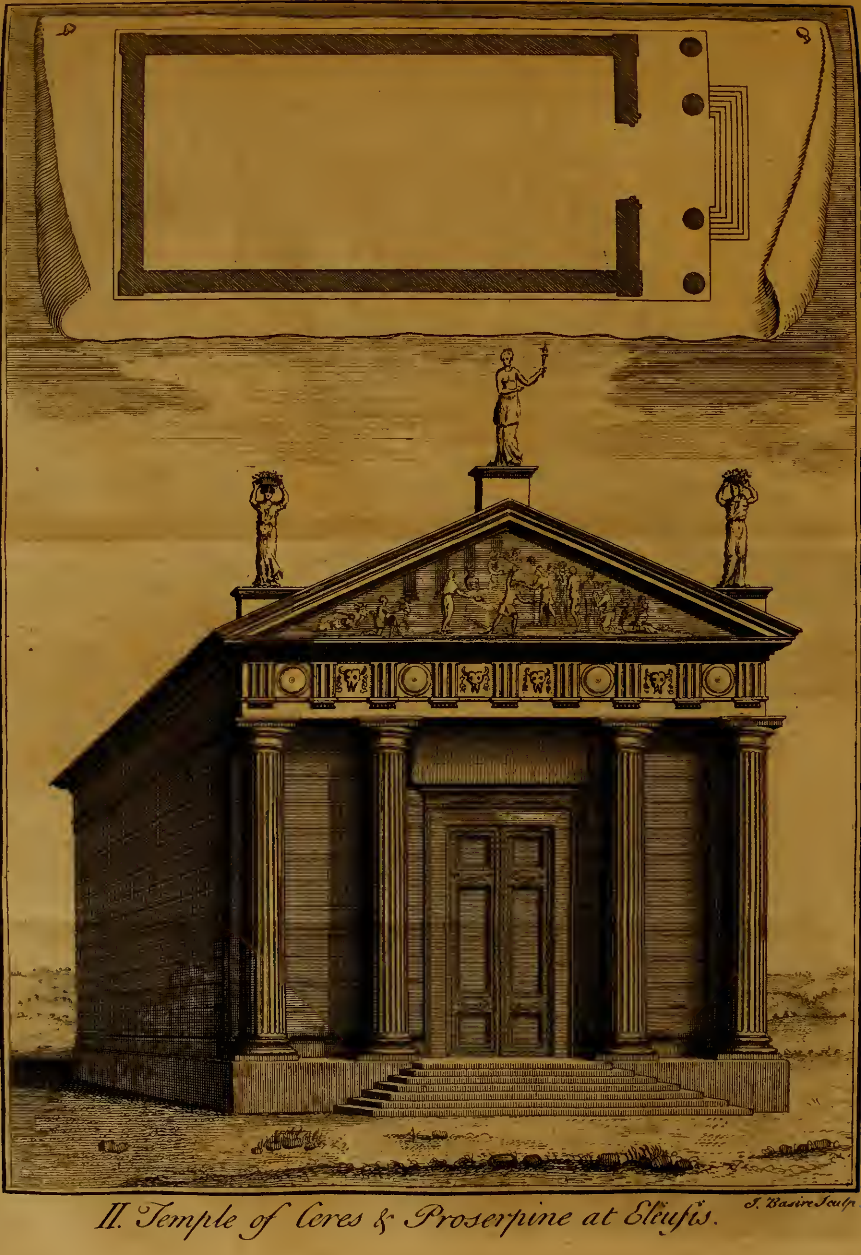
THIS kind of temples were called *Antæ* or *Paraſtatæ*, becauſe they had no pillars at their angles, but only pilaſters, which the ancients called Antæ or Paraſtatæ. The examples Vitruvius gives of them are three temples of Fortune at Rome, eſpecially that near the Porta Collina. As he does not deſcribe it particularly, Mr. Perrault thought proper to make it of the Tuſcan order, which ſuits the moſt ſimple of all temples, and an *Aræſtyle*, that is to ſay, one having few pillars. There was a neceſſity for giving it a double pediment upon account of its having two different coverings, that of the temple, and that of the portico, ſupported by the two Tuſcan pillars. The height of thoſe pediments, according to Vitruvius, was conſiderable.

TEMPLE II. Plate 4.

Of Ceres and Proſerpine at Eleuſis.

THIS ſecond ſpecies of temple was called *Proſtylos*, from having pillars only in front. It is called alſo *Tetraſtylos*, that is to ſay, having four pillars in front. The example of this is the temple of Ceres Eleuſina, mentioned above as one of the four principal temples of Greece. It was begun by Ictinus, and finiſhed by Philo, who made it a Proſtyle or Tetraſtyle, by adding columns to its front. The baſſo relievo in the pannel of its pediment repreſents a piece of hiſtory related by Pauſanias, who ſays, that, near the temple of Ceres Eleuſina, were two large ſtones, that lay upon one another, from between which the prieſts went annually in proceſſion to take a writing, that contained the ceremonies to be obſerved in the ſacrifices during the reſt of the year. And becauſe the ancients uſed to repreſent upon the pediments of their temples the particular manner in which the ſacrifices were performed in them, and the ſacrifices of this temple, which changed every year, could not be repreſented, it was thought proper to put this piece of hiſtory upon the front of it, as it ſhews one of the principal circumſtances relating to theſe ceremonies; which was to take the writing, that preſcribed the order to be obſerved in the ſacrifices during the year, from betwixt the ſtones.

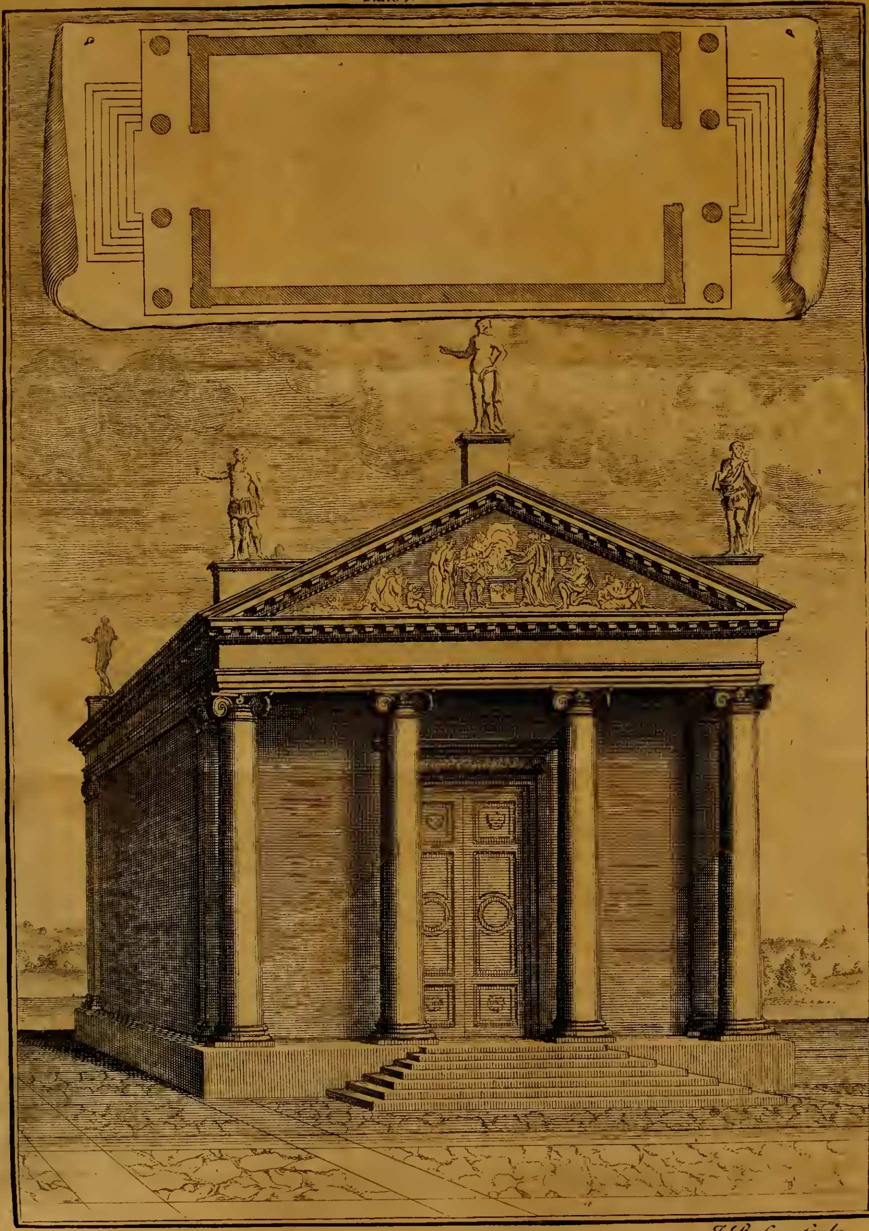
Plate II.



II. Temple of Ceres & Proserpine at Eleuſis.

J. Basire Sculp.

Plate V.



III. Temple of Concord at Rome.

J. Baſire ſculp.

TEMPLE III. Plate 5.

Of Concord at Rome.

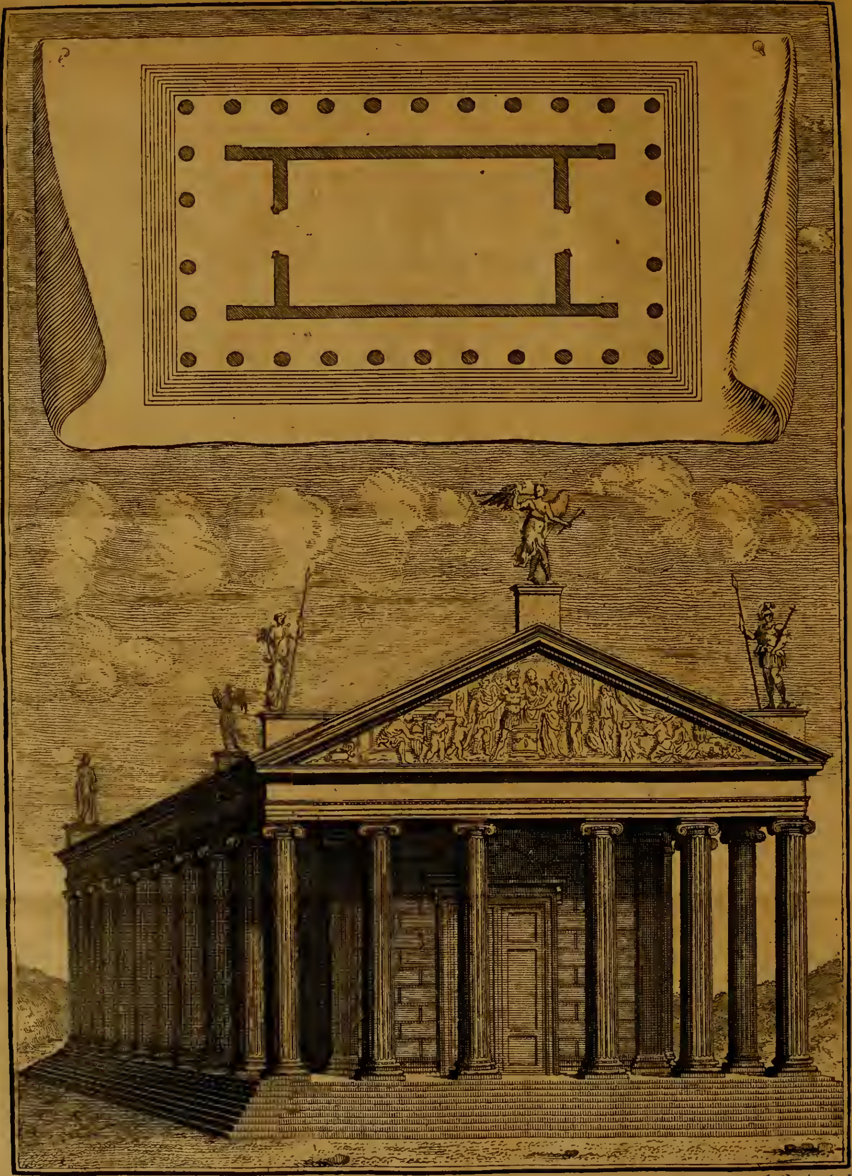
THIS kind of temple is called *Amphiproſtylos*, that is, a double Proſtyle, having pillars both before and behind it. It is alſo a Tetraſtyle, as well as a Proſtyle. This example is of the Compoſite order, for the ſake of diverſifying the plates; and is taken from the ruins of the temple of Concord ſtill to be ſeen at Rome. It is called Compoſite, from being compoſed of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, having the volutes and eggs of the former, and the plinth of the latter.

TEMPLE IV. Plate 6.

Of virtue and honour at Rome.

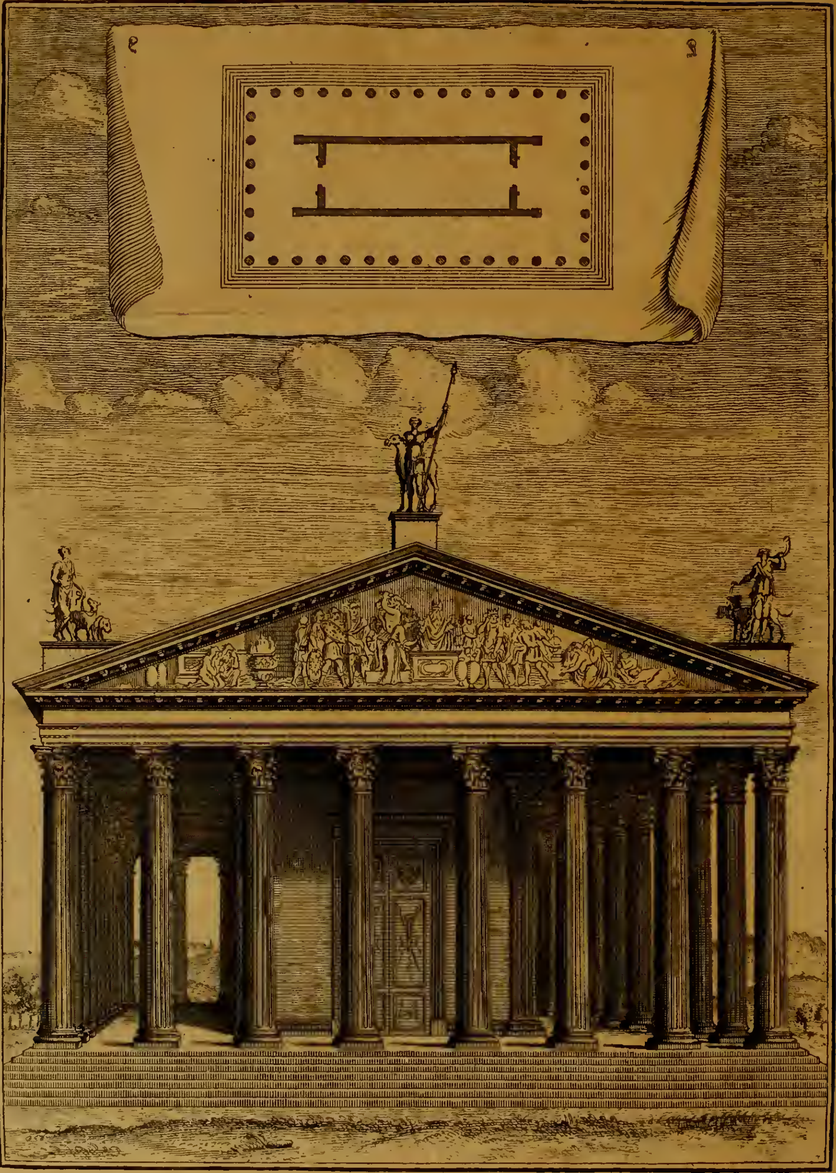
THIS fourth kind of temple is called *Perip* *tera*, from having pillars all around it. It i an *Hexaſtyle*, that is, having ſix pillars in front: i has eleven on each ſide, including thoſe at th corners. The example Vitruvius gives of it i the temple of virtue and honour built by Marius and adorned with a portico all around it by Mutiu the architect. St. Auguſtin mentions this temple and tells us, that the fore-part of it was dedicate to virtue, and the back-part to honour, in order t eſtabliſh a refined morality; to which Vitruviu adds a circumſtance, omitted by that Saint, tha makes for the ſame effect: *viz.* that this temple ha no *poſticum*, or back-door, as moſt others had which intimates, that it is not only neceſſary to pa through virtue to arrive at honour, but that honou obliges her votaries to return alſo through virtue that is to ſay, to perſevere and improve in it. I the plan there is a back-door deſigned, conformabl to what Vitruvius lays down as eſſential to this kin of temples. The elevation is of the Ionic orde that all the orders might be here repreſented (as i ſaid before) with all the different kinds of temples.

Plate VI.



J. Basire Sculp.

IV. Temple of Virtue & Honour at Rome.



V. Temple of Diana in the City of Magnesia.

J. Basire Sculp.

TEMPLE V. Plate 7.

Of Diana in the city of Magneſia.

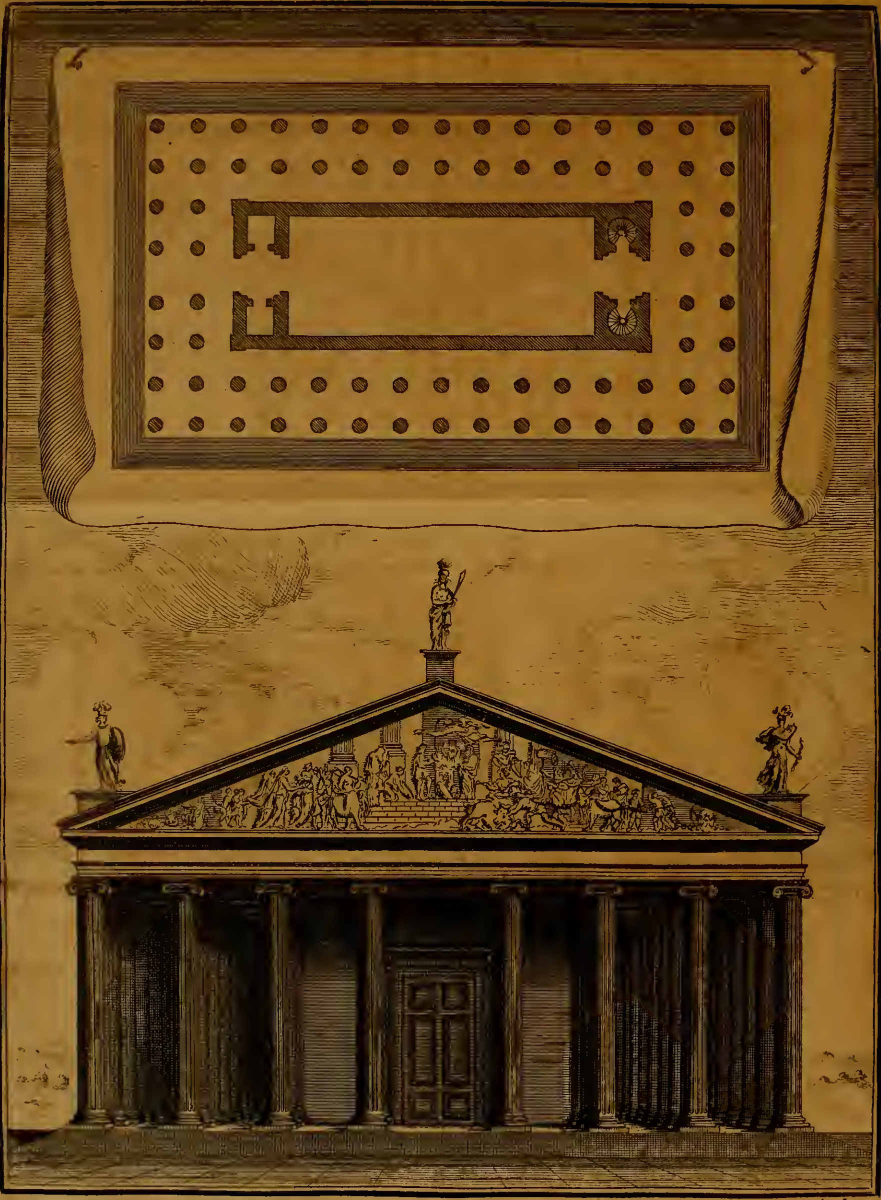
THIS fifth kind of temple is called *Pſeudo-*
diptera, that is, falſe or imperfect Diptera,
cauſe it had not the double rows of pillars which
e Diptera had. It is an *Octoſtyle*, that is, having
ght pillars in front; and a *Syſtyle*, or having its
llars cloſe, there being only two diameters of
pillar between each of them. It has fifteen pillars
the ſides, including thoſe at the corners. Vitru-
us ſays, there were no examples of this kind of
mple at Rome, wherefore he cites that of Diana
Magneſia, built by Hermogenes Alabandinus,
e firſt and moſt celebrated architect of antiquity,
ho was the inventor of this kind of temple. The
ace between the walls and the pillars was two in-
rcolumniations, and the breadth of the baſe of a
llar, or five diameters of a pillar. There was
ſo a temple of Apollo of this kind at Magneſia,
ilt by Mneſtes.

TEMPLE VI. Plate 8.

Of Diana at Epheſus.

THIS ſixth kind of temple is called *Dipter* from having two rows of pillars all round i It is an *Octoſtyle*, that is to ſay, having eight pilla in front of the Ionic order, according to the ex ample cited by Vitruvius, which is the temple Diana at Epheſus built by Cteſiphon, the firſt the four principal temples of Greece: Pliny tel us, it had been ſeven times rebuilt. It is repr ſented in the plate as an *Euſtyle*, that is to ſa having its intercolumniations of two diameters, ar the fourth of a pillar, in order to render it in ſon meaſure conformable to the proportions given by Pliny; for which reaſon alſo the ſpace betwe the two middle pillars is ſomewhat larger th ordinary. For Pliny tells us, that the architrave the middle was ſo exceeding large, that it was feig ed the goddeſs placed it there herſelf, upon t architect's deſpairing of being able to do it. Stai are repreſented in the plan; becauſe the ſame auth ſays, there were ſtairs to go up to the top of made all of a piece out of one tree, and that vine too.

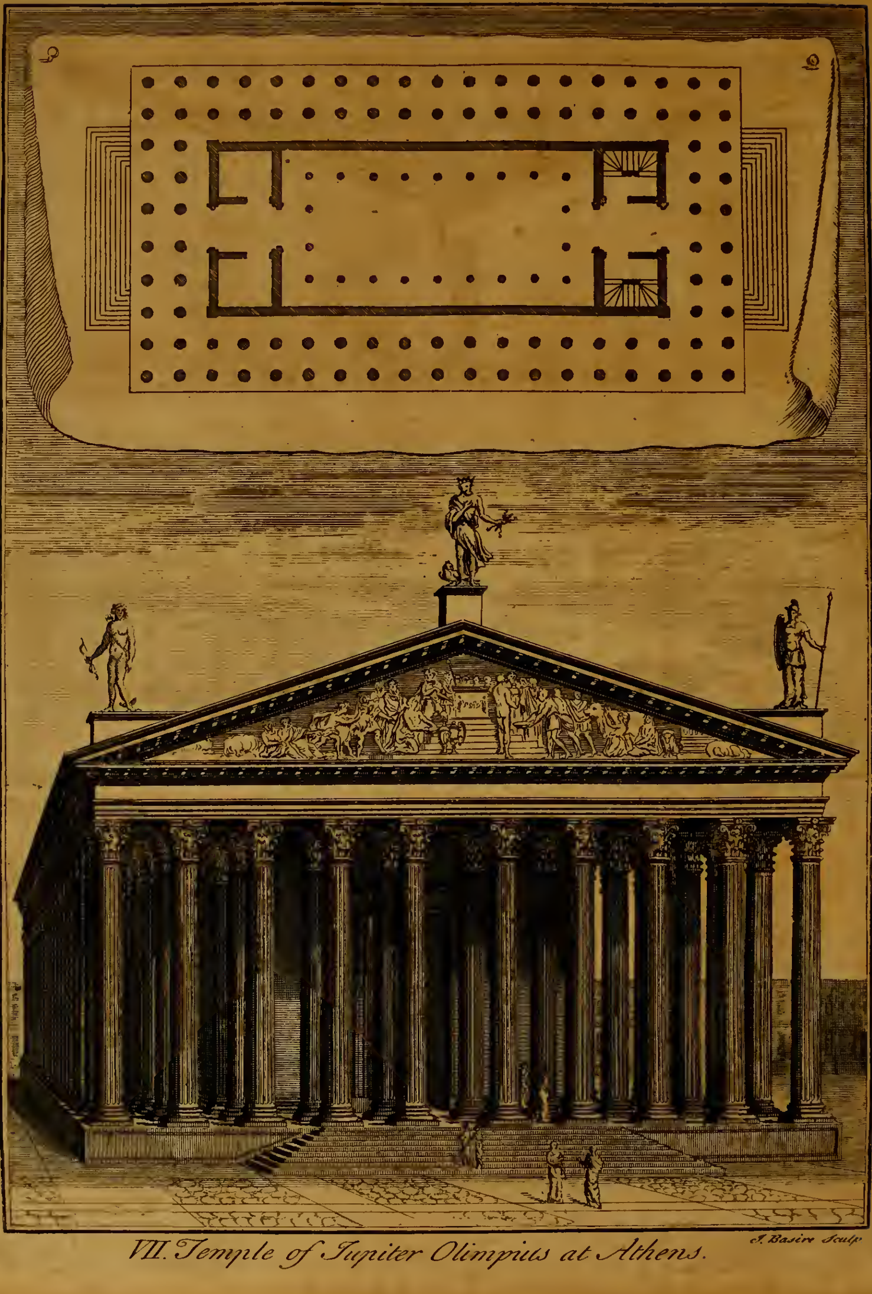
TEMPL



I. Basire Sculp.

VI. Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

Plate IX



VII. Temple of Jupiter Olimpius at Athens.

J. Basire Sculp.

TEMPLE VII. Plate 9:

Of Jupiter Olympius at Athens.

THE ſeventh kind of temple is called *Hypætra*, that is, open and expoſed to the weather. : is a *Decaſtyle*, having ten pillars in front; and a *ycnoſtyle*, that is to ſay, having its pillars cloſe to ch other, Vitruvius ſays, there were no temples f that kind at Rome, and gives that of Jupiter lympius as an example of it; which, he tells us, n the preface of his ſeventh book, was built at thens by Coſſutius, a Roman architect. Pauſanias ys, it had pillars within it that formed a Periſtyle, hich is eſſential to this kind of temple: but this eriſtyle could be repreſented on this plate only in he plan. Pauſanias alſo relates the ceremony re- reſented on the pediment; which is the prieſt awbing the altar of Jupiter with a mixture of ſhes brought from the Prytanæum, and the water f the river Alpheus; this was done every year on he nineteenth of February. He tells us beſides, hat there was an aſcent to this altar of ſeveral eps.]

6. *Celebrated buildings at Rome.*

The art of building was almoſt as ſoon known i Italy as Greece, if it be true, that the Tuſcans ha not had any communication with the Greeks, whe they invented the particular order, which retair Plin. l. 36. c. 13. their name to this day. The tomb which Porſenn king of Etruria, cauſed to be erected for himſel during his life-time, ſhews the great knowledg they had in thoſe days of this art. This ſtructur was of ſtone, and built almoſt in the ſame manne as the labyrinth of Dædalus in the iſland of Crete if the tomb were ſuch as Varro has deſcribed it i a paſſage cited by Pliny.

Tarquinius Priſcus had a little before erecte very conſiderable works at Rome. For it was h who firſt incloſed that city with a wall of ſtone and laid the foundations of the temple of Jupite Capitolinus, which his grandſon Tarquinius Superbus finiſhed at a great expence, having for that purpoſe called in the beſt workmen from Etruria. Th Roman citizens were not diſpenſed with from ſharing in that work, which, though very [*] painfu and laborious, being added to the fatigues of war they did not think too heavy; ſo much joy the conceived, and ſo much honour they thought it to build the temples of their gods with their ow hands.

The ſame [†] Tarquinius Priſcus raiſed two othe works, not ſo ſplendid indeed in outward appearance but far more conſiderable in regard to labour anc

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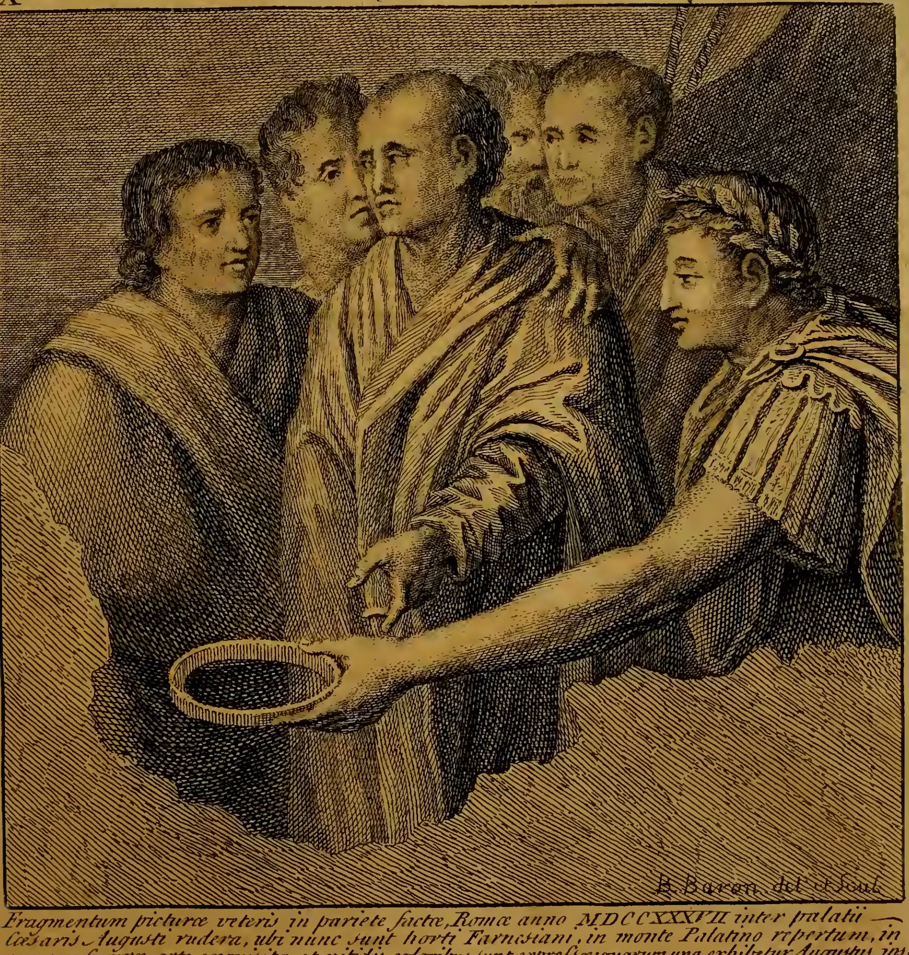
[*] Qui cum haud parvus & ipſe militiæ adderetur labor, minùs tamen plebs gravabatur, ſe templa deûm exædificare manibus ſuis *Liv.* l. 1. n. 56.

[†] Quæ (plebs) poſthac & ad alia, ut ſpecie minora, ſic labori aliquanto majoris, traducebatur opera: fores in circo faciendas cloacamq; maximam receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbi ſub terram agendam: quibus duobus operibus vix nova hæc magnificentia quicquam adæquare potuit. *Liv.* ibid.

expence

Fragmentum Picturæ.


B. Baron del. et Sculp.

Fragmentum picturæ veteris in pariete factæ, Romæ anno MDCCXXXVII inter palatii Cæſaris Augusti rudera, ubi nunc ſunt horti Farnesiani, in monte Palatino repertum, in quo ſex figuræ arte exquiſita et nitidis coloribus ſunt expreſsæ; quarum una exhibetur Augustus ipſe ſedens, et coronam alicui (cujus imago est abrupta) protendens; ceteris aulici adstantes, inter quos Mæcenas toga cœrulea indutus; et pone eum M. Agrippa humero ejus dextram imponens: prout harum imaginum cum nummis eorum gemmisque ſimilitudo oſtendit. Ex muſeo viri illuſtris R. Mead. M.D.

expence: works, ſays Livy, to which the magnificence of our days, in its moſt ſupreme degree, has ſcarce been capable of producing any thing comparable.

One of theſe works was the ſubterraneous ſewers and canals that received all the dirt and filth of the city; the remains of which ſtill raiſe admiration and aſtoniſhment from the boldneſs of the undertaking, and the greatneſs of the expence it muſt neceſſarily have coſt to compleat it. And, indeed, of what thickneſs and ſolidity muſt theſe vaulted water-courſes have been, which ran from the extremity of the city as far as the Tyber, to ſupport, for ſo many ages, without ever giving way in the leaſt, the enormous weight of the vaſt ſtreets of Rome erected upon them, through which an infinity of carriages of immenſe weight were continually paſſing!

M. Scaurus, to adorn the ſtage of a theatre during his edileſhip, which was to continue only a month at moſt, had cauſed three hundred and ſixty columns of marble to be prepared, many of which were thirty-eight feet high. When the time for the ſhews was expired, he had all thoſe pillars carried into his own houſe. The undertaker, for making good the common ſewers, obliged that edile to give him ſecurity for repairing the damage, that the carriage of ſo many heavy pillars might occaſion to thoſe vaults, which from the time of Tarquinius Priſcus, that is to ſay, for almoſt eight hundred years, had continued immoveable, and ſtill bore ſo exceſſive a load without giving way.

Plin. l. 36. c. 2.

Beſides which, theſe ſubterraneous canals contributed exceedingly to the cleanlineſs of the houſes and ſtreets, as well as to the purity and wholeſomeneſs of the air. The water of ſeven brooks, which had been united together, and which was frequently turned into theſe ſubterraneous beds, cleanſed them entirely, and carried off along with them all the filth into the Tyber.

Works of this kind, though hid under the earth, and buried in darkneſs, will no doubt appear to every good judge more worthy of praiſe, than the moſt magnificent edifices, and moſt ſuperb palaces. Theſe ſuit the majeſty of kings indeed, but do not exalt their merit, and, properly ſpeaking, reflect no honour but on the ſkill of the architect: whereas the others argue princes, who know the true value of things; who do not ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled by falſe ſplendor; who are more intent upon the public utility than their own glory; and who are ſtudious to extend their ſervices and beneficence to the lateſt poſterity: objects worthy the ambition of a prince!

After the Tarquins were expelled Rome, the people, having aboliſhed monarchical government, and reſumed the ſovereign authority, were ſolely intent upon extending the bounds of their empire. When, in proceſs of time, they came to have more commerce with the Greeks, they began to erect more ſuperb and more regular buildings. For it was from the Greeks that the Romans learned to excel in architecture. Till then their edifices had nothing to recommend them but their ſolidity and magnitude. Of all the orders they knew only the Tuſcan. They were almoſt entirely ignorant of ſculpture, and did not even uſe marble: at leaſt they neither knew how to poliſh it, nor make pillars and other works of it, that by their beauty and excellent workmanſhip might make a magnificent appearance when applied in proper places.

Plin. l. 35. c. 6.

It was not, properly ſpeaking, till towards the latter times of the republic, and under the emperors, that is to ſay, when luxury was grown to a great height at Rome, that architecture appeared there in all its ſplendor. What a multitude of ſuperb buildings and magnificent works were erected, which ſtill adorn Rome! The pantheon, the baths, the amphitheatre called the Coliſæum, the aqueducts, the cauſeways, the pillars of Trajan and Antonine, and the famous bridge over the Danube, built by the order of Trajan. This work alone would have Dio. l. 68. ſufficed to have immortalized his name. It had p. 776. twenty piles to ſupport the arches, each ſixty feet thick, and hundred and fifty high, without including the foundations, and an hundred and ſeventy feet diſtant from one another, which makes in all a breadth of fifteen hundred fourſcore and ten yards. This was, however, that part of the whole country in which the Danube was narroweſt, but at the ſame time deepeſt and moſt rapid; which ſeemed an obſtacle not to be ſurmounted by human induſtry. It was impoſſible to make dams in it for laying the foundation of the piles. Inſtead of which, it was neceſſary to throw into the bed of the river a prodigious quantity of different materials, and by that means to form a kind of baſes equal to the height of the water, in order afterwards to erect the piles upon them, and the whole ſuperſtructure of the bridge. Trajan made this bridge with the view of uſing it againſt the Barbarians. His ſucceſſor Adrian, on the contrary, apprehended its being uſed by the Barbarians againſt the Romans, and cauſed the arches of it to be demoliſhed. Apollodorus of Damaſcus was the architect who preſided in erecting this bridge: he had been employed in many other works by Trajan. His end was very unfortunate.

The emperor Adrian had cauſed a temple to be Dio. l. 69. built in honour of Rome and of Venus, at the ex- p. 789, 790. tremities of which they were placed, each ſitting upon a throne: there is reaſon to believe that he had drawn the plan, and given the dimenſions himſelf, becauſe he piqued himſelf upon his excelling in all arts and ſciences. After it was built, Adrian ſent the draught of it to Apollodorus. He remembered, that, one day inclining to give his opinion upon a building Trajan was diſcourſing about to Apollodorus, that architect had rejected what he ſaid with contempt, as talking of what he did not underſtand. It was therefore by way of inſult, and to ſhew him that ſomething great and perfect might be done without him, that he ſent him the deſign of this temple, with expreſs order to let him know his opinion of it. Apollodorus was naturally no flatterer, and ſaw plainly the affront intended him. After having praiſed the beauty, delicacy, and magnificence of the building, he added, that, ſince he was ordered to give his opinion of it, he could not deny but it had one fault; which was, that, if the goddeſſes ſhould have an inclination to riſe up, they would be in danger of breaking their heads, becauſe the arch of the roof was too confined, and the temple not high enough. The emperor was immediately ſenſible of the groſs and irreparable fault he had committed, and was inconſolable upon it. But the architect paid for it, and his too great ingenuity, which was not perhaps ſufficiently reſerved and reſpectful, coſt him his life.

Sueton. in Ner. c. 31. I have not ranked, in the number of the magnificent buildings of Rome, the palace called the Golden Houſe, which Nero cauſed to be erected there, though perhaps nothing like it was ever ſeen, either for the extent of its walls, the beauty of its gardens, the number and delicacy of its porticoes, the ſumptuoſity of its buildings, or the gold, pearls, jewels, and other precious materials with which it glittered. I do not think it allowable to give the name of magnificence to a palace built with the ſpoils, and cemented with the blood of the Roman citizens. Whence, ſays Suetonius, the buildings of Nero were more deſtructive to the empire than all his other follies: *Non in aliâ re damnoſior quam in ædificando.*

Cicero had paſſed a ſtill more ſevere judgment upon it, who held no expences to be really laudable, but ſuch as had the public utility in view; as the walls of cities and citadels, arſenals, ports, aqueducts, cauſeways, and others of a like nature. He carried his rigour ſo far, as to condemn theatres, piazza's, and even new temples; and ſupported his opinion by the authority of Demetrius Phaleræus, who abſolutely condemned the exceſſive expences of Pericles in ſuch ſtructures.

Cic. l. 2. de offic. n. 60.

The ſame Cicero makes excellent reflections upon the buildings of private perſons: for there is certainly a difference to be made in this point, as well as all others, in regard to princes. * He is for having perſons of the firſt rank in the ſtate lodged in an honourable manner, and that they ſhould ſupport their dignity by their habitations; but at the ſame time that their houſes ſhould not be their principal merit, and that the maſter ſhould do honour to the dwelling, and not the dwelling to the maſter. He recommends to the great men that build carefully to avoid the exceſſive expences incurred by the magnificence of ſtructures: expences, which become of fatal and contagious example to a city; the generality not failing, and making it a merit to imitate, and ſometimes even to exceed, the great. Palaces thus multiplied are ſaid to do honour to a city. They rather diſhonour it, becauſe they corrupt it, by rendering luxury and pomp continually neceſſary, by the coſtlineſs of furniture, and the other expenſive ornaments, required in lofty buildings; which are, beſides, often the cauſe of the ruin of families.

Cic. l. 1. de offic. n. 139, 140.

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* Ornanda eſt dignitas domo, non ex domo dignitas tota quærenda: nec domo dominus, ſed domino domus honeſtanda eſt—Cavendum eſt etiam, præſertim ſi ipſe ædifices, ne extra modum ſumptu & magnificentia prodeas. Quo in genere multum mali in exemplo eſt: ſtudioſè enim pleriq; præſertim in hac parte, facta principum imitantur.

Cato, in his book upon rural life, gives very wiſe advice. * When, ſays he, to build is the queſtion, we ſhould deliberate a great while, (and often not build at all ;) but, when to plant, we ſhould not deliberate but plant directly.

In caſe we build, prudence requires our taking good precautions. "Formerly, ſays Vitruvius, "there was a ſevere but very juſt law at Epheſus, by which the architects who undertook a "public building, were obliged to declare what "it would coſt, and to do it for the price they had "demanded, for the performance of which their "whole eſtate was bound. When the work was "finiſhed, they were publicly honoured and re"warded, if the expence was according to their "eſtimate. If the expence exceeded the agreement "only a fourth, the public paid the ſurplus. But, "if it went beyond that, the architect made good "the deficiency. It were to be wiſhed, continues "Vitruvius, that the Romans had ſuch a regulation "in regard to their buildings, as well public as "private: it would prevent the ruin of abundance "of perſons." Vitruv. præfat. l. 10.

This is a very juſt reflection, and argues a very eſtimable character in Vitruvius, and a great fund of probity, which indeed diſtinguiſhes itſelf throughout his whole work, and does him no leſs honour than his great capacity. He followed his profeſſion with a noble diſintereſtedneſs, very uncommon in thoſe who practiſe it. † Reputation, not gain, was his motive. He had learned from his maſters, that an architect ought to ſtay till he is deſired to undertake Præfat. l. 6.

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* Ædificare diu cogitare oportet, conſerere cogitare non oportet, ſed facere.

† Ego autem, Cæſar, non ad pecuniam parandam ex arte dedi ſtudium, ſed potius tenuitatem cum bona famâ quam abundantiam cum infamia ſequendam probavi. Cæteri architecti rogant & ambiunt, ut architectentur: mihi autem a præceptoribus eſt traditum, rogatum non rogantem oportere ſuſcipere curam, quod ingenuus color movetur pudore petendo rem ſuſpicioſam. Nam beneficium dantes, non recipientes, ambiuntur. *Vitruv.*

dertake a work; and that he cannot, without ſhame, make a demand, that ſhews him intereſted in it: becauſe every body knows people do not ſollicit others to do them good, but to receive it from them.

He requires in his profeſſion an extent of knowledge, that occaſions aſtoniſhment. According to him, an architect muſt be both ingenious and laborious: for capacity without application, and application without capacity, never make an excellent artiſt. He muſt therefore know how to deſign, underſtand geometry, not be ignorant of optics, have learnt arithmetic, know much of hiſtory, have well ſtudied philoſophy, with ſome knowledge of muſic, phyſic, civil law, and aſtronomy. He afterwards proceeds to ſhew particularly, in what manner each of theſe branches of learning may be uſeful to an architect. Vitr. l. 1, c. 1.

When he comes to philoſophy, beſides the knowledge neceſſary to his art, to be derived from phyſics, he conſiders it with regard to morals. "The ſtudy of philoſophy, ſays he, ſerves alſo to render the architect more compleat, who ought to have a ſoul great and bold, without arrogance, equitable and faithful, and, what is ſtill more important, entirely exempt from avarice: for it is utterly impoſſible ever to do any thing well, or to attain any excellence without fidelity and honour. He ought therefore to be diſintereſted, and to have leſs in view the acquiring of riches, than honour and reputation, by architecture; never acting any thing unworthy of ſo honourable a profeſſion: for this is what philoſophy preſcribes."

Vitruvius has not thought fit to require in his architect the talent of eloquence, which it is often proper even to diſtruſt, as a very happy ſaying Plutarch has preſerved explains. It was occaſioned by a conſiderable building that the Athenians intended

tended to erect, for the execution of which two architects offered themſelves to the people. The one, a fine ſpeaker, but not very expert in his art, charmed and dazzled the whole aſſembly by the elegant manner in which he expreſſed himſelf in explaining the plan he propoſed to follow. The other, as bad an orator as he was an an excellent architect, contented himſelf with telling the Athenians: * *Men of Athens, I will do what he has ſaid.*

I conceived, that I could not conclude this article upon architecture better, than with giving ſome idea of the ability and manners of him, who, in the opinion of all good judges, practiſed and taught it with moſt reputation.

* Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς οὗτος εἴρηκεν, ἐγὼ ποίησω.

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CHAPTER IV.

OF SCULPTURE.

SECT. I.

Of the different ſpecies of ſculpture.

SCULPTURE is an art, which by the means of a deſign or plan and of ſolid matter, imi- ates the palpable objects of nature. Its matter is ood, ſtone, marble, ivory; different metals, as old, ſilver, copper; precious ſtones, as agate, and e like. This art includes alſo caſting or found- g, which is ſubdivided into the art of making gures of wax, and that of caſting them in all ſorts f metals. By ſculpture I underſtand here all theſe ifferent ſpecies.

The ſculptors and painters have often had great iſputes amongſt themſelves upon the pre-emi- ence of their ſeveral profeſſions; the firſt found- g the preference upon the duration of their orks, and the latter oppoſing them with the ef- cts of the mixture and vivacity of colours. But, ithout entering into a queſtion not eaſy to decide, ulpture and painting may be conſidered as two ſters, that have but one origin, and whoſe ad- antages ought to be common; I might almoſt ſay the ſame art, of which deſign is the ſoul and le, but which work in a different manner, and pon different materials.

It is difficult and little important to trace, thro' e obſcurity of remote ages, the firſt inventors of ulpture. Its origin may be dated with that of

the world, and we may ſay that God was the firſ
ſtatuary, when, having created all beings, he ſeeme
to redouble his attention in forming the body o
man, for the beauty and perfection of which h
ſeems to have wrought with a kind of ſatisfactio
and complacency.

Long after he had finiſhed this maſter-piece o
his all-powerful hands, he was willing to be ho
noured principally by the ſculptor's application i
building the ark of the covenant, of which him
ſelf gave the idea to the legiſlator of the Hebrews
But in what terms does he ſpeak to the admirabl
Exodus xxxi. artiſt he thought fit to employ in it? *I have choſen*
ſays he to his prophet, *a man of the tribe of Judah*
and I have filled him with the ſpirit of God, in wi
dom, and in underſtanding, and in knowledge, and i
all manner of workmanſhip. To deviſe cunning work
to work in gold, and in ſilver, and in braſs. And i
cutting of ſtones, to ſet them, and in cutting of timbe
to work in all manner of workmanſhip. Does no
this ſeem as if the queſtion were the inſpiration o
the prophet himſelf to give laws to his people. H
ſpeaks in the ſame manner in reſpect to the work
men that are to build and adorn the temple o
Jeruſalem.

Nothing could exalt the merit of ſculpture ſ
much as ſo noble a deſtination, if it had fulfilled
faithfully. But, long before the building of th
temple, and even the tabernacle, it had ſhamefull
proſtituted itſelf for hire to idolatry, which by i
means filled the world with ſtatues of falſe divi
nities, and expoſed them for the adoration of th
people. * We find in the Scripture, that one o

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* *Alſo the ſingular diligence of the artificer did help to ſet forwa*
the ignorant to more ſuperſtition. For he, peradventure, willing to plea
one in authority, forced all his skill to make the reſemblance of the b
faſhion. And ſo the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, to
him now for a god, who a little before, was but honoured as
man. And this was an occaſion to deceive the world. Wiſd. xi
18, 19, 20, 21.

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he cauſes which had conduced moſt to the ſpreadng of this impious worſhip, had been the extreme eauty which the workmen, in emulation of each ther, had exerted themſelves to give thoſe ſtatues. he admiration, excited by the view of theſe exellent works of art, was a kind of enchantment, vhich, by ſtrongly affecting the ſenſes, conveyed he illuſion to the mind, and drew in the multitude. t is againſt this univerſal deluſion Jeremiah adnoniſhed the Iſraelites to beware, when they ſhould ee in Babylon the ſtatues of gold and ſilver carried bout in pomp upon the days of ſolemnity. At hat time, ſays the prophet, when the whole mulitude, filled with veneration and awe, ſhall protrate themſelves before the idols (for the captivity, n which the people of God were in a ſtrange land, vould not admit them to expreſs themſelves aloud) ay within yourſelves: IT IS ONLY THOU, O LORD, HAT OUGHT TO BE ADORED. Baruch vi. 6.

It muſt be owned alſo that ſculpture did not [*] contribute a little to the corruption of manners, y the nudity of the images, and repreſentations ontrary to modeſty, as the Pagans themſelves ave confeſſed. I thought it proper to premiſe this emark, that, in what I ſhall ſay hereafter in praiſe f ſculpture, the reader may ſee I diſtinguiſh the xcellency of the art in itſelf, from the abuſe which nen have made of it.

The firſt ſculptors made their works of earth, vhether they were ſtatues, or moulds and models. Plin. l. 34. c. 12. his made the ſtatuary Paſiteles ſay, that the works vhich were either caſt, or cut with a chiſſel or graver, owed their being to the art of making figures of earth, called *Plaſtice*. It is ſaid that Denaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priſcus, who ook refuge from Corinth in Etruria, brought thiher abundance of workmen with him, who excelled in that art, and introduced the taſte for i there, which afterwards communicated itſelf to th reſt of Italy. The ſtatues erected in that countr to the gods, were at firſt only of earth, to which for their whole ornament, was added a red colour We ought not to be aſhamed of the men, ſays[*] Pliny, who adored ſuch gods. They ſet no valu upon gold and ſilver, either for themſelves or thei deities. Juvenal calls a ſtatue, like that erected b Tarquinius Priſcus, in the temple of the father o the gods:

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[*] Auxere & artem vitiorum irritamenta. *Plin. Proœm.* l. 33.

Fictilis, & nullo violatus Jupiter auro.
A Jove of earth, nor yet by gold profan'd.

It was very late before they began[†] to ſet u
A. M. 3820. golden or gilt ſtatues at Rome. This was firſ done in the conſulſhip of P. Corn. Cethegus, an M. Bæbius Tamphilus, in the 571ſt, or 573d yea of Rome.

Plin. l. 35. c. 12. Portraits were afterwards made alſo of plaiſte and wax, the invention of which is aſcribed to Ly ſiſtratus of Sicyone, the brother of Lyſippus.

We find that the antients made ſtatues of al
Pauſan. l. 6. Plin. l. 16. c. 40. moſt all ſorts of wood. There was an image o Apollo at Sicyone made of box. At Epheſus, ac cording to ſome writers, that of Diana was of ce dar, as well as the roof of the temple. The le mon-tree, the cypreſs, the palm, the olive, th ebony, the vine; in a word, all trees not ſubje to rot, or to be worm-eaten, were uſed for ſtatues

Plin. l. 36. c. 4. Marble ſoon became the moſt uſual, and the moſ eſteemed material for works of ſculpture. It is be

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[*] Hæ tum effigies deorum erant laudatiſſimæ. Nec pœnitet no illorum, qui tales deos coluere. Aurum enim & argentum ne dii quidem conficiebant. *Plin.*

[†] Acilius Glabrio duumvir, ſtatuam auratam, quæ prima om nium in Italia ſtatua aurata eſt, patri Glabrioni poſuit. *Liv.* l. 4 n. 34.

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lieved that Dipænes and Scyllis, both of Crete, were the firſt who uſed it at Sicyone, which was long, in a manner, the centre and ſchool of arts: They lived about the 50th olympiad, a little before A. M. 3424. Cyrus reigned in Perſia.

Bupalus and Anthermus, two brothers, made themſelves famous for the art of carving marble, in the time of Hipponax, that is to ſay, in the 60th olympiad. That poet had a very ugly face. A. M. 3464. They made his portrait in order to expoſe it to the laughter of ſpectators. Hipponax conceived a more than poetic fury againſt them, and made ſuch virulent verſes upon them, that, according to ſome, they hanged themſelves through grief and ſhame. But this fact cannot be true, becauſe there were works of their making after that time.

At firſt the artiſts uſed only white marble, Plin. l. 36. c. 6. brought from the iſle of Pharos. It was reported, that, in cutting theſe blocks of marble, they ſometimes found nrtural figures of a Silenus, a god Pan, a whale and other fiſhes. Jaſper and ſpotted marble became afterwards the faſhion. It was brought principally from the quarries of Chio, and ſoon was commonly found in almoſt all countries.

It is believed, that the manner of cutting large blocks of marble into many thin pieces, to cover the walls of houſes, was invented in Caria. The palace of king Mauſolus at Halicarnaſſus is the moſt antient houſe that had theſe incruſtations of marble, which were one of its greateſt ornaments.

The uſe of ivory, in works of ſculpture, was known from the earlieſt ages of Greece. Homer Odyſſ. Δ. v. 73. ſpeaks of them, though he never mentions elephants.

The art of caſting gold and ſilver is of the greateſt antiquity, and cannot be traced to its origin. The gods of Laban, which Rachel ſtole, ſeem to have been of this kind. The jewels offered to Rebecca were of caſt gold. Before the Iſraelites left

Egypt, they had ſeen caſt ſtatues, which they imitated in caſting the golden calf, as they did afterwards in the brazen ſerpent. From that time al the nations of the eaſt caſt their gods, *deos conflatiles*; and God forbad his people to imitat them upon pain of death. In the building o the tabernacle, the workmen did not invent th art of founding: God only directed their taſte. I is ſaid, that Solomon cauſed the figures uſed in th temple, and elſewhere, to be caſt near Jericho, because it was a clayey ſoil, *in argilloſa terra:* whic ſhews that they had even then the ſame manner o founding great maſſes as we have.

It were to be wiſhed, that the Greek or Roma authors had informed us in what manner the an tients caſt their metals in making figures. W
Plin. l. 37. find, by what Pliny writes upon that head, tha they ſometimes made uſe of ſtone-moulds. Vitru
Vitruv. vius ſpeaks of a kind of ſtones found about th
l. 2. c. 7. lake Volſenus, and in other parts of Italy, whic would bear the force of fire without breaking, an of which moulds were made for caſting ſevera
Plin. l. 54. ſorts of works. The antients had the art of ming
c. 14. ling different metals in the mould, to expreſs dif ferent paſſions and ſentiments by the diverſity c colours.

There are ſeveral manners of carving metals an precious ſtones: for in both the one and the othe they work in relief, and in hollow, which is calle engraving. The antients excelled in both way The baſſo relievo's, which we have of theirs, ar infinitely eſteemed by good judges: and as to en graved ſtones, as the fine agates and, cryſtals, c which there are abundance in the king of France cabinet, it is generally ſaid, that there is nothin ſo exquiſite as thoſe of the antient maſters.

Though they engraved upon almoſt all kinds c precious ſtones, the moſt finiſhed figures, whic we have of theirs, are cut upon onyxes, whic

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is a kind of agate not tranſparent, or on cornelians, which they found more fit for engraving than any other ſtones, becauſe they are more firm and even, and cut more neatly; and alſo becauſe there are different colours that run one above the other in the onyx, by the means of which in relievo the bottom continues of one colour, and the figures of another To engrave upon gems and cryſtals they uſed, as now, the point of a diamond.

The antients highly extolled the gem in the ring of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, which he threw into the ſea, and was brought back to him by a very extraordinary accident: in Pliny's time it was pretended to be at Rome. It was, according to ſome, a ſardonyx; to others an emerald. That of Pyrrhus was no leſs eſteemed; upon which might be ſeen Apollo with his harp and the nine muſes, each with their particular ſymbol: And all this not the effect of art but of nature: *non arte, ſed ſponte naturæ.* Plin. l. 7. c. 1.

The art of ſculpture was principally employed upon cups uſed at feaſts: theſe pieces were very rich and curious, as well as of the moſt coſtly materials.

One of the greateſt advantages the art of making portraits ever received, for the eterniſing its works, s that of engraving upon wood and copper-plates, by the means of which a great number of prints are taken off, that multiply a deſign almoſt to infinity, and convey the artiſt's thoughts into different parts, which before could only be known from the ſingle piece of his own work. There is reaſon to wonder, that the antients, who engraved ſo many excellent things upon hard ſtones and cryſtals, did not diſcover ſo fine a ſecret, which indeed did not appear till after printing; and was, no doubt, an effect and imitation of it. For the impreſſion of figures and cuts did not begin to be uſed till the end of the fourteenth century. The world is indebted for the invention of them to a goldſmith, that worked at Florence.

After having related, by way of abridgment, the greateſt part of what employed the ſculpture of the antients, it remains for me to give an account of ſome of thoſe who practiſed it with moſt ſucceſs and reputation.

SECT. II.

Sculptors moſt celebrated amongſt the antients.

THough ſculpture had its birth in Aſia and Egypt, it was from Greece, properly ſpeaking, that it derived its luſtre and perfection. Not to mention the firſt rude eſſays of this art, which always carry with them the marks of their infantile ſtate, Greece produced, eſpecially in the time of Pericles * and after him, a multitude of excellent artiſts, who laboured, in emulation of each other, to place ſculpture in honour by an infinite number of works, which have been, and will be, the admiration of all ages. Attica †, fertile in quarries of marble, and ſtill more abundant in happy genius's for the arts, was ſoon inriched with an infinite number of ſtatues.

I ſhall mention here only ſuch of them, as were moſt diſtinguiſhed by their ability and reputation. The moſt celebrated are Phidias, Polycletus, Myron, Lyſippus, Praxiteles, and Scopas.

There is another ſtill more illuſtrious than all I have named, but in a different way: this is the famous Socrates. I ought not to envy ſculpture the honour ſhe had of reckoning Socrates amongſt her pupils. He was the ſon of a ſtatuary, and was one himſelf, before he commenced philoſopher. The three graces, which were carefully preſerved in the citadel of Athens, were generally aſcribed to him. They were not naked, as it was uſual to repreſent them, but covered: which ſhews what inclination he had at that time for virtue. He ſaid, that this art had taught him the firſt precepts of philoſophy; and that, as ſculpture gives form to its ſubjects by removing its ſuperfluities, ſo that ſcience introduces virtue into the heart of man, by gradually retrenching all his imperfections.

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* Multas artes ad animorum corporumq; cultum nobis eruditiſſima omnium gens (Græca) invenit. *Liv.* l. 39. c. 8.

† Exornata eo genere operum eximiè terra Attica, & copia domeſtici marmoris, & ingenio artificum. *Liv.* l. 31. n. 26. *Theſe marbles were dug in the Pentelic mountain, which was in Attica.*

Diog. Laert. in Socr.

PHIDIAS.

Phidias, for many reaſons, deſerves to be placed t the head of the ſculptors. He was an Athenian, nd flouriſhed in the 83d olympiad; happy times, vherein, after the victories obtained over the Perians, abundance, the daughter of peace, and nother of arts, produced various talents by the rotection Pericles afforded them! Phidias was not ne of thoſe artiſts who only know how to handle ne tools of their profeſſion. He had a mind adornd with all the knowledge that could be uſeful to man of his profeſſion; hiſtory, poetry, fable, eometry, and optics. A fact, not a little curious, ill ſhew in what manner the latter was uſeful to im.

A. M. 3556.

Alcamenes and he were each employed to make ſtatue of Minerva, in order that the fineſt of them ight be choſen, and placed on a very high column. Vhen the two ſtatues were finiſhed, they were exoſed to the view of the public. The Minerva of lcamenes, when ſeen near, ſeemed admirable, and rried all the voices. That of Phidias, on the ntrary, was thought inſupportable; a great open outh, noſtrils which ſeemed drawn in, and ſomeing rude and groſs throughout the whole viſage.

Phidias and his ſtatues were ridiculed. *Set them*, ſaid he, *where they are to be placed:* which was accordingly done alternately. The Minerva of Alcamenes appeared then like nothing, whilſt that of Phidias had a wonderful effect from its air of grandeur and majeſty, which the people could never ſufficiently admire. Phidias received the approbation his rival had before, who retired with ſhame and confuſion, very much repenting that he had not learnt the rules of optics.

The ſtatues, ſo much extolled before the times we now ſpeak of, were more eſtimable for their antiquity than merit. Phidias was the firſt who gave the Greeks a taſte for the Fine in nature, and taught them to copy it. * Hence, as ſoon as his works appeared, they were univerſally admired; and what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing than that he made admirable ſtatues, is, his making ſo many of them: for their number, according to authors, ſeems incredible; and he perhaps is the only one that ever united ſo much facility with ſuch perfection.

Pauſan. in Attic. p. 62.

I believe he worked with great pleaſure upon a block of marble, found in the Perſian camp after the battle of Marathon, in which thoſe Barbarians were entirely defeated. They had aſſured themſelves of victory, and had brought that ſtone thither, in order to erect it as a trophy. Phidias made a Nemeſis of it, the goddeſs whoſe function it is to humble and puniſh the inſolent pride of men. The natural hatred of the Greeks for the Barbarians, and the grateful pleaſure of avenging their country, undoubtedly animated the ſculptor's genius with new fire, and lent new force and addreſs to his hands and chiſſel.

Id. in Bœot. p. 548.

At the price of the ſpoils taken from the ſame enemies, he made a ſtatue of Minerva alſo for the

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* Quinti Hortenſii admodum adoleſcentis ingenium, ut Phidiæ ſignum, ſimul aſpectum & probatum eſt. *Cic. de clar. Orat.* n. 228.

Platæans. It was of wood gilt. The face, as well as the hands and feet, were of Pentelic marble.

His talent lay principally in repreſenting the gods. His imagination was great and noble; ſo that, * according to Cicero, he did not copy their features and reſemblance from any viſible objects, but by the force of genius formed an idea of true beauty, to which he continually applied himſelf, and which became his rule and model, and directed his art and execution.

Hence Pericles, who had an higher opinion of him than of all the other architects, made him director and a kind of ſuperintendant of the buildings of the republic. When the Parthenon, that magnificent temple of Minerva, was finiſhed, of which ſome remains not ill preſerved ſtill charm travellers, and it was to be dedicated, which conſiſted in ſetting up the ſtatue of the goddeſs in it, Phidias was charged with the work, in which he excelled himſelf. He made a ſtatue of gold and ivory, of twenty-ſix cubits (or thirty-nine feet) high. The Athenians choſe to have it of ivory, which at that time was much more ſcarce and valuable than the fineſt marble.

How rich ſoever this prodigious ſtatue was, the ſculptor's art infinitely ſurpaſſed the materials of it. Phidias had carved, upon the convex part of Minerva's ſhield, the battle of the Athenians with the Amazons; and, upon the concave, that of the giants with the gods; upon the buſkins of the goddeſs he added the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ; on the pedeſtal the birth of Pandora, with all that fable ſays of it. Cicero, Pliny, Plutarch, Pauſanias, and ſeveral other great writers of antiquity,

Plin. l. 36. c. 5.

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* Phidias, cum faceret Jovis formam aut Minervæ, non contemplabatur aliquem a quo ſimilitudinem duceret: ſed ipſius in mente inſidebat ſpecies pulchritudinis eximia quædam, quam intuens, in eaq; defixus, ad illius ſimilitudinem artem & animum dirigebat. *Cic. in Orat.* n. 9.

quity, all connoiſſeurs, and eye-witneſſes of it, have ſpoke of this ſtatue. Their teſtimony leaves no room to doubt its having been one of the fineſt pieces of workmanſhip that ever was in the world.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 169.

Some aſſure us, ſays Plutarch, that Phidias put his name upon the pedeſtal of his Minerva at Athens. Pauſanias does not mention this circumſtance, which Cicero entirely denies, who ſays expreſsly, that * Phidias, not being permitted to put his name to the ſtatue, had cut his portrait upon the goddeſs's ſhield. Plutarch adds, that Phidias had repreſented himſelf in the form of an old man, quite bald, raiſing a large ſtone with both his hands; and had alſo repreſented Pericles fighting with an Amazon, but in ſuch an attitude, that his hand, which was extended to throw a javelin hid part of his face.

The moſt excellent artiſts have always affected to inſert their names in their works, in order to partake of the immortality they gave others. Myron, † that famous ſtatuary, to immortalize his name, put it in characters almoſt imperceptible, upon one of the thighs of the ſtatue of Apollo. Pliny relates, that two Lacedæmonian architects, Saurus and Batrachus, without accepting any reward, built ſome temples in a part of the city of Rome, which Octavia cauſed afterwards to be incloſed with galleries. They flattered themſelves, that they ſhould have liberty to ſet their names upon them, which indeed ſeems the leaſt recompence due to their generous diſintereſtedneſs. But we find that, in thoſe days, the perſons, who employed the moſt able artiſts, took all poſſible precautions to avoid ſharing the eſteem and attention of poſterity with ſimple workmen. Theſe were abſolutely refuſed their demand. Their addreſs how-

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* Phidias ſimilem ſui ſpeciem incluſit in clypeo Minervæ, cum inſcribere non liceret. *Tuſcul.* l. 1. n. 34.

† Signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cujus in femore literulis minutis argenteis nomen inſcriptum Myronis. *Cic. Verrin. de ſign.* n. 93.

ever ſupplied them with an amends. They threw in, by way of ornament, lizards and frogs upon the baſes and capitals of all the columns. The name of Saurus was implied by the lizard, which the the Greeks call σαῦρα, and that of Batrachus by the frog, which they call βάτραχος.

The prohibition I ſpeak of was not general in Greece, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee a very extraordinary inſtance in relation to Phidias himſelf: it was perhaps peculiar to Athens. However it was, his having given the two portraits a place in the ſhield of Minerva was made criminal. Nor was that all; Menon, one of his pupils, demanded to be heard, and made himſelf his accuſer. He alledged that he had applied to his own uſe part of the * forty-four talents of gold, which were to have been uſed in the ſtatue of Minerva. Pericles had foreſeen what would happen, and by his advice Phidias had uſed the gold in his Minerva in ſuch a manner, that it could eaſily be taken out and weighed. It was weighed accordingly, and to the accuſer's ſhame found to amount to the forty-four talents. Phidias, who plainly ſaw that his innocence would not ſecure him againſt the malignant jealouſy of thoſe who envied him, and the intrigues of Pericles's enemies, who had hatched this affair againſt him, withdrew privately to Elis.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 169.

He there conceived thoughts of avenging himſelf upon the injuſtice and ingratitude of the Athenians, in a manner pardonable and allowable in an artiſt, if ever revenge could be ſo: which was by employing his whole induſtry in making a ſtatue for the Eleans, that might eclipſe his Minerva, which the Athenians looked upon as his maſter-piece. This he effected. His Jupiter Olympius

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* *In ſuppoſing the proportion of gold to ſilver as ten to one, forty-four talents of gold amounted to four hundred and forty talents, that is to ſay, to one million three hundred and twenty thouſand livres, ſomething leſs than ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling.*

was a prodigy of art, and ſo perfectly ſuch, that, to ſet a juſt value upon it, it was thought that it deſerved to be ranked amongſt the ſeven wonders of the world. Nor had he forgot any thing that might conduce to its perfection. Before he had entirely finiſhed it, he expoſed it to the view and judgment of the public, hiding himſelf in a corner, from whence he overheard all that was ſaid of it. One thought the noſe too thick, another the face too long; and different perſons found different faults. He made the beſt uſe he could of all the criticiſms that ſeemed to have any juſt foundation; convinced, ſays Lucian, who relates this fact, that many eyes ſee better than one. An excellent reflection in every kind of work!

Lucian in imaginib. p. 31.

This ſtatue of gold and ivory, ſixty feet high, and of a proportionate magnitude, made all ſucceeding ſtatuaries deſpair. None of them had the preſumption only to imagine that they could imitate it: *Præter Jovem Olympium, quem nemo æmulatur*, ſays Pliny. According to Quintilian, the majeſty of the work equalled that of the god, and even added to the religion of all who ſaw it: *Ejus pulcritudo adjeciſſe aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videtur, adeò majeſtas operis deum æquavit.* Thoſe who beheld it, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and aſked whether the god had deſcended from heaven to ſhew himſelf to Phidias, or Phidias had been carried thither to contemplate the god. Phidias himſelf, upon being aſked from whence he had taken his idea of his Jupiter Olympius, repeated the three fine verſes of Homer, in which the poet repreſents the majeſty of that god in the moſt ſublime terms; thereby ſignifying that the genius of Homer had inſpired him with it.

Plin. l. 34. c. 8.

Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

Val. Max. l. 3. c. 7.

Pauſan. l. 5. p. 303.

At the baſe of the ſtatue was this inſcription: PHIDIAS THE ATHENIAN, THE SON OF CHARMIDES, MADE ME. Jupiter ſeems here to glory in a manner that he is the work of Phidias, and to

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leclare ſo by this inſcription; tacitly to reproach he Athenians with their vicious delicacy, in not ſuf-ering that excellent artiſt to annex his name or ortrait to the ſtatue of Minerva.

Pauſanias, who had ſeen and carefully examined his ſtatue of Jupiter Olympus, has left us a very ong and very fine deſcription of it. The Abbé Gedoyn has inſerted it in his diſſertation upon Phi-lias, which he has read in the academy of inſcrip-ions, and was pleaſed to communicate to me. I ave made uſe of it in what I have related of this amous ſtatuary.

The ſtatue of Jupiter Olympius raiſed the glory f Phidias to its higheſt degree, and eſtabliſhed him reputation, which two thouſand years have not bliterated. He finiſhed his labours with this great naſter-piece. The ſhop where he worked was pre-erved long after his death, and travellers uſed to iſit it out of curioſity. The Eleans, in honour of Pauſ. l. 5. is memory, inſtituted an office in favour of his p. 313. leſcendants, the whole duty of which conſiſted in eeping this magnificent ſtatue clean, and in pre-erving it from whatever might ſully its beauty.

POLYCLETUS.

Polycletus was of Sicyone, a city of Peloponne- Plin. l. 34. us, and lived in the 87th olympiad. Ageladus was c. 8. A. M. is maſter, and ſeveral very famous ſculptors his 3771. iſciples, of which number was Myron, of whom e ſhall ſoon ſpeak. He made ſeveral ſtatues of raſs, which were highly eſteemed. One of them epreſented a beautiful young man, with a crown n his head, which was ſold for an hundred talents, hat is, an hundred thouſand crowns. But what ave him the moſt reputation was the * ſtatue of

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* Fecit & quem canona artifices vocant, lineamenta artis ex eo etentes velut a lege quadam, ſoluſque hominum artem ipſe feciſſe tis opere judicatur. *Plin.*

a* Doryphorus, in which all the proportions of th
human body were ſo happily united, that it wa
called *the Rule*; and the ſculptors came from a
parts, to form in themſelves, by ſtudying this ſta
tue, a juſt idea of what they had to do, in ord
to excel in their art. † Polycletus is univerſall
admitted to have carried the art of ſculpture to i
higheſt perfection, as Phidias is for having bee
the firſt to place it in honour.

Ælian. Whilſt he was at work upon a ſtatue, by orde
l. 14. c. 8. of the people, he had the complaiſance to hearke
to all the advice they thought fit to give him, t
retouch his work, and to change and correct in
whatever diſpleaſed the Athenians. But he mad
another in private, in which he followed only hi
own genius, and the rules of art. When they wer
expoſed together to the view of the public, th
people were unanimous in condemning the firſt
and admiring the other. *What you condemn*, ſay
Polycletus to them, *is your work*; *what you admir*
is mine.

MYRON.

Little is known of this ſtatuary. He was a
Athenian, or at leaſt paſſed for one, becauſe th
inhabitants of Eleutheria, the place of his nativity
had taken refuge at Athens, and were regarded a
A. M. citizens of it. He lived in the 84th olympiad
3560. His works rendered him very famous, eſpecially
cow, which he made in braſs, and which gave oc
caſion for abundance of fine Greek epigrams, in
ſerted in the fourth book of the Anthologia, *(Flo*
rilega.)

LYSIPPUS.

Plin. l. 34. Lyſippus was a Sicyonian, and lived in the tim
c. 8. of Alexander the Great, in the 113th olympiad
A. M.
3676.

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* *So the guards of the king of Perſia were called.*

† Hic conſummâſſe hanc ſcientiam judicatur, & toreuticen ſic eru
dîſſe, ut Phidias aperuiſſe. *Plin.*

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He followed at firſt the buſineſs of a lockſmith; but his happy genius ſoon induced him to take up a profeſſion more noble and more worthy of him. He uſed to ſay, * that the Doryphorus of Polycletus had ſerved him inſtead of a maſter. But the painter Eupompus directed him to a much better and more certain guide. For † upon Lyſippus's aſking him, which of his predeceſſors in the art of ſculpture it was beſt to propoſe to himſelf as a model and maſter; *no man in particular*, replied he, *but nature herſelf*. He afterwards ſtudied her ſolely, and made great improvements from her leſſons.

He worked with ſo much eaſe, that, of all the antients, none made ſo great a number of ſtatues as himſelf; they are ſaid to amount to ſix hundred.

He made, amongſt others, the ſtatue of a man, rubbing himſelf after bathing, of exquiſite beauty. Agrippa ſet it up in Rome before his baths. ‡ Tiberius, who was charmed with it, having attained the empire, could not reſiſt his deſire to poſſeſs it, though in the firſt years of his reign, in which he was ſufficiently maſter of himſelf to moderate his paſſions: ſo that he removed the ſtatue into his own chamber, and cauſed another very fine one to be put up in the ſame place. The people, who feared Tiberius, could not however refrain from crying out in the full theatre, that they deſired the ſtatue might be replaced: with which the emperor, how fond ſoever he was of the ſtatue, was obliged to comply, in order to appeaſe the tumult.

Lyſippus had made ſeveral ſtatues of Alexander, according to his ſeveral ages, having begun at his

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[*] Polycleti Doryphorum ſibi Lyſippus aiebat magiſtrum fuiſſe, *Cic. in Brut.* n. 296.

[†] Eum interrogatum quem ſequeretur præcedentium, dixiſſe, demonſtrata hominum multitudine, naturam ipſam imitandam eſſe, non artificem. *Plin.*

[‡] Mirè gratum Tiberio principi, qui non quivit temperare ſibi in eo, quanquam imperioſus ſui inter initia principatus, tranſtulitq; in cubiculum, alio ibi ſigno ſubſtituto. *Plin.*

infancy. * It is well known, that prince had forbad all ſtatuaries but Lyſippus to make his ſtatue as he had done all painters but Apelles to draw hi picture; † rightly judging, ſays Cicero, that the ſkil of thoſe two great maſters, in perpetuating thei own names, would alſo immortalize his: for it wa not to pleaſe them he publiſhed that edict, but wit a view to his own glory.

Amongſt theſe ſtatues, there was one of exquiſite beauty, upon which Nero ſet an high value and was particularly fond of. But, as it was onl of copper, ‡ that prince, who had no taſte, and wa ſtruck with nothing but glare, thought fit to have i gilt. This new decoration, as coſtly as it was, mad it loſe all its value, by covering the delicacy of th art. All this gaudy ſupplement was obliged to b taken off, by which means the ſtatue recovere part of its original beauty and value, notwithſtanding the traces and ſcars the putting on and takin off the gold had left upon it. In the bad taſte o Nero methinks I ſee that of ſome people, who induſtriouſly ſubſtitute the tinſel of conceits and witticiſms to the precious and ineſtimable ſimplicity o the antients.

Lyſippus is ſaid to have added much to the perfection of ſtatuary, in expreſſing the hair bette than thoſe who preceded him, and in making th heads leſs, and the bodies not ſo large, in order t make the ſtatues ſeem higher. || Upon which Lyſippu

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* Edicto vetuit nequis ſibi præter Apellem pingeret, aut aliu Lyſippo duceret æra fortis Alexandri vultum ſimulantia. *Hor.* l. 2 *Epiſt. ad Aug.*

† Neque enim Alexander gratiæ causâ ab Apelle potiſſimùm pingi, & a Lyſippo fingi volebat, ſed quod illorum artem cum ipſis, tum etiam ſibi, gloriæ fore putabat. *Cic. ad famil.* l. 5 *Epiſt.* 12.

‡ Quam ſtatuam inaurari juſſit Nero princeps, delectatus admodum illa. Dein, cum pretio perîſſet gratia artis, detractum eſt aurum; pretioſiorq; talis exiſtimatur, etiam circatricibus operis atq conſciſſuris, in quibus aurum hæſerat, remanentibus. *Plin.*

|| Vulgo dicebat ab illis (veteribus) factos, quales eſſent hominꝫes; a ſe quales viderentur eſſe.

ppus ſaid of himſelf, *that others repreſented men in*
beir ſtatues as they were; *but he, as they appeared*;
ıat is to ſay, if I miſtake not, in the manner that
'as moſt proper to make them appear with all
ıeir beauty. The chief point in ſculpture, as well
s in painting, is to follow and imitate nature:
,yſippus, we ſee, made it his guide and rule.
ut art does not ſtop there. Without ever de-
arting from nature, it throws in ſtrokes and
races, which do not change, but only embelliſh
, and catch the eye in a more lively and agree-
ble manner. * Demetrius, otherwiſe an excellent
atuary, was reproached with confining himſelf
o ſcrupulouſly to truth, and for being more ſtu-
ious of likeneſs than beauty in his works. This
,yſippus avoided.

Praxiteles.

Praxiteles lived in the 104th olympiad. We A. M.
uſt not confound him with another Praxiteles, 3640.
'ho made himſelf famous in the time of Pompey,
y excellent works in the goldſmith's art. He
'e ſpeak of is of the firſt rank among the ſtatu-
ries. He worked chiefly in marble, and with ex-
aordinary ſucceſs.

Amongſt the great number of ſtatues made by Pauſan.
im, it would have been hard to know which to l. 1. p. 34.
refer, unleſs himſelf had informed us: which he
oes in a manner that has ſomething ſingular
nough in it. Phryne, the celebrated courteſan,
'as much in his favour. She had often preſſed
im to make her a preſent of one of the beſt of his
'orks, and that which he believed the moſt finiſhed;
nd he could not refuſe it. But, when he was to
udge which it was, he deferred doing ſo from day
o day; whether he found it difficult to determine

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* Demetrius tanquam nimius in ea (veritate) reprehenditur; &
uit ſimilitudinis quam pulchritudinis amantior. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

himſelf, or rather ſtrove to evade her warm and earneſt ſolicitations, by protracting the affair. Perſons of Phryne's profeſſion ſeldom want induſtry and addreſs. She found a means to get the ſecret out of Praxiteles, in ſpite of himſelf. One day when he was with her, ſhe made his own ſervant, whom ſhe had gained to her purpoſe, come running to tell him: "Your workhouſe is on fire, and part "of your works already ſpoiled: Which of them "ſhall I ſave?" The maſter, quite out of his ſenſes, cried out, "I am ruined and undone, if "the flames have not ſpared my ſatyr and my "Cupid. Be in no pain, Praxiteles, reſumed "Phryne immediately, there is nothing burnt: "but now I know what I wanted." Praxiteles could hold out no longer. She choſe the Cupid, which ſhe afterwards ſet up at Theſpiæ, a city of Bœotia, where ſhe was born, and whither people went long after to ſee it out of curioſity. When Mummius took ſeveral ſtatues from Theſpiæ to ſend them to Rome, he paid ſome regard to this, becauſe conſecrated to a god. The Cupid of Verres, mentioned by Cicero, was alſo done by Praxiteles, though not the ſame with this.

It is undoubtedly of the firſt that mention is made in Mr. de Thou's memoirs. The fact is very curious, wherefore I ſhall tranſcribe it as related there: Mr. de Thou, when young, went into Italy with Mr. de Foix, whom the court ſent thither. They were then at Pavia. Amongſt other rarities which Iſabella of Eſte, the duke of Mantua's grandmother, had diſpoſed with great care and order, in a magnificent cabinet, Mr. de Thou was ſhewn an admirable piece of ſculpture; this was a Cupid ſleeping, made of the fine marble of Spezzia, by the celebrated Michael Angelo Buonarotti, who revived the arts of painting, ſculpture, and architecture, which had long been neglected before him. De Foix, upon the account given him of this ma-

Upon the coaſt of Genoa.

er-piece, went to ſee it. All his train, and De hou himſelf, who had a very exquiſite taſte for orks of this kind, after having attentively conſiered it on all ſides, declared unanimouſly, that was infinitely above all praiſe that could be iven it.

When they had admired it for ſome time, ano-ier Cupid was ſhewn them, that had been wrapped p in a piece of ſilk. This monument of antiquity, ich as the many epigrams written by Greece * of d in its praiſe repreſent it, was ſtill ſoiled with e earth out of which it had been taken. Upon mparing the one with the other, the whole comny were aſhamed of having judged ſo much to e advantage of the firſt, and agreed that the anent Cupid ſeemed inſtinct with life, and the morn a mere block of marble, without expreſſion: me perſons of the houſe then aſſured them, that ichael Angelo, who was more ſincere than great tiſts generally are, had earneſtly requeſted the untеſs Iſabella, after having made her a preſent his Cupid, and ſeen the other, that the antient e ſhould be ſhewn laſt; that the connoiſſeurs ight judge, on ſeeing them both, how much the tients excelled the moderns in works of this nd.

Mr. de Pile's life of M. Angelo.

But the moſt judicious are ſometimes miſtaken, the ſame Michael Angelo himſelf has given us proof. Having made the figure of a Cupid, he rried it to Rome; and, having broken off one of arms, which he kept, he buried the reſt in a ace which he knew was to be dug. This figure ing found, it was admired by the connoiſſeurs, d ſold for an antique to the cardinal San Grego-. Michael Angelo ſoon undeceived them, producing the arm he had kept. There is nething very extraordinary in having ability

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There are two and twenty epigrams upon this Cupid in the fourth k of the Anthologia.

enough to imitate the antients ſo perfectly, as t deceive the eyes of the beſt judges; and at the ſam time ſo much modeſty, as to confeſs ingenuouſly great ſuperiority on their ſide, as wee ſee Micha Angelo did.

Something like this is related on a different occaſion. Joſeph Scaliger, the moſt learned criti of his times, boaſted that it was impoſſible for hir to be deceived in regard to the ſtile of the antient. Six verſes were ſent abroad as lately diſcovered they are,

Here, ſi querelis, ejulatu, fletibus,
Medicina fieret miſeriis mortalium,
Auro parandæ lacrymæ contra forent.
Nunc hæc ad minuenda mala non magis valent,
Quam Nænia Præficæ ad excitandos mortuos.
Res turbidæ conſilium non fletum expetunt.

Theſe verſes, which are admirable, and hav all the air of antiquity, deceived Scaliger ſo effectually, that he cited them in his commentary upo Varro, as a fragment from Trabea, not long ſinc diſcovered in an antient manuſcript. Trabea was comic poet, and lived ſix hundred years after th foundation of Rome. They were, however, mad by Muretus, who played Scaliger, his rival an competitor, this trick.

Athen. l.13.p.591. We may believe that Praxiteles, abandoned a he was to Phryne, did not fail to employ the wor of his hands for her, who had made herſelf th miſtreſs of his heart. One of Phryne's ſtatues wa placed afterwards in Delphos itſelf, between tho of Archidamus, king of Sparta, and Philip kin of Macedon. How infamous this! If riches wer a title to a place in that temple, ſhe might we pretend to it: for her's were immenſe. She ha the impudence (for by what other name can I ca the fact I am going to relate?) to engage to re

buil

rebuild the city of Thebes at her own expence, provided this inſcription were placed on it: ALEXANANDER DESTROYED, AND PHRYNE REBUILT THEBES.

The inhabitants of the iſle of Cos had demanded a ſtatue of Venus from Praxiteles. He made two, of which he gave them their choice at the ſame price. The one was naked, the other covered; but the firſt was infinitely the moſt beautiful: *immenſa differentia famæ.* The people of Cos had the wiſdom to give the preference to the latter; convinced that decency, politeneſs, and modeſty, did not admit them to introduce an image into their city, that might be of infinite prejudice to their manners: *Severum id ac pudicum arbitrantes.* How many Chriſtians does this chaſte conduct diſgrace? The Cnidians were leſs attentive in point of morals. They bought the rejected Venus with joy, which afterwards became the glory of their city; whither people went from remote parts to ſee that ſtatue, which was deemed the moſt finiſhed work of Praxiteles. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, ſet ſo high a value upon it, that he offered to releaſe all the debts the Cnidians owed him, which were very conſiderable, provided they would give it him. They thought it would diſhonour and even impoveriſh them to ſell for any price whatſoever a ſtatue, which they conſidered as their glory and riches. Plin. l. 36. c. 5.

SCOPAS.

Scopas was both an excellent architect, and an excellent ſculptor. He was of the iſland of Paros, and flouriſhed in the 87th olympiad. Amongſt all his works, his Venus held the firſt rank. It was even pretended, that it was ſuperior to the ſo much renowned one of Praxiteles. It was carried to Plin. l. 36. c. 5. A. M. 3572.

Rome: * but, ſays Pliny, the number and excellency of the works, which abound in this city, obſcure its luſtre; beſides which, the employments and affairs, that engroſs people here, ſcarce afford them time to amuſe themſelves with theſe curioſities; to conſider and admire the beauties of which requires perſons of leiſure, and ſuch as have no buſineſs, as well as places quiet and remote from noiſe.

Plin. l. 36. c. 14.

I have obſerved elſewhere, that the pillar, which he made for the temple of Diana at Epheſus, was reputed the fineſt in that building.

Ibid. c. 5. Vitr. præfat. l. 7.

He alſo very much contributed to the beauty and ornament of the famous Mauſolæum, erected by queen Artemiſia, to the memory of her huſband Mauſolus, in the city of Halicarnaſſus, which was reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world, as well for its magnitude and loftineſs of architecture, as the quantity and excellence of the works of ſculpture, with which it was inriched. Several illuſtrious competitors divided the glory of this ſtructure with Scopas. I purpoſely referred to this place the deſcription Pliny has left of us part of this ſuperb pile, becauſe it relates more to ſculpture than architecture.

The extent of this Mauſolæum was ſixty-three feet from north to ſouth. The fronts not quite ſo broad, and the circumference † four hundred and eleven feet. It was thirty ſix feet and an half high, and had thirty-ſix pillars around it. Scopas undertook the eaſt ſide, Timotheus had the ſouth, Leocharis the weſt, and Briaxis the north. Theſe

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* Romæ quidem magnitudo operum eam (Venerem) obliterat, ac magni officiorum negotiorumq; acervi omnes a contemplatione talium operum abducunt, quoniam otioſorum & in magno loci ſilentis apta admiratio talis eſt. *Plin.*

† *There was apparently a wall round the Mauſolæum, and ſome void ſpace between it and that wall; which ſeems neceſſary to make up the extent of the circumference mentioned here.*

were the moſt famous ſculptors of thoſe times. Artemiſia died before they had finiſhed the work: but they believed it not for their honour to leave it imperfect. It is doubted to this day, ſays Pliny, which of the four ſucceeded beſt: *Hodieque certant manus.* Pythis joined them, and added a pyramid o the top of the Mauſolæum, upon which he placed a chariot of marble drawn by four horſes. Anaxagoras of Clazomena ſaid coldly when he ſaw t: *Here's a great deal of money turned into ſtone.* Diog. Laert. in Anaxag. Plin. l. 34. c. 8.

I ought not to conclude this article, without mentioning a very ſingular diſpute, in which two of the moſt celebrated ſtatuaries I have ſpoken of were engaged, even after their deaths: theſe were Phidias and Polycletus. I have obſerved above, hat the temple of Diana at Epheſus was not finiſhed till after a long ſeries of years. The queſion was, at a time Pliny does not fix, to place in t ſome ſtatues of Amazons, very probably to the number of four. Several had been done by the greateſt maſters both dead and living. The majeſty of the temple required, that none ſhould be dmitted which were not exquiſitely finiſhed. It was neceſſary, upon this occaſion, to conſult the moſt accompliſhed ſculptors in being, how intereſted ſoever they might be in the diſpute. Each gave himſelf the firſt place, and afterwards named hoſe they believed to have ſucceeded beſt; and it was the ſculptors who had the majority of theſe atter ſuffrages, that were declared victorious. Poycletus had the firſt place, Phidias the ſecond, and Cteſilas and Cylon the two others. Something of he ſame nature had happened long before, but on different occaſion. After the battle of Salamis, he Grecian captains, according to a cuſtom oberved in thoſe times, were to ſet down on a paper im they believed to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt n the action. Each named himſelf firſt, and Themiſ- Plut. in Themiſt. p. 120.

tocles ſecond; which was in reality giving him the firſt place.

It is plain, that, in the ſhort enumeration I have made of the antient ſtatuaries, I have choſen only the very flower of the moſt famous. There are many others, and of great reputation, which I am obliged to omit, to avoid enlarging my work too much. Cicero highly extols the ſtatue of Sappho in copper, done by the celebrated ſtatuary Silanion. Nothing was more perfect than this ſtatue: Verres had taken it from the Prytanæum of Syracuſe. Pliny relates, that the ſame Silanion had caſt the ſtatue of Apollodorus, his brother ſculptor, in braſs, who was a paſſionate man, and violent againſt himſelf; and who often, in the heat of his diſguſt, broke his own works to pieces, becauſe he could not carry them to that ſupreme degree of perfection, of which he had the idea in his thoughts. Silanion repreſented this furious humour in ſo livel a manner, that it did not ſeem ſo much to expreſ Apollodorus, as rage itſelf in perſon: *Hoc in e expreſſit, nec hominem ex ære fecit, ſed iracundiam.*

Florem hominum libantibus.

Cic. in Verr. de ſign. n. 125, 127.

Plin. l. 34. c. 8.

The ſame Pliny alſo very much extols a Laocoon, which was in the palace of Titus, and give it the preference to all other works of painting an ſculpture. Three excellent artiſts, Ageſander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, Rhodians, had joine in executing it, and had made out of one ſton Lacoon, his children, and the ſerpents in all thei different folds. The work muſt have been admirable, if equal to the beautiful deſcription of thi fact in Virgil, or indeed if it came near it.

Ibid. l. 36. c. 5.

Æneid. l. 2.

It remains for me to draw the character of thoſ illuſtrious artiſts who excelled ſo much in repreſenting the gods and men naturally. I ſhall do i after Quintilian and Cicero, two admirable painters of characters and portraits, but who generall cannot be copied without being ſpoiled.

Th

The firſt having enumerated the different manners in painting, he continues thus: There is the ſame difference alſo in ſculpture. For the firſt ſtatuaries of whom we have any account, Calon and Egeſias, worked in a rude manner, and almoſt in the Tuſcan taſte. Calamis came next, and his works had leſs conſtraint in them. Thoſe of Myron afterwards had ſtill a more natural and eaſy air. Polycletus added regularity and gracefulneſs to them. The firſt place is generally given to him: however, as there is nothing entirely perfect, his ſtatues are ſaid to want a little more force. And indeed he repreſented men with infinite graces, and better than they are: but he did not entirely come up to the majeſty of the gods. It is even ſaid, that the manly age confounded his ſkilful hands, for which reaſon he ſcarce ever expreſſed any thing but tender youth. But what Polycletus wanted fell to the ſhare of Phidias and Alcamenes. However, Phidias was judged to have repreſented the gods better than men. Never did an artiſt uſe ivory with ſo much ſucceſs; if we only conſider his Minerva of Athens, and his Jupiter Olympius, the beauty of which ſeemed to improve the religion of the beholders, ſo much did the work expreſs the majeſty of the god. Lyſippus and Praxiteles were reckoned to have copied nature beſt. For, as to Demetrius, he is blamed for having carried that care to exceſs, and for having confined himſelf more to reſemblance than beauty. Quintil. l.12. c. 10.

The paſſage of Cicero is ſhorter, in which he alſo mentions ſeveral of the antients very little known. I obſerve, ſays he, that Canachus, in his ſtatues, has ſomething dry and rude. Calamis, rude as he is, has not ſo much of that character as Canachus. Myron does not come near enough to the juſt, though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, whatever comes from his hands is fine. Polycletus is much above them all, and in my opinion has attained perfection. Cic. in Brut. n. 70.

I have

I have already obſerved more than once, tha ſculpture is indebted to Greece for the ſupreme perfection to which it attained. The grandeur c Rome, which was to erect itſelf upon the ruins c that of Alexander's ſucceſſors, long retained th ruſtic ſimplicity of its dictators and conſuls, wh neither eſteemed, nor practiſed, any arts but thoſ which were ſubſervient to war, and the occaſion of life. They did not begin to have a taſte for ſtatues, and the other works of ſculpture, till afte Marcellus, Scipio, Flaminius, Paulus Emilius, an Mummius, had expoſed to the view of the Romans whatever Syracuſe, Aſia, Macedonia, Corinth Achaia, and Bœotia, had of moſt excellent in th works of art. Rome ſaw with admiration th paintings and ſculptures in braſs and marble, wit all that ſerves for the ornament of temples an public places. The people piqued themſelves upo ſtudying their beauties, diſcerning their excellencies, and knowing their value; and this kind o ſcience became a new merit, but at the ſame tim the occaſion of an abuſe fatal to the republic. W have ſeen that Mummius, after the taking of Corinth, in directing the perſons who had undertake the carriage of a great number of ſtatues and paintings of the greateſt maſters to Rome, threatene them, if they loſt or ſpoiled any of them upo the way, that they ſhould make them good a their own coſts and charges. Is not this * groſs ignorance, ſays an hiſtorian, infinitely preferable t the pretended knowledge which ſoon ſucceeded it ? Strange weakneſs of human nature! Is innocence then inſeparable from ignorance, and cannot knowledge, and a taſte eſtimable in itſelf, be attained,

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* Non, puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro rep. fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantum ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. *Vell. Paterc.* l. 1. c. 23.

without the manners ſuffering thereby through an abuſe, which ſometimes, though unjuſtly, reflects reproach and diſgrace upon the arts themſelves?

This new taſte for extraordinary pieces was ſoon carried to an exceſs. They ſeemed to contend, who ſhould adorn their houſes in town and country with moſt magnificence. The government of conquered countries ſupplied them with occaſions of doing this. As long as their manners remained uncorrupt, the governors were not permitted to purchaſe any thing from the people they were ſet over; becauſe, ſays Cicero, when the ſeller is not Verr. de ſign. n. 10. at liberty to ſell things at the price they are worth, it is not a ſale on his ſide, but a violence done to him: *Quod putabant ereptionem eſſe, non emptionem, cum venditori ſuo arbitratu vendere non liceret.* It is well known, * that theſe wonders of art, performed by the greateſt maſters, were very often without price. Nor indeed have they any other, than what the imagination, paſſion, and, to uſe Seneca's expreſſion, the † phrenſy of certain people ſet upon them. The governors of provinces bought what was highly eſteemed for little or nothing: and theſe were very moderate; for moſt of them made their collections by force and violence.

Hiſtory gives us inſtances of this in the perſon of Verres, prætor of Sicily, who was not the only one that acted in this manner. He indeed carried his impudence in this point to an inconceivable exceſs, which Cicero § knew not by what term to expreſs: paſſion, phrenſy, folly, robbery! He could find no name ſtrong enough to convey the idea of it. Neither decency, ſenſe of honour, nor fear of the laws, could reſtrain him. He reckoned himſelf in Sicily as in a conquered country. No ſtatue, great or ſmall, of any value or reputation, eſcaped his rapacious hands. In a word, * Cicero affirms, that the curioſity of Verres had coſt Syracuſe more gods, than the victory of Marcellus had coſt it men.

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* Qui modus eſt in his rebus cupiditatis, idem eſt æſtimationis. Difficile eſt enim finem facere pretio, niſi libidini feceris. *Verr. de ſign.* n. 14.

† Corinthia paucorum furore pretioſa. *De brev. vit.* c. 12.

§ Venio nunc ad iſtius, quemadmodum ipſe appellat, ſtudium; ut amici ejus, morbum & inſaniam; ut Siculi, latrocinium. Ego, quo nomine appellem, neſcio. *Ibid.* n. 1.

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* Sic habetote, plures eſſe a Syracuſanis iſtius adventu deos, quam victoria Marcelli homines, deſideratos. *Ibid.* n. 131.

CHAPTER V.

OF PAINTING.

ARTICLE I.

Of painting in general.

SECT. I.

Origin of painting.

PAINTING, like all other arts, was very groſs and imperfect in its beginnings. The ſhadow of a man marked by the outlines gave birth to it, as well as to ſculpture. The firſt manner of painting therefore derived its origin from a ſhadow, and conſiſted only in ſome ſtrokes, which multiplying by degrees formed deſign. Colour was afterwards added. There was no more than one at firſt in each draught, without any mixture; which manner of painting was called *Monochromaton*, that is to ſay, of one colour. The art at length improving every day, the mixture of only four colours was introduced: of which we ſhall ſpeak in its place. Plin. l. 35. c. 3.

I do not examine here the antiquity of painting. The Egyptians boaſt themſelves the inventors of it; which is very poſſible: but it was not they who placed it in honour and eſtimation. Pliny, in his long enumeration of excellent artiſts in every kind, and of maſter-pieces of art, does not mention one Egyptian. It was therefore in Greece, whether at Corinth, Sicyone, Athens, or in the other cities, that painting attained its perfection. It is believed to be of later date than ſculpture, becauſe Homer, who Plin. ibid.

who often ſpeaks of ſtatues, relievo's, and carved works, never mentions any piece of painting or portrait.

Theſe two arts have many things common to both of them, but attain their end, which is the imitation of nature, by different means: Sculpture by moulding ſubſtances; Painting by laying colours upon a flat ſuperficies; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the chiſſel, in the hands of a man of genius, affects almoſt as much as the pencil. But, without pretending to eſtabliſh the precedency between theſe two arts, or to give one the preference to the other, how wonderful is it to ſee, that the artiſt's hand, by the ſtrokes of a chiſſel, can animate marble and braſs, and, by running over a canvas with a pencil and colours, imitate by lines, lights, and ſhades, all the objects of nature! If * Phidias forms the image of Jove, ſays Seneca, the god ſeems about to dart his thunder: if he repreſents Minerva, one would ſay that ſhe was going to inſtruct the beholders, and that the goddeſs of wiſdom was only ſilent out of modeſty. Charming deluſion, grateful impoſture, which deceive without inducing error, and illude the ſenſes only to enlighten the ſoul!

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* Non vidit Phidias Jovem, fecit tamen velut tonantem: nec ſtetit ante oculos ejus Minerva, dignus tamen illa arte animus, & concepit deos, & exhibuit. *Senec. Controv.* l. 5. c. 34.

Verecundè admodum ſilent, ut hinc reſponſuras paulo minus voces præſtoleris. *Lactant.*

SECT. II.

Of the different parts of painting. Of the Juſt in painting.

PAINTING is an art, which by lines and colours repreſents upon a ſmooth and even ſurface all viſible objects. The image it gives of them, whether of many figures together, or only of one, is called a picture, in which three things are to be conſidered, the COMPOSITION, the DESIGN, and the COLORIS, or COLOURING; which are the three eſſential parts in forming a good painter.

1. COMPOSITION, which is the firſt part of painting, conſiſts of two things, invention and diſpoſition.

Invention is the choice of the objects, which are to enter into the compoſition of the ſubject, the painter intends to treat on. It is either ſimply hiſtorical, or allegorical. Hiſtorical invention is the choice of objects, which ſimply and of themſelves repreſent the ſubject. It takes in not only true or fabulous hiſtory, but includes the portraits of perſons, the repreſentation of countries, and all the productions of art and nature. Allegorical invention is the choice of objects to repreſent in a picture, either in whole or in part, ſomething different from what they are in reality. Such, for inſtance, was the picture of Apelles, that repreſented calumny, which Lucian has deſcribed in a paſſage I ſhall repeat in the ſequel. Such was the moral piece repreſenting Hercules between Venus and Minerva, in which thoſe Pagan divinities are only introduced, to imply the attractions of pleaſure oppoſed to thoſe of virtue.

Diſpoſition very much contributes to the perfection and value of a piece of painting. For, how advantageous ſoever the ſubject may be, the invention

tion however ingenious, and the imitation of the objects choſen by the painter however juſt, if they are not well diſpoſed, the work will not be generally approved. Œconomy and good order gives the whole its beſt effect, attracts the attention, and and engages the mind, by an elegant and prudent diſpoſition of all the figures into their natural places. And this œconomy and diſtribution is called diſpoſition.

2. The DESIGN, conſidered as a part of painting, is taken for the outlines of objects, for the meaſures and proportions of exterior forms. It regards painters, ſculptors, architects, engravers, and all artiſts in general, whoſe works require beauty and proportion.

Several things are conſidered in the deſign: Correctneſs, good taſte, elegance, character, diverſity, expreſſion, and perſpective. My deſign is to trea on the principles of painting only ſo far as they may be neceſſary to the reader's underſtanding what I ſhall relate of the painting of the antients, and to his judging of it with ſome diſcernment and propriety.

Correctneſs is a term by which the painters generally expreſs the condition of a deſign, when exemp from faults in its meaſures. This correctneſs depends upon the juſtneſs of proportions, and th knowledge of anatomy.

Taſte is an idea either proceeding from the natural genius of the painter, or formed in him by education. Each ſchool has its peculiar taſte o deſign; and, ſince the revival of the polite arts in Europe, that of Rome has always been eſteemed the beſt, becauſed formed upon the antique. The antique is therefore the beſt taſte of deſign.

Elegance of deſign is a manner of being that embelliſhes without deſtroying the juſtneſs of objects. This part, which is of great importance, will b treated on more at large in the ſequel.

Character is the proper and peculiar mark that diſtinguiſhes and characteriſes every ſpecies of objects, which all require different ſtrokes to expreſs the ſpirit of their character.

Diverſity conſiſts in giving every perſon in a picture their proper air and attitude. The ſkilful painter has the penetration to diſcern the character of nature, which varies in all men. Hence the countenances and geſtures of the perſons he paints continually vary. A great painter, for inſtance, has an infinity of different joys and ſorrows, which he knows how to diverſify ſtill more by the ages, humours, and characters of nations and perſons, and a thouſand other different means. The moſt worn-out ſubject becomes a new one under his pencil.

The word *Expreſſion* is generally confounded in the language of painting with that of Paſſion. They are however different. Expreſſion is a general term, which ſignifies the repreſentation of an object according to its character in nature, and the uſe the painter deſigns to make of it in conformity to the plan of his work. And Paſſion, in painting, is a certain geſture of the body attended with lineaments of the face, which together denote an emotion of the ſoul. So that every paſſion is an expreſſion, but not every expreſſion a paſſion.

Perſpective is the art of repreſenting the objects in a plan, according to the difference their diſtance may occaſion, either with reſpect to figure or colour. Perſpective therefore is diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the lineal and the aerial. The lineal perſpective conſiſts in the juſt contraction or abridgment of lines; the aerial in the juſt decreaſe or gradation of colours. This *gradual decreaſe*, in painting, is the management of the ſtrong and faint, in lights, ſhades, and tints, according to the different degrees of diſtance or remoteneſs. Mr. Perrault, out of a blind zeal for the moderns, pretended, that perſpective

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ſpective was abſolutely unknown to the antients; and founded his opinion upon the want of perſpective in the column of Trajan. The Abbé Salier, in a brief but elegant diſſertation upon this ſubject, proves in many paſſages, that Perſpective was not unknown to the antients, and that it was this induſtrious artifice, which taught them to impoſe ſo happily on the ſenſes in their performances, by the modification of magnitudes, figures, and colours, of which they knew how to increaſe or diminiſh the boldneſs and luſtre. As to the column of Trajan, if Perſpective be not exactly obſerved in it, it is not through ignorance of the rules of art, but becauſe the greateſt maſters depart from, and even ſet themſelves above, all rule, for the more certain attainment of their end. Mr. de Piles owns, that the defect of gradual decreaſe or gradation in that pillar is to be aſcribed ſolely to the workman's deſign, who, ſuperior to the rules of his art, to aſſiſt the ſight, purpoſely made the objects ſtronger and more palpable.

3. The Coloris, or Colouring, is different from colour. The latter renders the objects ſenſible to the eye. The coloris, or colouring, is one of the eſſential parts of painting, by which the painter knows how to imitate the colour of all natural objects, by a judicious mixture of the ſimple colours upon his pallet. This is a very important part. It teaches the manner in which colours are to be uſed, for producing thoſe fine effects of the *Chiaro-oſcuro (light and ſhade,)* which add boldneſs and a kind of relief to the figures, and ſhew the remoter objects in their juſt light.

Pliny explains it with ſufficient extent. After having ſpoken of the very ſimple and groſs beginnings of painting, he adds, * that, by the help of time and experience, it gradually threw off its defects: that it diſcovered light and ſhade with the difference of the colours which ſet off each other; and that it made uſe of the Chiaro-oſcuro, the ſhadowing, as the moſt exquiſite degree and perfection of the coloris. For this chiaro-oſcuro (light and ſhade, or ſhadowing,) is not properly light, but the mean between the lights and ſhades in the compoſition of a ſubject. And from thence the Greeks called it Tonos, that is, the tone of painting: to ſignify, that as in muſic, there are a thouſand different tones, from the inſenſible union of which the harmony reſults; ſo in painting, there is an almoſt imperceptible force and gradation of light, which ſtill vary, according to the different objects upon which they fall. It is by this enchanting diſtribution of lights and ſhades, and, if I may be allowed to ſay it, by he deluſion of this kind of magic, that the painters mpoſe upon the ſenſes, and deceive the eyes of pectators. They employ with an art never to be ufficiently admired, all the various alloys or diminutions of colour gradually to ſoften and inforce he colour of objects. The progreſſion of ſhade is not more exact in nature, than in their paintings.

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* Tandem ſe ars ipſa diſtinxit & invenit lumen atque umbras, differentia colorum alterna vice ſeſe excitante: poſtea deinde adjectus eſt SPLENDOR, alius hic quàm lumen; quem, quia inter hoc & umbram eſſet, appellaverunt Τόνον. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 5.

It is this inſinuating charm that ſtrikes and attracts all mankind: the ignorant, the connoiſſeurs, nd even painters themſelves. It ſuffers no-body to paſs by a painting that has this character with indifference, without being in a manner ſurpriſed, nd without ſtopping to enjoy the pleaſure of that urpriſe for ſome time. True painting therefore is hat which in a manner calls us to it by ſurpriſing s: it is only by the force of the effect it produces, hat we cannot help going to it, as if to know omething it had to ſay to us. And when we ap-roach it, we really find that it delights us by the ne choice and novelty of the things it preſents to ur view; by the hiſtory and fable it makes us ll to mind; and the ingenious inventions and allegories,

gories, of which we take pleaſure either to diſcover the ſenſe, or criticiſe the obſcurity.

It does more, as Ariſtotle obſerves in his Poetics. Monſters, and dead or dying men, which we ſhould be afraid to look upon, or ſhould ſee with horror, we behold with pleaſure imitated in the works of the painters. The better the likeneſs, the fonder we are to gaze upon them. One would think, that the murder of the Innocents ſhould leave the moſt offenſive ideas in the imagination of thoſe, wh actually ſee the furious ſoldiers butchering infant in the boſoms of their mothers covered with thei blood. Le Brun's picture, in which we ſee tha tragical event repreſented, affects us ſenſibly, an ſoftens the heart, whilſt it leaves no painful idea i the mind. The painter afflicts us no more tha we are pleaſed he ſhould; and the grief he give us, which is but ſuperficial, vaniſhes with th painting: whereas, had we been ſtruck with the rea objects, we ſhould not have been capable of givin bounds, either to the violence or duration of ou ſentiments.

But * what ought abſolutely to reign in painting and conſtitutes its ſupreme excellency, is *the True* Nothing is good, nothing pleaſes, but the True All the arts, which have imitation for their object are ſolely intended to inſtruct and divert mankin by a faithful repreſentation of nature. I ſhall infer here ſome reflections upon this ſubject, which hope will be agreeable to the reader. I have ex tracted them from a little treatiſe of Mr. de Piles† upon *the True in painting*; and ſtill more, from letter of Mr. du Guet annexed to it, which wa written to a lady, who had deſired his opinion of tha ſhort tract.

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* Picturæ probari non debent quæ non ſunt ſimiles veritati. *Vit* l. 7. c. 5.

† *M. de Piles* Cours de Peinture. *Paris edit.*

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Of the True in painting.

Though painting is only an imitation, and the object in the picture but feigned, it is however called *True*, when it perfectly repreſents the character of its model.

The True in painting is diſtinguiſhed into three kinds. The ſimple, the ideal, and the compound or perfect True.

The Simple, which is called the firſt True, is a ſimple imitation of the expreſſive movements *(or affections)* of nature, and of the objects, ſuch as they really are and preſent themſelves immediately to the eye, which the painter has choſen for his model: ſo that the carnations or naked parts of an human body appear to be real fleſh, and the draperies real habits, according to their diverſity, and each particular object retains the true character it has in nature.

The Ideal True is the choice of various perfections, which are never to be found in a ſingle model, but are taken from ſeveral, and generally from the antique.

The third, or Compound True, which is compounded or formed of the ſimple and ideal True, conſtitutes in that union the higheſt excellency of the art, and the perfect imitation of the *Fine Nature.* Painters may be ſaid to excel according to the degree in which they are maſters of the firſt and ſecond True, and the happy facility they have acquired of forming out of both a good compoſite or compound True.

This union reconciles two things which ſeem oppoſites: to imitate nature, and not confine one's ſelf to that imitation; to add to its beauties, and yet correct it to expreſs it the better.

The Simple True ſupplies the movements *(affections or paſſions)* and the life. The Ideal chuſes with art whatever may embelliſh it, and render it more ſtriking; but does not depart from the Simple, which, though poor in certain parts, is rich in its whole.

If the ſecond True does not ſuppoſe the firſt, if it ſuppreſſes or prevents it from making itſelf more ſenſible than any thing the ſecond adds to it, the art departs from nature; it ſhews itſelf inſtead o her; it aſſumes her place inſtead of repreſenting her; it deceives the expectation of the ſpectator and not his eyes; it appriſes him of the ſnare, and does not know how to prepare it for him.

If, on the contrary, the firſt True, which has all the real of affection and life, but not always the dignity, exactneſs, and graces to be found elſewhere, remains without the ſupport of the ſecond True, which is always grand and perfect, it pleaſe only ſo far as it is agreeable and finiſhed, and the picture loſes every thing that was wanting in it model.

The uſe therefore of the ſecond True conſiſts in ſupplying in each ſubject what it had not, bu what it might have had, and nature has diſperſed in ſeveral others; and in thus uniting what ſhe almoſt always divides.

This ſecond True, ſtrictly ſpeaking, is almoſ as real as the firſt: for it invents nothing, but collects univerſally. It ſtudies whatever can pleaſe inſtruct, and affect. Nothing in it is the reſult o chance, even when it ſeems to be ſo. It determine by the deſign what it ſuffers to appear but once and inriches itſelf with a thouſand different beautie in order to be always regular, and to avoid falling into repetitions.

It is for this reaſon that the union of the Simpl and Ideal True have ſo ſurpriſing an effect Fo that union forms a perfect imitation of whatever i moſt animated, moſt affecting, and moſt perfect i nature.

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All then is probable, becauſe all is true: but all s ſurpriſing, becauſe all is curious and extraordiary. All makes impreſſion, becauſe all has been alled in that was capable of doing ſo: but nothing ppears forced or affected, becauſe the natural has een choſen, in chuſing the wonderful and the perect.

It is this fine Probable, which often appears nore true than truth itſelf: becauſe in this union he firſt True ſtrikes the ſpectator, avoids various lefects, and exhibits itſelf without ſeeming to lo ſo.

This third True is an end to which none ever ttained. It can only be ſaid, that thoſe who have ome neareſt to it, have moſt excelled.

What I have ſaid hitherto of the eſſential parts f painting, will facilitate the underſtanding of hat I ſhall ſoon add of the painters themſelves, in e brief account I ſhall give of them. The greateſt aſters agree, that there never was a painter who ntirely excelled in all the parts of his art. Some re happy in Invention, others in the Deſign: ſome the Coloris, others in Expreſſion: and ſome paint ith abundance of grace and beauty. No one ever oſſeſſed all theſe excellencies together. Theſe lents, and many others which I omit, have always een divided: the moſt excellent painter is he who oſſeſſes the moſt of them.

To know the bent of nature is the moſt important oncern. Men come into the world with a genius etermined not only to a certain art; but to certain arts of that art, in which only they are capable of y eminent ſucceſs. If they quit their ſphere, they ll below even mediocrity in their profeſſion. * Art dds much to natural endowments, but does not pply them where they are wanting. Every thing

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* Ut verè dictum eſt caput eſſe artis, decere quod facias; ita id que ſine arte eſſe, neque totum arte tradi poteſt. *Quintil.* l. 11. 3.

depends on genius. The aptitude a man has received from nature to do certain things well and with eaſe, which others cannot do but very ill, though they take great pains, is called genius. * A painter often pleaſes without obſerving rules; whilſt another diſpleaſes, though he does obſerve them, becauſe the latter has not the happineſs to be bor with a genius. This genius is that fire which exalts painters above themſelves, imparts a kin of ſoul to their figures, and is to them what is called ſpirit, rapture, or enthuſiaſm in poetry.

For the reſt, though a painter does not excel i all the parts of his art, it does not follow, that moſ of the works of the great maſters ſhould not b conſidered as perfect in their kind, according to th meaſure of perfection of which human weakneſs i capable. The certain proof of their excellency i the ſudden impreſſion they make alike upon all ſpectators, ignorant and ſkilful; with this ſole difference, † that the firſt only feel pleaſure in ſeein them, and the latter know why they are pleaſed In regard to works of poetry or painting, the impreſſion they have upon us is a judgment not to b deſpiſed. We weep at a tragedy, or at the ſight of picture, before we reflect whether the object exhibited by the poet or painter be capable of moving us or well imitated. The impreſſion has told us that before we think of ſuch an inquiry. The ſame inſtinct, which at firſt ſight would draw a ſigh fro us, on meeting a mother following her ſon to th grave, has a like effect, when the ſtage or a painting ſhews us a faithful repreſentation of a like even The ‡ public therefore is capable of judging arigh

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* In quibuſdam virtutes non habent gratiam, in quibuſdam vit ipſi delectant. *Quintil.* l. 11. c. 3.

† Docti rationem artis intelligunt, indocti voluptatem. *Quint* l. 9. c. 4.

‡ Illud ne quis admiretur quonam modo hæc vulgus imperitoru notet, cum in omni genere tum in hoc ipſo, magna quædam eſt v incredibiliſq; naturæ. Omnes enim tacito quodam ſenſu, ſine ul

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rf verſes and painting; becauſe, as Cicero obſerves, ll men, by the ſenſe implanted in them by nature, now, without the help of rules, whether the productions of art be well or ill executed.

The reader will not be ſurpriſed that I make a parallel here between painting and poetry. All the he world knows the ſaying of Simonides, *A picture s a ſilent poem, and a poem a ſpeaking picture.* I do ot examine, which of the two ſucceeds beſt in epreſenting an object and painting an image. That ueſtion would carry me too far. It has been very vell treated on by the author of the critical reflections ipon poetry and painting, from whom I have orrowed many things on this point. I content nyſelf with obſerving, that, as a picture which repreſents an action ſhews us only the inſtant of its luration, the painter cannot expreſs many affecting ircumſtances, which precede or follow that inſtant, nd ſtill leſs make us ſenſible of the paſſions and liſcourſe which very much exalt their ſpirit and orce: whereas a poet has it in his power to do both t his leiſure, and to give them their due extent.

It only remains for me, before I proceed to the iſtory of the painters, to give a brief idea of the everal ſpecies of painting.

SECT. III.

Different ſpecies of painting.

BEFORE the ſecret of painting in oil was diſcovered, all the painters worked either in reſco or water-colours.

Freſco is a kind of painting upon freſh plaiſter vith colours mixed with water. This work was lone either upon walls or arched roofs. The painting in freſco, incorporating with the plaiſter, decayed and mouldered only with it. The walls of

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rte aut ratione, quæ ſint in artibus ac rationibus recta ac prava ijudicant. *Cic.* l. 3. *de orat.* n. 195.

the temple of the Dioſcuri * at Athens has been painted in freſco by Polygnotus and Diognetus, during the Peloponneſian war. Pauſanias obſerves, that theſe paintings had been well preſerved to his time, that is, almoſt ſix hundred years after Polygnotus. The good painters, however, according to Pliny, ſeldom painted in freſco. They did not think it proper to confine their works to private houſes, nor to leave their irretrievable maſter-pieces at the mercy of the flames. They fixed upon portable pieces, which, in caſe of accident, might be ſaved from the fire, by being carried from place to place. † All the monuments of thoſe great painters, in a manner, kept guard in palaces, temples, and cities, in order to be ready to quit them upon the firſt alarm; and a great painter, to ſpeak properly, was a common and public treaſure to which all the world had a right.

Painting in water-colours is a kind performed with colours, diluted only with water, and ſize, or gum.

The invention of *painting in oil* was not known to the antients. It was a Flemiſh painter, named John Van Eyck, but better known by the name of John of Bruges, who diſcovered this ſecret, and uſed it in the fifteenth century. This invention, which had been ſo long unknown, conſiſts, however, only in grinding the colours with oil of walnuts or linſeed. It has been of great ſervice to painting, becauſe all the colours, mingling better together, make the coloris or colouring more ſoft, delicate and agreeable; and give a ſmoothneſs and mellowneſs to the whole work, which it could not have in the other methods. Paintings in oil are done upon walls, wood, canvas, ſtones, and all ſorts of metals.

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* *Caſtor and Pollux were ſo called, becauſe the ſons of Jupiter.*

† Omnis eorum ars urbibus excubabat, pictorque res communis terrarum erat.

It is ſaid * that the antient painters painted only upon tables of wood, whitened with chalk, from whence came the word *tabula*, a picture; and that even the uſe of canvas amongſt the moderns is of no great ſtanding.

Pliny, after having made a long enumeration of all the colours uſed in painting in his time, adds, "Upon the ſight of ſo great a variety of colours, I cannot forbear admiring the wiſdom and œconomy of the antients. For, with only † the four ſimple and primitive colours, the painters of antiquity executed their immortal works, which are to this day our admiration: the *white* of Melos, the *yellow* of Athens, the *red* of Sinope, and the common *black*. Theſe are all they uſed, and yet it was with theſe four colours, well managed, that an Apelles and a Melanthus, the greateſt painters that ever lived, produced thoſe wonderful pieces, of which only one was of ſuch value, that the whole wealth of a great city was ſcarce ſufficient to purchaſe it." It is probable that their works would have been ſtill more perfect, if to theſe four colours two more had been added, which are the moſt general and the moſt amiable in nature; the *blue*, which repreſents the heavens; and the *green*, which ſo agreeably cloaths and adorns the whole earth.

The antients had a manner of painting, much in uſe even in Pliny's time, which they called ‡ *Cauſtic.* Plin. l. 35. c. 11. ‖ It was a kind of painting in wax, in which the pencil had little or no part. The whole art conſiſted in preparing wax of different colours, and in applying them upon wood or ivory by the means of fire.

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* Nero princeps juſſerit coloſſeum ſe pingi 120 pedum in linteo, incognitum ad hoc tempus. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 7.

† Quatuor coloribus ſolis immortalia illa opera fecere—Apelles, Melanthius.—clariſſimi pictores, cum tabulæ eorum ſingulæ oppidorum vænirent opibus.

‡ *This word is derived from* χαίειν, *which ſignifies* to burn.

‖ Ceris pingere, ac picturam inurere, quis primus excogitaverit, non conſtat. *Plin.*

Miniature is a kind of painting done with ſimple and very fine colours, mixed with water and gum, without oil. It is diſtinguiſhed from other paintings by its being more delicate, requiring a nearer view, not being eaſily performed except in little, and only upon vellum, or tablets of ivory.

Paintings upon glaſs are done in the ſame manner as upon jaſper and other fine ſtones: but the beſt manner of executing it is by painting under the glaſs, that the colours may be ſeen through it. The art of incorporating the colours with the glaſs was known in former days, as may be ſeen at La Sainte Chapelle, *(our Lincoln's-Inn chapel,)* and in abundance of other Churches. This ſecret is ſaid to be loſt.

Enamel-painting. Enamel is a kind of glaſs coloured. Its principal ſubſtance is tin and lead in equal quantities, calcined in the fire; to which are added ſeparately ſuch metallic colours as it is to have. The painting and work performed with mineral colours, by the heat of the fire, is called alſo *Enamelling*. China, delft, and pots varniſhed or glazed with earth, are ſo many different kinds of *Enamel*. The uſe of *enamelling* upon earth is very antient, as veſſels enamelled with various figures were made in the time and dominions of Porſenna king of the Tuſcans.

Moſaic work is compoſed of many little pieces inlaid, and diverſified with colours and figures cemented together upon a bottom of * plaiſter of Paris. At firſt compartments were made of it to adorn cielings and floors. The painters afterwards undertook to cover walls with it, and to make various figures, with which they adorned their temples and many other edifices. They uſed glaſs and enamel in theſe works, which they cut into an infinity of little pieces, of different ſizes and colours: theſe, having an admirable luſtre and poliſh, had all the effect at diſtance that could be deſired, and endured the inclemencies of the weather, as well as marble. This work had the advantage, in this point, of every kind of painting, which time effaces and conſumes; whereas it embelliſhes the Moſaic, which ſubſiſts ſo long, that its duration may almoſt be ſaid to have no end. There are ſeveral fragments of the antique Moſaic to be ſeen at Rome, and in ſeveral other parts of Italy. We ſhould form an ill judgment of the pencil of the antients, if we were to found it upon theſe works. It is impoſſible to imitate, with the ſtones and bits of glaſs uſed in this kind of painting, all the beauties and graces the pencil of an able maſter gives a picture.

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* *Or Stucco, a compoſition of lime and white marble powdered.*

ARTICLE II.

Brief hiſtory of the moſt famous painters of Greece.

I Propoſe to ſpeak only in this place of the moſt celebrated painters, without examining who were the firſt that uſed the pencil. Pliny, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters of the thirty-fifth book of his natural hiſtory, will ſupply me with a great part of what I have to ſay. I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving this once for all, and ſhall cite him but ſeldom any more.

PHIDIAS and PANENUS.

Phidias, who flouriſhed in the 84th olympiad, A. M. 3560. was a painter before he was a ſculptor. He painted at Athens the famous Pericles, ſurnamed the Olympic, from the majeſty and thunders of his eloquence. I have ſpoken at large of Phidias in the article of ſculpture. Palenus, his brother, diſtinguiſhed himſelf alſo amongſt the painters of his time. He painted the famous battle of Marathon, in which the Athenians defeated the whole army of the Perſians in a pitched battle. The principal officers on both ſides were repreſented in this piece as large as the life, and with exact likeneſs.

POLYGNOTUS.

Polgnotus, the ſon and diſciple of Aglaophon, was of Thaſos, an iſland in the north of the Egean ſea. A. M. 3582. He appeared before the 90th olympiad. He was the firſt that gave ſome grace to his figures: and contributed very much to the improvement of the art. Before him no great progreſs had been made in that part which regards expreſſion. He at firſt caſt ſome ſtatues: but at length returned to the pencil, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by it in different manners.

But the painting which did him the moſt honour in all reſpects, was that which he performed at Athens in the * Ποικίλη, in which he repreſented the principal events of the Trojan war. However important and valuable this work was, he refuſed to be paid for it, out of a generoſity the more eſtimable as uncommon in perſons who make money of their arts. The council of the Amphictyons, who repreſented the ſtates of Greece, returned him their thanks by a ſolemn decree, in the name of the whole nation, and ordained, that in all the cities to which he ſhould go, he ſhould be lodged and maintained at the public expence. Mycon, another painter, who worked upon the ſame portico, but on a different ſide, leſs generous, and perhaps not ſo rich as Polygnotus, took money, and by that contraſt augmented the glory of the latter.

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* *This was a portico, ſo called from the* variety *of the paintings and ornaments with which it was embelliſhed.*

Apollodorus.

This painter was of Athens, and lived in the 93d olympiad. A. M. 3596 It was he that at laſt diſcovered the ſecret of repreſenting to the life, and in their greateſt beauty, the various objects of nature, not only by the correctneſs of deſign, but principally by the correctneſs of deſign, but principally by the perfection of the coloris and the diſtribution of ſhades, lights, and Chiaro-oſcuro; in which he carried painting to a degree of force and delicacy it had never been able to attain before. Pliny obſerves, that before him there was no painting which in a manner called upon and ſeized the ſpectator: *Neque ante eum tabula ullius oſtenditur, quæ teneat oculos.* The effect, every excellent painting ought to produce, is to fix the eyes of the ſpectator, and to attract and keep them in admiration. Pliny the younger, after having Plin. Ep. 6. l. 3. deſcribed in a very lively manner a Corinthian antique, which he had bought, and which repreſented an old man ſtanding, concludes that admirable deſcription in theſe words: "In fine, every "thing in it is of a force to engage the eyes of "artiſts, and to delight thoſe of the unſkilful." *Talia denique omnia, ut poſſit artificum oculos tenere, delectare imperitorum.*

Zeuxis.

Zeuxis was a native of Heraclea*, and learnt the firſt elements of painting about the 85th olympiad. A. M. 3564.

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* *It is not known which Heraclea authors mean, for there were ſeveral cities of that name. Some ſeem to ſuppoſe it Heraclea in Macedonia, or that in Italy near Crotona.*

Pliny ſays *, that having found the door of painting opened by the pains and induſtry of his maſter Apollodorus, he entered without difficulty, and even raiſed the pencil, which already began to aſſume a lofty air, to a very diſtinguiſhed height of glory. *The gate of art* means here the excellency of colouring, and the practice of the Chiaro-oſcuro, light and ſhade, which was the laſt perfection painting wanted. But, as thoſe who invent do not always bring their inventions to perfection, Zeuxis, improving upon his maſter's diſcoveries, carried thoſe two excellent parts ſtill farther than him. Hence it was, that Apollodorus, exaſperated againſt his diſciple, for this ſpecies of robbery ſo honourable to him, could not forbear reproaching him with it very ſharply by a ſatire in verſe, in which he treated him as a thief, who, not content with having robbed him of his art, preſumed to adorn himſelf with it in all places as his lawful right.

All theſe complaints had no effect upon the imitator, and only ſerved to induce him to make new efforts to excel himſelf, after having excelled his maſter. He ſucceeded entirely in his endeavours, by the admirable works he performed, which at the ſame time acquired him great reputation and great riches. His wealth is not the happieſt part of his character. He made a puerile oſtentation of it. He was fond of appearing and giving himſelf great airs, eſpecially on the moſt public occaſions, as in the Olympic games, where he ſhewed himſelf to all Greece dreſſed in a robe of purple, with his name embroidered upon it in letters of gold.

When he became very rich, he began to give away his works liberally, without taking any thing for them. He gave one reaſon for this conduct, which does no great honour to his modeſty. * *If*, ſays he, *I gave my works away for nothing, it was becauſe they were above all price.* I ſhould have been better pleaſed, if he had let others ſay ſo.

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* Ab hoc (Apollodoro) fores apertas Zeuxis Heracleotes intravit—audentemq; jam aliquid penicillum ad magnam gloriam perduxit.

An inſcription which he affixed to one of his pieces does not argue more modeſty. It was an Athleta, or Wreſtler, which he could not forbear admiring, and extolling as an inimitable maſter-piece. He wrote at the bottom of it a Greek verſe, of which the ſenſe is:

† A l'aſpect du Lutteur, dans lequel je m'admire,
En van tous mes Rivaux voudront ſe tourmenter:
Ils pourront peutetre en medire
Sans pouvoir jamais l'imiter.

My Wrestler, *when my rivals ſee,*
They hate its wond'rous charms and me;
A thouſand things perhaps they blame,
But ne'er could imitate the ſame:

The Greek verſe is in Plutarch, but applied to the works of Apollodorus. It is: Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 346.

Μωμήσεταί τις μᾶλλον, ἢ μιμήσεται.

This is more eaſy to criticiſe than imitate.

Zeuxis had ſeveral rivals, of whom the moſt illuſtrious were Timanthes and Parrhaſius. The latter was competitor with him in a public diſpute, for the prizes of painting. Zeuxis, in his piece, had repreſented grapes in ſo lively a manner, that, as ſoon as it was expoſed, the birds came to peck at them. Upon which, in a tranſport of joy, and highly elated at the declaration of ſuch faithful and undeniable judges in his favour, he called upon Parrhaſius to produce immediately what he had to oppoſe to his picture. Parrhaſius obeyed, and ſhewed a painting ſeemingly covered with a fine piece of ſtuff in form of a curtain. Remove your curtain, added Zeuxis, and let us ſee this maſter-piece. That curtain was the picture itſelf, and Zeuxis confeſſed himſelf conquered. *For*, ſays he, *I only deceived the birds, but Parrhaſius has deceived me, who am myſelf a painter.*

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* Poſtea donare opera ſua inſtituit, quod ea nullo ſatis digno pretio permutari poſſe diceret. *Plin.*

† *Theſe verſes are the author's of* L'Hiſtoire de la Peinture ancienne, *extracted from the* 35th *book of Pliny's natural hiſtory, which he has tranſlated, or rather paraphraſed, with the Latin text. This book was printed at London in* 1725. *There are excellent reflections in it, of which I have made great uſe.*

The ſame Zeuxis, ſome time after, painted a young man carrying a baſket of grapes: and ſeeing that the birds came alſo to peck at them, he owned, with the ſame frankneſs, that if the grapes were well painted, the figure muſt be done very ill, becauſe the birds were not afraid of it.

Quintilian * informs us, that the antient painters uſed to give their gods and heroes the ſame features and characters as Zeuxis gave them, from whence he was called the Legiſlator.

Feſtus relates, that the laſt painting of this maſter was the picture of an old woman, which work made him laugh ſo exceſſively, that he died of it. It is ſurpriſing that no author ſhould mention this fact but Verrius Flaccus, cited by Feſtus. Though it is hard to believe it, ſays Mr. de Piles, the thing is not without example.

PARRHASIUS.

Parrhaſius was a native of Epheſus, the ſon and diſciple of Evenor, and as we have ſeen, the rival of Zeuxis. They were both eſteemed the moſt excellent painters of their time, which the moſt glorious age of painting; and Quintilian ſays, * they carried it to an high degree of perfection, Parrhaſius for deſign, and Zeuxis for the colouring.

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* Hæc vero ita circumſcripſit omnia, ut cum legum latorem vocent, quia deorum & heroum effigies, quales ab eo ſunt traditæ, cæteri, tanquam ita neceſſe ſit, ſequuntur. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 10.

Pliny gives us the character and praiſe of Parrhaſius at large. If we may believe him, the exact obſervation of ſymmetry was owing to that maſter; and alſo the expreſſive, delicate and paſſionate airs of the head; the elegant diſpoſition of the hair; the beauty and dignity of features and perſon; and by the conſent of the greateſt artiſts, that finiſhing and boldneſs of the figures, in which he ſurpaſſed all that went before, and equally all that ſucceeded him. Pliny conſiders this as the moſt difficult and moſt important part of painting. For, ſays he, though it be always a great addition to paint the middle of bodies well, it is however what few have ſucceeded in. † But to trace the contours, give them their due decreaſe, and by the means of thoſe inſenſible weakenings, to make the figure ſeem as going to ſhew what it conceals; in theſe certainly the perfection of the art conſiſts.

Parrhaſius had been formed for painting by Socrates, to whom ſuch a diſciple did no little honour.

Xenophon has preſerved a converſation, ſhort indeed, but rich in ſenſe, wherein that philoſopher, who had been a ſculptor in his youth, gives Parrhaſius ſuch leſſons as ſhew, that he had a perfect knowledge of all the rules of painting.

It is agreed, that Parrhaſius excelled in what regards the characters and paſſions of the ſoul, which appeared in one of his pictures, that made abundance of noiſe, and acquired him great reputation. It was a faithful repreſentation of the PEOPLE OR GENIUS OF ATHENS, which ſhone with a thouſand

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* Zeuxis atque Parrhaſius—plurimum arti addiderunt. Quorum prior luminum umbrarumque inveniſſe rationem, ſecundus examinâſſe ſubtilius lineas traditur. *Ibid.*

† Ambire enim debet extremitas ipſa, & ſic deſinere, ut promittat alia poſt ſe, oſtendatq; etiam quæ occultat.

elegant and ſurpriſing beauties, had argued an inexhauſtible fund of imagination in the painter. * For intending to forget nothing in the character of that ſtate, he repreſented it, on the one ſide capricious, iraſcible, unjuſt and inconſtant; on the other, humane, merciful and compaſſionate; and with all this, proud, haughty, vainglorious, fierce; and ſometimes even baſe, timorous, and cowardly. This picture was certainly a lively ſketch of nature. But in what manner could the pencil deſcribe and group ſo many different images? There lay the Wonderful of the art. It was undoubtedly an allegorical painting.

Different authors have alſo drawn our painter to the life. He was an † artiſt of a vaſt genius and infinite fertility of invention, but one to whom none ever came near in point of preſumption, or rather in that kind of arrogance, which a glory juſtly acquired, but ill ſuſtained, inſpires ſometimes in the beſt artificers. He dreſſed himſelf in purple, wore a crown of gold; had a very rich cane, gold claſps in his ſhoes, and magnificent buſkins; in ſhort, every thing about him was in the ſame lofty ſtile. He beſtowed upon himſelf abundantly the fineſt epithets, and moſt exalted names, which he was not aſhamed to inſcribe a the bottom of his pictures; *the delicate, the polite, the elegant* Parrhaſius. *the man who carried the art to its perfection, originally deſcended from Apollo, and born to paint the gods themſelves.* He added, that, in regard to his Hercules, *he had repreſented him exactly, feature for feature, ſuch as he had often appeared to him in his dreams.* With all this ſhew and vanity, he gave himſelf out *for a man of virtue*, leſs delicate in this point than Mr. Boileau, who called himſelf.

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* Pinxit & DÆMONA ATHENIENSIUM, argumento quoq; ingenioſo volebat namq; varium iracundum, injuſtum, inconſtantem eundem vero exorabilem, clementem, miſericordem, excelſum glorioſum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque & omnia pariter oſtendere. *Plin.*

† Fœcundus artifex, ſed quo nemo inſolentius & arrogantiùs ſ uſus gloriâ artis. *Plin.*

Ami de la vertu, plutot que vertueux.
The friend of virtue, rather than virtuous.

The event of his diſpute with Timanthes, in the city of Samos, muſt have humbled him extremely, and not a little mortified his ſelf-love. He that ſucceeded beſt in a ſubject was to have a prize. This ſubject was an Ajax enraged againſt the Greeks, for having adjudged the arms of Achilles to Ulyſſes. Upon this occaſion, by the majority of the beſt judges, Timanthes was declared victor. Parrhaſius covered his ſhame, and comforted himſelf for his defeat, with a ſmart ſaying, which ſeems to ſavour a little of rodomontade. *Alas poor hero!* ſaid he, *his fate affects me more than my own. He is a ſecond time overcome by one of leſs merit than himſelf.*

PAMPHILUS.

Pamphilus was a native of Amphipolis, upon the borders of Macedonia and Thrace. He was the firſt that united erudition with painting. He confined himſelf to mathematics, and more eſpecially to arithmetic and geometry; maintaining ſtrongly, that without their aid it was impoſſible to carry painting to its perfection. It is eaſy to believe, that ſuch a maſter would not make his art cheap. He took no diſciple under ten talents (ten thouſand crowns) for ſo many years, and it was at that price Melanthus and Apelles became his ſcholars. He obtained, at firſt at Sicyone, and afterwards throughout all Greece, the eſtabliſhment of a kind of academy, in which the children of free condition, that were inclined to the polite arts, were carefully educated and inſtructed. And leſt painting ſhould come to degenerate, and grow into contempt, he obtained farther from the ſtates of Greece a ſevere edict to prohibit the uſe of it to ſlaves.

The exceſſive price paid by diſciples to their maſters, and the inſtitution of academies for free perſons, with the excluſion of ſlaves, ſhew how highly this art was eſteemed, with what emulation they applied to it, and with what ſucceſs and expedition it muſt have attained its perfection.

Zeuxis, Parrhaſius, Melanthus, and Pamphilus, A. M. 3604. were cotemporaries, and lived about the 95th olympiad.

TIMANTHES.

Timanthes, according to ſome, was of Sicyone; and, according to others, of Cythnus, one of the Cyclades. His particular character was * invention. This part ſo rare and difficult, is acquired neither by induſtry nor the advice and precepts of maſters: it is the effect of an happy genius, a lively imagination, and that noble fire which animates painters as well as poets with a kind of enthuſiaſm.

Plin. l. 35. Quintil. l. 2. c. 13. Val. Max. l. 8. c. 11. The Iphigenia of Timanthes, celebrated by ſo many writers, was looked upon as a maſter-piece of the art in its kind, and occaſioned its being ſaid, that his works made thoſe who ſaw † them conceive more than they expreſſed, and that though art in them roſe to its higheſt degree of perfection, genius ſtill tranſcended it. The ſubject was fine, grand, tender, and entirely proper for painting: but the execution gave it all its value. This piece repreſented Iphiginia ſtanding before the altar, as a young

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* Timanthi plurimum adfuit ingenî. *Plin.*

† In omnibus ejus operibus intelligitur plus ſemper, quam pingitur; & cum ars ſumma ſit, ingenium tamen ultra artem eſt. *Plin* l. 35. c. 10.

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and innocent princeſs, upon the point of being ſacrificed for the preſervation of her country. She was ſurrounded by ſeveral perſons, all of them ſtrongly intereſted in this ſacrifice, though in different degrees. The painter * had repreſented the prieſt Chalchas in great affliction, Ulyſſes much more ſad, and Menelaus the victim's uncle, with all the grief it was poſſible for a countenance to expreſs: Agamemnon, the princeſs's father, ſtill remained. All the lineaments of ſorrow were however exhauſted. Nature was called in to the ſupport of art. It is not natural for a father to ſee his daughter's throat cut: it ſufficed for him to obey the gods who required it, and he was at liberty to abandon himſelf to all the exceſs of ſorrow. The painter not being able to expreſs that of the father, choſe to throw a veil over his face, leaving the ſpectator to judge of what paſſed in his heart: *Velavit ejus caput, & ſuo cuique animo dedit æſtimandum.*

This idea is finely conceived, and does Timanthes great honour. It is not known, however, whether he was the real auther of it, and it is probable that the Iphigenia of Euripides ſupplied him with it. The paſſage ſays: *When Agamemnon ſaw his daughter led into the grove to be ſacrificed, he groaned, and turning away his head wept, and covered his face with his robe.*

One of our own illuſtrious painters, Le Pouſſin, has happily imitated the ſame circumſtance, in his picture of the death of Germanicus. After having treated the different kinds of affliction of the other perſons, as paſſions capable of being expreſſed, he places on the ſide of Germanicus's bed, a woman remarkable for her mien and habit, who hides her face with her hands, whilſt her whole attitude exceſſive grief, and clearly intimates, that ſhe is the wife of the prince whoſe death they are lamenting.

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* Cum in Iphigeniæ immolatione pinxiſſet triſtem Colchantem, triſtiorem Ulyſſem addidiſſet Menelao, quem ſummam poterat ars efficere mærorem; conſumptis affectibus, non reperiens quo digne modo patris vultum poſſet exprimere, velavit ejus caput, & ſuo cuiq; animo dedit æſtimandum. *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 13.

I cannot help adding in this place a very curious fact in relation to allegorical painting. A picture, in which a fiction and an emblem are uſed to expreſs a real action, is ſo called.

The prince of Conde had the hiſtory of his father, known in Europe by the name of the Great Conde, painted in his gallery at Chantilly. There was a great inconvenience to get over in the execution of this project. The hero, during his youth, had been engaged in intereſt with the enemies of the ſtate, and had done great part of his exploits, whilſt he did not carry arms for his country. It ſeemed neceſſary therefore not to diſplay this part of his warlike actions in the gallery of Chantilly. But, on the other ſide, ſome of his actions, as the relief of Cambray, and the retreat before Arras, were ſo glorious, that it muſt have been a great mortification to a ſon ſo paſſionate for his father's renown, to have ſuppreſſed them in the monument he erected to the memory of that hero. The prince himſelf diſcovered an happy evaſion: for he was not only the prince, but the man of his time, to whom nature had given the moſt lively conceptions, and the moſt ſhining imaginations. He therefore cauſed the muſe of hiſtory to be deſigned, an allegoric but well known perſon, holding a book, upon the back of which was written, *Life of the prince of Conde*. That muſe tore leaves out of the book which ſhe threw upon the ground, and on thoſe leaves were inſcribed, *Relief of Cambray, relief of Valenciennes, retreat before Arras*: in ſhort, the title of all the great actions of the prince of Conde, during his ſtay in the Netherlands; all very ſhining exploits, with no other exception than the ſervice in which they were done. The piece unhappily was not executed according to ſo elegant and ſimple an idea. The prince, who had conceived ſo noble a plan, had, upon this occaſion, an exceſs of complaiſance, and paying too great a deference to art, permitted the painter to alter the elegance and ſimplicity of his thought by figures, which render the painting more uniform, but make it convey nothing more than he had already imaged in ſo ſublime a manner. I have extracted this account from the critical reflections upon poetry and painting.

APELLES.

Apelles, whom fame has placed above all other painters, appeared at length in the 112th olympiad. He was the ſon of Pithius, of the iſland of * Cos, and the diſciple of Pamphilus. He is ſometimes called an Epheſian, becauſe he ſettled at Epheſus, where, without doubt, a man of his merit, ſoon obtained the freedom of the city. Plin. l. 35, c. 10. A. M. 3672.

He had the glory of contributing more in his own perſon than all the other painters together, to the perfection of the art, not only by his excellent works, but by his writings; having compoſed three volumes upon the principal ſecrets of painting, which ſubſiſted in the time of Pliny, but unfortunately are not come down to us.

His chief excellency lay in the GRACES, that is to ſay, ſomething free, noble, and at the ſame time beautiful, which moves the heart, whilſt it informs the mind. When he praiſed and admired the works of others, which he did very willingly; after having owned, that they excelled in all the other parts, he added, that they wanted grace; but that as to himſelf, that quality had fallen to his ſhare; which praiſe no body could diſpute with him. A pardonable ingenuity in men of real merit, when not proceeding from pride and arrogance.

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* *Iſle in the Ægean ſea.*

The manner in which he came acquainted and contracted a friendſhip with Protogenes, a celebrated painter of his time, is curious enough, and worth relating. Protogenes lived at Rhodes, known only to Apelles by reputation and the fame of his works. The latter, deſiring to be aſſured of their beauty by his own eyes, made a voyage expreſsly to Rhodes. When he came to Protogenes's houſe, he found no body at home, but an old woman who took care of the place where he worked, and a canvas on the eaſel, on which there was nothing painted. Upon the old woman's aſking his name, I am going to ſet it down, ſays he: and taking a pencil with colour, he deſigned ſomething in a moſt exquiſite taſte. Protogenes, on his return, being informed of what had paſſed by the ſervant, and conſidering with admiration what he ſaw deſigned, was not long before he gueſſed the author. *This is Apelles*; cried he, *there is no man in the world capable of ſo fine and delicate a deſign beſides himſelf.* Taking another colour, he drew a contour upon the ſame lines ſtill more correct and admirable, and bade his houſe-keeper, if the ſtranger returned, ſhew him what he had done, and tell him that it was the work of the man he came to enquire for. Apelles came again ſoon after: but being aſhamed to ſee himſelf excelled by his rival, he took a third colour, and amongſt the ſtrokes already done, introduced others of ſo ſublime and wonderful a nanature, as entirely exhauſted all that was moſt refined and exquiſite in the art. When Protogenes perceived theſe laſt ſtrokes; *I am overcome*, ſaid he, *and fly to embrace my conqueror.* Accordingly he ran to the port, where finding Apelles, they contracted a ſtrict friendſhip, which continued ever after: a circumſtance ſomething extraordinary between perſons of the greateſt merit in the ſame way. They agreed between them, in regard to the painting in which they had tried their ſkill with each other, to leave it to poſterity as it was, without touching it any more, rightly foreſeeing what really came to paſs, that it would one day prove the admiration of the whole world, and particularly of the connoiſſeurs and maſters of the art. But this precious monument of the two greateſt painters that ever were, was reduced to aſhes, when the houſe of Auguſtus, in the Palatium, was firſt burnt; where it was expoſed to the curioſity of ſpectators, always ſurpriſed, in the midſt of a multitude of other moſt exquiſite and finiſhed paintings, to find in this only a kind of void ſpace, by ſo much the more admirable, as it had only the outlines of three deſigns in it of the moſt perfect beauty, ſcarce viſible through their ſmallneſs, and for that reaſon ſtill the more valuable and the more attractive of the moſt judicious eyes.

It is almoſt in this ſenſe the paſſage of Pliny is to be underſtood, where he ſays, *arrepto penicillo lineam ex colore duxit ſummæ tenuitatis per tabulam*; by *lineam* he does not mean a ſimple geometrical line, but a ſtroke of the pencil in an exquiſite taſte. The other notion is contrary to common ſenſe, ſays Mr. de Piles, and ſhocks every body that has the leaſt idea of painting.

Though Apelles was very exact in hs works, he knew how far it was neceſſary to take pains without tiring his genius, and did not carry his exactitude to the utmoſt ſcruple. * He ſaid one day of Protogenes, that he confeſſed that rival might equal, or even excel him in every thing elſe, but *did not know when to take off the pencil*, (that is to ſay, to have done;) and that he often ſpoiled the fine things he did, by endeavouring to give them an higher degree of perfection. A reflection worth nothing, ſays Pliny, and which ſhews that a too ſcrupulous exactitude often becomes prejudicial.

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* Idem & aliam gloriam uſurpavit cum Protogenis opus immenſi laboris ac curæ ſupra modum anxiæ, miraetur. Dixit enim omnia ſibi cum illo paria, aut illi meliora; ſed uno ſe præſtare, quod manum ille de tabula non ſciret tollere; memorabili præcepto, nocere ſæpe nimium diligentiam. *Plin.*

Apelles did not ſay this becauſe he approved negligence in thoſe who applied themſelves to painting. He was of a quite different opinion, both with regard to himſelf and others. He paſſed no day of his life, whatever other affairs he might have to tranſact, without exerciſing himſelf either in craions, with the pen, or the bruſh, as well to preſerve the freedom and facility of his hand, as to improve his perfection in all the refinements of an art, that has no bounds.

One of his diſciples ſhewing him a draught for his own opinion of it, and telling him, that he had done it very faſt, and in a certain ſpace of time: *I ſee that very plain*, ſays he, *without your telling it me, and am ſurpriſed that in ſo ſhort a time you did no more of this kind.*

Another painter ſhewing him the picture of an Helen, which he had drawn with care, and adorned with abundance of jewels, he told him: *Not being able to make her beautiful, friend of mine, you were reſolved at leaſt to make her rich.*

If he ſpoke his own opinion with ſimplicity, he took that of others in the ſame manner. His cuſtom was, when he had finiſhed a work, to expoſe it to the eyes of ſuch as paſſed by, and to hear what was ſaid of it behind a curtain, with deſign to correct the faults they obſerved in it. A ſhoemaker having perceived ſomething wanting in a ſandal, ſaid ſo freely; and the criticiſm was juſt. The next day paſſing the ſame way he ſaw the fault corrected. Proud of the good ſucceſs of his remark, he thought fit to cenſure alſo a leg, to which there was nothing to object: the painter then came from behind the ſcreen, and bade the ſhoe-maker keep to his trade and his ſandals: Which gave birth to the proverb, *Ne ſutor ultra crepidam*; that is,

Let not the cobler go beyond his laſt.

Apelles took pleaſure in doing juſtice to the merit of great maſters, and was not aſhamed to prefer them to himſelf in ſome qualities. Thus he confeſſed ingenuouſly that Amphion excelled him in diſpoſition, and Aſclepiodorus in the regularity of deſign. We have ſeen his judgment in favour of Protogenes. Nor did he confine himſelf to mere words.

That excellent painter was in no great eſteem with his own country. Whilſt Apelles was with him at Rhodes, he aſked him what he would take for his works when finiſhed, and the other having ſet a very moderate price on them: *and for me*, replied Apelles, *I offer you * fifty talents for each of them, and will take them all that price*; adding, that he ſhould eaſily get them off, and would ſell them all as his own. This offer, which he made in earneſt, opened the eyes of the Rhodians to the merit of their painter; who, on his ſide, made the beſt of it, and would not ſell any more of his pictures but at a very conſiderable price.

His ſupreme excellency in painting was not the only merit of Apelles. Polite learning, knowledge of the world, and his affable, inſinuating, elegant behaviour, made him highly agreeable to Alexander the Great, who did not diſdain to go often to the painter's houſe, as well to enjoy the charms of his converſation, as to ſee him work, and to be the firſt witneſs of the wonders performed by his pencil. This affection for a painter, who was polite, agreeable, and full of wit, is not a matter of wonder. A young monarch eaſily grows fond of a genius of this kind, who, with the goodneſ of his heart, unites the beauty of his mind, an the delicacy of his pencil. This ſort of familiarity between heroes of different characters, i not uncommon, and does honour to the greateſ princes.

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* *Fifty thouſand crowns. This ſum ſeems exorbitant. It is common nough to meet with errors in cyphers.*

Alexander had ſo high an idea of Apelles, tha he publiſhed an edict to declare, that it was his wil that no other perſons ſhould paint him; and by th ſame edict granted permiſſion to none but Pyrgoteles to cut the dies for his medals, and Lyſippu to repreſent him in caſt metals.

Plut. de amic. & adulat. p. 58.

It happened that one of the principal of Alexander's courtiers being one day with Apelles, whilſ he was painting, he vented abundance of injudiciou queſtions and reflections upon painting, as is common with thoſe who talk of what they are ignorant. Apelles, who had no reaſon to apprehen any thing from explaining himſelf freely to th greateſt lords, ſaid to him, "Do you ſee thoſe boy "that are grinding my colours? Whilſt you wer "ſilent they admired you, dazzled with the ſplendor of the purple and gold with which your ha"bits glitter. But ever ſince you began to talk o "what you don't underſtand, they have done no"thing but laugh." Plutarch relates this. According to Pliny *, Apelles ventured to reprov Alexander himſelf in this manner, though in ſofte terms, adviſing him only to expreſs himſelf wit more reſerve before his workmen: ſuch an aſcendant had the witty painter acquired over a prince who was at that time the terror and admiration o the world, and naturally very warm. Alexande gave him ſtill more extraordinary proofs of his affection and regard.

Plin. l. 35. c. 10.

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* In officina imperite multa diceret: ſilentium comiter ſuadeba ridentium eum dicens a pueris qui colores tererent. Tantum aucto ritatis & juris erat ei in regem, alioquin iracundum.

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The ſimple and open character of Apelles was not equally agreeable to all the generals of that young monarch. Ptolemy, one of them, to whom Egypt was afterwards allotted, was not of the number of thoſe that affected our painter moſt: for what reaſon hiſtory does not ſay. However it was, Apelles having embarked, ſometime after the death of Alexander, for a city of Greece, was unfortunately thrown by a tempeſt upon the coaſt of Alexandria, where the new king made him no reception. Beſides this mortification, which he expected, there were ſome perſons, that envied him, malicious enough to endeavour to embroil him much more. With this view, they engaged one of the officers of the court to invite him to ſup with the king, as from himſelf; not doubting but ſuch a liberty, which he would ſeem to take of himſelf, would draw upon him the indignation of a prince, who did not love, and knew nothing of this little knaviſh trick. Accordingly, Apelles went to ſupper out of deference, and the king, highly offended at his preſumption, aſked him fiercely, which of his officers had invited him to his table; and ſhewing him his uſual invitors, he added, that he would know which of them had occaſioned him to take ſuch a liberty. The painter, without any emotion, extricated himſelf from this difficulty like a man of wit, and a conſummate deſigner. He immediately took a piece of charcoal out of a chafing-diſh, in the room, and with three or four ſtrokes upon the wall, ſketched the perſon that had invited him, to the great aſtoniſhment of Ptolemy, who from the firſt lines knew the face of the impoſtor. This adventure reconciled him with the king of Egypt, who afterwards loaded him with wealth and honours.

But this did not reconcile him with envy, which only became the more violent againſt him. He was

Lucian. de Calumn. p. 563—585.

was accuſed, ſome time after, before that prince, of having entered with Theodotus * into the conſpiracy formed againſt him in the city of Tyre. The accuſer was another painter of reputation, named Antiphilus. There was not the leaſt probability in the charge. Apelles had not been at Tyre; had never ſeen Theodotus; and was neither of a character nor profeſſion to be concerned in ſuch affairs: the accuſer, who was alſo a painter, though very inferior to Apelles to merit and reputation, might. without injury, be ſuſpected of jealouſy in point of art. But the prince, without hearing or examining any thing, as is too common, taking it for granted that Apelles was criminal, reproached him warmly with his ingratitude, and badneſs of heart; and he would have been carried to execution, but for the voluntary confeſſion of one of the accomplices; who, touched with compaſſion upon ſeeing an innocent man upon the point of being put to death, confeſſed his own guilt, and declared that Apelles had no ſhare in the conſpiracy. The king, aſhamed of having given ear to calumny ſo haſtily, reinſtated him in his friendſhip, gave him an hundred talents, to make him amends for the wrong he had done him, with Antiphilus to be his ſlave.

An hundred thouſand crowns.

Apelles, on his return to Epheſus, revenged himſelf upon all his enemies by an excellent picture of calumny, diſpoſed in this manner. Upon the right of the piece ſate a man of conſiderable authority with great ears, not unlike thoſe of Midas, holding out his hand to calumny, to invite her to approach him. On each ſide of him ſtood a woman, one of whom repreſented *Ignorance*, and the other *Suſpicion*.

ὑπόληψις.

Calumny ſeems to advance in the form of a woman of exquiſite beauty. There is however to be diſcerned in her aſpect and mein an air of violence and fierceneſs, like one actuated by anger and fury. In one hand, ſhe holds a torch to kindle the fire of diſcord and diviſion ; and with the other ſhe drags a young man by the hair, holding up his hands to heaven, and imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods. Before her goes a man with a pale face, a withered lean body, and piercing eyes, who ſeems to lead the band: this was * Envy, Calumny is attended by two other women, who excite, animate, and buſy themſelves about her, to exalt her charms and adjuſt her attire. By their wary and compoſed air theſe are eaſily conjectured to be Fraud and Treachery. At diſtance behind all the reſt follows Repentance, cloathed in a black torn habit, who looking back with abundance of confuſion and tears, ſees afar off Truth advancing ſurrounded with light. Such was the uſeful and ingenious revenge of this great man. I do not believe it would have been ſafe for him, during his ſtay in Egypt, to have drawn, or at leaſt expoſed, ſuch a painting. Thoſe great ears, that hand extended to invite the approach of Calumny, and the like ſtrokes, do no honour to the principal character, and expreſs a prince ſuſpicious, credulous, open to fraud, who ſeems to invite accuſers.

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* *Lucian is taxed with a very groſs anachroniſm in regard t this fact.*

Pliny makes a long enumeration of the paintings of Apelles. That of Antigonus † is of the moſt famous. This prince had but one eye, wherefore he drew him turning ſideways, to hide that deformity. He is ſaid to have been the firſt that diſcovered the profile.

He drew a great many pictures of Alexander, one of which was looked upon as the moſt finiſhed of his works. He was repreſented in it with thunder in his hand. This picture was done for

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* *Envy, in the Greek, is maſculine :* φθόνος.

† Habet in pictura ſpeciem tota faciei. Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni latere tantum altero oſtendit, ut amiſſa oculi deformitas lateret. *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 13.

the temple of Diana at Epheſus. The hero's hand with the thunder in it, ſays Pliny, who had ſeen it, ſeem actually projected from the piece. And that prince himſelf ſaid, that he reckoned two Alexanders, the one of Philip, who was invincible; the other of Apelles, that was inimitable.

Pliny mentions one of his paintings, which muſt have been of ſingular beauty. He made it for a public diſpute between the painters: the ſubject given them to work upon was a mare. Perceiving that intrigue was upon the point of adjudging the prize to one of his rivals, * he appealed from the judgment of men to that of mute animals, more juſt than men. He cauſed the pictures of the other painters to be ſet before horſes brought thither for that purpoſe; they continued without motion to all the other pieces, and did not begin to neigh till that of Apelles appeared.

His Venus, called *Anadyoméne*, that is to ſay, riſing from the ſea, was his maſter-piece. Pliny † ſays, that this piece was celebrated by the verſes of the greateſt poets, and that if the painting was excelled by the poetry, it was alſo made illuſtrious by it. Apelles had made another at Cos, his native country, which in his own opinion, and that of all judges, would have excelled the firſt; but invidious death put a ſtop to the work when half executed. No body afterwards would preſume to put pencil to it. It is not known, whether it was this ſecond Venus, or the firſt, that Auguſtus bought of the people of Cos, by diſcharging them of the tribute of an hundred talents, laid on them by the Roman republic. If it were the ſecond, as is very likely, it had as bad a fate, and ſtill worſe than the firſt. In the time of Auguſtus, the damp had begun to ſpoil the lower part of it. Enquiry was made by that prince's order for ſomebody to

Strab. l. 14. p. 657.

An hundred thouſand crowns.

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* Quo judicio ad mutas quadrupedes provocavit ab hominibus.

† Verſibus græcis tali opere, dum laudatur, victo, ſed illuſtrato.

retouch it; but there was none bold enough to undertake it, which[*] augmented the glory of the Greek painter, and the reputation of the work itſelf. This fine Venus, which no one dared to retouch, out of veneration and awe, was inſulted by the worms, that got into the wood, and devoured it. Nero, who reigned then, cauſed another to be ſet up in its place, done by a painter of little note. *Dorotheus.*

Pliny obſerves to the reader, that all theſe wonderful paintings, which were the admiration of all mankind, were painted only with the four primitive colours, of which we have ſpoke.

Apelles brought up ſeveral diſciples, to whom his inventions were of great advantage: but, ſays Pliny, he had one ſecret which nobody could ever diſcover, and that was the compoſition of a certain varniſh, which he applied to his paintings, to preſerve them during a long ſeries of ages, in all their freſhneſs and ſpirit. There were three advantages in the uſe of this varniſh: 1. It gave a luſtre to every kind of colour: and made them more mellow, ſmooth and tender: which is now the effect of oil. 2. It preſerved his works from dirt and duſt. 3. It[*] helped the ſight of the ſpectator which is apt to dazzle, in ſoftening the ſtrength of the moſt lively colours, by the interpoſition of this varniſh, which ſerved inſtead of glaſſes to his works.

ARISTIDES.

One of the moſt famous cotemporaries of Apelles was Ariſtides the Theban. He did not indeed poſſeſs the elegance and graces in ſo high a degree as Apelles: [*] but was the firſt, that by genius and application eſtabliſhed unerring rules for expreſſing the ſoul, that is to ſay, the inmoſt workings of the mind. He excelled as well in the ſtrong and vehement, as the ſoft and tender paſſions: but his colouring had ſomething harſh and ſevere in it.

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[*] Ipſa injuria ceſſit in gloriam artificis.

[†] Ne claritas colorum, oculorum aciem offenderet——& eadem res nimis floridis coloribus auſteritatem occultè daret. *Plin.*

The admirable piece [†] was his (ſtill in Pliny's words) in which, in the ſtorming of a town, a MOTHER is repreſented expiring by a wound ſhe has received in her boſom, and an INFANT creeping to ſuck at her breaſt. In the viſage of this woman, though dying, there appears the warmeſt ſentiments, and the moſt paſſionate ſolicitude of the maternal tenderneſs. She ſeems to be ſenſible of her child's danger, and at the ſame time to be afraid, that inſtead of her milk ſhe ſhould find only blood. One wodld think Pliny had the pencil in his hand, he paints all he deſcribes in ſuch lively colours Alexander, who was ſo fond of whatever was fine, was ſo enamoured of this piece, that he cauſed it to be taken from Thebes, where it was, and carried to Pella, the place of his birth, at leaſt ſo reputed.

The ſame perſon painted alſo the battle of the Greeks with the Perſians, wherein, within a ſingle frame, he introduced an hundred perſons [‡] at a thouſand drachmas (about twenty-four pounds) each figure, by an agreement made between him and the tyrant Mnaſon, who reigned at that time at Elatæa in Phocis. I have ſpoke elſewhere of a Bacchus, which was reckoned the maſter-piece of Ariſtides, and was found at Corinth, when that city was taken by Mummius.

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[*] Is omnium primus animum pinxit & ſenſus omnes expreſſit. *Plin.*

[†] Hujus pictura eſt, oppido capto ad matris morientis è vulnere mammam adrepans infans; intelligiturque ſentire mater & timere, ne, e mortuo lacte ſanguinem lambat.

[‡] *The text ſays*, ten minæ. *The mina is worth an hundred drachmas, and the drachma ten ſols.*

He was ſo excellent in expreſſing the languor of the body or mind, that Attalus, who was a great connoiſſeur of things of this kind, made no ſcruple to give an hundred talents for one of his paintings, wherein only ſomething of this nature was expreſſed: Only riches as immenſe as thoſe of Attalus, which became a proverb, *(Attalicis Conditionibus)* could make ſo exorbitant a price for a ſingle picture probable.

An hundred thouſand crowns.

PROTOGENES.

Protogenes was of the city of Caunus, upon the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland of Rhodes, on which it depended. He employed himſelf at firſt only in painting ſhips, and lived a great while in extreme poverty. Perhaps that might be of no prejudice to him; for poverty often induces men to take pains, and is the* ſiſter, or rather mother of invention and capacity. By the works he was employed to do at Athens, he became the admiration of the moſt diſcerning people in the world.

The moſt famous of his paintings was the JALYSOS; he was an hunter, ſon or grandſon of the Sun, and founder of Rhodes. What was moſt admired in this piece was the froth at the dog's mouth. I have related this circumſtance at length, in ſpeaking of the ſiege of Rhodes.

Plin. l. 35. c. 10. Aul. Gell. l. 15. c. 31. Plut. in Demetr. p. 898. Vol. VII.

Another very celebrated picture of Protogenes, was the ſatyr leaning againſt a pillar. He executed it at the very time Rhodes was beſieged; wherefore it was ſaid to have been *painted under the ſword.* At firſt there was a partridge perched upon the pillar. But becauſe the people of the place, when it was firſt expoſed, beſtowed all their attention and admiration upon the partridge, and ſaid nothing of the

Strab. l. 14. p. 652.

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* Neſcio quomodo bonæ mentis ſoror eſt paupertas. *Petron.*

ſatyr, which was much more admirable; and the tame partridges, brought where it was, called, upon the ſight of that upon the pillar, as if it had been a real one; the painter, offended at that bad taſte, which in his opinion was an injury to his reputation, deſired leave of the directors of the temple, in which the painting was conſecrated, to retouch his work; which being granted, he ſtruck out the partridge.

He alſo painted the mother of Ariſtotle, his good friend. That celebrated philoſopher, who during his whole life cultivated the polite arts and ſciences, highly eſteemed the talents of Protogenes. He even wiſhed, that he had applied them better than in painting hunters or ſatyrs, or in making portraits. And, accordingly he propoſed to him, as a ſubject for his pencil, the battles and conqueſts of Alexander, as very proper for painting, from the grandeur of ideas, elevation of circumſtances, variety of events, and immortality of facts. But a certain peculiar taſte, a natural inclination for more calm and grateful ſubjects, determined him to works of the kind I have mentioned. All that the philoſopher could obtain of the painter, at laſt, was the portrait of Alexander, but without a battle. It is dangerous to make excellent artiſts quit their taſte and natural talent.

PAUSIAS.

Pauſias was of Sicyone. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly by that kind of painting called *Cauſtic*, from the colours being made to adhere either upon wood or ivory, by the means of fire. Pamphilus was his maſter in this art, whom he far excelled in it. He was the firſt that adorned arches and cielings with paintings of this kind. There were many conſiderable works of his doing. Pauſanias ſpeaks of a DRUNKENNESS; ſo well painted, ſays he, that all the features of her ruddy face may be diſtinguiſhed through a large glaſs ſhe is ſwilling.

The courtezan * Glycera, of Sicyone alſo, excelled in the art of making wreaths, and was looked upon to be the inventreſs of them. Pauſias, to pleaſe and imitate her, applied himſelf alſo in painting flowers. A fine diſpute aroſe betwixt art and nature, each uſing their utmoſt endeavours to carry the prize from their competitor, without its being poſſible to adjudge the victory to either.

Pauſias paſſed the greateſt part of his life at Sicyone, his country, which was in a manner the nurſing mother of painters and painting. It is true, that this city being ſo much indebted, in the latter times, that all the public and private paintings were pledged for large ſums of money, M. Scaurus, Sylla's ſon-in-law by his mother Metella, with deſign to immortalize his edileſhip, paid all the creditors, and took out of their hands all the paintings of the moſt famous maſters, and amongſt the reſt thoſe of Pauſias, carried them to Rome, and ſet them up in the famous theatre, which he cauſed to be erected to the height of three ſtories, all ſupported by magnificent pillars of thirty feet high, to the number of three hundred and ſixty, and embelliſhed with ſtatues of marble and bronze, and with antique pieces of the greateſt painters. This theatre was to continue only during the celebration of the games. Pliny ſays of this edileſhip, that it compleated the ſubverſion of the manners of the Roman citizens. *Cujus (M. Scauri) neſcio an Ædi-*

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* Amavit in juventa Glyceram municipem ſuam, inventricem coronarum: certandoque imitatione ejus, ad numeroſiſſimam florum varietatem perduxit artem illam——cum opera ejus picturâ imitaretur, & illa provocans variaret, eſſetque certamen artis ac naturæ. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 11. & l. 21. c. 3.

litas maximè proſtraverit mores civiles; and he goes ſo far as to add, that it did more prejudice to the republic, than the bloody proſcription of his father-in-law Scylla, that cut off ſo many thouſand Roman citizens.

Nicias of Athens diſtinguiſhed himſelf very much amongſt the painters. There were abundance of his pictures in exceeding eſtimation; amongſt others, that wherein he had drawn Ulyſſes's deſcent into hell, called νεκύια, Attalus, or rather, according to Plutarch, Ptolomy, offered him for this picture ſixty talents, (ſixty thouſand crowns) which ſeems almoſt incredible: but he refuſed them, and made it a preſent to his country. He laboured upon this piece with ſuch application, that he often forgot the time of the day, and would aſk his ſervant, *Have I dined?* * When Praxiteles was aſked upon which of his works of marble he ſet the higheſt value, he anſwered, *That to which Nicias has ſet his hand.* He meant by that the excellent varniſh added by that painter to his marble ſtatues, which exalted their beauty.

I ſhall not mention abundance of other great painters, not ſo well known, nor ſo illuſtrious as thoſe I have ſpoken of, who did ſo much honour to Greece.

It is very unfortunate that none of their works have come down to us, and that we are not capable of judging of their merit by our own eyes. We have it in our power to compare the antique ſculpture of the Greeks with our own, becauſe we are certain that we ſtill have maſter-pieces of it, that is to ſay, the fineſt works of that kind antiquity produced. The Romans, in the age of their greateſt ſplendor, which was that of Auguſtus, diſputed with the Greeks only ability in the art of government. They acknowledged them their maſters in all others, and expreſsly in that of ſculpture:

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* Hic eſt Nicias de quo dicebat Praxiteles interrogatus quæ maximè opera ſua probaret in marmoribus: Quibus Nicias manum admoviſſet; tantum circumlitioni ejus tribuebat. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 11.

Excudent alii ſpirantia molliùs æra
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæc tibi erunt artes. Virg. Æneid. l. 6.

What I have related of Michael Angelo, who preferred the Cupid of Praxiteles ſo much to his own, is an evident proof, that the modern can, no more than the antient Rome, diſpute ſculpture with the Greeks.

We cannot judge in the ſame manner of the excellency of the antient painters. That queſtion is not to be decided from mere relations. To underſtand that, it were neceſſary to have their pieces to compare with each other, and with ours. Theſe we want. There are ſtill ſome antique Moſaic paintings at Rome; but few done with the pencil, and thoſe in bad condition. Beſides which, what remains, and was painted at Rome upon the walls, were not done till long after the death of the celebrated painters of Greece.

It muſt, however, be owned, that, every thing conſidered, the prejudices are extremely in favour of antiquity, even in regard to painting. In the time of Craſſus, whom Cicero introduces as a ſpeaker, in his books *de Oratore*, people could never ſufficiently admire the works of the antient painters, and were ſoon tired with thoſe of the moderns; becauſe in the former there was a taſte of deſign and expreſſion, that perpetuated the raptures of the connoiſſeurs, and in the latter ſcarce any thing to be found, but the variety of the colouring. “I “do not know, ſays Craſſus*, how it happens,

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* Difficile dictu eſt, quæ nam cauſa ſit cur ea, quæ maximè ſenſus noſtros impellunt voluptate & ſpecie prima acerrimè commovent, ab

" that things which ſtrike us at firſt view by their " vivacity, and which even give us pleaſure by " that ſurpriſe, almoſt as ſoon diſguſt and ſatiate " us. Let us, for inſtance, conſider our modern " paintings. Can any thing be more ſplendid and " lively? What beauty, what variety of colours! " How ſuperior are they in this point to thoſe of " the antient! However, all theſe new pieces, " which charm us at firſt ſight, have no long im- " preſſion; whilſt, on the contrary, we are never " tired with contemplating the others, notwith- " ſtanding all their ſimplicity, and even the groſ- " neſs of ther colouring." Cicero gives no reaſon for theſe effects: But Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, who lived alſo in the time of Auguſtus, does. " The antients, ſays he, were great deſigners, and " underſtood perfectly all the grace and force of " expreſſion, though their colouring was ſimple " and little various. But the modern painters, " who excel in colouring and ſhades, are vaſtly far " from deſigning ſo well, and do not treat the paſ- " ſions with the ſame ſucceſs." This double teſtimony ſhews us, that the antients had ſucceeded no leſs in painting than ſculpture: and their ſuperiority in the latter no-body ever conteſted. It appears at leaſt, without carrying any thing to extremes, that that the antients roſe as high in the parts of deſign, chiaro-oſcuro, *(light and ſhade)* expreſſion and compoſition, as the moſt excellent moderns can have done; but, as to colouring, that they were much inferior to the latter.

Dion. Halicarn. in Iſæo. p. 104.

I cannot conclude what regards painting and ſculpture, without deploring the abuſe made of it,

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ab iis celerrimè faſtidio quodam & ſatietate abalienamur. Quantò colorum pulchritudine & varietate floridiora ſunt in picturis novis pleraque quam in veteribus! quæ tamen, etiamſi primo aſpectu nos ceperunt, diutiùs non delectant: cùm iidem nos, in antiquis tabulis, illo ipſo horrido obſoletoque teneamur. *Cic. de orat.* l. 3. n. 98.

even by thoſe who have moſt excelled in it: I ſpeak equally of the antients and moderns. All the arts in general, but eſpecially the two we are now upon, ſo eſtimable in themſelves, ſo worthy of admiration, which produce ſuch amazing effects, that by the ſtrokes of the chiſſel animate marble and braſs; and, by the mixture of colours, repreſent all the objects of nature to the life: theſe arts, I ſay, owe a particular homage to virtue; to the honour and advancement of which, the original author and inventor of all arts, that is to ſay, the Divinity himſelf, has peculiarly allotted them.

This is the uſe which even the Pagans believed themſelves obliged to make of ſculpture and painting, by conſecrating them to the memory of great men, and the expreſſion of their glorious actions. * Fabius, Scipio, and the other illuſtrious perſons of Rome, confeſſed, that upon ſeeing the images of their predeceſſors, they found themſelves animated to virtue in an extraordinary manner. It was not the wax of which thoſe figures were formed, nor the figures themſelves, that produced ſuch ſtrong impreſſions in their minds; but the ſight of the great men, and the great actions of which they renewed and perpetuated the remembrance, and inſpired at the ſame time an ardent deſire to imitate them. Polyb. l. 6. p. 495, 496.

Polybius obſerves, that theſe images, that is to ſay, the buſto's of wax, which were expoſed on the days of ſolemnity in the halls of the Roman magiſtrates, and were carried with pomp at their funerals, kindled an incredible ardor in the minds of the young men, as if thoſe great men had quitted

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* Sæpe audivi Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis noſtræ præclaros viros ſolitos ita dicere, cùm majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementiſſimè ſibi animum ad virtutem accendi. 'Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in ſeſe habere: ſed memoria rerum geſtarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore creſcere, neque prius ſedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. *Salluſt. in præfat. bel. Jugurth.*

their tombs, and returned from the dead, to animate them in perſon to follow their example.

Agrippa [*], Auguſtus's ſon-in-law, in a magnificent harangue, worthy of the firſt and greateſt citizen of Rome, ſhews, by ſeveral reaſons, ſays Pliny, how uſeful it would be to the ſtate to expoſe publicly the fineſt pieces of antiquity in every kind, in exciting a noble emulation in the youth: which, no doubt, adds he, would be much better than to baniſh them into the country, to the gardens and other places of pleaſure of private men.

Accordingly Ariſtotle ſays, that ſculptors and painters inſtruct men to form their manners by a much ſhorter and more effectual method than that of the philoſophers; and that there are paintings as capable of making the moſt vicious reflect within themſelves as the fineſt precepts of morality. St. Gregory Nazianzen relates a ſtory of a courtezan, who, in a place where ſhe did not come to make ſerious reflections, caſt her eyes by accident on the picture of Polæmon, a philoſopher famous for a change of life, that had ſomething prodigious in it; which occaſioned her to reflect ſeriouſly, and brought her to a due ſenſe of herſelf. Cedrenus tells us, that a picture of the laſt judgment contributed very much to the converſion of a king of the Bulgarians. The ſenſe [†] of ſeeing is far more lively than that of hearing; and an image, which repreſents an object in a lively manner, ſtrikes us quite otherwiſe than a diſcourſe. St. Gregory of Nyſſa declares, that he was touched even to ſhedding of tears, at the ſight of a painting.

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[*] Extat ejus (Agrippæ) oratio magnifica, & maximo civium digna, de tabulis omnibus ſigniſque publicandis: quod fieri ſatiùs fuiſſet, quam in villarum exilia pelli. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 4.

[†] Segnius irritant animos demiſſa per aures,
Quam quæ ſunt oculis ſubject fidelibus. Hor.

Things by the ear a dull impreſſion find,
To thoſe the faithful eye preſents the mind.

Sic intimos penetrat ſenſus (pictura) ut vim dicendi nonnunquam ſuperare videatur. *Quintil.*

This effect of painting is ſtill more inſtant in regard to bad than good. * Virtue is foreign, vice natural to us. Without the help of guides or examples, (and thoſe we meet with every-where) an eaſy propenſity leads us to the latter, or rather hurries us on to it. What then muſt we expect, when ſculpture, with all the delicacy of art, and painting, with all the vivacity of colours, unite to inflame a paſſion already but too apt to break out, and too ardent of itſelf? What looſe ideas do not thoſe naked parts of young perſons ſuggeſt to the imagination, which ſculptors and painters ſo commonly take the liberty to exhibit? † They may do honour to the art, but never to the artiſts.

Without ſpeaking of Chriſtianity in this reſpect, which abhors all licentious ſculptures and paintings, the ſages of the Pagan world, blind as they were, condemn them almoſt with equal ſeverity. Ariſtotle, in his books *De republica*, recommends it to magiſtrates, as one of the moſt eſſential parts of their duty, to be attentive in preventing ſtatues and paintings of this kind from appearing in cities, as they are capable of teaching vice, and corrupting all the youth of a ſtate. ‡ Seneca degrades painting and ſculpture, and denies them the name of liberal arts, whenever they tend to promote vice.

Ariſtot. in Polit. l. 7. c. 17.

Peccare docentes hiſtorias monet. Hor.

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* Ad deteriora faciles ſumus; quia nec dux poteſt, nec comes deeſſe; & res etiam ipſa ſcire duce, ſine comite procedit: non pronum eſt tantum ad vitia, ſed præceps [iter.] *Senec. Epiſt.* 97.

† Non hic per nudam pictorum corporum pulchritudinem turpis proſtat hiſtoria, quæ ſicut ornat artem, ſic devenuſtat artificem. *Sidon. Apollin.* l. 11. Ep. 2.

‡ Non enim adducor ut in numerum liberalium artium pictores recipiam, non magis quam ſtatuarios aut marmoreos, aut cæteros luxuriæ miniſtros. *Senec. Ep.* 88.

Pliny the naturaliſt, all enthuſiaſm as he is, for the beauty of the antique works, treats as diſhonourable and criminal the behaviour of a painter in this Plin. l. 35. c. 10. point, who was otherwiſe very famous : *Fuit Arellius Romæ celeber, niſi* FLAGITIO INSIGNI *corrupiſſet artem.* He expreſſes a juſt indignation againſt the ſculptors, who carved obſcene images upon cups and goblets, that people might not drink, in ſome meaſure, without obſcenity ; as if, ſays he, drunkenneſs did not ſufficiently induce debauchery, and it Id. l. 14. c. 22. were neceſſary to excite it by new attractions: *Vaſa adulteriis cœlata, quaſi per ſe parum doceat libidinem temulentia——Ita vina ex libidine hauriuntur, atque etiam præmio invitatur ebrietas.*

The very poets themſelves declare warmly againſt Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 5. this indecency. Propertius wonders, that temples are erected in public to chaſtity, whilſt immodeſt pictures are tolerated in private houſes, which cannot but corrupt the imaginations of young virgins; that, under the allurement of objects grateful to the eye, conceal a mortal poiſon to the heart, and ſeem to give public leſſons of impurity. He concludes with ſaying, that thoſe indecent figures were unknown to our anceſtors ; the walls of their apartments were not painted by obſcene hands, to place vice in honour ; nor exhibit it as a ſpectacle for admiration. The paſſage is too fine not to be inſerted here at large.

Templa Pudicitiæ quid opus ſtatuiſſe puellis,
   Si cuivis nuptæ quidlibet eſſe licet ?
Quæ manus obſcœnas depinxit prima tabellas,
   Et poſuit caſtâ turpia viſa domo :
Illa puellarum ingenuos corrupit ocellos,
   Nequitiæque ſuæ noluit eſſe rudes.
Ah ! gemat in terris, iſta qui protulit arte
   Jurgia ſub tacita condita lætitia.
Non iſtis olim variabant tecta figuris :
   Tum paries nullo crimine pictus erat.

Whence riſe theſe fanes to virgin modeſty,
If every wife to every thing is free?
Who firſt obſcenity in colours drew,
In the chaſte houſe who plac'd it firſt to view,
Defil'd the harmleſs maid's ingenuous eyes,
And would not leave her ignorant of vice?
Woe to the man! whoſe vicious pencil taught
In grateful tints to urge a guilty thought:
Our fathers homes ne'er own'd theſe noxious arts;
No crimes were painted on their walls or hearts.

We have ſeen a city, that had the choice of two ſtatues of Venus, both done by Praxiteles, that is ſaying every thing, the one covered, and the other naked, prefer the former, though much the leſs eſteemed, becauſe more conformable to modeſty and chaſtity. Can any thing be added to ſuch an example? What a reproach were it to us, if we were aſhamed to follow it!

CHAPTER VI.

OF MUSIC.

THE Music of the antients was a ſcience of far greater extent than is generally imagined. Beſides the compoſition of muſical airs, and the execution of thoſe airs with voices and inſtruments, to which ours is confined, the antient muſic included the art of poetry, which taught the rules for making verſes of all kinds, as well as to ſet thoſe ſuſceptible of them to notes; the art of *Saltation*, dancing or geſture, which taught the ſtep and attitude, either of the dance properly ſo called, or the uſual manner of walking, and the geſture proper to be uſed in declaiming, contained alſo the art of compoſing and writing notes to the ſimple declamation; to direct as well the tone of the voice by thoſe notes, as the degree and motions of geſture; an art very much in uſe with the antients, but abſolutely unknown to us. All theſe different parts, which have actually a natural relation to each other, compoſed originally one and the ſame art, exerciſed by the ſame artiſts; though they divided in proceſs of time, eſpecially poetry, which became an order by itſelf.

I ſhall briefly treat all theſe parts, except that which relates to verſification, which will have its place elſewhere; and ſhall begin with muſic properly ſo called, and ſuch as it is known amongſt us.

ARTICLE I.

Of muſic properly ſo called.

MUSIC is an art, which teaches the properties of ſounds capable of producing melody and harmony.

SECT. I.

Origin and wonderful effects of muſic.

SOME authors pretend, that the birds learnt men to ſing, in ſuggeſting by their various notes and warbling, how capable the different modulations and tones of the voice are of pleaſing the ear: But man had a more excellent maſter, to whom alone he ought to direct his gratitude.

The invention of muſic, and of the inſtruments in which a principal part of it conſiſts, is a preſent from God, as well as the invention of the other arts. It adds to the ſimple gift of ſpeech, which of itſelf is ſo highly valuable, ſomething more lively, more animated, and more proper to give utterance to the ſentiments of the ſoul. When it is penetrated and fired with ſome object that ſtrongly poſſeſſes it, the uſual language does not ſuffice for its tranſports. It ſprings forth in a manner out of itſelf, it abandons itſelf to the emotions that agitate it, it invigorates and redoubles the tone of the voice, and repeats its words at different pauſes; and not contented with all theſe efforts, calls in inſtruments to its aid, which ſeem to give it eaſe, by lending ſounds a variety, extent, and continuation, which the human voice could not have.

This gave birth to muſic, made it ſo affecting and eſtimable, and ſhews at the ſame time, that properly ſpeaking, its right uſe is in religion ſolely, to which alone it belongs, to impart to the ſoul the lively ſentiments which tranſport and raviſh it, which exalt its gratitude and love, which are ſuited to its admiration and extacies, and which make it experience that it is happy, in applauding, to uſe the expreſſion, its joy and happineſs, as David did in all his divine ſongs, that he employs ſolely in adoring, praiſing, giving thanks, and ſinging the greatneſs of God, and proclaiming the wonders of his power.

Such was the firſt uſe men made of muſic, ſimple, natural, and without art or refinement in thoſe times of innocence, and in the infancy of the world; and without doubt the family of Seth, with whom the true worſhip was depoſited, preſerved it in all its purity. But ſecular perſons, more inſlaved to ſenſe and paſſion, and more intent upon ſoftening the pains of this life, upon rendering their exile agreeable, and alleviating their diſtreſſes, abandoned themſelves more readily to the charms of muſic, and were more induſtrious to improve it, to reduce it into an art, to eſtabliſh their obſervations upon certain rules, and to ſupport, ſtrengthen, and diverſify it by the help of inſtruments.

The Scripture accordingly places this kind of muſic in the family of Cain, which was that of the outcaſts, and makes Jubal, one of the deſcendants of that chief of the unrighteous, the author of it. And we ſee in effect, that muſic is generally devoted to the objects of the paſſions. It ſerves to adorn, augment, and render them more affecting; to make them penetrate the very ſoul by additional charms; to render it the captive of the ſenſes; to make it dwell wholly in the ears; to inſpire it with a new

Gen. iv. 21.

new propenſity to ſeek its conſolation from withut ; and to impart to it a new averſion for uſeful eflections and attention to truth. The abuſe of uſic, almoſt as antient as its invention, has ocaſioned Jubal to have more imitators than Daid. But this ought not to caſt any reproach upon uſic itſelf. For, as Plutarch obſerves upon this bject, few or no perſons of reaſon will impute to he ſciences themſelves the abuſe ſome people make f them : which is ſolely to be aſcribed to the diſoſition to vice of thoſe who profane them. Plut. de Muſic. p. 1146.

This exerciſe has in all times been the delight of ll nations, of the moſt barbarous, at well as of hoſe who valued themſelves moſt upon their civity. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the * Author f nature has implanted in man a taſte and ſecret ndency for ſong and harmony, which ſerve to ouriſh his joy in times of proſperity, to diſpel his nguiſh in affliction, and to comfort him in ſuporting the pains and fatigues of his labours. There no artificer that has not recourſe to this innocent nvention ; and the ſlighteſt air makes him almoſt orget all his fatigues. The harmonious cadence vith which the workmen ſtrike the glowing maſs pon the anvil, ſeems to leſſen the weight of their eavy hammers. The very rowers experience a ind of relief in the ſort of concert formed by the armonious and uniform motion of their oars. † The antients ſucceſsfully employed muſical intruments, as is ſtill the cuſtom, to excite martial rdor in the hearts of the ſoldiery ; and Quintilian

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* Atque eam (muſicam) natura ipſa videtur ad tolerandos faciiùs labores velut muneri nobis dediſſe. Si quidem & remiges canus hortatur : nec ſolum in iis operibus in quibus plurimum conaus præeunte aliqua jucunda voce conſpirat, ſed etiam ſingulorum atigatio quamlibet ſe rudi modulatione ſolatur. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

† Duces maximos & fidibus & tibiis cecinitſe traditum, & exrcitus Lacedæmoniorum muſicis accenſos modis. Quid autem aliud n noſtris Legionibus cornua ac tubæ faciunt ? quorum concentus, uanto eſt vehementior, tanto Romana in bellis gloria cæteris, ræſtat. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

partly aſcribes the reputation of the Roman troops to the impreſſions made by the warlike ſounds of fifes and trumpets upon the legions.

I have ſaid, that muſic was in uſe amongſt all nations: but it was the Greeks who placed it in honour, and by the value they ſet upon it, raiſed it to a very high degree of perfection. * It was a merit with their greateſt men to excel in it, and a kind of ſhame to be obliged to confeſs their ignorance in it. No hero ever made Greece more illuſtrious than Epaminondas: his dancing gracefully, and touching muſical inſtruments with ſkill, were reckoned amongſt his fine qualities. Some years before his time, the refuſal of Themiſtocles, at a feaſt, to play an air upon the lyre, was made a reproach, and was a kind of diſhonour to him. To be ignorant of muſic paſſed in thoſe times for a great defect of education.

It is in effect of this that the moſt celebrated philoſophers, who have left us treatiſes upon policy, as Plato and Ariſtotle, particularly recommended the teaching of muſic to young perſons. Amongſt the Greeks it was an eſſential part of education. Beſides which, it has a neceſſary connection with that part of Grammar called *Proſody*, which treats upon the length or ſhortneſs of ſyllables in pronunciation, upon the meaſure of verſes, their rhyme and cadence, *(or pauſes;)* and principally upon the manner of accenting words: the antients were aſſured that it might conduce very much to form the manners of youth, by introducing a kind of harmony into them, which might incline them to whatſoever was laudable and polite; nothing being of greater uſe, according to Plutarch, than muſic to excite perſons at all times to virtuous actions, and eſpecially to confront the dangers of war.

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* Summam eruditionem Græci ſitam cenſebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus. Igitur Epaminondas princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ, fidibus præclarè cecinisse dicitur: Themiſtocleſque, aliquot ante annis, cum in epulis recuſâſſet lyram, habitus eſt indoctior. Ergo in Græcia muſici floruerunt, diſcebantque id omnes; nec, qui neſciebat, ſatis excultus doctrinâ putabatur. *Cic. Tuſc.* 1. n. 4.

In eius Epaminondæ virtutibus commemorabatur, ſaltâſſe eum commodè, ſcienterque tibiis cantâſſe. *Corn. Nep. in præfat.*

Plut. de Muſic. p. 1140.

Muſic was far from being much eſteemed in the happy times of the republic. It paſſed in thoſe days for a thing of little conſequence, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, where he obſerves, upon the different taſte of nations, in regard to ſeveral things. Salluſt's reproach of a Roman lady, that ſhe knew better how to ſing and dance, than was conſiſtent with the character of a woman of honour and probity; *ſaltare & pſallere elegantius quam neceſſe eſt probæ*; ſufficiently ſhews what the Romans thought of muſic. As to dancing, they had a ſtrange idea of it; and would ſay, that, to practiſe it, one ſhould either be drunk or mad; *Nemo ſaltat fere ſobrius, niſi forte inſanit.* Such was the Roman ſeverity, till their commerce with the Greeks, and ſtill more, their riches and opulence made them give into the ceſſes, with which the Greeks cannot ſo much as be reproached.

In præfat.

In bell. Catilin.

Cic. in orat. pro Muræn. n. 13.

The antients attributed wonderful effects to muſic; either to excite or ſuppreſs the paſſions, or to ſoften the manners, and humanize nations naturally ſavage and barbarous.

Pythagoras, * ſeeing a young ſtranger, who was heated with the fumes of wine, and at the ſame time animated by the ſound of a flute, played on in the Phrygian meaſure, upon the point of committing violence in a chaſte family, reſtored the young man's tranquillity and reaſon, by ordering the female minſtrel to change the meaſure, and to play in more ſolemn and ſerious numbers, according to the cadence called after the foot *Spondee.*

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* Pythagoram accepimus, concitatos ad vim pudicæ domui afferendam juvenes, juſſa mutare in ſpondæum modos tibicina, compoſuiſſe. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

De placit. Hippoc. & Plat. l. 5. c. 6.

Galen relates ſomething exactly of the ſame nature, of a muſician of Miletus, named Damon. He tells us of ſome young people, that a female performer upon the flute had made frantic, by playing in the Phrygian meaſure, and whom ſhe brought to their ſenſes again, by the advice of this Damon, in changing the muſic from the Phrygian to the Doric meaſure.

Orat. 1. de regn. init.

Dion Chryſoſtome, and ſome others, inform us, that the muſician Timotheus, playing one day upon the flute before Alexander the Great, in the meaſure called Ὄρτιος, which is of the martial kind, that prince immediately ran to his arms. Plutarch ſays almoſt the ſame thing of Antigenides the fluteniſt, who at a banquet fired that prince in ſuch a manner, that, riſing from the table like one out of his ſenſes, he catched up his arms, and claſhing them to the ſound of the flute, was almoſt ready to charge the gueſts.

De fortun. Alex. p. 335.

Amongſt the wonderful effects of muſic, nothing more affecting perhaps, nor better atteſted, can be inſtanced, than what regards the Arcadians. Polybius, a wiſe, exact hiſtorian, well worthy of entire belief, is my authority. I ſhall only abridge his narrations and reflections.

Polyb. l. 4. p. 289, 291.

The ſtudy of muſic, ſays he, has its utility with all men, but is abſolutely neceſſary to the Arcadians. This people, in eſtabliſhing their republic, though otherwiſe very auſtere in their manner of life, had ſo high an opinion of muſic, that they not only taught that art to their children, but obliged young people to apply to it till the age of thirty. Is is not ſhameful amongſt them to profeſs themſelves ignorant of other arts: but it is highly diſhonourable not to have learnt to ſing, and not to be able to give proofs of it on occaſion.

Now, ſays Polybius, their firſt legiſlators ſeem to me, in making ſuch inſtitutions, not to have deſigned to introduce luxury and effeminacy, but only to ſoften the ferocity of the Arcadians, and to divert, by the practice of muſic, their gloomy and melancholy diſpoſition, undoubtedly occaſioned by the coldneſs of the air, which the Arcadians breathe almoſt throughout their whole country.

But the Cynethians having neglected this aid, of which they had the moſt need, as they inhabited the rudeſt and moſt ſavage part of Arcadia, both as to the air and climate, at length became ſo fierce and barbarous, that there was no city in Greece wherein ſo great and ſo frequent crimes were committed, as in that of Cynethia.

Polybius concludes this account, with obſerving, that he had inſiſted the more upon it for two reaſons. The firſt, to prevent any of the Arcadian ſtates, out of the falſe prejudice that the ſtudy of muſic is only a ſuperfluous amuſement amongſt them, from neglecting that part of their diſcipline. The ſecond, to induce the Cynethians to give muſic the preference to all other ſciences, if ever God (the expreſſion is remarkable) if ever God ſhould inſpire them to apply themſelves to arts that humanize a people. For that was the ſole means to correct their natural ferocity.

I do not know whether it be poſſible to find any thing in antiquity which equals the praiſe Polybius here gives muſic: and every one knows what kind of perſonage Polybius was. Let us add here what the two great lights of the antient philoſophy, Plato and Ariſtotle, ſay of it, who frequently recommend the ſtudy of it, and very much extol its advantages. Can a more authentic and favourable teſtimony be deſired? But that the authority of theſe great men may not impoſe upon us, I ought here to mention what kind of muſic they would be underſtood to mean. Quintilian, who had the ſame thoughts upon this head, will explain their opinion: it is in a chapter, where he had given muſic the higheſt praiſe. "Though the examples I "have

Quintil. l. 1. c. 10.

“ have cited, ſays he, ſufficiently ſhew what ſpecies of muſic I approve, I think myſelf, however, obliged to declare here, that it is not the ſame with which the theatres in theſe days reſound, that by its wanton and effeminate airs, has not a little contributed to extinguiſh and ſuppreſs in us whatever remained of our antient manly virtue:” *Apertius profitendum puto, non hanc a me præcipi, quæ nunc in ſcenis effeminata, & impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, ſi quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.* “ When I recommend muſic therefore, it is that of which men filled with honour and valour made uſe, in ſinging the praiſes of others like themſelves. It is as far from my intent to mean here thoſe dangerous inſtruments, whoſe languiſhing ſounds convey ſoftneſs and impurity into the ſoul, and which ought to be held in horror by all perſons of ſenſe and virtue. I underſtand that agreeable art of affecting the ſoul by the powers of harmony, in order either to excite or aſſuage the paſſions, according to occaſion and reaſon.”

It is this ſort of muſic that was in ſo much eſteem with the greateſt philoſophers and wiſeſt legiſlators amongſt the Greeks; becauſe it civilizes ſavage minds, ſoftens the roughneſs and ferocity of diſpoſitions, renders people more capable of diſcipline, makes ſociety more grateful and joyous, and gives horror for all the vices which incline men to inhumanity, cruelty and violence.

It is not without its advantages to the body, and conduces to the cure of certain diſtempers. What is related of the wonderful effects of muſic, upon ſuch as have been bit by the Tarantula, would appear incredible, if not ſupported by authorities, to which we cannot, with reaſon, refuſe our belief.

Memoirs of the Acad. of Sciences. An. 1702.

The Tarantula is a large ſpider with eight eyes, and as many legs. It is not only to be found about

Tarento, or in Puglia; but in ſeveral other parts of Italy, and in the iſland of Corſica.

Soon after a man is bit by a Tarantula, the part affected feels a very ſevere pain, ſucceeded in a few hours by a numbneſs. He is next ſeized with a profound melancholy, can ſcarce reſpire; his pulſe grows faint, his ſight is interrupted and ſuſpended, till at laſt he loſes all ſenſe and motion, and dies, unleſs aſſiſted in time. Phyſicians uſe ſeveral remedies for the cure of this illneſs; which would be uſeleſs, if muſic did not come in to their aid.

When the perſon bit is without ſenſe and motion, a performer upon muſical inſtruments tries different airs; and, when he hits upon that which in its tones and modulation ſuits the patient, he begins to ſtir a little; at firſt he moves his fingers to the time, then his arms and legs, and by little and little his whole body; at laſt he gets up and dances, continually increaſing his activity and force. Some of theſe will dance ſix hours without reſting. After this they are put to bed, and, when it is ſuppoſed that they have ſufficiently recovered their firſt dance, they are brought out of bed by the ſame tune to begin again. This exerciſe continues ſeveral days, about ſix or ſeven at moſt, till the patient finds himſelf tired, and incapable to dance any longer, which denotes his being cured. For, as long as the poiſon operates upon him, he would dance, if he were ſuffered, without ceaſing, and die by exhauſting his ſpirits. The patient, that begins to perceive himſelf weary, recovers his underſtanding and ſenſes by degrees, and comes to himſelf, as if he waked out of a deep ſleep, without remembering what had paſt during his diſorder, not even his dancing. This is a very extraordinary caſe, but abſolutely true; of which I muſt leave it to phyſicians to explain the cauſe.

SECT. II.

Inventors and improvers of muſic, and muſical inſtruments.

THE profane hiſtorians aſcribe the diſcovery of the firſt rules of muſic to their fabulous Mercury, others to Apollo, and ſome to Jupiter himſelf. They undoubtedly intended thereby to inſinuate, that ſo uſeful an invention ought to be attributed only to the gods, and that it was an error to do any man whatſoever the honour of it.

Plutarch's treatiſe upon muſic, explained and ſet in a true light by the learned remarks of Mr. Burette, will ſupply me with a great part of what I ſhall relate of the hiſtory of thoſe, who are ſaid to have contributed moſt the improvement of this art. I ſhall content myſelf with ſimply pointing out the moſt antient, who are almoſt known only in fabulous hiſtory, without confining myſelf to the order of time.

AMPHION.

Amphion is held by ſome to be the inventor of the * *Citkara*, or lyre; for theſe two inſtruments were very little different, as I ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, and are often confounded with each other by authors. It is conjectured, that the fable of Thebes being built by the ſound of Amphion's lyre, is later than Homer's time, who does not mention it, and would not have failed to have adorned his poems with it, had he known it.

The cotemporaries of Amphion were *Linus*, *Anthes*, *Pierius*, and *Philammon*. The laſt was father of the famous Thamyris, the fineſt voice of his time, and the rival of the muſes themſelves, who having been abandoned to the vengeance of thoſe goddeſſes, loſt his ſight, voice, underſtanding, and even the uſe of his lyre.

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* *I ſhall call this inſtrument ſo, as often as I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it; becauſe our* Guitar *or* Lute, *which derives its name from it, is a quite different kind of inſtrument.*

ORPHEUS.

The reputation of Orpheus flouriſhed from the expedition of the Argonauts, of which number he was; that is to ſay, before the Trojan war. Linus was his maſter in muſic, as he was alſo of Hercules. Orpheus's hiſtory is known by all the world.

HYAGNIS.

Hyagnis is ſaid to have been the firſt player upon the flute. He was the father of Marſyas, to whom the invention of the flute is aſcribed. The latter ventured to challenge Apollo, who only came off victor in this diſpute, by joining his voice with the ſound of his lyre. The vanquiſhed was flead alive.

OLYMPIUS.

There were two of this name, both famous players upon the flute. The moſt antient, who was by birth a Myſian, lived before the Trojan war. He was the diſciple of Marſyas, and excelled in the art of playing npon ſtring-inſtruments.

The ſecond Olympius was a Phrygian, and flouriſhed in the time of Midas.

DEMODOCUS. PHEMIUS.

Homer praiſes theſe two muſicians in ſeveral parts of the Odyſſey. Demodocus had compoſed two poems: the one upon the taking of Troy, the other upon the nuptials of Venus and Vulcan.

Homer makes them both ſing in the palace of Alcinous king of the Pheacians, in the preſence of Ulyſſes. He ſpeaks of Phemius as of a ſinger inſpired by the gods themſelves. It is he who, by the ſinging of his poetry ſet to muſic, and accompanied with the ſounds of his lyre, inlivens the banquets, in which the ſuitors of Penelope paſs whole days.

The author of the life of Homer aſcribed to Herodotus affirms, that Phemius ſettled at Smyrna; that he taught youth grammar and muſic, and married Critheis there, whoſe illegitimate ſon Homer was. He tells us, Homer was born before this marriage, and was educated with great care by his father-in-law, after he had adopted him.

TERPANDER.

Authors do not agree with each other concerning Terpander's country, nor the time in which he lived. Euſebius places it in the 33d olympiad. This epocha ought to be of later date, if it be true, that this poet and muſician was the firſt who obtained the prize in the Carnian games, which were not inſtituted at Lacedæmon till the 36th olympiad.

Beſides this victory, which did great honour to Terpander's ability in muſical poetry, he ſignalized himſelf by this art upon ſeveral other very important occaſions. Much is ſaid of the ſedition, which he had the addreſs to appeaſe at Lacedæmon by his melodious ſongs, accompanied with the ſounds of his Cithara. He alſo carried the prize four times ſucceſſively at the Pythian games.

It appears that, the elder Olympius and Terpander having found the lyre in their youth only with four ſtrings, they uſed it as it was, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their admirable execution upon it. In proceſs of time, to improve that inſtrument, they both made additions to it, eſpecially Terpander, who made its ſtrings amount to ſeven.

This alteration very much diſpleaſed the Lacedæmonians, amongſt whom it was expreſsly forbidden to change or innovate any thing in the antient muſic. Plutarch tells us, that Terpander had a fine laid on him by the Ephori, for having added a ſingle ſtring to the uſual number of the lyre; and had his own hung up by a nail for an example. From whence it appears, that the lyre of thoſe times was already ſtrung with ſix chords.

From what Plutarch ſays, it appears, that Terpander at firſt compoſed lyric poems in a certain meaſure, proper to be ſung, and accompanied with the Cithara. He afterwards ſet theſe poems to ſuch muſic, as might beſt ſuit the Cithara, which at that time repeated exactly the ſame ſounds as were ſung by the muſician. In fine, Terpander put the notes of this muſic over the verſes of the ſongs compoſed by him, and ſometimes did the ſame upon Homer's poems: after which he was able to perform them himſelf, or cauſe others to do ſo, in the public games.

Prizes of poetry and muſic, which were ſeldom or ever ſeparate, were propoſed in the four great games of Greece, eſpecially in the Pythian, of which they made the greateſt and moſt conſiderable part. The ſame thing was alſo practiſed in ſeveral other cities of the ſame country, where the like games were celebrated with great ſolemnity, and a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators.

PHRYNIS.

Phrynis was of Mitylene, the capital of the iſland of Leſbos. He was the ſcholar of Ariſtoclitus for the harp, and could not fall into better hands, that maſter being one of Terpander's deſcendants. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who obtained the prize of this inſtrument in the games of the Panathenea, celebrated at Athens the fourth year of the 80th olympiad. He had not the ſame ſucceſs, when he diſputed that prize with the muſician Timotheus.

Phrynis may be conſidered as the author of the the firſt alterations made in the antient muſic, with regard to the Cithara. These changes conſiſted, in the firſt place, in the addition of two new ſtrings to the ſeven, which compoſed that inſtrument before him; in the ſecond place, in the compaſs and modulation, which had no longer the noble and manly ſimplicity of the antient muſic. Ariſtophanes reproaches him with it in his comedy of *the Clouds*, wherein Juſtice ſpeaks in theſe terms of the antient education of youth. *They went together to the houſe of the player upon the Cithara——where they learned the hymn of the dreadful Pallas, or ſome other ſong, which they ſung according to the harmony delivered down to them from their anceſtors. If any of them ventured to ſing in a buffoon manner, or to introduce inflections of voice, like thoſe which prevail in theſe days in the airs of Phrynis, he was puniſhed ſeverely.*

Phrynis having preſented himſelf in ſome public games at Lacedæmon, with his Cithara of nine ſtrings, Ecprepes, one of the Ephori, would have two of them cut away, and ſuffered him only to chuſe whether they ſhould be the two higheſt or the two loweſt. Timotheus, ſome ſhort time after, being preſent upon the ſame occaſion at the Carnian games, the Ephori acted in the ſame manner with regard to him.

TIMOTHEUS.

Timotheus, one of the moſt celebrated muſician poets, was born at Miletus, an Ionian city of Caria, in the third year of the 93d olympiad. He flouriſhed at the ſame time with Euripides and

Philip of Macedon, and excelled in lyric and dithyrambic poetry.

He applied himſelf particularly to muſic, and playing on the Cithara. His firſt endeavours were not ſucceſsful, and he was hiſſed by the whole people. So bad a reception might have diſcouraged him for ever; and he actually intended to have entirely renounced an art, for which he did not ſeem intended by nature. Euripides undeceived him in that miſtake, and gave him new courage, by making him hope extraordinary ſucceſs for the future. Plutarch, in relating this fact, to which he adds the examples of Cimon, Themiſtocles, and Demoſthenes, who were reaſſured by counſels of a like nature, obſerves with reaſon, that it is doing the public great ſervice, to encourage young perſons in this manner, who have a fund of genius and fine talents; and to prevent their being diſguſted in effect of ſome faults, they may commit in an age ſubject to error, or of ſome bad ſucceſſes, which they may at firſt experience in the exerciſe of their profeſſion.

Euripides was not deceived in his views and expectation. Timotheus became the moſt excellent performer upon the Cithara of his times. He greatly improved this inſtrument, according to Pauſanias, by adding four ſtrings to it, or, as Suidas tells us, only two, the tenth and eleventh to the ninth, of which the Cithara was compoſed before him. Authors differ extremely upon this point, and often even contradict themſelves about it.

This innovation in muſic had not the general approbation. The Lacedæmonians condemned it by a public decree, which Bœotius has preſerved. It is wrote in the dialect of the county, in which the prevalent conſonant ρῶ renders the pronunciation very rough; ἐπει τάι Τιμόθεορ ὁ Μιλήσιορ παραγενόμενορ ἐς τὰν ἀμίτεραν πόλιν, &c. and contains in ſubſtance: That Timotheus of Miletus having come to their city, had expreſſed little regard for the antient muſic and lyre; that he had multiplied the ſounds of the former, and the ſtrings of the latter; that, to the antient, ſimple, and uniform manner of ſinging, he had ſubſtituted one more complex, wherein he had introduced the chromatic kind; that, in his poem upon the delivery of Semele, he had not obſerved a ſuitable decency: that to obviate the effects of ſuch innovations, which could not but be attended with conſequences pernicious to good manners, the kings and the Ephori had publicly reprimanded Timotheus, and had decreed, that his lyre ſhould be reduced to ſeven ſtrings as of old, and that all thoſe of a modern invention ſhould be retrenched, &c. This fact is related by Athenæus, with this circumſtance, that when the executioner was upon the point of cutting away the new ſtrings conformable to the decree, Timotheus having perceived in the ſame place a ſmall ſtatue of Apollo, with as many ſtrings upon the lyre as there were upon his, he ſhewed it to the judges, and was diſmiſſed acquitted.

His reputation drew after him a great number of diſciples. It is ſaid, that he took twice the ſum of thoſe, who came to learn to play upon the flute, (or the Cithara) if they had been taught before by another maſter. His reaſon was, that when an excellent muſician ſucceeded ſuch as were indifferent, he had double the pains with the ſcholar: that of making him forget what he had learnt before, the far greater difficulty; and to inſtruct him anew.

ARCHILOCHUS.

Archilochus rendered himſelf equally famous for poeſy and muſic. I ſhall ſpeak of him in the ſequel under the title of a poet. In this place I conſider him only as a muſician; and of all that Plutarch ſays of him upon that head, I ſhall only repeat the paſſage, wherein he aſcribes to him *the muſical execution of Iambic verſes, of which ſome are only ſpoken whilſt the inſtruments play, and others are ſung.*

This paſſage, ſays Mr. Burette, ſhews us, that in Iambic poetry there were verſes merely declamatory, which were only repeated or ſpoken; and that there were others which were ſung. But what this ſame paſſage perhaps includes, that is not ſo well known, is, that theſe *declamatory* Iambics were accompanied with the ſound of the Cithara, and other inſtruments of the ſtring kind. It remains to know in what manner this accompanying verſes ſpoken was performed. According to all appearance, the player upon the Cithara did not only give the poet or actor the general tone of his utterance, and ſupport him in it by the monotony of his playng; but, as the tone of the ſpeaker or declaimer varied according to the different accents, which modified the pronunciation of each word, in order o make this kind of declamation the more diſtinct; t was neceſſary that the inſtrument of muſic ſhould make all theſe modifications more ſenſible, and exctly mark the number or cadence of the poetry, which ſerved it as a guide; and which, in effect of being ſo accompanied, though not ſung, became he more expreſſive and affecting. In regard to he poetry *ſung*, the inſtrument that accompanied t, conformed its notes ſervilely to it, and expreſſed o other ſounds, but thoſe of the poet-muſician's voice.

ARISTOXENUS.

Ariſtoxenus was born at Tarentum, a city of aly. He was the ſon of the muſician Mneſias. He applied himſelf equally to muſic and philoſohy. He was firſt the diſciple of his father, then of Xenophilus the Pythagorean, and laſtly of Ariſtotle, under whom he had Theophraſtus for the companion of his ſtudies. Ariſtoxenus lived therefore in the time of Alexander the Great, and his firſt ſucceſſors.

Of four hundred and fifty-two volumes which Suidas tells us he compoſed, only his three books of *the Elements of Harmony* now remain, which is the moſt antient treatiſe of muſic come down to us.

Heraclid. He warmly attacked Pythagoras's ſyſtem of muſic. That philoſopher, with the view of eſtabliſhing an unalterable certitude and conſtancy in the arts and ſciences in general, and in muſic in particular, endeavoured to withdraw its precepts from the fallacious evidence and report of the ſenſes, to ſubject them ſolely to the determinations of reaſon Conformably to this deſign, he was for having the harmonic powers or muſical conſonance, inſtead of being ſubjected to the judgment of the ear which he looked upon as an arbitrary meaſure of little certainty, to be regulated ſolely by the proportions of numbers that are always the ſame Ariſtoxenes maintains, that to mathematical rules and the ratio of proportions, it was neceſſary to add the judgment of the ear, to which it principally belonged, to determine in what concerned muſic. He attacked the ſyſtem of Pythagoras in many other points.

Sotericus, one of the ſpeakers, introduced by Plutarch in his treatiſe upon muſic, is convinced that ſenſation and reaſon ought to concur in the judgment paſt upon the different parts of muſic ſo that the former do not prejudice the latter by too much vivacity, nor be wanting to it upon occaſion, through too much weakneſs. Now the ſenſe in the preſent queſtion, that is, the hearing neceſſarily receives three impreſſions at once: that of the *ſound*, that of the *time* or *meaſure*, and tha of the *letter*; the progreſſion of which conveys the *modulation*, the * *rhyme*, and the *words*. And as there can be no adequate perception of theſe three things ſeparately, and each cannot be followed alone, it ſeems that only the ſoul or reaſon has a right to judge of what this progreſſion or continuity of *ſound*, *rhyme*, and *words*, may have of good or bad.

SECT. III.

The antient muſic was ſimple, grave, and manly. When and how corrupted.

AS amongſt the antients, muſic, by its origin and natural deſtination, was conſecrated to he ſervice of the gods, and the regulation of the nanners, they gave the preference to that, which vas moſt diſtinguiſhed by its gravity and ſimpliity. Each of theſe prevailed long, both in regard o vocal and inſtrumental muſic. Olympius, Terander, and their diſciples, at firſt uſed few ſtrings n the lyre, and little variety in ſinging. Notvithſtanding which, ſays Plutarch, all ſimple, as he airs of thoſe two muſicians were, which were onfined to three or four ſtrings, they were the dmiration of all good judges.

The Cithara, very ſimple at firſt under Terpaner, retained this advantage ſome time. It was not ermitted to compoſe airs for this inſtrument, nor o change manner of playing upon it, either as to he harmony, or the cadence; and great care was aken to preſerve in the antient airs, their peculiar one or character: hence they were called *Nomes*, s being intended for laws and models. Νόμος. *Lex.*

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* Rhyme, ῥυθμὸς. *The time or meaſure. It may alſo ſignify a ar in muſic.*

The introduction of rhymes in the dithyrambic way; the multiplication of the ſounds of the flute by Laſus, as well as of the ſtrings of the lyre by Timotheus; and ſome other novelties introduced by Phrynis, Menalippides, and Philoxenus, occaſioned a great revolution in the antient muſic. The comic poets, eſpecially Pherecrates and Ariſtophanes, very often complained of it in the ſtrongeſt terms. We ſee, in their pieces, muſic repreſented accuſing with great warmth and ſeverity thoſe muſicians of having entirely depraved and corrupted the art.

Plutarch, in ſeveral places of his works, complains alſo that to the manly, noble, and divine muſic of the antients, in which every thing was ſublime and majeſtic, the moderns had ſubſtituted that of the theatre, which inſpires nothing but vice and licentiouſneſs. De Superſtit. p. 167. Sometimes he alledges Plato's authority to prove, that muſic, the mother of harmony, decency and delight, was not given to man by the gods only to pleaſe and tickle the ear, but to reinſtate order and harmony in the ſoul, too often diſcompoſed by error and pleaſure. Symp. l. 7. p. 704. Sometimes he admoniſhes us, that we cannot be too much upon our guard againſt the dangerous charms of a depraved and licentious muſic, and points out the means of avoiding ſuch a corruption. De audit. poët. p. 19. He declares here, that wanton muſic, diſſolute and debauched ſongs, corrupt the manners; and that the muſicians and poets ought to borrow from wiſe and virtuous perſons the ſubjects of their compoſitions. De Pyth. Orac. p. 397. In another place he cites the authority of Pindar who aſſerts that God made Cadmus hear a ſublim and regular muſic, very different from thoſe ſoft light, effeminate ſtrains, which had taken poſſeſſio of human ears. And laſtly, he explains himſel more expreſsly upon it, in the ninth book of hi P. 748. *Sympoſiacks.* “ The depraved muſic, which pre
“ vails in theſe days, ſays he, in injuring all th

“ art

“ arts dependant upon it, has hurt none ſo much “ as dancing. For this, being aſſociated with I “ know not what trivial and vulgar poetry, after “ having divorced itſelf from that of the antients, “ which was entirely divine, has uſurped our theatres, where it triumphs amidſt a ridiculous admiration, and exerciſing a kind of tyranny, has “ ſubjected to itſelf a ſpecies of muſic of little or “ no value: But at the ſame time, it has actually “ loſt the eſteem of all thoſe, who for their genius “ and wiſdom, are conſidered as divine perſons.” I leave it to the reader to apply to our times, what Plutarch ſays of his, in regard to muſic and the theatres.

It is no wonder that Plutarch complains thus of the depravation which had univerſally infected the muſic of his times, and made it of ſo little value. Plato, Ariſtotle, and their diſciples, had made the ſame complaint before him; and that in an age ſo favourable as theirs to the improvement of polite arts, and ſo productive of great men in every kind. How could it happen, that, at a time when eloquence, poeſy, painting, and ſculpture, were cultivated with ſuch ſucceſs, muſic, for which they had no leſs attention, declined ſo much? Its great union with poetry was the principal cauſe of this, and theſe two ſiſters may be ſaid to have had almoſt the ſame deſtiny. At firſt, each, confined to the exact imitation of what was moſt beautiful in nature, had no other view than to inſtruct whilſt they delighted, and to excite emotions in the ſoul of equal utility, in the worſhip of the gods, and the good of ſociety. For this end they employed the moſt ſuitable expreſſions, tours of thought, numbers, and cadences. Muſic, particularly, always ſimple, decent, and ſublime, continued within the bounds preſcribed her by the great maſters, eſpecially the philoſophers and legiſlators, who were moſt of them poets and muſicians. But the theatrical ſhews, and the worſhip of certain divinities, of Bacchus amongſt the reſt, in proceſs of time, very much ſet aſide theſe wiſe regulations. They gave birth to dithyrambic poetry, the moſt licentious of all in its expreſſion, meaſure, and ſentiments. It required a muſic of the ſame kind, and in conſequence very remote from the noble ſimplicity of the antient. The multiplicity of ſtrings, and all that vicious redundance of ſound, and levity of ornament, were introduced to an exceſs, and gave room for the juſt complaints of all ſuch as excelled, and had the beſt taſte in this way.

SECT. IV.

Different kinds and meaſures of the antient muſic. Manner of writing the notes to ſongs.

TO ſpeak of the antient muſic in general, and to give a ſlight idea of it, it is proper to obſerve, that there are three kinds of ſymphonies; the vocal, the inſtrumental, and that compoſed of both. The antients knew theſe three kinds of ſymphonies or concerts.

We muſt farther remark, that muſic had at firſt only three meaſures, which were a tone higher than one another. The graveſt of the three was called the *Doric*; the higheſt the *Lydian*; and the middle the *Phrygian*: ſo that the *Doric* and *Lydian* included between them the ſpace of two tones, or of a tercet or third major. By dividing this ſpace into demi-tones, room was made for two other meaſures, the *Ionic* and *Eolean*; the firſt of which was inſerted between the *Doric* and *Phrygian*; the ſecond between the *Phrygian* and *Lydian*. Other meaſures were ſuperadded, which took their denominations from the five firſt, prefixing the prepoſition ὑπὲρ above, for thoſe above; and the prepoſition ὑπὸ below, for thoſe below. The *Hyperdoric*, the *Hyperionic*, &c. The *Hypodoric*, the *Hypoionic*, &c.

In ſome books of modern ſinging in churches, and at the end of ſome breviaries, to theſe different meaſures are referred the different tones now uſed in chanting divine ſervice. The firſt and ſecond tone belong to the Doric meaſure; the third and fourth to the Phrygian; and the reſt to the Lydian and Mixolydian.

The manner of chanting in the church is in the Diatonic kind, which is the deepeſt, and agrees beſt with divine worſhip.

I return to the firſt diviſion. The vocal ſymphony neceſſarily ſuppoſes ſeveral voices, becauſe one perſon cannot ſing ſeveral parts at the ſame time. When ſeveral perſons ſing in concert together, it is either in uniſon, which is called *Homophony*; or in the octave, and even the double octave; and this is termed *Antiphony*. It is believed that the antients uſed alſo a third manner, which conſiſted in ſinging to a tercet or third.

The inſtrumental ſymphony, amongſt the antients, had the ſame differences as the vocal; that is to ſay, ſeveral inſtruments might play together in the uniſon, the octave, and the third.

To have two ſtrings of an inſtrument, of the ſame ſubſtance, equally thick, and equally ſtrained, expreſs theſe accords with each other, all that is neceſſary is to make their lengths by certain proportions of number. For inſtance, if the two ſtrings be equal in length, they are uniſons; if as 1 to 2, they are octaves; if as 2 to 3, they are fifths; as 3 to 4, they are fourths; and, 4 to 5, they are third majors, &c.

The antients, as well as we, had ſome inſtruments upon which a ſingle performer could execute a kind of concert. Such were the double flute and the lyre.

The firſt of theſe inſtruments was compoſed of two flutes joined in ſuch a manner, that the two pipes had uſually but one mouth in common to both. Theſe flutes were either equal or unequal, in length or in the diameter of the bore. The equal flutes had the ſame, the unequal different, ſounds, of which one was deep, the other high. The ſymphony, which the two equal flutes made, was in the uniſon, when the two hands of the performer ſtopped the ſame holes of each flute at the ſame time; or thirds, when he ſtopped different holes of both flutes. The diverſity of ſounds, reſulting from the unequal flutes, could be only of two kinds, according to the flutes being either octaves or thirds; and in both caſes the performer ſtopped the ſame holes of each flute at the ſame time, and in conſequence formed a concert either in the octave or third.

By the lyre is meant here every muſical inſtrument in general, with ſtrings ſtrained over a cavity for ſound. The antients had ſeveral inſtruments of this kind, which differed only in their form, their ſize, or the number of their ſtrings; and to which they gave different names, though they often uſed one for the other. The chief of them were 1. the *Cithara*, Κιθάρα, from which the word Guitar is derived, though applied to a quite different inſtrument. 2. The *Lyre*, Λύρα, otherwiſe called χέλυς, and in Latin *Teſtudo*, becauſe the bottom reſembled the ſcale of a tortoiſe, the figure of which animal (as it is ſaid) gave the firſt idea of this inſtrument. 3. The Τρίγωνον, or triangular inſtrument, the only one that has come down to us under the name of the Harp.

The lyre, as I have ſaid before, varied very much in the number of its ſtrings. That of Olympius and Terpander had at firſt but three, which thoſe muſicians knew how to diverſify with ſo much art, that, if we may believe Plutarch, they very much exceeded thoſe who played upon lyres of a greater number. By adding a fourth ſtring to the

Plut. de Muſ. p. 1137.

the other three, they made the * *Tetrachord* complete; and it was the different manner in which harmony was produced by theſe four ſtrings, that conſtituted the three kinds of it, called the *Diatonic*, *Chromatic*, and *Inharmonic*. The *Diatonic* kind appertains to the common and ordinary muſic. In the *Chromatic*, the muſic was ſoftened by lowering the ſounds half a tone, which was directed by a coloured mark, from whence the Chromatic took its name *χρῶμα*, ſignifying *colour*. What is now called B flat belongs to the Chromatic muſic. In the Inharmonic muſic, on the contrary, the ſounds were raiſed a demi-tone, which was marked, as at preſent, by a dieſis. In the *Diatonic* muſic, the air or tune could not make its progreſſions by leſs intervals than the ſemi-tones major. The modulation of the *Chromatic* muſic made uſe of the ſemitones minor. In the *Inharmonic* muſic, the progreſſion of the air might be made by quarter-tones.

Lib. 2. in Somn. Scipion. c. 4.

Macrobius, ſpeaking of theſe three kinds, ſays, the Inharmonic is no longer in uſe upon account of its difficulty; that the Chromatic is no longer eſteemed, becauſe that ſort of muſic is too ſoft and effeminate; and that the Diatonic holds the mean between them both.

The addition of a fifth ſtring produced the *Pentachord*. The lyre with ſeven ſtrings, or the *Heptachord*, was more uſed, and in greater eſteem than all others. However, though it included the ſeven notes of muſic, the octave was ſtill wanting. Simonides at length added it, according to Pliny, with an eighth ſtring. Long after him, Timotheus the Mileſian, who lived in the reign of Philip king of Macedon, about the 108th olympiad,

Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Plut. de Muſ. p. 1141.

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* *A paſſage in Horace, differently explained by M. Dacier and father Sanadon, has given learned diſſertations upon the inſtrument called the* Tetrachord.

multiplied, as we have obſerved, the ſtrings of the lyre to the number of eleven. This number was ſtill increaſed.

The lyre, with three or four ſtrings, was not ſuſceptible of any ſymphony. Upon the *Pentachord*, two parts might be played by thirds to each other. The more the number of ſtrings increaſed upon the lyre, the eaſier it was to compoſe airs with different parts upon that inſtrument. The queſtion is to know, whether the antients improved that advantage.

This queſtion, which has been a matter of inquiry for about two ages, in regard to the antient muſic, and conſiſts in knowing whether the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with that kind of it called *Counterpoint*, or concert in different parts, has occaſioned different writings on both ſides. The plan of my work diſpenſes with my entering into an examination of this difficulty, which I confeſs beſides exceeds my capacity.

Martian. Capel. de nupt. Philol.

It is not unneceſſary to know in what manner the antients noted their airs. With them, the general ſyſtem of muſic was divided into eighteen ſounds, of which each had its particular name. They invented characters to ſignify each tone: σημεῖα, *ſigns*. All theſe figures were compoſed of a monogram, formed from the firſt letter of the particular name of each of the eighteen ſounds of the general ſyſtem. Theſe ſigns, which ſerved both for vocal and inſtrumental muſic, were written above the words upon two lines, of which the upper was for the voice, and the lower for the inſtruments. Theſe lines were not larger than lines of common writing. We have ſome Greek manuſcripts, in which theſe two ſpecies of notes are written in the manner I have related. From them the * hymns to Calliope, Nemeſis, and Apollo, as well as the ſtrophe of one of Pindar's odes, were taken. Mr. Burette has given us all theſe fragments, with the antient and modern notes, in the fifth volume of the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres.

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* *Theſe hymns were written by a poet named Dionyſius, little known in other reſpects.*

The characters, invented by the antients for writing muſical airs, were uſed till the eleventh century, when Guy d'Arezzo invented the modern manner of writing them with notes placed on different lines, ſo as to mark the ſound by the poſition of the note. Theſe notes were at firſt no more than points, in which there was nothing to expreſs the time or duration. But John de Meurs, born at Paris, and who lived in the reign of king John, found out the means of giving theſe points an unequal value, by the different figures of crotchets, minims, ſemi-briefs, quavers, ſemiquavers, &c. which he invented, and have ſince been adopted by all the muſicians of Europe.

SECT. V.

Whether the modern ſhould be preferred to the antient muſic.

THE famous difference in regard to the antients and moderns is very warm upon this point; becauſe, if the antient muſic was ignorant of the *Counterpoint*, or concert in different parts, that defect gives an indiſputable right of preference to the modern. Admitting this to be real, which may with great reaſon always remain doubtful, I am not ſure that the conſequence is ſo certain. Might not the antients, in all other reſpects, have carried muſic to a degree of perfection the moderns have not attained, as well as all the other arts? (I do not ſay it is ſo, I ſpeak only of its poſſibility;) and, if ſo, ought the diſcovery of the *Counterpoint* to give the latter an abſolute preference to the former? The moſt excellent painters of antiquity, as Apelles, uſed only four colours in their pieces. This was ſo far from being a reaſon to Pliny for diminiſhing any thing of their merit and reputation, that he admired them the more for it, and that they had excelled all ſucceeding painters ſo much, though the latter had employed a great variety of new tints.

But, to trace this queſtion to the bottom, let us examine, whether the muſic of later times does actually and indiſputably excel that of the antients; and this it is impoſſible for us to decide. It is not with muſic as with ſculpture. In the latter, the cauſe may be tried by the evidence of the performances to be produced on both ſides. We have ſtatues and reliefs of the antients, which we can compare with our own; and we have ſeen Michael Angelo paſs ſentence in this point, and actually acknowledge the ſuperiority of the antients. No muſical work of theirs is come down to us, to make us ſenſible of its value, and to enable us to judge by our own experience, whether it be as excellent as our own. The wonderful effects, it is ſaid to have produced, do not ſeem proofs ſufficiently deciſive.

There are ſtill extant treatiſes on Didactics, as well Greek as Latin, which may lead us to the theory of this art: but can we conclude any thing very certain from them in regard to the practice of it? This may give us ſome light, ſome opening; but precepts are exceedingly remote from execution. Would treatiſes upon poetry alone ſuffice to inform us, whether the modern ought to be preferred to the antient poets?

In the uncertainty there will always be with regard to the matter in queſtion, there is a prejudice very much in favour of the antients, which ought, in my opinion, to make us ſuſpend our judgment. It is allowed, that the Greeks had wonderful talents for all arts; that they cultivated them with extraordinary

ordinary ſucceſs, and carried moſt of them to a ſurpriſing degree of perfection. In architecture, ſculpture, and painting, no-body diſputes their ſupreme excellency. Now, of all theſe arts, there is not any ſo antiently or generally cultivated as muſic. This was not done only by a few private perſons, who made it their profeſſion, as in the other arts; but by all in general who had any care taken of their education, of which the ſtudy of muſic was an eſſential part. It was of general uſe in ſolemn feſtivals, ſacrifices, and eſpecially at meals, that were almoſt always attended with concerts, in which their principal joy and refinement conſiſted. There were public diſputes and prizes for ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt by it. It had a very peculiar ſhare in chorus's and tragedies. The magnificence and perfection, to which Athens roſe in every thing elſe that related to the public ſhews, is known: Can we imagine that city to have neglected only muſic? Can we believe, that thoſe Attic * ears, ſo refined and exquiſite in reſpect to the ſound of words in common diſcourſe, were leſs ſo in regard to the concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic, ſo much uſed in their chorus, and in which the moſt ſenſible and uſual pleaſure of Athens conſiſted? For my part, I cannot help being of opinion, that the Greeks, inclined as they were to diverſions, and educated from their earlieſt youth in a taſte for concerts, with all the aids I have mentioned, with that inventive and induſtrious genius they were known to have for all the arts, muſt have excelled in muſic as well as in all other arts. This is the ſole concluſion I make from all the reaſons I have advanced, without pretending to determine the preference in favour of either the antients or moderns.

I have not ſpoken of the perfection to which the Hebrew ſingers might have attained, in what re-

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* Atticorum aures teretes & religioſæ. *Cic.*

gards vocal and inſtrumental muſic, to avoid mingling a ſpecies entirely ſacred and devoted to religion, with one wholly profane and abandoned to idolatry, and all the exceſſes conſequential upon it. We may preſume that theſe ſingers, to whom th holy Scripture ſeems to aſcribe a kind of inſpiratio and the gift of * prophecy, not to compoſe prophetic pſalms, but to ſing them in a lively an ardent manner, full of zeal and rapture, had carried the ſcience of ſinging to as great a perfectio as was poſſible. It was, no doubt, a grand, noble and ſublime kind of muſic, wherein every thin was proportioned to the majeſty of its object, th Godhead, who, we may add, was its author: fo he had vouchſafed to form his miniſters and ſinger himſelf, and to inſtruct them in the manner i pleaſed him, to have his praiſes celebrated.

Nothing is ſo admirable as the order itſelf, whic God had inſtituted amongſt the Levites for the exerciſe of this auguſt function. They were fou thouſand in number, divided into different bodies of which each had its chief; and the kind, as wel as times, ſtated for the diſcharge of their reſpectiv duties. Two † hundred fourſcore and eight wer appointed to teach the reſt to ſing and play upo inſtruments. We ſee an example of this wonderful order in David's diſtribution of the parts of th ſacred muſic, when he ſolemnized the carrying o the ark from the houſe of Obed-Edom into th citadel of Sion. The whole troop of muſician were divided into three chorus's. The firſt ha

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* *And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, was for ſong* (*or* PRO PHECY:) *he inſtructed about the ſong, becauſe he was ſkilfu* 1 Chron. xv. 22.

David and the captains of the hoſt ſeparated to the ſervice of th ſons of Aſaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who ſhould PROPHES *with harps, with pſalteries, and with cymbals, and the number o workmen according to their ſervice was:* 1 Chron. xxv. 1.

† —— *With their brethren that were inſtructed in the ſongs of t Lord, even all that were cunning, two hundred fourſcore and eigh* 1 Chron. xxv. 7.

hollo

hollow inſtruments of braſs, that reſounded exceedingly, unlike our kettle-drum, only in not being covered with ſkins, and having their hollow part laid over with double bars, which they ſtruck on different parts of them. Theſe ſounds ſuited very well the ſacerdotal trumpets that preceded them, and were very proper, by their lively, ſtrong, and broken iterations, to awake the attention of the ſpectators. The ſecond troop of ſacred ſingers played in the treble, or higher, key, on a different inſtrument. The third chorus conſiſted of baſes, that ſerved to exalt and ſuſtain theſe trebles, with which they always played in concert (*perhaps in uniſons*) becauſe directed by the ſame maſter of the ſingers.

It is eaſy to conceive, that the Levites, ſo numerous as they were, deſtined from father to ſon to this ſole exerciſe, taught by the moſt ſkilful maſters, and formed by long and continual habit, muſt have attained great excellency, and at length become conſummate in all the beauties and delicacies of an art, in which they paſſed their whole lives.

This was the true intent of muſic. The moſt noble uſe, that men can make of it, is to employ it in rendering the continual homage of praiſe and adoration to the ſupreme majeſty of God, who has created, and governs, the univerſe, and reſerves ſo ſacred an office for his faithful children. *Hymnus omnibus ſanctis ejus.*

ARTI-

ARTICLE II.

Of the parts of muſic peculiar to the antients.

I Shall treat in this ſecond article on the other part of muſic in uſe amongſt the antients, but unknown amongſt us ; and ſhall confound them ofte together, becauſe they have a natural connectio and it would be difficult to ſeparate them withou falling into tedious repetitions. I ſhall make grea uſe of what is ſaid upon theſe heads, in the critica reflections of the Abbé du Bos, upon poetry an painting.

SECT. I.

Speaking upon the ſtage, or theatrical declamation composed and ſet to notes.

THE antients compoſed and wrote with note the declamation or manner of ſpeaking upo the ſtage, which, however, was not ſinging to muſic and it is in this ſenſe we ſhould often underſtand i the Latin poets the words *canere*, *cantus*, and eve *carmen*, which do not always ſignify ſinging properly ſo called, but a certain manner of ſpeakin or reading.

According to Bryennius, this declaiming o ſpeaking was compoſed with accents, and in conſequence it was neceſſary, in writing it, to mak uſe of the characters, which expreſſed thoſe accents At firſt they were only three, the acute, the grave and the circumflex. They afterwards amounted t ten, each marked with a different character. W find their names and figures in the antient Grammarians. The accent is the certain rule by whic the voice ſhould be raiſed or depreſſed in the pronunciatio nunciation of every ſyllable. As the manner of ſounding theſe accents was learnt at the ſame time with reading, there was ſcarce any body who did not underſtand this kind of notes.

Beſides the help of accents, the ſyllables in the Greek and Latin languages had a determinate quantity; hat is to ſay, they were either long or ſhort. The * ſhort ſyllable had only one, and the long two econds of time. This proportion between long and ſhort ſyllables was as abſolute, as that in heſe days between notes of different length. As wo black notes in our muſic ought to have as nuch time, as one white one in the muſic of the antients, two ſhort ſyllables had neither more nor eſs than one long one. Hence, when the Greek or Roman muſicians were to compoſe any thing vhatſoever, they had no more to do, in ſetting the ime to it, than to conform to the quantity of the yllables, upon which they placed each note.

I cannot avoid obſerving here by the way, that t is a pity the muſicians amongſt us, who compoſe hymns and motets, do not underſtand Latin, nd are ignorant of the quantity of words; from hence it often happens, that upon ſhort ſyllables, ver which they ought to run lightly, they inſiſt nd dwell a great while, as if they were long ones. his is a conſiderable fault, and contrary to the oſt common rules of muſic.

I have obſerved, that the declamation, or maner of ſpeaking, of the actors upon the ſtage, was ompoſed and written in notes, which determined e tone it was proper to take. Amongſt many aſſages that demonſtrate this, I ſhall content mylf with chuſing one from Cicero, where he ſpeaks Roſcius, his cotemporary and intimate friend. very body knows that Roſcius became a perſon

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* Longam eſſe duorum temporum, brevem unius, etiam pueri unt. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

of very great conſideration, by his ſingular excellency in his art, and his reputation for probity The people were ſo much prejudiced in his favour that, when he did not act ſo well as uſual, they ſai it was either out of negligence or indiſpoſition *Noluit, inquiunt, agere Roſcius, aut crudior fuit.* I fine, the higheſt degree * of praiſe, that they gav to a man, who excelled in his profeſſion, was t ſay, he was a Roſcius in his way.

Cic. de Orat. l. 1. n. 124.

Cicero, after having ſaid that an orator, whe he grows old, might ſoften his manner of ſpeaking, quotes, as a proof and example of it, wh Roſcius declared, that, when he perceived himſe grow old, he obliged the inſtruments to play in ſlower time: *Quanquam, quoniam multa ad orator ſimilitudinem ab uno Artifice ſumimus, ſolet idem Ro cius dicere, ſe, quo plus ſibi ætatis accederet, eo tibicin cantus & modos remiſſiores eſſe facturum.* Cicero a cordingly, in a later work than that I have no cited, makes Atticus ſay, that actor had abat his declamation, or manner of ſpeaking, by obli ing the player on the flute, that accompanied hin to keep a ſlower time with the ſounds of his i ſtrument: *Roſcius, familiaris tuus, in ſenectute num ros & cantus remiſerat, ipſaſque tardiores fecer tibias.*

De Orat. l. 1. n. 254.

Cic. de Leg. l. 1. n. 11.

It is evident, that the *ſinging* (for it was oft called ſo) of the dramatic pieces on the ſtages the antients had neither diviſions, recitative, co tinued quaverings, nor any of the characters of o muſical ſinging: in a word, that this ſinging w only declaiming or ſpeaking as with us. Th manner of utterance was, however, compoſed, it was ſuſtained by a continued baſe, of which t ſound was proportioned, in all appearance, to th made by a man who declaims or pronounces ſpeech.

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* Jam diu conſecutus eſt ut in quo quiſque artificio excelleret, is in ſuo genere Roſcius diceretur. *De Orat.* l. 1. n. 130.

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This may ſeem to us an abſurd and almoſt inredible practice, but is not therefore the leſs cerain; and, in matter of fact, it is uſeleſs to object ny arguments. We can only ſpeak by conjecture pon the compoſition which the continued baſe night play, that accompanied the actor's pronuniation. Perhaps it only played from time to time ome long notes, which were heard at the paſſages, n which it was neceſſary for the actor to aſſume uch tones as it was not eaſy to hit with juſtneſs; nd thereby did the ſpeaker the ſame ſervice, as racchus received from the player upon the flute e always had near him, when he harangued, to ive him at proper times the tones concerted beween them.

SECT. II.

Geſture of the ſtage compoſed and ſet to muſic.

MUSIC did not only regulate the tone of voice in ſpeaking, but alſo the geſture of he ſpeaker. This art was called ὄρχησις by the reeks, and *Saltatio* by the Romans. Plato tells s, that this art conſiſted in the imitation of all he geſtures and motions men can make. Hence e muſt not confine the ſenſe of *Saltatio* to what ur language means by the word *dancing*. This rt, as the ſame author obſerves, was of great exent. It was deſigned not only to form the attitudes nd motions which add grace to action, or are neeſſary in certain artificial dances, attended with ariety of ſteps, but to direct the geſture, as well f the actors upon the ſtage, as the orators; and ven to teach that manner of geſticulation we ſhall oon treat on, which conveyed meaning without the elp of ſpeech.

Plat. de Leg. l. 7. p. 814.

Quintilian * adviſes the ſending of children, only for ſome time, to the ſchools where this art of *Saltation* was taught; but ſolely to acquire an eaſy ai and graceful action; and not to form themſelve upon the geſture of dancing-maſters, to which that of orators ſhould be extremely different. H obſerves, that this cuſtom was very antient, an had ſubſiſted to his times without any objection.

Macrobius, however, has preſerved a fragmen of a ſpeech of the younger Scipio Africanus wherein that deſtroyer of Carthage ſpeaks warml againſt this cuſtom. " Our youth, ſays he†, g " to the ſchools of the comedians to learn ‡ ſinging, an exerciſe, which our anceſtors conſidere " as unworthy of perſons of condition. Youn " perſons of both ſexes go thither without bluſh " ing, where they mingle with a crowd of th " moſt looſe and abandoned minſtrels." The authority of ſo wiſe a man as Scipio is of great weigh on this head, and well deſerves ſerious attention.

However it was, we find, that the antients too extraordinary pains to cultivate geſture, and bot comedians and orators were very careful in thi point. We have ſeen how induſtriouſly Demoſthenes applied himſelf to it. ‖ Roſcius ſometime diſputed with Cicero, who beſt expreſſed the ſam thought in ſeveral different manners, each in hi own art; Roſcius by geſture, and Cicero by ſpeech. Roſcius ſeems to have repeated that only by geſture, which Cicero firſt compoſed and uttered; after which judgment was given upon the ſucceſs of both. Cicero afterwards changed the words or turn of phraſe, without enervating the ſenſe of the diſcourſe; and Roſcius, in his turn, was to give the ſenſe by other geſtures, without injuring his firſt mute expreſſion by the change of manner.

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* Cujus etiam diſciplinæ uſus in noſtram uſque ætatem ſine reprehenſione deſcendit. A me autem autem non ultra pueriles ar nos retinebitur, nec in his ipſis diu. Neque enim geſtum orator componi ad ſimilitudinem ſaltatoris volo, ſed ſubeſſe aliquid ex ha exercitatione. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 11.

† Eunt in ludum hiſtrionum, diſcunt cantare quod majores noſt ingenuis probro duci voluerunt. Eunt, inquam, in ludum ſaltato tium inter Cinædos, virgines puerique ingenui. *Macrob. Saturna* l. 2. c. 8.

‡ *As comedians are ſpoken of here, by the word* cantare *we mu underſtand to ſpeak or declaim after the manner of the theatre.*

‖ Et certè ſatis conſtat contendere eum (Ciceronem) cum hiſtrion ſolitum, utrum ille ſæpius eandem ſententiam variis geſtibus eff ceret, an ipſe per eloquentiæ copiam ſermone diverſo pronunciare *Macrob. Saturn.* l. 2. c. 10.

SECT. III.

Pronunciation and geſture divided upon the ſtage between two actors.

WE ſhall be leſs ſupriſed at what I have ſaid concerning Roſcius, when we know, that the Romans often divided the theatrical Pronunciation between two actors, of whom the one pronounced, while the other made geſtures. This again is one of the things not eaſily conceived, ſo remote is it from our practice, and ſo extravagant therefore does it appear.

Livy tells us the occaſion for this cuſtom. Livius Andronicus *, a celebrated poet, who firſt gave Rome a regular dramatic piece, in the five hundred and fourteenth year of that city, about an hundred and twenty years after ſhews of that kind had been introduced there, acted himſelf in one of his own pieces. It was uſual at that time for the dramatic poets to mount the ſtage, and repreſent ſome character. The people, who took the liberty to cauſe the paſſage they liked to be repeated, by calling out *bis*, that is to ſay *encore*, made Andronicus repeat ſo long, that he grew hoarſe. Not being capable of pronouncing any longer, he prevailed upon the audience to let a ſlave, placed behind the performer upon the inſtruments, repeat the verſes, whilſt Andronicus made the ſame geſtures, as he had done in repeating them himſelf. It was obſerved, that his action was at that time much more animated than before, becauſe his whole faculties and attention were employed in the geſticulation, whilſt another had the care and trouble of pronouncing the words. From that time, continues Livy, aroſe the cuſtom of dividing the parts between two actors; and to pronounce, in a manner, to the cadence of the comedian's geſture. And this cuſtom has prevailed ſo much, that the comedians themſelves pronounce no longer any thing beſides the dialogue part. Valerius Maximus relates the ſame thing, which paſſages in many other authors confirm.

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* Livius—idem ſcilicet, quod omnes tunc erant ſuorum carminum, actor dicitur, cum ſæpius revocatus vocem obtudiſſet, veniâ petitâ puerùm ad canendum ante tibicinem cùm ſtatuiſſet, canticum egiſſe aliquanto magis viginti motu quia nihil vocis uſus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari hiſtrionibus cœptum, diverbiaque tantùm ipſorum voce relicta. *Liv.* l. 7. n. 2.

Is (Livius Andronicus) ſui operis actor, cum ſæpius a populo revocatus vocem obtudiſſet, adhibito pueri & tibicinis concentu, geſticulationem tacitus peregit. *Val. Max.* l. 2. c. 4.

It is therefore certain, that the pronunciation and geſture were often divided between two actors; and that it was by eſtabliſhed rules of muſic they regulated both the ſound of their voices, and the motion of their hands and whole body.

We ſhould be ſtruck with the ridicule there would be in two perſons upon our ſtage, of whom, one ſhould make geſtures without ſpeaking, whilſt the other repeated in a pathetic tone without motion. But we ſhould remember, in the firſt place, that the theatres of the antients were much more vaſt than ours; and in the ſecond place, that the actors played in maſks, and that in conſequence one could not diſtinguiſh ſenſibly, at a great diſtance, whether they ſpoke or were ſilent by the moving of the mouth, or the features of the face. They undoubtedly choſe a *ſinger* (I mean him who pronounced) whoſe voice came as near as poſſible to that of the comedian. This ſinger was placed in a kind of alcove, towards the bottom of the ſcene.

But in what manner could the rythmic muſic adapt itſelf to the ſame meaſure and cadence with the comedian that repeated, and him who made geſtures? This was one of thoſe things that, St. Auguſtin ſays, were known to all who mounted the ſtage, and for that reaſon he believed improper for him to explain. It is not eaſy to conceive what method the antients uſed to make both theſe players act in ſo perfect a concert, as ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from one: but the fact is certain. We know that the meaſure was beat upon the ſtage, which the actor who ſpoke, he who made geſtures, the chorus, and even the inſtruments, were to obſerve as their common rule. * Quintilian, after having ſaid, that geſture is as much ſubſervient to meaſure, as utterance itſelf, adds, that the actors, who geſticulate, ought to follow the ſigns given with the foot, that is to ſay, the time beat, with as much exactneſs, as thoſe who execute the modulations; by which he means the actors who pronounce, and the inſtruments that accompany them. Near the actor who repreſented, a man was placed with iron ſhoes, who ſtamped upon the ſtage. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that this man's buſineſs was to beat the time with his foot, the ſound of which was to be heard by all who were to obſerve it.

Lucian in Orcheſt. p. 951.

The extreme delicacy of the Romans (and as much may be ſaid of the Greeks) in whatever concerned the theatre, and the enormous expences they were at in repreſentations of this kind, give us reaſon to believe, that they carried all parts of them to a very great perfection; and in conſequence that the diſtribution of ſingle parts between two actors,

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* Atqui corporis motui ſua quædam tempora, & ad ſigna pedum non minus ſaltationi, quam modulationibus, adhibet ratio muſica numeros. *Quintil.*

of which one ſpoke, and the other made geſtures, had nothing in it, that was not highly agreeable to the ſpectators.

A comedian * at Rome, who made a geſture out of time, was no leſs hiſſed than one who was faulty in the pronunciation of a verſe. † The habit of being preſent at the public ſhews, had made even the common people ſo nice in their ear, that they knew how to object to inflexions, and the moſt minute faults in tone, when repeated too often; even though they were of a nature to pleaſe, when introduced ſparingly, and managed with art.

The immenſe ſums devoted by the antients to the celebration of ſhews are hardly credible. The repreſentation of three of Sophocles's tragedies coſt the Athenians more than the Peloponneſian war. What expences were the Romans at in building theatres and amphitheatres, and even in paying their actors? Æſopus, a celebrated actor of tragedy, Cicero's cotemporary, left at his death to the ſon, mentioned by Horace and Pliny as a famous ſpendthrift, an inheritance ‡ of two millions, five hundred thouſand livres, (about an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds) which he had amaſſed by acting. || Roſcius, Cicero's friend, had a ſalary of above ſeventy-five thouſand livres (about three thouſand five hundred pounds) a year, and muſt have had more, as he had § five hundred livres (about twenty-three pounds) a day out of the pub-

Hor. Sat. l. 2.
Plin. l. 10. c. 51.

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* Hiſtrio ſi paululum ſe moveat extra numerum, aut ſi verſus pronunciatus eſt ſyllaba una longior aut brevior, exſibilatur & exploditur. *Cic. in Farad.* 3.

† Quanto molliores ſunt & delicatiores in cantu flexiones & falſæ voculæ quam certæ & ſeveræ: quibus tamen non modo auſteri, ſed, ſi ſæpius fiant, multitudo ipſa reclamat. *Cic. de Orat.* l. 3. n. 98.

‡ Æſopum ex pari arte ducenties ſeſtertium reliquiſſe filio conſtat. *Macrob.* l. 2. c. 10.

|| Quippe cum jam apud majores noſtros Roſcius hiſtrio ſeſtertium quinquaginta millia annua meritaſſe prodatur. *Plin.* l. 7. c. 39.

§ Tanta fuit gratia, ut mercedem diurnam de publico mille denarios ſine gregalibus ſolus acceperit. *Macrob. Saturn.* l. 2. c. 10.

lic treaſury, of which he paid no part to his company. Julius Cæſar gave above ſixty thouſand livres (about two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds) to Laberius, to induce that poet to play a part in a piece of his own compoſing. Macrob. Saturn. l. 2. c. 7.

I have repeated theſe facts, and there are an infinity of a like nature, to ſhew the exceeding paſſion of the Romans for public ſhews. Now is it probable, that a people who ſpared nothing for theſe ſhews, who made them their principal employment, or at leaſt their moſt ſenſible pleaſure; who piqued themſelves upon the elevation and refinement of their taſte in every thing beſide; that this people, I ſay, whoſe delicacy could not ſuffer the leaſt word ill pronounced, the leaſt accent ill laid, or the leaſt improper geſture, ſhould admit this diſtribution of ſpeech and geſture between two actors, ſo long upon the ſtage, if it had offended ever ſo little the eye or ear? We may believe, without prejudice, that a theatre, ſo much eſteemed and frequented, had carried all things to a very high degree of perfection.

It was the muſic, that engroſſed almoſt all honour in dramatic repreſentations. It preſided in the compoſition of plays: for of old its empire extended ſo far, and was confounded with poeſy. It regulated the ſpeech and geſture of the actors. It was applied to form the voice, to unite it with the ſound of the inſtruments, and to compoſe a grateful harmony out of that union.

In antient Greece the poets themſelves compoſed the pronunciation for their pieces. *Muſici, qui erant quondam idem poetæ*, ſays Cicero, in ſpeaking of the antient Greek poets who invented the muſic and form of verſes. The art of compoſing declamation, or the pronunciation for dramatic performances, was a particular profeſſion at Rome. In the titles at the head of Terence's comedies, we find, with the name of the author of the poem, Cic. de Orat. l. 3. n. 174.

and that of the maſter of the company of comedians who acted it, his name alſo that had adapted the muſic to the words; in Latin, *Qui fecerat modos*.

Cicero uſes the ſame expreſſion, *facere modos*, to expreſs thoſe who compoſed the pronunciation of theatrical pieces. After having ſaid, that Roſcius purpoſely repeated ſome paſſages of his parts with a more negligent tone than the ſenſe of the verſes ſeemed to require, and threw ſhadowings into his geſture, to make what he intended to ſet off the ſtronger, he adds: "That the * ſucceſs of this con-"duct is ſo certain, that the poets, and thoſe who "compoſed the pronunciation, were ſenſible of it "as well as the comedians, and knew all of them "how to employ it with advantage." Theſe compoſers of pronunciation raiſed or depreſſed the tone with deſign, and artfully varied the manner of ſpeaking. A paſſage was ſometimes directed by the note, to be pronounced lower than the ſenſe ſeemed to require, but then it was, becauſe the elevation to which the actor's voice was to raiſe, at the diſtance of a verſe or two, might have the ſtronger effect.

SECT. IV.

Art of the Pantomimes.

TO conclude what relates to the muſic of the antients, it remains for me to ſpeak of the moſt ſingular and wonderful of all its operations, though neither the moſt uſeful nor the moſt laudable; this was the performance of the Pantomimes.

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* Neque id actores priùs viderunt, quam ipſi poetæ, quam denique illi etiam qui fecerunt modos, a quibus utriſque ſubmittitur aliquid, deinde augetur, extenuatur, inflatur, variatur, diſtinguitur. *Cic. de Orat.* l. 3. n. 1, 2.

The antients, not contented with having reduced, by the precepts of muſic, the art of geſture into method, had improved it to ſuch a degree, that there were comedians who ventured to undertake to act all ſorts of dramatic pieces, without ſpeaking a ſyllable. They called themſelves *Pantomimes*, becauſe they *imitated* and expreſſed *whatever* they had to ſay by geſtures, taught by the art of *Saltation* or dancing, without uſing the aid of ſpeech.

Suidas and Zozymus inform us, that the art of the Pantomimes made its firſt appearance at Rome, in the reign of Auguſtus; which made Lucian ſay, that Socrates had ſeen the art of *dancing* only in its cradle. Zozymus even reckons the invention of this art amongſt the cauſes of the corruption of the manners of the Roman people, and of the misfortunes of the empire. The two firſt introducers of this new art were Pylades and Bathyllus, whoſe names became afterwards very famous amongſt the Romans; the firſt ſucceeded beſt in tragic ſubjects, and the other in comic.

Suidas. Ἀθηνοδ. Zoz. l. 1. Lucian. de Orcheſt. p. 923.

What appears ſurpriſing is, that theſe comedians, who undertook to perform pieces without ſpeaking, could not aſſiſt their expreſſion with the motion of their faces; for they played in maſks as well as the other actors. They began, no doubt, at firſt by executing ſome well known ſcenes of tragedies and comedies, in order to be the more eaſily underſtood by the ſpectators, and by little and little became capable of repreſenting whole plays.

As they were not to repeat any thing, and had only geſtures to make, it is eaſily conceived, that all their expreſſion was more lively, and their action much more animated, than thoſe of the common comedians. Hence * Caſſiodorus calls the Pantomimes,

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* Orcheſtrarum loquaciſſimæ manus, linguoſi digiti ſilentium clamoſum, expoſitio tacita, quam muſa Polhymnia reperiſſe narratur, oſtendens homines poſſe ſine oris afflatu velle ſuum declarare. *Caſſiod. Var. Epiſt.* l. 4. *Epiſt.* 51.

tomimes, men whoſe learned hands, to uſe that expreſſion, had tongues at the end of each finger; who ſpoke in keeping ſilence, and who knew how to make an ample narration without opening their mouths: in fine, men whom Polhymnia, the muſe that preſided over muſic, had formed, in order to ſhew that ſhe could expreſs her ſenſe without the help of ſpeech.

Senec. in Controv. 2.

Lucian de Orcheſt. p. 948.

Ibid. 940.

These repreſentations, though mute, muſt have given a ſenſible pleaſure, and tranſported the ſpectators. Seneca the father, whoſe profeſſion was one of the graveſt and moſt honourable of his times, confeſſes, that his taſte for theſe Pantomimical repreſentations was a real paſſion. Lucian ſays, that people wept at them, as at the pieces of the ſpeaking comedians. He relates alſo, that ſome king in the neighbourhood of the Euxine ſea, who was at Rome in Nero's reign, demanded of that prince, with great earneſtneſs, a Pantomime, he had ſeen play, in order to make him his interpreter in all languages. "This man, ſaid he, will make all "the world underſtand him, whereas I am obliged "to pay a great number of interpreters for corre-"ſponding with my neighbours, who ſpeak ſeveral "languages entirely unknown to me."

Certain it is, that the Romans were ſo charmed with the art of the Pantomimes from its birth, that it ſoon paſſed into the remoteſt provinces, and ſubſiſted as long as the empire itſelf. The hiſtory of the Roman emperors more frequently mentions famous Patomimes than celebrated orators.

This art, as we have obſerved, began in the reign of Auguſtus. That prince was exceedingly delighted with it, and Mæcenas was in a manner inchanted with Bathyllus. * In the firſt year of Tiberius, the ſenate was obliged to make a regulation to prohibit the ſenators from entering the houſes

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* Ne domos Pantomimorum ſenator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum Equites Romani cingerent. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 1. c. 77.

of the Pantomimes, and the Roman knights from making up their train in the ſtreets. Some years after, there was a neceſſity for baniſhing the Pantomimes out of Rome. The extreme paſſion of the people for their repreſentations occaſioned the forming cabals for applauding one in preference to another, and theſe cabals became factions. They even took different liveries, in imitation of thoſe who drove the chariots in the races of the Circus. Some called themſelves the *Blues*, and others the *Greens*. The people were divided alſo on their ſide, and all the factions of the Circus, ſo frequenly mentioned in the Roman hiſtory, eſpouſed different companies of Pantomimes, which often occaſioned dangerous tumults in Rome.

Lucian de Orcheſt. l. 4. c. 14.

Caſſiod. Var. Epiſt. l. 1. Epiſt. 20.

The Pantomimes were again expelled Rome under Nero and ſome other emperors. But their baniſhment was of no great duration; becauſe the people could no longer be without them, and conjunctures happened, in which the ſovereign, who believed the favour of the multitude neceſſary to him, endeavoured to pleaſe them by ſuch means as were in his power. Domitian had expelled them, and Nerva his ſucceſſor recalled them, though one of the wiſeſt emperors Rome ever had. Sometimes the people themſelves, tired with the unhappy effects of the cabals of the Pantomimes, demanded their expulſion with as much warmth as they had done their being recalled upon other occaſions. *Neque a te minore concentu ut tolleres Pantomimos, quam a patre tuo ut reſtitueret, exactum eſt*, ſays Pliny the younger, in ſpeaking to Trajan. There are evils and diſorders, which can only be prevented in their birth, and which, if time be allowed them to take root and gain credit, aſſume the upper hand, and become too ſtrong for all remedies.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS, &c.

OF THE ART MILITARY.

HITHERTO we have ſeen man eſtabliſhed by the means of the arts in the enjoyment of all the conveniencies of life. The earth, cultivated by his care and labour, has ſupplied him, in return, with abundant riches of every kind. Commerce has brought him, from the moſt remote countries, whatever their inhabitants could ſpare: it has carried him down into the bowels of the earth, and to the bottom of the ſea, not only to inrich and adorn him, but to ſupply himſelf with an infinity of helps and inſtruments neceſſary in his daily occaſions. After having built himſelf houſes, ſculpture and painting have done their utmoſt in emulation of each other to adorn his abode; and, that nothing might be wanting to his ſatisfaction and delight, muſic has come in, to fill up his moments of leiſure with grateful concerts, which reſt and refreſh him after his labours, and make him forget all his pains, and all his afflictions, if he has any. What more can he deſire? Happy, if he could not be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of advantages, that have coſt him ſo much. But the rapacious appetites, the avarice and ambition of mankind, interrupt this general felicity, and render man the enemy of man. Injuſtice arms herſelf with force, to inrich herſelf with the ſpoils of her brethren. He, who, moderate in his deſires, confines himſelf within the bounds of what he poſſeſſes, and ſhould not oppoſe force with force, would ſoon become the prey of others. He would have cauſe to fear, that jealous neighbours, and enemy ſtates, would come to diſturb his tranquillity, to ravage his lands, burn his houſes, carry away his riches, and lead himſelf into captivity. He has therefore occaſion for arms and troops, to defend him againſt violence, and aſcertain his ſafety. At firſt we behold him employed in whatever the ſciences have o moſt exalted and ſublime: but, * at the firſt noiſ of arms, thoſe ſciences, born and nurtured in repoſe, and enemies of tumult, are ſeized with terror reduced to ſilence, unleſs the art of war takes them under her protection, and places her ſafeguard over them, which can alone ſecure the public tranquillity. † Thus war becomes neceſſary to man, a the protectreſs of peace and repoſe, and ſolely employed to repel violence and defend juſtice; and i is in this light I believe it allowable for me to trea of it. I ſhall run over, as briefly as poſſible, al the parts of military knowledge, which, properl ſpeaking, is the ſcience of princes and kings, an requires, for ſucceeding in it, almoſt innumerabl talents, which are very rarely to be found unite in the ſame perſon.

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* Omnia hæc noſtra præclara ſtudia——latent in tutela ac preſ dio bellicæ virtutis. Simul atque increpuit ſuſpicio tumultûs, ârt illico noſtræ conticeſcunt. *Cic. pro Mur.* n. 21.

† Suſcipienda bella ſunt ob eam cauſam ut ſine injuria in pa vivatur. *Cic.* l. 1. *de Offic.* n. 35.

As I have elſewhere treated on what relates to the military affairs of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Aſſyrians, and Perſians, I ſhall ſpeak the more ſparingly of them in this place. I ſhall be more extenſive upon the Greeks, and principally the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, which, of all the Grecian ſtates, indiſputably diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt by their valour and military knowledge. I was long in doubt whether I ſhould ſpeak alſo of the Romans, who ſeem foreign to my ſubject. But, upon mature conſideration, I thought it neceſſary to join them with other nations, that the reader, at one view, might know, at leaſt in ſome meaſure, the manner in which the antients made war. This is the ſole end I propoſe to myſelf in this little treatiſe, without intending any thing further. I have not forgot what happened to a philoſopher of Epheſus, who paſſed for the fineſt ſpeaker of his times. In an harangue, which he pronounced before Hannibal, he took upon him to treat at large on the duties of a good general. The orator was applauded by the whole audience. Hannibal, being preſſed to give his opinion of him, replied, with the freedom of a ſoldier, that he had never heard a more contemptible diſcourſe. I ſhould apprehend incurring a like cenſure, if, after having paſſed my whole life in the ſtudy of polite learning, I ſhould pretend to give leſſons upon the art military to thoſe who make it their profeſſion.

CHAP.

CHAPTER I.

THIS firſt chapter contains what relates to the undertaking and declaring of war, the choice of the general and officers, the raiſing of troops, their proviſions, pay, arms, march, incampment, and all that relates to battles.

ARTICLE I.

Undertaking and declaration of war.

SECT. I.

Undertaking of war.

THERE is no principle more generally received, than that which lays down, that war ought never to be undertaken except for juſt and lawful reaſons; nor hardly any one more generally violated. It is agreed, that wars *, undertaken ſolely from views of intereſt or ambition, are real robberies. The pirate's anſwer to Alexander the Great, ſo well known in hiſtory, was exceedingly juſt and ſenſible. And had not the Scythians good reaſon to aſk that ravager of provinces †, wherefore he came ſo far to diſturb the tranquillity of nations, who had never done him wrong; and whether it was a crime in them to be ignorant in their woods and deſarts, remote from the reſt of mankind, who and of what country Alexander was? When Philip*, Juſtin. l. 8. c. 3. choſen arbiter between two kings of Thrace that were brothers, expelled them both from their dominions, did he deſerve a better name than that of thief and robber? His other conqueſts, though leſs flagrant crimes, were ſtill but robberies, becauſe founded upon injuſtice, and no means of conquering ſeemed infamous to him: *Nulla apud* Id. Juſtin. *eum turpis ratio vincendi.* The juſtice and neceſſity of wars ought therefore to be conſidered as fundamental principles in point of policy and government.

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* Inferre bella finitimis—ac populos ſibi non moleſtos ſola regni cupiditate conterere & ſubdere, quid aliud quam grande ltrocinium nominandum eſt? *S. Aug. de Civ. D.* l. 4. c. 6.

† Quid nobis tecum eſt? Nunquam terram tuam attigimus. Qui ſis, unde venias, licetne ignorare in vaſtis ſylvis viventibus? *Q. Curt.* l. 7. c. 8.

In monarchical ſtates, generally, the prince only has power to undertake a war: which is one of the reaſons that renders his office ſo much to be feared. For, if he has the misfortune to enter into it without a juſt and neceſſary cauſe, he is anſwerable for all the crimes committed in it, for all the fatal effects attending it, for all the ravages inſeparable from it, and and all the human blood ſhed in it. Who can look without trembling upon ſuch an object, and an account of ſo dreadful a nature?

Princes have councils, which may be of great aſſiſtance to them, if they take care to fill them up with wiſe, able, and experienced perſons; ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed by their love and zeal for the good of their country, void of ambition views of intereſt, and above all infinitely remote from all diſguiſe and flattery. When Darius propoſed to his Herod. l. 4. c. 83. council the carrying of the war into Scythia, Artabanus his brother endeavoured at firſt in vain to diſſuade him from ſo unjuſt and unreaſonable a deſign: his reaſons, ſolid as they were, were forced to give way to the enormous praiſes and exceſſive flattery

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* Philippus, more ingenii ſui, ad judicium veluti ad bellum, inopinantibus fratribus, inſtructo exercitu ſupervenit; & regno utrumque, non judicis more, ſed fraude LATRONIS ac ſcelere, ſpoliavit.

of

Herod. l. 7. c. 18.

of the courtiers. He ſucceeded no better in the counſel he gave his nephew Xerxes, not to attack the Greeks. As the latter had ſtrongly expreſſed his own inclination, an eſſential fault in ſuch conjunctures, he was far from being oppoſed, and the deliberation was no more than mere form. On both occaſions, the wiſe prince, who had ſpoken his ſentiments freely, was grieved to ſee, that neither of the two kings comprehended, * *how great a misfortune it is to be accuſtomed to ſet no bounds to one's deſires, never to be contented with what we poſſeſs, and always to be ſollicitous for enlarging it:* which is the cauſe of almoſt all wars.

In the Grecian republics, the aſſembly of the people decided finally with regard to war, which method was ſubject to great inconveniencies. At Sparta indeed, the authority of the ſenate, and eſpecially of the Ephori, as well as at Athens that of the Areopagus and council of four hundred, to whom the preparing of the public affairs belonged, ſerved as a kind of balance to the levity and imprudence of the people: but this remedy had not always its effect. The Athenians are reproached with two very oppoſite faults, the being either too precipitate or too ſlow. Againſt the former a law had been made, by which it was ordained, that war ſhould not be reſolved till after a mature deliberation of three days. And in the wars againſ Philip we have ſeen, how much Demoſthenes complained of the indolence of the Athenians, of whic their enemy well knew how to make his advantage This ſlowneſs, in republics, ariſes from this cauſe unleſs the danger be evident, private perſons ar too much divided about their different views an intereſts, to unite ſpeedily in the ſame reſolution Thus, when Philip had taken Elatæa, the Athenia orator, terrified with the urgent danger of the re

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* Ὡς κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζεσθαι αἰεὶ ἔχε τοῦ παρεόντος.

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public, cauſed the law I have mentioned to be repealed, and the war to be reſolved on that inſtant.

The public affairs were examined and determined with much more maturity and wiſdom amongſt the Romans, though the people with them alſo had the deciſion. But the ſenate's authority was great, and almoſt always prevailed in important caſes. That wiſe body were very attentive, eſpecially in the earlieſt times of the republic, to have juſtice on their ſide in their wars. This reputation, for faith in treaties, equity, juſtice, moderation, and diſintereſtedneſs, was of no leſs ſervice than the force of arms, in aggrandizing the Roman republic; the power of which was attributed * to the protection of the gods, who rewards juſtice and public faith in that manner. It is obſerved † with admiration, that the Romans, in all times, conſtantly made religion the baſis of their enterpriſes, and referred the motive and end of them to the gods.

The moſt powerful reaſon the generals could uſe to animate the troops to fight well, was to repreſent to them, that the war they made was juſt; and that, as only neceſſity had put their arms into their hands, they might aſſuredly rely upon the protection of the gods: whereas thoſe gods, the enemies and avengers of injuſtice, never failed to declare againſt ſuch as undertook unjuſt wars, in violation of the faith of treaties.

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* Favere pietati fideique deos, per quæ populus Romanus ad tantum faſtigii pervenerit. *Liv.* l. 44. n. 1.

† Majores veſtri omnium magnarum rerum & principia exorſi ab diis ſunt, & finem eum ſtatuerunt. *Liv.* l. 45, n. 39.

SECT. II.

Declaration of war.

ONE effect of the principles of equity and juſtice, which I have now laid down, was never actually to commence hoſtilities, before the public heralds had ſignified to the enemy the grievances they had to alledge againſt them, and they had been exhorted to redreſs the wrongs declared to have been received. It is agreeable to the law of nature to try methods of amity and accommodation, before proceeding to open rupture. War is the laſt of remedies, and all others ſhould be endeavoured before that is undertaken. Humanity requires, that room be given for reflection and repentance, and time left to clear up ſuch doubts, and remove ſuch ſuſpicions, as meaſures of an ambiguous nature may give birth to, and which are often found to be groundleſs upon a nearer examination.

This cuſtom was generally obſerved from the earlieſt ages amongſt the Greeks. * Polynices, before he beſieged Thebes, ſent Tydeus to his brother Eteocles to propoſe an accommodation. And it
Iliad. l. 2. n. 205. appears from Homer, that the Greeks deputed Ulyſſes and Menelaus to the Trojans, to ſummon them to reſtore Helen, before they had committed any act of hoſtility; and Herodotus tells us the
Lib. 2. c. 112, &c. ſame thing. We find a multitude of the like examples throughout the hiſtory of the Greeks.

It is true, that an almoſt certain means of gaining great advantages over enemies is to fall on them at unawares, and to attack them ſuddenly, without having ſuffered them to diſcover our deſigns, or giving them time to put themſelves into a ſtate of defence. But theſe unforeſeen incurſions, without any previous denunciation, were properly deemed unjuſt enterpriſes; and vicious in their principle. It was this, as Polybius remarks, that had ſo much diſcredited the Ætolians, and had rendered them as odious as thieves and robbers; becauſe having no rule but their intereſt, they knew no laws either of war or peace, and every means of inriching and aggrandizing themſelves appeared legitimate to them, without troubling themſelves, whether it were contrary to the law of nations to attack neighbours by ſurpriſe, who had done them no wrong, and who believed themſelves ſafe in virtue, and under the protection of treaties.

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* Potior cunctis ſedit ſententia, fratris
Prætentare fidem, tutoſque in regna precando
Explorare aditus. Audax ea munera Tydeus
Sponte ſubit *Stat. Theb.* lib. 11.

Polyb. l. 4. p. 331.

The Romans were more exact than the Greeks in obſerving this ceremony of declaring war, which was eſtabliſhed by Ancus Martius, the fourth of their kings. The public officer (called *Fecialis)* having his head covered with linen, went to the frontiers of the people againſt whom preparations of war were making; and as ſoon as he arrived there, he declared aloud the grievances of the Roman people, and the ſatisfaction he demanded for the wrongs which had been done them; calling Jupiter to witneſs in theſe terms, which include an horrible imprecation againſt himſelf, and a ſtill greater againſt the people, of whom he was no more than the voice: *Great God, if I come hither to demand ſatisfaction in the name of the Roman people, contrary to equity and juſtice, never ſuffer me to behold my native country again.* He repeated the ſame thing, changing only ſome of the terms, to the firſt perſon he met; and afterwards at the entrance of the city, and in the public market-place. If at the expiration of thirty days ſatisfaction were not made, the ſame officer returned to the ſame people, and pronounced publicly theſe words: *Attend, oh Jupiter,*

Liv. l. 1. n. 32.

Juno, and Quirinus; and you celeſtial, terreſtrial, and infernal gods, attend. I call you to witneſs, that ſuch a people* (naming them) *are unjuſt, and refuſes to make us ſatisfaction. We ſhall conſult at Rome, in the ſenate, upon the means of obliging them to do us that juſtice which is our due.* Upon the return of the Fecialis to Rome, the affair was brought into deliberation, and, if the majority of voices were for the war, the ſame officer went back to the frontier of the ſame people, and in the preſence of at leaſt three perſons, pronounced a certain form of declaration of war; after which he threw a ſpear upon the enemy's lands, which implied that the war was declared.

This ceremony was long retained by the Romans. When war was to be declared againſt Philip and Antiochus, they conſulted the Feciales, to know, whether it was to be denounced to themſelves in perſon, or it ſufficed to declare it in the firſt place ſubject to thoſe princes. In the glorious times of the † republic, they would have thought it a diſgrace to them to have acted by ſtealth, and to have committed breach of faith, or even uſed artifice. They proceeded openly, and left thoſe little frauds and unworthy ſtratagems to the Carthaginians, and people like them, with whom it was more glorious to deceive, than conquer an enemy with ope force.

The heralds at arms, and Feciales, were in grea veneration amongſt the antients, and were conſidered as ſacred and inviolable perſons. This declaration was a part of the law of nations, an was held neceſſary and indiſpenſable. It was no preceded by certain public writings, now calle

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* *So Romulus was called.*

† Veteres & moris antiqui memores negabant ſe in ea legation Romanas artes agnoſcere. Non per inſidias & nocturna prælia— nec ut magis aſtu quam vera virtute gloriarentur, bella majore geſſiſſe. Inducere priuſquam gerere ſolitos bella, denunciare etia — Hæc Romana eſſe, non verſutiarum Punicarum, neque calliditati Græcæ, apud quos fallere hoſtem, quam vi ſuperare, glorioſius fuerit. *Liv.* l. 42. n. 47.

Manifeſtes

Manifeſtoes, which contain the pretenſions, well or ill founded, of the one or the other party, and the reaſons by which they ſupport them. Theſe have been ſubſtituted in the room of that auguſt and ſolemn ceremony, by which the antients introduced the divine Majeſty in delarations of war, as witneſs and avenger of the injuſtice of thoſe who undertook wars without reaſon and neceſſity. Motives of policy have beſides rendered theſe manifeſtoes neceſſary, in the ſituation of the princes of Europe with regard to each other, united by blood, alliances and leagues offenſive or defenſive. Prudence requires the prince, who declares war againſt his enemy, to avoid drawing upon him the arms of all the allies of the power he attacks. It is to prevent this inconvenience manifeſtoes are made in theſe days, which ſupply the place of the antient ceremonies I have mentioned, and which ſometimes contain the reaſons for beginning the war, without declaring it.

I have ſpoken of pretenſions well or ill founded. For ſtates and princes, who war upon each other, do not fail to juſtify their proceedings with ſpecious pretexts on both ſides; and they might expreſs themſelves, as a prætor of the Latins did in an Liv. l. 8. n. 4. aſſembly, wherein it was deliberated how to anſwer the Romans, who, upon the ſuſpicion of a revolt, had cited the magiſtrates of Latium before them. "In my opinion, gentlemen, ſays he, in the preſent conjuncture, we ought to be leſs concerned about what we have to ſay, than what we have to do: for, when we have acted with vigour, and duly concerted our meaſures, there will be no difficulty in adapting words to them." *Ad ſummam rerum noſtrarum magis pertinere arbitror, quid agendum nobis, quam quid loquendum ſit. Facile erit, explicatis conſiliis, accommodare rebus verba.*

ARTICLE II.

Choice of the generals and officers. Raiſing of troops.

SECT. I.

Choice of the generals and officers.

IT is a great advantage for kings to be abſolute maſters in the choice of the generals and officers of their armies; and the higheſt praiſe, which can be given them, is to ſay, that known reputation and ſolid merit are the ſole motives that determine them in it. And indeed can they have too much attention in making a choice, which in ſome meaſure equals a private perſon with his ſovereign, by inveſting him with the whole power, glory, and fortune of his dominions? It is principally by this characteriſtic princes capable of governing are known; and it is to the ſame they have been always indebted for the ſucceſs of their arms. We do not find, that the great Cyrus, Philip, or his ſon Alexander, ever confided their troops to generals without merit and experience. The caſe was not the ſame under the ſucceſſors of Cyrus and Alexander, with whom intrigue, cabal, and the credit of a favourite uſually preſided in this choice, and almoſt always excluded the beſt ſubjects. Hence the ſucceſs of their wars was anſwerable to ſuch a manner of commencing them. I have no occaſion to cite examples to prove this: hiſtory abounds with them.

Her. l. 5. c. 75. I proceed to republics. At Sparta the two kings, in virtue of their rank only, had the right and poſſeſſion of the command, and in the earlier times marched together at the head of the army: but a diviſion, that happened between Cleomenes and Demaratus, occaſioned the making of a law, which ordained, that only one of the kings ſhould command the troops; and this was afterwards obſerved, except in extraordinary caſes. The Lacedæmonians were not ignorant, that authority is weak when divided; that two generals ſeldom agree long; that great enterpriſes can hardly ſucceed, unleſs under the conduct of a ſingle man; and that nothing is more fatal to an army, than a divided command.

This inconvenience muſt have been much greater at Athens, where, by the conſtitution of the ſtate itſelf, ten perſons were always to command; becauſe, Athens being compoſed of ten tribes, each furniſhed their own chief, who commanded their day ſucceſſively. Beſides which, they were choſen by the people, and that every year. This occaſioned a ſmart ſaying of Philip's, that he admired the good fortune of the Athenians, who could find in a ſet time, every year, ten captains; whereas, during his whole reign, it had ſcarce been in his power to find * one.

The Athenians, however, eſpecially at critical conjunctures, muſt have been attentive in appointing citizens of real merit for their generals. From Miltiades to Demetrius Phaleræus, that is to ſay, during almoſt two hundred years, a conſiderable number of great men were placed by Athens at the head of her armies, who raiſed their country's glory to the moſt exalted height. In thoſe times all jealouſy was baniſhed, and the public good the the ſole motive of power. There is a fine example of this in the war of Darius againſt the Greeks. The danger was exceeding great. The Athenians were alone againſt an innumerable army. Of the ten

Herod. c. 10 110.

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* *This was Parmenio.*

ten generals, five were for fighting, and five for retreating. Miltiades, who was at the head of the former, having gained the Polemarch on his ſide, (which officer had a deciſive voice in the council of war in caſe of diviſion) it was reſolved to fight. All the generals, acknowledging the ſuperiority of Miltiades to themſelves, when the day came, reſigned the command to him. It was at this time the celebrated battle of Marathon was fought.

It ſometimes happened that the people, ſuffering themſelves to be ſwayed by their orators, and following their caprice in every thing, conferred the command upon perſons unworthy of it. We may remember the abſolute credit of the famous Cleon with the multitude, who was appointed to command in the firſt years of the Peloponneſian war, though a turbulent, hot-headed, violent man, without ability or merit. But theſe examples were rare, and not frequently repeated at Athens till the later times, when they proved one of the principal cauſes of its ruin.

Diog. Laert. in Antiſth. p. 369.

The philoſopher Antiſthenes made the Athenians ſenſible, one day, in a pleaſant and facetious manner, of the abuſes committed amongſt them in the promotions to the public offices. He propoſed to them, with a ſerious air, in a full aſſembly, that it ſhould be ordained by a decree, that for the future the aſſes ſhould be employed in tillage as well as the horſes and oxen. When he was anſwered, that the aſſes were not intended by nature for that labour: *You are deceived*, ſaid he, *that ſignifies nothing: Don't you ſee that our citizens, though ever ſo much aſſes and ſots before, become immediately able generals, ſolely from your election of them.*

At Rome, the people alſo elected the generals, that is to ſay, the conſuls. They held their office only one year. They were ſometimes continued in the command under the names of proconſuls or proprætors. This[*] annual change of the generals was a great obſtacle to the advancement of affairs, the ſucceſs of which required an uninterrupted continuation. And this is the advantage of monarchical ſtates, in which the princes are abſolutely free, and diſpoſe all things at diſcretion, without being ſubject to any neceſſity. Whereas, amongſt the Romans, a conſul ſometimes arrived too late, or was recalled before the time for holding the aſſemblies. Whatever diligence he might uſe in his journey, before the command could be transferred to a ſucceſſor, and he was ſufficiently informed of the condition of the army, a knowledge indiſpenſably previous to all undertakings, a conſiderable ſpace of time muſt have elapſed, which made him loſe the occaſion of acting, and of attacking the enemy to advantage. Beſides which, he often found affairs, upon his arrival, in a bad condition, through his predeceſſor's ill conduct, and an army compoſed in part of new-raiſed and unexperienced troops, or corrupted by licence or want of diſcipline. Fabius[†] intimated part of theſe reflections to the Roman people, when he exhorted them to chuſe a conſul capable of oppoſing Hannibal.

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[*] Interrumpi tenorem rerum, in quibus peragendis continuatio ipſa efficaciſſima eſſet, minimè convenire. Inter traditionem imperii, novitatemque ſucceſſoris, quæ noſcendis prius quam agendis rebus imbuenda ſit, ſæpe bene gerendæ rei occaſiones intercidere. *Liv.* l. 41. n. 15.

Poſt tempus (conſules) ad bella ierunt: ante tempus comitiorum cauſa revocati ſunt: in ipſo conatu rerum circumegit ſe annus—— Male geſtis rebus alterius ſucceſſum eſt: tironem aut mala diſciplina inſtitutum exercitum acceperunt. At herculè Reges, non liberi ſolum impedimentis omnibus, ſed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt conſiliis cuncta, non ſequuntur. *Liv.* l. 9. n. 18.

[†] Cum, qui eſt ſummus in civitate dux, cum legerimus, tamen repentè lectus, in annum creatus adverſus veterem ac perpetuum imperatorem comparabitur, nullis neque temporis neque juris incluſum anguſtiis, quo minus ita omnia gerat adminiſtretque ut tempora poſtulabunt belli: nobis autem in apparatu ipſo, ac tantum inchoantibus res, annus circumagitur. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 8.

The ſhort term of one year, and the uncertainty of the command's being further prolonged, did indeed induce the generals to make the beſt uſe of their time: but it was often a reaſon for their putting a ſpeedier end to their enterpriſes, than they would otherwiſe have done, and upon leſs advantageous conditions, from the apprehenſion that a ſucceſſor might reap the fruit of their labours, and deprive them of the honour of having terminated the war glorioufly. A true zeal for the public good, and a perfectly diſintereſted greatneſs of ſoul, would have diſdained ſuch conſiderations. I am afraid there are very few examples of this kind. The great * Scipio himſelf, I mean the firſt, is reproached with this weakneſs, and with not having been inſenſible to this fear. A virtue of ſo pure and exalted a nature, as to neglect ſo ſenſible and ſo affecting an intereſt, ſeems above humanity: at leaſt it is very uncommon.

The authority of the conſuls confined, in point of time, within ſuch narrow bounds, was, it muſt be confeſſed, a great inconvenience. But the danger of infringing the public liberty, by continuing the ſame man longer in the command of all the forces of the ſtate, obliged them to overlook this inconvenience, from the apprehenſion of incurring a much greater.

The neceſſity of affairs, the diſtance of places, and other reaſons, at length reduced the Romans to continue their generals in the command of their armies for many years. But the inconvenience really enſued from it, which they had apprehended; for the generals, by that duration of their power, became their country's tyrants. Amongſt other examples I might cite Sylla, Marius, Pompey, and Cæſar.

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* Ipſum Scipionem expectatio ſucceſſoris, venturi ad paratam alterius labore ac periculo finiti belli famam, ſollicitabat. *Liv.* l. 30. n. 36.

The choice of the generals uſually turned upon their perſonal merit; and the citizens of Rome had at the ſame time a great advantage, and a powerful motive for acting in that manner. What facilitated this choice was the perfect knowledge they had of thoſe who aſpired at command, with whom they had ſerved many campaigns, whom they had ſeen in action, and whoſe genius, talents, ſucceſſes, and capacity for the higheſt employments, they had time to examine and compare by themſelves, and with their comrades. This * knowledge, which the Roman citizens had of thoſe who demanded the conſulſhip, generally determined their ſuffrages in favour of the officers, whoſe ability, valour, generoſity, and humanity, they had experienced in former campaigns: " He took care of me, ſaid they " when I was wounded; he gave me part of the " ſpoils; under his conduct we made ourſelves " maſters of the enemy's camp, and gained ſuch " a victory; he always ſhared in the pains and fa" tigue with the ſoldier; it is hard to ſay, whether " he is moſt fortunate or moſt valiant." Of what weight was ſuch diſcourſe!

The motive, which induced the Roman citizens to weigh and examine carefully the merit of the competitors, was the perſonal intereſt of the electors, the major part of whom, being to ſerve under them, were very attentive not to confide their lives, honour, and the ſafety of their country, to generals they did not eſteem, and from whom they did not expect good ſucceſs. It was the ſoldiers

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* Num tibi hæc parva adjumenta & ſubſidia conſulatus? voluntas militum? quæ cum per ſe valet multitudine, tum apud ſuos gratia: tum verò in conſule declarando multum etiam apud populum Romanum auctoritatis habet ſuffragatio militaris——Gravis eſt illa oratio: Me ſaucium recreavit; me præda donavit; hoc duce caſtra cepimus, ſigna contulimus; nunquam iſte plus militi laboris impoſuit, quam ſibi ſumpſit; ipſe cum fortis, tum etiam fælix. Hoc quanti putas eſſe ad famam hominum ac voluntatem? *Cic. pro Muræn.* n. 38.

themſelves, who in the *comitia* made choice of theſe generals. We ſee they knew them well, and find by experience, that they were ſeldom miſtaken. We obſerve even in our times, that when they go upon parties to plunder *(marauding)* they always chuſe, without partiality or favour, thoſe amongſt them that are moſt capable of commanding them. It was in this ſpirit Marius was choſen, againſt the will of his general Metellus; and Scipio Æmilianus preferred, through a like prejudice of the ſoldiers in his favour.

It muſt be owned, however, that the nomination of commanders was not always directed by public and ſuperior views; and that cabal, and addreſs to inſinuate into the people's opinion, to flatter, and ſooth their paſſions, had ſometimes a great ſhare in it. This was ſeen at Rome, in regard to Terentius Varro; and at Athens, in the inſtance of Cleon. The multitude is always the multitude, that is to ſay, fickle, inconſtant, capricious, and violent: but the people of Rome were leſs ſo than any. They
Liv. l. 10. n. 22. & 34. Id. l. 26. n. 22.
gave, upon many occaſions, examples of a moderation and wiſdom, not to be ſufficiently admired; ſubmitting themſelves, in the moſt laudable manner, to the opinion of the ſenate; forgetting nobly their prejudices, and even reſentment, in favour of the public good, and voluntarily renouncing the choice they had made of perſons incapable of ſuſtaining the weight of affairs, as it happened, when the conſulſhip was continued to Fabius, after the remonſtrance himſelf had made upon the incapacity of thoſe who had been elected: an odious proceeding in every other conjuncture, * but which, at

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* Tempus, ac neceſſitas belli ac diſcrimen ſummæ rerum faciebant ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret, aut ſuſpectum cupiditatis imperii conſulem haberet. Quin laudabant potius magnitudinem animi, quod, cum ſummo imperatore eſſe opus reip. ſciret, ſeque eum haud dubiè eſſe; minoris invidiam, ſi qua ex re oriretur, quam utilitatem reip. feciſſet. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 9.

that time, did Fabius great honour, becauſe the effect of his zeal for the republic, to the ſafety of which he was not afraid, in ſome meaſure, to ſacrifice his own reputation.

The armies of the Roman people conſiſted generally of four legions, of which each conſul commanded two. They were called the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſo on, according to the order in which they had been raiſed. Beſides the two legions commanded by each conſul, there was the ſame number of infantry, ſupplied by the allies. After all the people of Italy were aſſociated into the freedom of the city, that diſpoſition underwent many alterations. The four legions under the conſuls were not the whole force of Rome. There were other bodies of troops, commanded by prætors, proconſuls, &c.

When the conſuls were in the field together, their authority being equal, they commanded alternately, and had each their day, as it happened at the battle of Cannæ. One of them often, knowing his collegue's ſuperior ability, voluntarily reſigned his rights to him. Agrippa Furius * acted in this manner, in regard to the famous T. Quintius Capitolinus, who, in gratitude to his collegue's generoſity and noble behaviour, communicated all his deſigns to him, ſhared with him the honour of all the ſucceſſes, and made him his equal in every thing. On another occaſion †, the military tribunes,

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* In exercitu Romano cum duo conſules eſſent poteſtate pari; quod ſaluberrimum in adminiſtratione magnarum rerum eſt, ſumma imperii, concedente Agrippa, penes collegam erit; & prælatus ille facilitati ſummittentis ſe comiter reſpondebat, communicando conſilia laudeſque, & æquando imparem ſibi. *Liv.* l. 3. n. 70.

† Collegæ fateri regimen omnium rerum, ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat, in viro uno eſſe: ſibique deſtinatum in animo eſſe Camillo ſummittere imperium; nec quicquam de majeſtate ſua detractum credere, quod majeſtati ejus viri conceſſiſſet——Erecti gaudio fremunt, nec dictatore unquam opus fore reip. ſi tales viros in magiſtratu habeat, tam concordibus junctos animos, parere atque imperare juxtà paratos, laudemque conferentes potius in medium, quam ex communi ad ſe trahentes. *Liv.* l. 6. n. 6.

bunes, who had been ſubſtituted to the conſuls, and were at that time ſix in number, declared, that, in the preſent critical conjuncture, only one of them was worthy of the command, this was the great Camillus; and that they were reſolved to repoſe their whole authority in his hands; convinced, that the juſtice they rendered his merit could not but reflect the greateſt glory upon themſelves. So generous a conduct was attended with univerſal applauſe. Every body cried out, that they ſhould never have occaſion to have recourſe to the unlimited power of dictators, if the republic always had ſuch magiſtrates, ſo perfectly united amongſt themſelves, ſo equally ready either to obey or command; and who, ſo far from deſiring to engroſs all glory to themſelves, were contented to ſhare it in common with each other.

It was a great advantage to an army to have ſuch a general, as Livy deſcribes in the perſon of Cato, who was capable of deſcending to the leaſt particular *; who was alike attentive to little and great things; who foreſaw at a diſtance, and prepared every thing neceſſary to an army; who did not content himſelf with giving orders, but took care to ſee them executed in perſon; who was the firſt in ſetting the whole army the example of an exact and ſevere diſcipline; who diſputed ſobriety, watching, and fatigue, with the meaneſt ſoldier; and, in a word, who was diſtinguiſhed by nothing in the army, but the command, and the honours annexed to it.

After the nomination of conſuls and prætors, the tribunes were elected to the number of twenty-four,

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* In conſule ea vis animi atque ingenii fuit, ut omnia maxima minimaque per ſe adiret, atque ageret; nec cogitaret modò imperaretque quæ in rem eſſent, ſed pleraque per ſe ipſe tranſigeret; nec in quemquam omnium graviùs ſeveriúſque, quam in ſemetipſum imperium exerceret; parſimonia, & vigiliis, & labore cum ultimis militum certaret; nec quicquam in exercitu ſuo præcipui præter honorem atque imperium haberet. *Liv.* l. 34. n. 18.

ſix to each legion. Their duty was to ſee that the army obſerved diſcipline, obeyed orders, and did their duty. During the campaign, which was ſix months, they commanded ſucceſſively, two and two together, in the legion for two * months: they drew lots for the order in which they were to command. Polyb. l. 6. p. 466.

At firſt, the conſuls nominated theſe tribunes; and it was of great advantage to the ſervice, that the generals themſelves had the choice of their officers. In proceſs of time, † of the four and twenty tribunes, the people elected ſix; about the 393d year of Rome, and ‡ fifty years after, that is to ſay, in the 444th year of Rome, they choſe to the number of ſixteen. But, in important wars, they had ſometimes || the moderation and wiſdom to renounce that right, and to abandon the choice entirely to the prudence of the conſuls and prætors, as happened in the war againſt Perſeus king of Macedonia; of the effects of which Rome was in very great apprehenſion.

Of theſe twenty-four tribunes, fourteen muſt have ſerved at leaſt five years, and the reſt ten: a conduct of great wiſdom, and very proper to inſpire the troops with valour, from the eſteem and confidence it gave them for their officers. Care was alſo taken to diſtribute theſe tribunes in ſuch a manner, that in each legion the moſt experienced

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* Secundæ Legionis Fulvius Tribunus militum erat. *Is menſibus ſuis* dimiſit legionem. *Liv.* l. 40. n. 41.

† Cum placuiſſet eo anno tribunos militum ad legioges ſuffragio fieri (nam & antea, ſicut nunc quos Rufulos vocant, imperatores ipſi faciebant) ſecundum in ſex locis Manlius tenuit. *Liv.* l. 7.

‡ Duo imperia eo anno dari cœpta per populum, utraque ad rem militarem pertinentia. Unum, ut tribuni ſenideni in quatuor legiones a populo crearentur, quæ antea perquam paucis ſuffragio populi relictis locis, dictatorum & conſulum fuerunt beneficia. *Liv.* l. 9. n. 30.

|| Decretum ne tribuni militum eo anno ſuffragiis crearentur, ſed conſulum prætorumque in iis faciendis judicium arbitriumque eſſet. *Liv.* l. 42. n. 31.

were united with thoſe who were younger, in order to inſtruct and form them for commanding.

The Præfects of the allies, *præfecti ſociûm*, were in the allied troops what the tribunes were in the legions. They were choſen out of the Romans, as we may infer from theſe words of Livy, *Præfectos ſociûm, civeſque Romanos alios.* Which is confirmed by the names of thoſe we find appointed in the ſame author, *Lib.* 27. *n.* 26, *and* 41. *Lib.* 33. *n.* 36, &c. This practice, which left the Romans the honour, of commanding in chief amongſt the allies, and gave the latter only the quality of chief ſubaltern officers, was the effect of a wiſe policy, to hold the allies in dependance, and might contribute very much to the ſucceſs of enterpriſes, in making the ſame ſpirit and conduct actuate the whole army. Lib. 23. n. 7.

I have not ſpoken of the officers called *Legati*, lieutenants. They commanded in chief under the conſul, and received his orders, as the lieutenant-generals ſerve under a marſhal of France, or under the eldeſt lieutenant-general, who commands the army in chief. It appears that the conſuls choſe theſe lieutenants. Mention is made of this in the earlieſt times of the republic. In the battle of the Lake of Regillus, that is to ſay, in the 255th year of Rome, T. Herminius the lieutenant diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner. Fabius Maximus, ſo well known from his wiſe conduct againſt Hannibal, did not diſdain to be his ſon's lieutenant, who had been elected conſul. The latter, in that quality, was preceded by twelve lictors, who walked one after the other; part of their function was to cauſe due honour to be paid to the conſul. Fabius the father, upon his ſon's going to meet him, having paſſed the firſt eleven lictors, continuing on horſeback, the conſul ordered the twelfth to do his duty. That lictor immediately called Liv. l. 21. n. 20. Id. l. 24. n. 44.

called out to Fabius with a loud voice to diſmount. The venerable old man obeyed directly, and addreſſing himſelf to his ſon told him: *I had a mind to ſee, whether you knew that you were conſul.* It is well known that Scipio Africanus offered to ſerve as lieutenant under the conſul his brother, and thereby determined the ſenate to give the latter Greece for his province. Liv. l. 37. n. 1.

The reader has no doubt obſerved, in all that I have hitherto ſaid concerning the Romans, a ſpirit of underſtanding and conduct which evidently ſhews, that the great ſucceſs of their arms was not the effect of chance, but of the wiſdom and ability, which preſided over every part of their government.

SECT. II.

Raiſing of troops.

THE Lacedæmonians, properly ſpeaking, were a people of ſoldiers. They cultivated neither arts nor ſciences: They applied themſelves to neither commerce nor agriculture; leaving the care of their lands entirely to ſlaves, who were called *Helots.* All their laws, inſtitutions, education, in a word, the whole ſcheme of their government, tended to making them warriors. This had been the ſole view of their legiſlator, and it may be ſaid, that he ſucceeded perfectly well in it. Never were there better ſoldiers, more formed for the fatigues of war, more inured to military exerciſes, more accuſtomed to obedience and diſcipline, more full of courage and intrepidity, more ſenſible to honour, nor more devoted to glory, and the good of their country.

They were diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts: the one, who were properly called *Spartans,* inhabited the city of Sparta; the others, who were named only *Lacedæmonians*, reſided in the country. The former were the flower of the ſtate, and filled all offices. They were almoſt all of them capable of commanding in chief. The wonderful change, occaſioned only by one of them (Xanthippus) in the army of the Carthaginians, to whoſe aid he was ſent, has been related; and alſo in what manner Gylippus, another Spartan, ſaved Syracuſe. Such were the *three hundred*, who, with Leonidas at their head, repulſed, a great while, the innumerable army of the Perſians, at the ſtreights of Thermopylæ. Herod. l. 7. c. 34. The number of the Spartans, at that time, amounted to eight thouſand men, or ſomething more.

The age for carrying arms was from thirty to ſixty. The elder and younger were left at home to guard the city. They never armed their ſlaves but upon extreme neceſſity. At the battle of Platæa, the troops furniſhed by Sparta amounted to ten thouſand men, that is to ſay, five thouſand Lacedæmonians, and as many Spartans. Each of the latter had ſeven Helots to attend him, the number of which, in conſequence, amounted to thirty-five thouſand. Theſe were equipped as light-armed troops. The Lacedæmonians had very little cavalry, and naval affairs were then entirely unknown to them. It was not till very late, and contrary to the plan of Lycurgus, that they commenced a maritime power, nor were their fleets at any time very numerous.

Athens was much larger and better peopled than Sparta. In the time of Demetrius Phaleræus it was computed to have twenty thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſtrangers ſettled in the city, and forty thouſand ſlaves.

All the young Athenians were inrolled in a public regiſter at the age of eighteen, and at the ſame time took a ſolemn oath, by which they engaged to ſerve the republic, and to defend it to the utmoſt of their power upon all occaſions. They were bound by this oath to the age of ſixty. Each of the ten tribes, that formed the body of the ſtate, furniſhed a certain number of troops, according to the occaſion, either for the ſea or land ſervice: for the naval power of Athens became very conſiderable in proceſs of time. In Thucydides we ſee that the troops of the Athenians, in the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, were thirteen thouſand heavy-armed foot, ſixteen hundred archers, and very near as many horſe, which in all might amount to ſixteen thouſand men; without including ſixteen thouſand more, who remained to guard the city, citadel, and ports, either citizens under or over the military age, or ſtrangers ſettled among them. The fleet at that time conſiſted of three hundred galleys. I ſhall relate in the following article the order obſerved in them.

The troops both of Sparta and Athens were not numerous, but full of valour, well-diſciplined, intrepid, and, one might alſo ſay, invincible. They were not ſoldiers raiſed by chance, often without ſpirit or home, inſenſible to glory, indifferent to a ſucceſs little affecting them; who had nothing to loſe, who made war a mercenary traffic, and ſold their lives for a ſcanty means of ſubſiſting, their pay. They were the choſen troops of the two moſt warlike ſtates in the world; ſoldiers determined to conquer or die; who breathed nothing but war and battle; who had nothing in view but glory and the liberty of their country; who in action believed they ſaw their wives and children, whoſe ſafety depended on their arms and valour. Such were the troops raiſed in Greece, amongſt whom deſertion, and the puniſhment of deſerters, was never ſo much as mentioned; for could a ſoldier be tempted to renounce his family and country for ever?

As much may be ſaid of the Romans; of whom it remains for us to ſpeak. Amongſt them, the conſuls generally levied the troops: and, as new ones were nominated every year, ſo new levies were alſo made annually.

The age for entering into the army was ſeventeen years. * Only citizens were admitted to ſerve in it; and none were received under that age, but in extraordinary caſes and on preſſing occaſions. Once they were obliged to arm ſlaves: but firſt, which is very remarkable, they were ſeverally aſked, whether they entered themſelves freely and of their own accord; becauſe they did not think it proper to place any confidence in ſoldiers liſted by fraud or force. Sometimes they went ſo far as to arm thoſe who were confined in the priſons either for debt or crimes: but this was very ſeldom practiſed.

The Roman troops therefore were compoſed only of citizens. Thoſe among them who were poor *(proletarii, capite cenſi)* were not liſted. They were for having ſoldiers, whoſe fortunes might be anſwerable to the republic for their zeal in its defence. Moſt of theſe ſoldiers lived in the country, to take care of their eſtates themſelves, and to improve them with their own hands. Thoſe who dwelt at Rome had each of them their portion of land, which they cultivated in the ſame manner. So that the † whole youth of Rome were accuſtomed to * ſupport the rudeſt fatigues; to endure ſun, rain, and hail; to lie hard, and often in the midſt of the fields, and in the open air; to live ſoberly and wiſely, and to be contented with a little. They never knew pleaſures or luxury, had their members inured to all ſorts of labour, and, by their reſidence in the country, had contracted the habit of handling heavy inſtruments, digging of trenches, and carrying heavy burthens. Equally ſoldiers and labourers, theſe Romans in entering the ſervice only changed their arms and tools. The young people, who lived in the city, were not much more tenderly bred than the others. Their continual exerciſes in the field of Mars, their races on horſeback and on foot, always followed by the cuſtom of ſwimming the Tiber to waſh off their ſweat, was an excellent apprenticeſhip for the trade of war. Such ſoldiers muſt have been very intrepid. For the leſs men are acquainted with pleaſures, the leſs they fear death.

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* Delectu edicto, juniores annis ſeptemdecem, & quoſdam prætextatos ſcribunt—— Aliam formam novi delectus inopia liberorum capitum ac neceſſitas dedit. Octo millia juvenum validorum ex ſervitiis, prius ſciſcitantes ſingulos vellentne militare, empta publicè armaverunt. *Liv.* l. 32. n. 57.

† Sed ruſticorum maſcula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Verſare glebas, & ſeveræ
Matris ad arbitrium reciſos
Portare fuſtes. *Horat. Od,* 6. *lib.* 3.

Before they proceeded to levy troops, the conſuls gave the people notice of the day, upon which all the Romans, capable of bearing arms, were to aſſemble. The day being come, and the people aſſembled in the capitol, or the field of Mars, the military tribunes drew the tribes by lot, and called them out as they came up. They afterwards made their

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But ſoldiers of a ruſtic mould;
Rough, hardy, ſeaſon'd, manly, bold;
Either they dug the ſtubborn ground,
Or thro' hewn woods their weighty ſtrokes did ſound.
Roſcommon.

* Nunquam puto potuiſſe dubitari aptiorem armis ruſticam plebem quæ ſub dio & in labore nutritur; ſolis patiens; umbræ negligens; balnearum neſcia; deliciarum ignara; ſimplicis animi; parvo contenta; duratis ad omnem laborum tolerantiam membris; cui geſtare ferrum, foſſam ducere, onus ferre, conſuetudo de rure eſt——Idem bellator, idem agricola, genera tantum mutabat armorum——Sudorem curſu & campeſtri exercitio collectum nando juventus abluebat in Tyberi. Neſcio enim quomodo minùs mortem timet, qui minùs deliciarum novit in vita. *Veget. de re mil.* l. 1. c. 3.

choice of theſe citizens, taking them each in his rank, four by four, as near as poſſible, of equal ſtature, age, and ſtrength; and continued to do the ſame, till the four legions were complete.

After the troops were levied, every ſoldier took an oath to the conſul or tribunes. By this oath they engaged *to aſſemble at the conſul's order, and not to quit the ſervice without his permiſſion: to obey the orders of the officers, and to do their utmoſt to execute them; not to retire either through fear, or to fly from the enemy; and not to quit their rank.*

This was not a mere formality, nor a ceremony purely external, of no effect with regard to the conduct. It was a very ſerious act of religion, ſometimes attended with terrible imprecations, which made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the mind, was judged abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary, and without which the ſoldiers could not fight againſt the enemy. The Greeks as well as the Romans made their troops take this oath, or one to the ſame effect; and they founded their reaſon for it upon a great principle. They knew, that a private perſon of himſelf has no right over the lives of other men: that the prince or ſtate, who have received that power from God, put arms into his hands: that it is only in virtue of this power, with which he is inveſted by his oath, that he can draw his ſword againſt the enemy: and that, without this power, he makes himſelf guilty of all the blood he ſheds, and commits homicide as often as he kills an enemy.

The * conſul, who commanded in Macedonia againſt Perſeus, having diſmiſſed a legion in which the ſon of Cato the cenſor ſerved, that young officer, who had nothing in view but to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome action, did not withdraw with the legion, but remained in the camp. His father thereupon wrote immediately to the conſul, to deſire, if he thought fit to ſuffer his ſon to continue in the army, that he would make him take a new oath, becauſe * being diſcharged from the former, he had no longer any right to join in battle againſt the enemy. And he wrote to his ſon to the ſame effect, adviſing him not to fight till he had ſworn again. Cic. l. 1. de Offic. n. 36, 37.

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* *Manucius believes this to have been Paulus Æmilius.*

It was in conſequence of the ſame maxim, that Cyrus the great exceedingly applauded the action of an officer, who, having raiſed his arm to ſtrike an enemy, upon hearing the retreat ſounded, ſtopped ſhort, regarding that ſignal as an order to proceed no farther. What might not be expected from officers and ſoldiers ſo accuſtomed to obedience, and ſo full of reſpect for their general's orders, and the rules of diſcipline? Xenoph. in Cyrop.

The tribunes of the ſoldiers at Rome, after the oath, told the legions the day and place for the general rendezvous. When they were aſſembled at the time fixed, the youngeſt and pooreſt were made light-armed troops; the next in age *Haſtati*; the ſtrongeſt and moſt vigorous *Principes*; and the oldeſt ſoldiers *Triarii*.

Two legions were uſually given to each conſul. The number of ſoldiers to a legion was not always the ſame. At firſt they were not above three thouſand, but were afterwards augmented to four, five, ſix thouſand, and ſomething more. The moſt uſual number was four thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. Such it was in the time of Polybius, where I ſhall fix it.

The Legion was divided into three bodies, the *Haſtati*, the *Principes*, and the *Triarii*. The reader will be ſo good to excuſe me the uſe of theſe three words, having no others to expreſs their meaning.

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* Quia, priore amiſſo jure, cum hoſtibus pugnare non poterat. *Cic.*

The two firſt bodies conſiſted each of twelve hundred men, and the third of ſix hundred only.

The Haſtati formed the firſt line; the Principes the ſecond; and the Triarii the third. This laſt body was compoſed of the oldeſt and moſt experienced ſoldiers, and at the ſame time the braveſt in the army. The danger muſt have been very great and urgent before it reached this third line. From whence came the proverbial expreſſion, *Res ad Triarios rediit.*

Each of theſe three bodies were divided into ten parts or *Maniples*, conſiſting of ſixſcore in the Haſtati and Principes, and only of ſixty in the Triarii.

Each Maniple had two centuries or companies. Antiently and at its firſt inſtitution by Romulus, the century had an hundred men from which it took its name. But afterwards it conſiſted only of ſixty in the Haſtati and Principes, and thirty Triarii. The commanders of theſe centuries or companies were called *Centurions.* I ſhall ſoon explain the diſtinction of their ranks.

Beſides theſe three bodies, there were in each legion light-armed troops of different denominations, *Rorarii*, *Accenſi*; and in later times the *Velites*. They were alſo twelve hundred in number. They were not properly a diſtinct body, but diſpoſed into the three others, according to occaſion. Their arms were a ſword, a javelin, (*haſta*) a *parma*, that is a light ſhield. The youngeſt and moſt active ſoldiers were choſen for this body.

From the time of Julius Cæſar no mention is made of the diſtinct ranks of the Haſtati, Principes, and Triarii, though the army was almoſt always drawn up in three lines. The legion at that time was divided into ten parts, which were called *Cohortes.* Each cohort was a kind of legion abridged. It had ſix-ſcore Haſtati, ſix-ſcore Principes,

cipes, ſixty Triarii, and ſix-ſcore light-armed men, which made in all four hundred and twenty. That is preciſely the tenth part of a legion, conſiſting of four thouſand two hundred foot.

The Roman cavalry was not very numerous: three hundred horſe to above four thouſand foot. It was divided alſo into ten companies, *(Alas)* each conſiſting of thirty men.

The horſe were choſen out of the richeſt of the citizens; and in the diſtribution of the Roman people by centuries, of which Servius Tullius was the author, they compoſed the eighteen firſt centuries. They are the ſame who are afterwards mentioned in hiſtory under the name of Roman knights, and formed a third and middle order between the ſenate and people. The republic ſupplied them with horſes and ſubſiſtence. Liv. l. 1, n. 43.

Till the ſiege of Veii, there were no other cavalry in the Roman armies. At that time thoſe who were qualified by their eſtates, to be admitted into the horſe, but had not an horſe allowed them at the public expence, nor in conſequence the rank of knights, offered to ſerve in the cavalry, ſupplying themſelves with horſes. Their offer was accepted. Liv. l. 5, n. 7.

From thenceforth there were two * ſorts of cavalry in the Roman armies: the one, whom the public ſupplied with horſes, *equum publicum*; and theſe were the true Roman knights; the others, who furniſhed themſelves, and ſerved *equo ſuo*, had not the title or prerogatives of the knights.

But the horſe kept at the public expence was always the conſtitutive title of the Roman knight: and, when the cenſors degraded a Roman knight, it was by taking his horſe from him.

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* *This diſtinction is ſtrongly enough marked in Mago's diſcourſe to the ſenate of Carthage upon the gold rings:* Neminem niſi equitem, & eorum ipſorum primores, id inſigne gerere. *Liv.* l. 23, n. 12. *Theſe* primores equitum *are the true Roman knights*, qui merebant equo publico.

Beſides the citizens, who formed the legions, there were troops of the allies in the Roman army: theſe were ſtates of Italy, which the Romans had ſubjected, and had left the uſe of their laws and government, upon condition of ſupplying them with a certain number of troops. They furniſhed an equal number of infantry with the Romans, and generally twice as many horſe. Amongſt the allies, the beſt-made and braveſt both of the horſe and foot were choſen to be poſted about the conſul's perſon: theſe were called *Extraordinarii.* The third part of the horſe, and the fifth of the foot, were diſpoſed of in this manner; the reſt were placed, half on the right and half on the left wings, the Romans generally reſerving the centre to themſelves.

The Roman army, as we ſee from what has hitherto been ſaid, conſiſted ſolely of citizens and allies. It was not till [*] the ſixth year of the ſecond Punic war, that the Romans admitted mercenaries into their troops, which was ſeldom or ever done afterwards. Theſe were Celtiberians, who, as we find, compoſed the greateſt part of Cn. Scipio's army in Spain: An eſſential fault, which coſt him his life, and Rome almoſt the loſs of Spain, and perhaps the ruin of her empire. That example, as [†] Livy wiſely obſerves, ought to have taught Roman generals never to ſuffer a greater number of ſtrangers than of their own troops in their armies. It is well known, that the revolt of foreign troops more than once brought Carthage to the very brink of ruin. That republic had almoſt no other ſoldiers; which was the great defect of its militia.

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[*] Id ad memoriam inſigne eſt, quod mercenarium militem in caſtris neminem ante, quam tum Celtiberos, Romani habuerunt. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 49.

[†] Id quidem cavendum ſemper Romanis ducibus erit, exemplaque hæc vere pro documentis habenda, ne ita externis credant auxiliis non plus ſui roboris ſuarumque propriè virium in caſtris habeant. *Liv.* l. 25. n. 33.

Such a mixture of foreign and barbarous troops, and their ſuperiority in number, in the Roman armies, were one of the principal cauſes of the entire ruin of the Roman empire in the Weſt.

I return to the Centurions, whoſe different ranks I am to explain. I have ſaid that in each Maniple there were two centuries, and in conſequence two centurions. He who commanded the firſt century of the firſt Maniple of the Triarii, called alſo *Pilani*, was the moſt conſiderable of all the centurions, and had a place in the council of war with the conſul and principal office s: *Primipilus*, or *Primipili Centurio.* He was called *Primipilus prior*, to diſtinguiſh him from the centurion who commanded the ſecond century of the ſame Maniple, who was called *Primipilus poſterior.* And the the ſame was done in the other centuries. The centurion, who commanded the ſecond century of the ſame Maniple of the Triarii, was called *ſecundi pili Centurio*; and ſo on to the tenth, who was called *decimi pili Centurio.*

The ſame order was obſerved amongſt the Haſtati and Principes. The firſt centurion of the Principes was called *primus Princeps*, or *primi principis Centurio*; the ſecond *ſecundus Princeps*, and ſo on to the tenth. In this manner the Haſtati were called *primus Haſtatus*, *ſecundus Haſtatus*, &c.

The centurions were raiſed from an inferior to a ſuperior degree, not only by ſeniority, but merit.

This diſtinction of degrees and poſts of honour, which were only granted to bravery and real ſervice, excited an incredible emulation amongſt the troops, that kept them always in ſpirit and order. A private ſoldier became a centurion, and, afterwards riſing through all the different degrees, might at length arrive at the principal poſts. This view, this hope, ſupported them in the midſt of the moſt ſervice, ſevere fatigues, animated them, prevented them from committing faults, or taking diſtaſte to the ſervice, and prompted them to the moſt arduous and valiant actions. It is in this manner an invincible army is formed.

The officers were very warm in preſerving theſe diſtinctions and pre-eminences. I ſhall relate an inſtance of this very proper to the preſent ſubject, that is, the raiſing of troops; which does great honour to the Roman ſoldiery, and ſhews with what moderation and wiſdom their ſenſibility for glory was attended.

When the Roman people had reſolved upon the war againſt Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedonia, amongſt the other meaſures taken for the ſucceſs of it, the ſenate decreed, that the conſul, charged with that expedition, ſhould raiſe as many centurions and veteran ſoldiers, as he pleaſed, out of thoſe who did not exceed fifty years of age. Twenty-three centurions, who had been *Primipili*, refuſed to take arms, unleſs the ſame rank were granted them, which they had in the preceding campaigns. The affair was brought before the people. After Popilius, who had been conſul two years before, had pleaded the cauſe of the centurions, and the conſul his own, one of the centurions, who had appealed to the people, having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak, expreſſed himſelf to this effect:

Qui primos pilos duxerant.

“ I am called Sp. Liguſtinus, of the Cruſtumine tribe, deſcended from the Sabines. My father left me a ſmall field and a cottage, where I was born, brought up, and now live. As ſoon as I was of age to marry, * he gave me his brother's daughter for my wife: She brought

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* Pater mihi uxorem fratris ſui filiam dedit, quæ ſecum nihil attulit præter libertatem, pudicitiam, & cum his fœcunditatem, quanta vel in diti domo ſatis eſſet.

“ me no portion, but liberty, chaſtity, and a fruit-
“ fulneſs ſufficient for the richeſt houſes. We have
“ ſix ſons, and two daughters, both married. Of
“ my ſons four have taken the robe of manhood,
“ (*toga virilis*) the other two are ſtill infants. I
“ began to bear arms in the conſulſhip of P. Sul-
“ picius and C. Aurelius. I ſerved two years as a
“ private ſoldier in the army, in Macedonia,
“ againſt king Philip. The third year T. Quin-
“ tius Flaminius, to reward me for my ſervices,
“ made me * captain of a century in the firſt
“ Maniple of the Haſtati. I ſerved afterwards as
“ a voluntier in Spain, under Cato; and that ge-
“ neral, who is ſo excellent a judge of merit, made
“ me † firſt Maniple of the Haſtati. In the war
“ againſt the Ætolians and king Antiochus, I roſe
“ to the ſame rank among the Principes ||. I after-
“ wards made ſeveral campaigns, and in a very
“ few years have been § four times Primipilus; I
“ have been four and thirty times rewarded by the
“ generals, have received ſix Civic ** crowns, have
“ ſerved two and twenty campaigns, and am above
“ fifty years old. Though I had not compleated
“ the number of years required by the law, and
“ my age did not diſcharge me, ſubſtituting four
“ of my children in my place, I ſhould deſerve to
“ be exempt from the neceſſity of ſerving. But, by
“ all I have ſaid, I only intend to ſhew the juſtice
“ of my cauſe. For the reſt, as long as thoſe who
“ levy the troops ſhall judge me capable of bear-
“ ing arms, I ſhall not refuſe the ſervice. The
“ tribunes ſhall rank me as they pleaſe, that is

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* Decimum ordinem Haſtatum aſſignavit.

† Dignum judicavit, cui primum Haſtatum prioris centuriæ aſſignaret.

|| Mihi primus Princeps prioris centuriæ eſt aſſignatus.

§ Quater primum pilum duxi.

** *The crowns given for having ſaved the life of a citizen were called ſo.*

" their buſineſs: mine is ſo to act, that none be
" ranked above me for valour; as all the generals,
" under whom I have had the honour to ſerve,
" and all my comrades can witneſs for me, I have
" hitherto never failed to do. For you, centurions,
" notwithſtanding your appeal, as even, during
" your youth, you have never done any thing contrary
" to the authority of the magiſtrates and
" ſenate, in my opinion, it would become your
" age to ſhew yourſelves ſubmiſſive to the ſenate
" and conſuls, and to think every ſtation* honourable,
" that gives you opportunity to ſerve the republic."
When he had done ſpeaking, the conſul, after having given him the higheſt praiſes before the people, left the aſſembly, and carried the centurion with him into the ſenate. There he was publicly thanked in the name of that auguſt body, and the military tribunes, as a mark and reward of his valour and zeal, declared him Primipilus, that is, firſt officer of the firſt legion. The other centurions, renouncing their appeal, made no farther difficulty to enter into the ſervice.

Nothing gives us a juſter idea of the Roman character than facts of this kind. What a fund of good ſenſe, equity, nobleneſs, and even greatneſs of ſoul does this ſoldier expreſs! He ſpeaks of his antient poverty without ſhame, and of his glorious ſervices without vanity. He is not improperly tenacious of a falſe point of honour. He modeſtly defends his rights, and renounces them. He teaches all ages not to contend with their country, nor to make the public good give place to their private intereſt; and is ſo happy, as to bring over all thoſe in the ſame caſe, and aſſociated with himſelf, into his opinion. How powerful is example! The good diſpoſition of a ſingle perſon is ſometimes all that is neceſſary for reducing a multitude to reaſon.

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* Et omnia honeſta loca ducere, quibus remp. defenſuri ſitis.

ARTICLE III.

Preparations of war.

I Shall include in this article what relates to proviſions, the pay of ſoldiers, their arms, and ſome other cares neceſſary to be taken by generals before they begin to march.

SECT. I.

Of proviſions.

THE order obſerved by the Romans, in regard to proviſions, is better known to us than that of the Greeks: the quæſtor was charged with this care.

The quantity of corn for each ſoldier's daily ſubſiſtence was very near the ſame with both people; that is to ſay, a *chænix*, or the eighth part of a * Roman buſhel; ſix of which went to the Medimnus. The chænix was alſo the uſual daily allowance of a ſlave.

A Roman ſoldier therefore in the foot had four buſhels of wheat a month; which was called *menſtruum:* that is to ſay, thirty-two chænix's, which was ſomething more than a chænix *per* day. The foot ſoldier of the allies had as much.

The Roman Horſe ſoldier received two medimni of wheat, or twelve buſhels, a month, becauſe he had two domeſtics; which amounted to fourſcore and ſixteen chænix's, at the rate of ſomething more than a chænix *per* man daily. This horſeman had two horſes, one for himſelf, and the other to carry his baggage, &c. For theſe two horſes he received alſo, monthly, ſeven medimni of barley, which make two and forty buſhels, at the rate of one buſhel and a little more than three chænix's a day for two horſes.

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* *The Roman buſhel was about the ſize of the Engliſh, and contained three fourths and a little more of the French.*

It was neceſſary for one of theſe horſe troops to have a certain income, to ſupport the unavoidable expences he was at during the campaign. Hence it ſometimes happened that a citizen, though of a Patrician family, was obliged by his * poverty to ſerve in the foot.

The horſemen of the allies had a medimnus and one third *per* month; that is to ſay, eight buſhels of corn, becauſe he had only one horſe, and conſequently but one ſervant; and five medimni of barley for that horſe, which make thirty buſhels, at the rate of one buſhel a day.

The quantity of wheat for the officers augmented in proportion to their pay, of which we wall ſpeak in the ſequel.

The portion of corn was ſometimes doubled to the ſoldiers by way of honour and reward, as appears from ſeveral † paſſages in Livy.

The public ſtores of corn, of which the quæſtors, as I have ſaid, had the care, were carried either in ſhips, in waggons, or by beaſts of burthen: but the foot ſoldiers carried upon their ſhoulders the quantity of corn diſtributed to them for a certain time, which very much leſſened the number of carriages.

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* Magiſtrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium patriciæ gentis, ſed qui, cum ſtipendia pedibus propter paupertatem feciſſet, bello tamen primus longè Romanæ juventutis habitus eſſet. *Liv.* l. 3. n. 27.

† Milites, qui in præſidio fuerant duplici frumento in perpetuum in præſentia ſingulis bobus donati. *Lib.* 7.

Hiſpanis duplicia cibaria dari juſſit. *Lib.* 24.

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Four buſhels of wheat, which was the quantity of each ſoldier for a month, was[*] an heavy load, without reckoning all that he had carried beſides. It is certain[†] that they were ſometimes loaded with four buſhels: but this undoubtedly was on extraordinary occaſions, as upon a forced march, or a ſudden expedition in the enemy's country. It is highly probable that they generally carried corn only for twelve, fifteen, or twenty days at moſt; and this weight diminiſhed every day by the daily conſumption.

It may be aſked; why corn rather than bread was given to the troops. Perhaps this cuſtom had been transferred from the city into the camp; for in the city the public diſtributions were made in corn, not in bread. Beſides which, the weight of corn was lighter than that of bread. [‡] Pliny obſerves, that the weight of a buſhel of wheat in grain augments exactly one third, when made into ammunition bread. This is a conſiderable difference. But again, it is conceived to have been a very great trouble for the ſoldiers to make their own bread, to grind the corn, and afterwards to bake it. Though they were divided into meſſes or chambers, called Contubernia, this ſeems to us a conſiderable difficulty. To judge rightly of it, we muſt imagine ourſelves to live in the ſame times and countries with them, and conſider the cuſtoms which then prevailed. The Roman ſoldier, employed in grinding the corn and baking the bread, did no more in the camp, than he had done every day in the city in times of peace.

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[*] *The French buſhel of wheat weighs from nineteen to twenty pounds.*

[†] Conſul menſtruum juſſo milite ſecum ferre profectus, decimo poſt die, quam exercitum acceperat, caſtra movit. *Liv.* l. 44. n. 2.

Aquileenſes, nihil ſe ultra ſcire nec audere affirmare, quam triginta dierum frumentum militi datum. *Liv.* l. 44. n. 1.

[‡] Lex certè naturæ, ut in quocumque genere pani militari tertia portio ad grani pondus accedit. *Plin.* l. 18. c. 7.

His meal ſupplied him with I know not what variety of diſhes. Beſides the common bread, he made a kind of ſoft boiled food of it, very agreeable to the troops: he mingled it with milk, roots, and herbs; and made pancakes of it upon a ſmall plate laid over the fire, or upon the hot aſhes, as was antiently the manner of regaling gueſts, and is ſtill practiſed throughout the Eaſt, where theſe kind of thin cakes are much preferred to our beſt bread.

Upon certain occaſions bread was diſtributed amongſt the troops. Liv. l. 3. n. 27. When L. Quintius Cincinnatus was created dictator againſt the Æqui, he ordered all the youth capable of bearing arms to repair to the Campus Martius before ſunſet, with bread for five days, each of them with twelve paliſades. He commanded ſuch of the citizens as were of a more advanced age to bake bread for the young ones, whilſt they were employed in preparing their arms, and providing themſelves with ſtakes. This was chiefly done when they were to * embark, becauſe there was not ſo much convenience on board the veſſels for making bread, as on ſhore.

But generally the ſoldier ground his corn himſelf, either in little mills, which he carried along with him, or upon ſtones; after which he baked his bread, not in ovens, but upon a fire, or under the aſhes.

To the corn given the troops were added ſalt, herbs, and roots, cheeſe, and ſometimes bacon and pork.

Their drink was anſwerable to this diet. The army very ſeldom uſed wine. Plut. in Cat. p. 336. Cato the elder drank nothing but water, except in great heats, when he

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* Ut ſocii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent. *Liv.* l. 21. n. 49.

Cum triginta dierum coctis cibariis naves conſcenderunt. *Liv.* l. 23.

only mixed it with vinegar. The uſe of this drink was common in the armies: it was called *poſca.* Every ſoldier was obliged to have a bottle of it in his equipage. The emperor Peſcennius forbad the uſe of any other drink in his army: *Juſſit vinum in* Spartian. *expeditione neminem bibere, ſed aceto univerſos eſſe contentos.* The expreſſion, *univerſos*, ſeems to imply that this prohibition was univerſal, and extended to the officers as well as ſoldiers. This drink *(poſca)* was very good to quench the thirſt immediately, and to correct the badneſs of the water which they might meet with upon their march. Hippocrates ſays, that vinegar is refreſhing: ὀξος ψυκτικὸν: for which reaſon it was given to reapers, and thoſe Ruth ii. 14. who worked in the field. Ariſtotle tells us, that Oeconom. l. 1. c. 5. the Carthaginians, in time of war, abſtained from wine.

I have heard ſay, that nothing gives perſons in the army, who read the antient hiſtory, ſo much difficulty, as the article of proviſions; which difficulty is not without its foundation. We do not find, that either the Greeks or Romans had the precaution to provide magazines of forage, to lay up proviſions, to have a commiſſary general of ſtores, or to be followed by a great number of carriages. We are amazed at what is ſaid of the Herod. l. 7. c. 187. army of Xerxes king of Perſia, which amounted, including the train and baggage, to more than five millions of ſouls; and, for the ſubſiſtence of which, according to the computation of Herodotus, more than ſix hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat a day were requiſite. How was it poſſible to ſupply ſuch an army with ſo enormous a quantity of corn, and other neceſſaries in proportion?

We muſt remember, that the ſame Herodotus Ibid. c. 20. had taken care to apprize us, that Xerxes had employed himſelf, during four years, in making preparations for this war. A conſiderable number of ſhips, laden with corn and other proviſions, always coaſted near the land-army, and were perpetally relieved by others, by the means of which it wanted nothing; the paſſage from the Helleſpont to the Grecian ſea and the iſland of Salamis being very ſhort, and this expedition not of a year's continuance. But no conſequence ſhould be drawn from it, being extraordinary, and one may ſay the only example of the kind.

In the wars of the Greeks againſt each other, their troops were little numerous, and accuſtomed to a ſober life; they did not remove far from their own country, and almoſt always returned regularly every winter. So that it is plain, it was not difficult for them to have proviſions in abundance, eſpecially the Athenians, who were maſters at ſea.

As much may be ſaid of the Romans, with whom the care of proviſions was infinitely leſs weighty, than it is at preſent with moſt of the nations of Europe. Their armies were much leſs numerous, and they had a much ſmaller number of cavalry. A legion of four thouſand foot made a body (after our manner) of ſix or ſeven battalions; and, having only three hundred horſe, they formed but two ſquadrons: ſo that a conſular army, of about ſixteen thouſand foot, including the Romans and their allies, was compoſed of very near twenty-five of our battalions, and had but eight or nine of our ſquadrons. In theſe days, to twenty-five battalions, we have often more than forty ſquadrons. What a vaſt difference muſt this make in the conſumption of forage and proviſions!

They did not want four or five thouſand horſes for the train of artillery, with bakers and ovens, and a great number of covered waggons, each of four horſes.

Beſides this, the ſober manner of life in the army, confined to the mere neceſſaries of life, ſpared them an infinite multitude of ſervants, horſes, and baggage, which now exhauſt our magazines, ſtarve our armies, retard the execution of enterpriſes, and often render them impracticable. This was not the manner of living only of the ſoldiers, it was common to them with the officers and generals. Emperors themſelves, that is to ſay, the lords of the univerſe, Trajan, [*] Adrian, [†] Peſcennius, [‡] Alexander Severus, Probus, [||] Julian, and many others, not only lived without luxury, but contented themſelves with boiled flour or beans, a piece of cheeſe or bacon, and made it their glory to level themſelves, in this reſpect, with the meaneſt of the ſoldiers. It is eaſy to conceive of what weight ſuch examples were, and how much they contributed to diminiſh the train of an army, to ſupport the taſte of frugality and ſimplicity amongſt the troops, and baniſh all luxury and idle ſhew from the camp.

It is not without reaſon, that all the authors I have cited at bottom obſerve, that thoſe emperors affected to eat in public, and in the ſight of the whole army: *In propatulo*——*Ante papilionem*——*Apertis papilionibus*——*Sub columellis tabernaculi.* This ſight attracted, inſtructed, and conſoled the ſoldier, and ennobled his poor diet to him, in its reſemblance to that of his maſters: *Cunctis videntibus atque gaudentibus.*

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[*] Cibis etiam caſtrenſibus in propatulo libenter utebatur (Adrianus) hoc eſt lardo, caſeo, & poſca. *Spartian.*

[†] In omni expeditione (Peſcennius) militarem cibum ſumpſit ante papilionem. *Spartian.*

[‡] Apertis papilionibus (Alexander) prandit atque cœnavit, cum militarem cibum, cunctis videntibus atque gaudentibus, ſumeret. *Lamprid.*

[||] Et Imperatori (Juliano) non cupediæ ciborum regio more, ſed ſub columellis tabernaculi parciùs cœnaturo pultis portio parabatur exigua, etiam munifici faſtidienda gregario. *Ammian.* l. 25.

Let us compare an army of thirty thouſand men, compoſed of ſuch officers and ſoldiers as the Greeks and Romans had, robuſt, ſober, ſeaſoned, and inured to all ſorts of fatigues, with our armies of an hundred thouſand men, and the pompous train that follows them; is there a general of the leaſt ſenſe or underſtanding, that would not prefer the former? It is with ſuch troops the Greeks often checked the whole forces of the Eaſt, and the Romans conquered and ſubjected all other nations. When ſhall we return to ſo laudable a cuſtom? Will there not ſome general of an army ariſe of ſuperior rank and merit, and at the ſame time of a genius ſolid and ſenſible to true glory, who ſhall comprehend how much it is for his honour to ſhew himſelf liberal, generous, and magnificent in ſentiments and actions; to beſtow his money freely for animating the ſoldiers, or to aſſiſt the officers, whoſe income does not always ſuit their birth and merit; and to reduce himſelf in all other things, I do not ſay to that ſimplicity and poverty of the antient maſters of the world, (ſo ſublime a virtue is above our age's force of mind) but to an elegant and noble plainneſs, which, by the force of example, of great effect in thoſe that govern, may perhaps ſuggeſt the ſame to all our generals, and reform the bad and pernicious taſte of the nation?

The care of proviſions always has been, and ever will be, highly incumbent upon a good general. Cato's * maxim, *that the war feeds the war*, holds good in plentiful countries, and with regard to ſmall armies: that of the Greeks is more generally true, that *the war does not furniſh proviſions upon command, or at a fixed time.* They muſt be provided, both for the preſent and the future. One of the principal inſtructions Cambyſes king of Perſia gave his ſon Cyrus, who afterwards became ſo glorious, was, not to embark in any expedition, till he had firſt informed himſelf, whether ſubſiſtence were provided for the troops. Paulus Æmilius would not ſet out for Macedonia, till he had taken care of the tranſportation of proviſions. If Cambyſes and Darius had been as attentive in this point, they had not occaſioned the loſs of their armies, the firſt in Ethiopia, and the other in Scythia. That of Alexander had been famiſhed, if the counſel of Memnon, the moſt able general of his times, had been followed, which was to lay waſte a certain extent of country in Aſia minor, through which that prince was under the neceſſity of marching. Before the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal had not ten days proviſions: a delay of ſome weeks had reduced him to the laſt extremity. Cæſar, before that of Pharſalia, muſt have periſhed for want of proviſions, if Pompey would, or rather could, have waited ten or twelve days longer. Famine is an enemy, againſt whom the ability and valour of generals and ſoldiers can effect nothing, and whom the number of troops ſerves only to reinforce.

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* Bellum, inquit Cato, ſeipſum alet. *Liv.* l. 34. n. 9.

SECT. II.

Pay of the ſoldiers.

AMONGST the Greeks, the ſoldiers at firſt ſubſiſted themſelves in the field at their own expence. This was natural; becauſe they were the citizens themſelves united to defend their lands, lives, and families, and had a perſonal intereſt in the war.

The poverty, which Sparta long profeſſed, gives reaſon to believe, that they did not pay their troops. As long as the Spartans remained in Greece, the republic ſupplied them with proviſions for their public meals, and one habit yearly. Amongſt theſe proviſions there was ſome meat, and a particular officer had the diſtribution of it. We have ſeen Ageſilaus, to mortify Lyſander, who had filled the higheſt offices of the republic, give him this office, which was of no conſideration. The Spartans, during the war, contented themſelves with this allowance, adding to it ſome little plunder of the country for their better ſubſiſtence. After Lyſander had opened the way for gold and ſilver to re-enter Sparta, and had formed a public treaſury there, as the Lacedæmonians were often tranſported into Aſia minor out of their own country, the republic was no doubt obliged to ſupply them at ſuch times with ſubſiſtence by particular aids. We have ſeen the younger Cyrus, at the requeſt of Lyſander, augment the pay of thoſe who ſerved on board the galleys of the Lacedæmonians, from three oboli, uſually paid them by the Perſians, to four, which very much debauched the ſeamen from the Athenians. Sparta's ſtrength was not maritime. Though it was waſhed by the ſea upon the eaſt and ſouth, its coaſts were not advantageous for navigation, and

Plut. in Ageſil. & Lyſand.

From five pence to ſix pence half-penny.

and it had only the port of Gytheum, which was neither very large nor commodious. And indeed its fleets were not very numerous, and had ſcarce any ſeamen but ſtrangers. It is not certainly known what pay Sparta gave her land troops, nor whether ſhe ſupplied either the one or the other with proviſions.

Pericles was the firſt that eſtabliſhed pay for the Athenian ſoldiers, who till then had ſerved the republic without any. Beſides its being very eaſy to conciliate the people's favour by this method, a more urgent motive obliged him to introduce that change. He made war at a diſtance in Thrace, in the Cherſoneſus, in the iſles, and in Ionia, during ſeveral months together, without moleſting or ſqueeſing the allies. It was impoſſible for citizens, ſo long abſent from their lands, trades, and other means of getting their bread, (for moſt of them were artiſans, as the Lacedæmonians reproached them) to ſerve without ſome ſupport. That was a juſtice the republic owed them, and Pericles acted leſs the part of a popular magiſtrate than that of an equitable judge. He only prevented, like a wiſe politician, the deſires of the people in regard to a conduct, which was become neceſſary.

The uſual pay of the mariners was three oboli, which made half a drachma; that is to ſay, five pence French; that of the land-troops four oboli, or ſix pence half-penny; and that of the horſe a drachma, ten pence.

Good order had been eſtabliſhed for ſupporting the expences of the war. The four oldeſt and primitive tribes of Athens had increaſed to ten. At that time, for the payment of impoſts, ſix ſcore citizens were drawn out of each tribe, which made twelve hundred in all; theſe were divided into four companies of three hundred, and into twenty claſſes; of which each were again divided into two parts, the one of the richer citizens, the other of ſuch as were leſs ſo. The public expences fell upon the rich and opulent, but upon ſome more than others. When any urgent and ſudden neceſſity happened, that made it neceſſary to raiſe troops, or fit out a fleet, the expences were divided amongſt theſe citizens in proportion to their eſtates: the rich advanced the money, for the immediate ſervice of the republic, and the others had time allowed to reimburſe them, and pay their quota.

Plut. in Nic. p. 533. It appears from the example of Lamachus, who was ſent with Nicias to command at the ſiege of Syracuſe, that the Athenian generals ſerved at their own expence. Plutarch obſerves, that this Lamachus, who was very poor, not being in a condition to pay any thing towards the expences of the war, ſent an account to the people of what he had laid out upon his own perſon, in which his daily ſubſiſtence, cloaths, and even ſhoes and ſtockings were included.

The Roman ſoldiers, in the earlier times of the republic, ſerved without pay or gratification. The wars in thoſe days were not very diſtant from Rome, and of no long duration. As ſoon as they were terminated, the ſoldiers returned home, and took care of their affairs, lands, and families. It was not till four hundred and forty years after the building of Rome, that the ſenate, upon occaſion of the ſiege of Veii, which was very long, and continued without interruption during the winter, contrary to cuſtom decreed, without being * requeſted,

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* Additum deinde, omnium maximè tempeſtivo principum in multitudinem munere, ut ante mentionem ullam plebis Tribunorumve decerneret ſenatus, ut ſtipendium miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de ſuo quiſque functus eo munere eſſet. Nihil acceptum unquam a plebe tanto gaudio traditur. Concurſum itaque ad Curiam eſſe, prehenſataſq; exeuntium manus, & patres vere appel-

queſted, that the republic ſhould pay the ſoldiers a fixed ſum for the ſervices they ſhould render it. This decree, the more agreeable to the people, as it appeared the pure effect of the ſenate's liberality, occaſioned univerſal joy; and the whole city cried out, that they were ready to ſhed their blood, and ſacrifice their lives, for ſo munificent a country.

The Roman ſenate ſhewed the ſame wiſdom upon this occaſion, as Pericles had done at Athens. The ſoldiers at firſt whiſpered, and at length openly vented their complaints and murmurs againſt the length of the ſiege, which laid them under the neceſſity of continuing remote from their families during even the winter, and by that long abſence occaſioned the ruin of their lands, which remained uncultivated, and became incapable of affording them ſubſiſtence. Theſe were the real motivès of the ſenate's conduct, who artfully granted that as a favour, which neceſſity was upon the point of extorting from them by the invectives of ſome tribune of the people, who would have made it an honour to himſelf.

To anſwer this pay, a tax was laid upon the Liv. l. 4.
citizens in proportion to their eſtates. The ſenators n. 60.
ſet the example, which was followed by all others, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the tribunes of the people. It appears that none were exempt Liv. l. 33.
from it, not even the augurs nor pontiffs. They n. 42.
were diſpenſed from paying it, during ſome years, by violent means, and their private authority. The quæſtors cited them to appear and ſee themſelves ſentenced to pay the whole arrears due from that time. They appealed to the people, who condemned them. When wars were terminated, and

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appellatos, effectum eſſe fatentibus, ut nemo pro tam munifica patria, donec quicquam virium ſupereſſet, corpori aut ſanguini ſuo parceret. *Liv.* l. 4. n. 59.

Dion. Halicarn. in Excerpt. Legat. p. 747.

Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 275.

conſiderable ſpoils had been taken from the enemy, part of them was applied in reimburſing the people the ſums that had been raiſed for carrying them on: which is a very admirable, and very uncommon example of public faith. The tax, of which I ſpeak, ſubſiſted till the triumph of Paulus Æmilius over the Macedonians, who brought ſo great a quantity of riches into the public treaſury, that it was thought proper to aboliſh it for ever.

Though the ſoldiers uſually ſerved only ſix months, they received pay for the whole year, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in Livy: This was paid them at the end of the campaign, and ſometimes from ſix months to ſix months. What I have hitherto ſaid of pay regards only the foot.

It was alſo * granted three years after to the horſe during the ſame ſiege of Veii. The republic uſed to ſupply them with horſes: they had been ſo generous, in a preſſing neceſſity of the ſtate, to declare that they would mount themſelves at their own expences.

The pay of the ſoldiers was not always the ſame; it varied according to the times. It was at firſt only three *aſſes* a day for the foot: (ſomething more than three pence French) at that time there were ten *aſſes* to a *denarius*, which was of the ſame weight and value as the Grecian drachma. The denarius was afterwards raiſed to ſixteen aſſes, in the 536th year of Rome, when Fabius was dictator, at which time the pay roſe from three to five pence. We ought not to be ſurpriſed at the ſmallneſs of this pay, when we conſider the price of proviſions. Polybius informs us, that in his time the buſhel of wheat was uſually ſold for four oboli, or ſix pence half-penny French; and the buſhel of barley for

Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

Polyb. l. 2. p. 103.

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* Equiti certus numerus æris eſt aſſignatus. Tum primum equis (ſuis) merere Equites cœperunt. *Liv.* l. 5. n. 7.

half that price. A buſhel of wheat was ſufficient for a ſoldier for eight days.

Julius Cæſar, to confirm the ſoldiers the more ſtrongly in his intereſt, doubled their pay, and made it amount to ten pence: *Legionibus ſtipendium in perpetuum duplicavit.*

There were other alterations in it under the em- Sueton.
perors, but I do not think it neceſſary to enter J. Cæſ. c. 26.
into the detail of them.

Polybius, after having ſaid that the daily pay of
the foot was ſomething more than three pence, *Two oboli.*
adds, that the centurions had ſix pence half-penny, *Four oboli.*
and the horſe ten-pence. *Six oboli.*

From this daily pay of five-pence, which was the uſual pay in Polybius's time, the ſum total yearly amounted to almoſt an hundred livres, without including the allowance of corn and other proviſions, with which they were daily ſupplied. I take the year as twelve months, each of thirty days, which amount to three hundred and ſixty days; and it appears that it was ſometimes taken in this manner, in regard to the pay of troops.

Out of this annual ſum, a part was reſerved for
their cloaths, arms, and tents. This Tacitus tells Annal. l. 1.
us: *Enimvero militiam ipſam gravem, infructuoſam:* c. 17.
denis in diem aſſibus animam & corpus æſtimari. Hinc veſtem, arma, tentoria. And Polybius adds corn to it: *Non frumentum, non veſtem, nec arma gratuita militi fuiſſe; ſed certa horum pretia de ſtipendio quæſtore deducta.*

As to what regards the great officers, conſuls, proconſuls, lieutenants, prætors, proprætors, and quæſtors, it does not appear, that the republic paid them for their ſervices in any other manner, than by the honour annexed to theſe offices. She ſupplied them with the neceſſary and indiſpenſable diſburſements of their commiſſions: robes, tents, horſes, mules, and all their military equipage.

They had a certain fixed number of ſlaves, which was not very great, and which they were not at liberty to augment, the law admitting them to take new ones only in the room of ſuch as died. In the provinces through which they paſſed, they exacted nothing but forage for their horſes, and wood for themſelves from the allies. And thoſe who piqued themſelves upon imitating the entire diſintereſtedneſs of the antients, took nothing from them. Cicero acted in this manner, as he himſelf tells Atticus in a letter. * "The people are at "no expence, ſays he, either for me, my lieute-"nants, the quæſtor, or any other officer. I ac-"cept neither of forage nor wood, though per-"mitted by the Julian law. I only conſent that "they ſupply my people with an houſe and four "beds; though they often lodge in tents." It was of the ſpirit of the Roman government not to ſuffer their generals or magiſtrates to be a charge to their allies. It was this conduct, ſo full of wiſdom and humanity, that rendered the authority of the Romans ſo venerable and amiable; and it may be ſaid with truth, that it contributed, more than their arms, to render them maſters of the univerſe.

Liv. l. 42. n. 1. Livy tells us his name who firſt infringed the Julian law, which regulated the expences that might be exacted from the allies; and his example had only too many followers, who in a ſhort time exceeded him. This was L. Poſthumius. He was angry with the inhabitants of Præneſte, becauſe, during ſome ſtay he had made there when a pri-

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* Nullus fit ſumptus in nos, neque in legatos, neque in quæſtorem, neque in quemquam. Scito non modo nos fœnum, aut quod lege Julia dari ſolet, non accipere; ſed ne ligna quidem nec præter quatuor lectos & tectum quemquam accipere quidquam; multis locis ne tectum quidem, & in tabernaculo manere plerumque. *Epiſt.* 16. lib. 5. *ad Attic.*

vate perſon, they had not treated him with the reſpect he believed his due. When he was elected conſul, he thought of revenge. Being to paſs through that city to his province, he let them know, that they muſt ſend their principal magiſtrates to meet him, to provide him lodging in the name and at the expence of the public, and to have the beaſts of burthen, that were neceſſary, in readineſs againſt his departure. Before him, ſays Livy, no magiſtrate had ever put the allies to any expence, nor exacted any thing from them. The republic ſupplied them with mules, tents, and all the carriages neceſſary to a commander, in order to prevent their taking any thing from the allies. As hoſpitality was very much honoured and practiſed in thoſe times, they lodged with their particular friends, and took great pleaſure in receiving them at Rome in their turn, when they came thither. When they ſent lieutenants upon any ſudden expedition, the cities through which they paſſed received orders to ſupply them with an horſe, and nothing more. * Though the conſul might have had a juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the people of Præneſte, he ought not to have uſed, or rather abuſed, the authority of his office, to make them ſenſible of it. Their ſilence, whether the effect of moderation or exceſſive timidity, prevented them from laying their complaints before the Roman people, and authoriſed the magiſtrates from thenceforth to make that new yoke heavier every day; as if impunity, in the firſt inſtance, had implied the approbation of Rome, and had given them a kind of right to act the ſame thing.

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* Injuria *(the ſenſe requires* Ira *to be read)* conſulis etiamſi juſta, non tamen in magiſtratu exercenda, & ſilentium nimis aut modeſtum aut timidum Præneſtinorum, jus veluti probato exemplo magiſtratibus fecit graviorum in dies talis generis imperiorum. *Liv.*

The antient Romans, far from behaving in this manner, or endeavouring to inrich themſelves at the expence of the allies, had no thoughts but of protecting and defending them. They believed themſelves ſufficiently paid by the glory of their exploits, and often, after great victories and illuſtrious triumphs, died in the arms of poverty, as they had lived. The Grecian and Roman hiſtories abound with examples of this kind.

SECT. III.

Antient arms.

IT is not my deſign in this place to deſcribe all the various kinds of arms uſed by the ſoldiery of all nations. I ſhall confine myſelf principally, according to my cuſtom, to thoſe of the Greeks and Romans, who, in this reſpect, had many things common to both. The Romans had borrowed the uſe of moſt of them from the Tuſcans and Greeks, who inhabited Italy. Florus obſerves, that * Tarquinius Priſcus, who was deſcended from the Corinthians, introduced abundance of the Grecian cuſtoms at Rome.

Armour was antiently of braſs, and afterwards of iron. The poets often uſe one for the other.

The armour of the Greeks, as well as that of moſt other nations, was, in the earlieſt ages, the helmet, the cuiraſs, the ſhield, the lance, and the ſword. They uſed alſo the bow and the ſling.

The helmet was a defenſive armour for the head and neck. It was either of iron or braſs, often in the form of the head, open before, and leaving the face uncovered. There were head-pieces that might be let down to cover the face. Upon the top of them they placed figures of animals, lions, leopards, griffins, and others. They adorned them with plumes of feathers, which floated in the wind, and exalted their beauty.

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* Tarquinius Priſcus—oriundus Corintho, Græcum ingenium Italicis artibus miſcuit. *Flor.* l. 1. c. 5.

The cuiraſs was called in Greek θώραξ, a name which has been adopted into the Latin, that however more frequently uſes the word *lorica*. At firſt cuiraſſes were made either of iron or braſs, in two pieces, as they are in theſe days: theſe two pieces were faſtened upon the ſides by buckles. Alexander left the cuiraſs only the two pieces which covered the breaſt, that the fear of being wounded in the back, which had no defence, might prevent the ſoldiers from flying.

Polyæn. Demetr. l. 4.

There were cuiraſſes of ſo hard a metal, that they were abſolutely of proof againſt weapons. Zoilus, an excellent artiſt in this way, offered two of them to Demetrius, ſirnamed Poliorcetes. To ſhew the excellency of them, he cauſed a dart to be diſcharged at them out of the machine, called a catapulta, at the diſtance of only twenty-ſix paces. How violently ſoever the dart was ſhot, it made no impreſſion, and ſcarce left the leaſt mark upon the cuiraſs.

Plut. in Demetr. p. 898.

Many nations made their cuiraſſes of flax or wool: theſe were coats of arms made with many folds, which reſiſted, or very much broke, the force of blows. That with which Amaſis preſented the Lacedæmonians, was of wonderful workmanſhip, adorned with figures of various animals, and embroidered with gold. What was moſt ſurpriſing in this cuiraſs was, that every thread in it, though very ſmall, was compoſed of three hundred and ſixty ſmaller, which it was not difficult to diſtinguiſh.

Herod. l. 3. c. 47.

I have ſaid that the cuiraſs was called *lorica* in Latin. This word comes from *lorum*, a thong or ſtrap of leather, becauſe made of the ſkin of beaſts. And from the French word *cuir* alſo *cuiraſs* is derived. The cuiraſs of the Roman legions conſiſted of thongs, with which they were girt from the armpits to the waiſt. They were alſo made of leather, covered with plates of iron, in the form of ſcales, or of iron rings twiſted within one another, in the form of chains. Theſe are what we call *coats of mail*, in Latin, *lorica hamis conſerta*, or *hamata*.

With the *thorax* of the Greeks the ſoldier was much leſs capable of motion, agility, and force: whereas the girts of leather, ſucceſſively covering each other, left the Roman ſoldier entire liberty of action, and, fitting him like a veſt, defended him againſt darts.

The buckler was a defenſive piece of armour, proper to cover the body. There were different ſorts of them.

Scutum, θυρέος, or σακος. The ſhield. This buckler was long, and ſometimes of ſo immoderate a ſize, that it would cover a man almoſt from head to foot. Such were thoſe of the Egyptians mentioned by Xenophon. It muſt have been very large amongſt the Lacedæmonians, as they could carry the body of one who had been killed upon it. From whence came the celebrated injunction of a Spartan mother to her ſon, when he ſet out for the war: Ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ ταν, that is to ſay, *Either bring back this buckler, or return upon it.*

Cyrop. l. 7. p. 178.

It was the greateſt diſgrace to return from battle with the loſs of the buckler; undoubtedly, becauſe it ſeemed to argue, that the ſoldier had quitted it to fly the more eaſily, without regard to any thing but ſaving his life. The reader may remember, that Epaminondas, mortally wounded in the celebrated battle of Mantinæa, when he was carried off into his tent, aſked immediately, with concern and emotion, whether his buckler was ſafe.

Clypeus, ἀσπὶς. It is often confounded with the *Scutum*. It is, however, certain, that they were different; becauſe, in the *cenſus*, or muſter, made by Servius Tullius, the *clypeus* is given to thoſe of the firſt claſs, and the *ſcutum* to thoſe of the ſecond. And in fact the *ſcutum* was long and ſquare: the *clypeus* round and ſhorter. Both had been uſed by the Romans in the time of the kings. After * the ſiege of Veii, the *ſcutum* became more common. The † Macedonians always made uſe of the *clypeus*, except perhaps in later times.

The buckler of the Roman legions was convex, and in the form of a gutter-tile. According to Polybius it was four feet long, and two and an half broad. Theſe bucklers were antiently made of wood, ſays Plutarch, in the life of Camillus: but this Roman general cauſed them to be covered with plates of iron, to make them the better defence againſt blows.

Plut. in Cam. p. 150.

The *Parma* was a ſmall round buckler, lighter and ſhorter than the *ſcutum*, uſed by the heavy-armed infantry. The light-armed foot and the cavalry had this ſhield.

The *Pelta* was almoſt the ſame thing with that called *cetra*. This buckler was light, in the form of a half moon, or ſemi-circle, on the top.

The Sword. The forms of it were very different, and in great number: I ſhall not amuſe the reader with deſcribing them, but content myſelf with remarking, ‡ that there were long ſwords without points, which ſerved to ſtrike with the edge, as were thoſe of the Gauls, of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak. There were others ſhorter and ſtronger, which had both point and edge, *punctim & cæſim*, ſuch as the Spaniſh ſabres were, which the Romans borrowed from them, and uſed ever after with advantage. * With theſe ſabres they cut off arms and heads, and made moſt horrible wounds, at one blow.

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* Clypeis antea Romani uſi: deinde, poſtquam facti ſunt ſtipendiari, ſcuta pro clypeis fecere. *Liv.* l. 8. n. 8.

† Arma, clypeus, ſariſſæque illis (Macedonibus:) Romano ſcutum, majus corpori tegumentum. *Liv.* l. 9. n. 19.

‡ Gallis Hiſpaniſque ſcuta ejuſdem formæ ferè erant, diſpares ac diſſimiles gladii. Gallis prælongi, ac ſine mucronibus: Hiſpano, punctim magis quàm cæſim aſſueto petere hoſtem, brevitate habiles, & cum mucronibus. *Liv.* l. 22. n. 46.

The manner, in which the ſword was worn by the antients, was not always alike. The Romans generally wore it on the right thigh, to leave room, without doubt, for the moving of the buckler with more freedom, which was on the left ſide: but, in certain remains of antiquity, we ſee that their ſoldiers wore them on the left.

It is remarkable, that neither the Greeks nor Romans, the two moſt warlike nations of the world, wore ſwords in times of peace; nor was duelling known amongſt them.

PIKES or LANCES were uſed by almoſt all nations. Thoſe which we ſee upon the monuments, made in the times of the Roman emperors, are about ſix feet and an half long, including the iron point.

The *Sariſſa* of the Macedonians was of ſo prodigious a length, that one could ſcarce believe ſuch a weapon could be uſed, if all the antients did not agree in this point. They give it a length of ſixteen cubits, which makes eight yards.

BOWS and ARROWS are of the moſt remote antiquity. There were few nations who did not uſe them. The Cretans were eſteemed excellent archers. We do not find that the Romans uſed the bow in the earlieſt times of the republic. They introduced it afterwards; but it appears that they had ſcarce any archers except thoſe of the auxiliary troops.

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* Gladio Hiſpanienſi detruncata corpora brachiis abſciſſis, aut tota cervice deſecta, diviſa à corpore capita, patentiaque viſcera, & fœditatem aliam vulnerum viderunt. *Liv.* l. 31. n. 34.

The Sling was alſo an inſtrument of war much uſed by many nations. The Balearians, or the people of the iſlands now called Majorca and Minorca, excelled at the ſling. They were ſo attentive in exerciſing their youth in the uſe of it, that they did not give them their food in the morning till they had hit a mark. The Balearians were very much employed in the armies of the Carthaginians and Romans, and greatly contributed to the gaining of victories. * Livy mentions ſome cities of Achaia, Egium, Patræ, and Dymæ, whoſe inhabitants were ſtill more dexterous at the ſling than the Balearians. They threw ſtones farther, and with greater force and certainty, never failing to hit what part of the face they pleaſed. Their ſlings diſcharged the ſtones with ſo much force, that neither buckler nor head-piece could reſiſt their impetuoſity; and † the addreſs of thoſe who managed them was ſuch, according to the Scripture, that they could hit an hair, without the ſtones going either on one ſide or the other. Inſtead of ſtones they ſometimes charged the ſling with balls of lead, which it carried much farther.

Veget. de re milit. l. 1. c. 16.

Javelins. There are two ſorts of them, which are:

Γρόσφος: *haſta.* I call it javelin. It was a kind of dart not unlike an arrow, the wood of which was generally three feet long, and one inch thick. The point was four inches long, and tapered to ſo fine an end, that it bent at the firſt ſtroke in ſuch a manner, as to be uſeleſs to the enemy. The light-armed troops uſed it. * They carried ſeveral javelins in their left hand, with which they held their buckler, in order to have the right free, either to dart javelins at a diſtance, or to uſe the ſword. † Livy gives each of them ſeven javelins.

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* Longiùs, certiuſque, & validiore ictu quam Balearis funditor, eo telo uſi ſunt—Non capita ſolum hoſtium vulnerabant, ſed quem locum deſtinâſſent oris. *Liv.* l. 38. n. 29.

† *Among all this people there were ſeven hundred men left-handed, every one could ſling ſtones at an hair-breadth, and not miſs.* Judg. xx. 16.

Ὑσσὸς: *Pilum.* I call this the *great javelin* ‡, becauſe thicker and ſtronger than the other. The legions darted it at the enemy, before they came to cloſe fight. When they had neither time nor room, they threw it upon the ground, and charged the enemy ſword in hand.

The CAVALRY had almoſt the ſame arms as the foot: the helmet, the cuiraſs, the ſword, the lance, and a ſmaller or lighter buckler.

We ſee in Homer, that in the Trojan war the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons rode on chariots drawn by good horſes, with an eſquire or charioteer, in order to charge through battalions with the greater vigour, and to fight with more advantage from them. But people were ſoon undeceived in theſe points, by the double inconvenience of being ſtopped ſhort by hedges, trenches, and ditches; or remaining uſeleſs in the midſts of the enemy, when the horſes were wounded.

The uſe of chariots armed with ſcythes was afterwards introduced. Theſe were placed in the front of the battle, to begin it by breaking the enemy.

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* Et cum cominus venerant, gladiis a velitibus trucidabantur. Hic miles tripedalem parmam habet, & in dextra haſtas, quibus eminus utitur—Quod ſi pede collato pugnandum eſt, tranſlatis in lævam haſtis, ſtringit gladium. *Liv.* l. 38. n. 21.

† Eis parmæ breviores quam equeſtres, & ſeptena jacula quaternos longa pedes data, præfixa ferro, quale haſtis velitaribus ineſt. *Liv.* l. 26. n. 4.

‡ Arma Romano ſcutum —— & pilum haud paulo quam haſta vehementius ictu miſſuque telum. *Liv.* l. 9. n. 19.

This manner of fighting was at firſt in great uſe amongſt all the people of the Eaſt, and was believed deciſive with regard to victory. The people who excelled moſt in the art of war, as the Greeks and Romans, did not adopt it; finding by experience, that the cries of the troops attacked in this manner, the diſcharges of the light-armed ſoldiers, and, ſtill more than either, the unevenneſs of the ground, rendered all the equipage of theſe chariots ineffectual, and often even pernicious to thoſe who employed them.

The nations who had elephants amongſt them, as thoſe of the Eaſt and Africa, believed that thoſe animals, no leſs docile than terrible from their force and enormous ſize, might be of great uſe to them in battles. Accordingly, when inſtructed and guided with art, they did them great ſervice. They carried their guides upon their backs, and were uſually placed in the front of their armies. Advancing from thence, they broke the cloſeſt ranks with an impetuoſity that nothing could reſiſt, cruſhed whole battalions with their vaſt weight, and diffuſed univerſal terror and diſorder. To improve their effect, towers were placed on their backs, which were like portable baſtions, from the tops of which choſen troops diſcharged darts and javelins upon the enemy, and compleated their defeat.

This cuſtom ſubſiſted long amongſt the nations I ſpeak of, from whom it paſſed to other people, who had learned by fatal experience, how capable thoſe animals were of contributing to victories. Alexander, having conquered the nations ſubject to the Perſian empire, and afterwards India, began to make uſe of elephants in his expeditions; and his ſucceſſors, in their wars with each other, rendered the uſe of them very common. Pyrrhus tranſported ſome into Italy; and the Romans learned of that general, and afterwards of Hannibal, the advantage to be made of them in a day of battle. * It was in the war againſt Philip, that they uſed them for the firſt time.

But this advantage, as great as it appeared, was balanced by inconveniences that at length made them diſapprove of the uſe of elephants. The generals, inſtructed by experience, rendered the attack of thoſe beaſts ineffectual, by ordering their troops to open and give them free paſſage. Beſides this, the frightful cries of the enemy's army, joined with an hail of darts and ſtones, diſcharged on all ſides by the archers and ſlingers, put them into confuſion, made them mad and furious, and often obliged them to turn upon their own troops, and commit the havock amongſt them intended Liv. l. 27. n. 49. againſt the enemy. At ſuch times, he who guided the elephant was obliged, for avoiding that miſfortune, to plunge an iron ſpike into their heads, upon which they fell dead immediately.

Veget. l. 3. c. 23. Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 7. p. 176. Camels, beſides being employed to carry, were alſo of ſervice in battles. They had this convenience in them, that in dry and ſandy countries they could ſupport thirſt with eaſe. Cyrus made great uſe of them in the battle againſt Crœſus, and they contributed very much to the victory he gained over him, becauſe the horſes of the latter, not being able to ſupport the ſmell of them, were immediately put into diſorder. Liv. l. 37. n. 40. We find, in Livy, the Arabian archers mounted on camels with ſwords of ſix feet long, to reach the enemy from the high backs of thoſe animals. Sometimes two Arabian archers ſat back to back upon the ſame camel, in

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* Conſul in aciem deſcendit, ante ſigna prima locatis elephantis: quo auxilio tum primùm Romani, quia captos aliquot bello Punico habebant, uſi ſunt. *Liv.* l. 31. n. 36.

order to be able, even in flying, to diſcharge their darts and arrows againſt their purſuers.

Neither the elephants nor camels were of any ſervice in armies, in compariſon with that of the horſe. That animal ſeems deſigned by nature for battles. There is ſomething martial in his air, his cheſt, his pace, as Job ſo well obſerves in his admirable deſcription of him. Job xxxix. 19—25.

In many countries, the horſe as well as horſeman were entirely covered with armour of iron: theſe were called *cataphracti equites.*

But what is hard for us to comprehend, amongſt all the antient people, the horſe had neither ſtirrups nor ſaddle, and the riders never uſed boots. Education, exerciſe, and habit, had accuſtomed them not to want thoſe aids; and even not to perceive that there was any occaſion for them. There were ſome horſemen, ſuch as the Numidians, who did not know ſo much as the uſe of bridles to guide their horſes, and who, notwithſtanding, by their voice only, or the uſe of the heel or ſpur, made them advance, fall back, ſtop, turn to the right or left; in a word, perform all the evolutions of the beſt diſciplined cavalry. Sometimes, having two horſes, they leaped from one to the other even in the heat of battle, to eaſe the firſt when fatigued. Theſe Numidians, as well as the Parthians, were never more terrible, than when they ſeemed to fly through fear and cowardice. For then, facing ſuddenly about, they diſcharged their darts or arrows upon the enemy, who expected nothing leſs, and fell upon them with more impetuoſity than ever.

I have related hitherto what I found moſt important concerning the arms of the antients. In all times the great captains had a particular attention to the armour of their troops. They did not care whether they glittered or not with gold and ſilver; they left ſuch idle ornaments to ſoft and effeminate nations, like the Perſians. They * approved a more lively and martial brightneſs, one that might inſpire terror, ſuch as was that of ſteel and braſs.

Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 2. p. 40.

It was not only the brightneſs, but the quality of the arms in particular, to which great generals were attentive. The ability of Cyrus the Great, was juſtly admired, who, upon his arrival at the camp of his uncle Cyaxares, changed the arms of his troops. Moſt of them uſed almoſt only the bow and javelin, and conſequently fought only at a diſtance; a kind of fight, wherein the greater number had eaſily the ſuperiority. He armed them with bucklers, cuiraſſes, and ſwords or axes, in order to their being in a condition to come to cloſe fight immediately with the enemy, whoſe multitude thereby became uſeleſs. Iphicrates, the celebrated general of the Athenians, made ſeveral uſeful alterations in the armour of the ſoldiers, in regard to their ſhields, pikes, ſwords, and cuiraſſes.

Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

Philopœmen alſo, as I have obſerved in its place, changed the armour of the Achæans, which, before him, was very defective; and that alteration did not a little contribute to render them ſuperior to all their enemies. There are many examples of this kind, which it would be too long to repeat here, that ſhew, of what advantage to an army is the ability of a general, when applied to reforming whatever may be defective; and how dangerous it it is tenaciouſly to retain cuſtoms eſtabliſhed by length of time, without daring to make any alterations in them, however judicious and neceſſary.

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* Macedonum diſpar acies erat; equis viriſque, non auro, non diſcolori veſte, ſed ferro atque ære fulgentibus. *Q. Curt.* l. 3. c. 3.

No people were ever more remote from this ſcrupulous attachment than the Romans. Having attentively ſtudied what their neighbours and enemies practiſed, they well knew how to apply it to their own advantage; and by the different alterations they introduced in their armies, as well with regard to their armour, as whatever elſe related to military affairs, they rendered themſelves invincible.

ARTICLE IV.

SECT. I.

Preliminary cares of the general.

ALL that we have ſeen hitherto, the raiſing of troops, their pay, their arms, their proviſions, is in a manner only the mechaniſm of war. There are other ſtill more important cares, that depend upon the general's ability and experience.

Thoſe, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the knowledge of military affairs, have always believed it particularly incumbent on the general to ſettle the plan of the war; to examine whether it is moſt neceſſary to act upon the offenſive or defenſive; to concert his meaſures for the one or the other of thoſe purpoſes; to have an exact knowledge of the country into which he marches his army; to know the number and quality of the enemy's troops; to penetrate, if poſſible, his deſigns; to take proper meaſures at diſtance for diſconcerting them; to foreſee all the events that may happen, in order to be prepared for them; and to keep all his reſolutions ſo well diſguiſed and ſo ſecret, that no part of them eſcapes him and takes air. In this laſt point, perhaps, nothing was ever better obſerved than amongſt us, in the war lately terminated; which is not a little for the honour of the miniſtry and officers. 1736.

Liv. l. 44. n. 18. We have ſeen, in the war againſt Perſeus, the wiſe precautions taken by Paulus Emilius, before opening the campaign, that nothing might be wanting to the ſucceſs of it; which precautions were the principal cauſe of his conquering that prince.

It is upon theſe preliminary proviſions the ſucceſs of enterpriſes depends. And it was by them Cyrus began, as ſoon as he arrived in the camp of his uncle Cyaxares, who had not thought of taking any ſuch meaſures.

It is amazing to conſider the orders given by the ſame Cyrus, before he marched againſt the enemy; and the immenſe detail into which he entered with reſpect to all the neceſſaries of the army.

He was to march fifteen days through countries that had been deſtroyed, and in which there were neither proviſions nor forage: he ordered enough of both for twenty days to be carried, and that the ſoldiers, inſtead of loading themſelves with baggage, ſhould exchange that burthen for an equal one of proviſions, without troubling themſelves about beds or coverlids for ſleeping, the want of which their fatigue would ſupply. They were accuſtomed to drink wine, and, to prevent the ſudden change of their drink from making them ſick, he ordered them to carry a certain quantity with them, and to uſe themſelves by degrees to do without it, and to content themſelves with water. He adviſed them alſo to carry ſalt proviſions along with them, hand-mills for grinding corn, and medicines for the ſick: to put into every carriage a ſickle and a mattock, and upon every beaſt of burthen an ax and a ſcythe, and to take care to ſupply themſelves with a thouſand other neceſſaries. He carried alſo along with him ſmiths, ſhoemakers, and other workmen, with all manner of tools uſed in their trades. For the reſt, he declared publicly, that whoever would charge himſelf with the care of ſending proviſions to the camp, ſhould be honoured and rewarded by himſelf and his friends; and even if they wanted money for that ſervice, provided they would give ſecurity, and engage to follow the army, he would aſſiſt them with it. A detail of this kind, part of which I have omitted, is not unworthy of a general, nor a great prince, as Cyrus was.

We ſee in Pericles's harangue to the Athenians, in regard to the Peloponneſian war, how much that great man, who adminiſtered the affairs of his republic with ſo much wiſdom, excelled in the ſcience of war, and how vaſt and profound his foreſight was. He regulated the plan of the war, not only for one campaign, but for its whole duration; and ſettled it upon the perfect knowledge he had himſelf, and imparted to the Athenians, of the Lacedæmonian forces. He determined them to ſhut themſelves up within their walls, and to ſuffer their lands to be ruined, rather than hazard a battle againſt an army much more numerous than their own; whilſt, on his ſide, he went with a fleet to ravage the whole coaſt of Peloponneſus. He recommended to them eſpecially not to form any enterpriſes abroad, and not to think of any new conqueſts, upon which conditions he aſſured them of victory. It was from deſpiſing this advice, and carrying their arms into Sicily, that the Athenians were ruined. Thucyd. l. 9.

Was there ever any thing more wiſe or better concerted than Hannibal's plan of attacking the Romans in their own country! He propoſed the ſame deſign to Antiochus, which would have diſtreſſed the Romans exceedingly, had he followed it: but that prince had neither ſufficient extent of mind, nor diſcernment enough, to comprehend its whole advantage and wiſdom.

Alexander had perhaps been ſtopped ſhort, reduced by famine, and obliged to retreat into his own kingdom, if Darius, as we have obſerved above, had deſtroyed the country through which his army was to paſs, and had made a powerful diverſion in Macedonia, as Memnon, one of his generals, and one of the greateſt captains of antiquity, adviſed him.

To form ſuch plans is not to make war from day to day, and in a manner by chance, and to wait till events determine us; but to act like a great man, and with a juſt knowledge of the cauſe we have in hand. * Enterpriſes, concerted with ſo much wiſdom, ſeldom fail of ſucceſs.

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* Qui victoriam cupit, milites imbuat diligenter. Qui ſecundos optat eventus, dimicet arte, non caſu. *Veget.* l. 3. *In prologo.*

SECT. II.

Departure and march of the troops.

THE beginning and end of the war, the departure and return of the troops, were always ſolemniſed by public acts of religion and ſacrifices. Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 1.

The reader undoubtedly remembers, that, in the advice Cambyſes, king of the Perſians, gave hit ſon Cyrus, when he ſet out for his firſt campaign, he inſiſted principally upon the neceſſity of not undertaking any action great or ſmall, either for himſelf or others, without having firſt conſulted the gods, and offered ſacrifices to them. He obſerved Ibid. l. 2. this counſel with ſurpriſing exactneſs. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Perſia, he ſacrificed victims to the gods of the country, and to thoſe of Media, as ſoon as he entered it, to implore their aid, and that they would be propitious to him. His hiſtorian is not aſhamed to repeat in many places, that this prince took great care, upon all occaſions, to diſcharge this duty, upon which he made the whole ſucceſs of his enterpriſes depend. Xenophon himſelf, a warrior and philoſopher, never engaged in any important affair, without having firſt conſulted the gods.

All Homer's heroes appear very religious, and have recourſe to the divinity, on all occaſions and dangers.

Alexander the Great did not quit Europe, and enter Aſia, without having firſt invoked the divinities of both.

Hannibal,

Liv. l. 21. n. 21. Hannibal, before he engaged in the war againſt the Romans, went expreſsly to Cadiz, t acquit himſelf of the vows he had made to Hercules, and to implore his protection by new ones for the ſucceſs of the expedition he had undertaken.

The Greeks were very religious obſervers of thi duty. Their armies never took the field withou being attended by aruſpices, ſacrificers, and othe interpreters of the will of the gods, of which the believed it their duty to be aſſured before they hazarded a battle.

But, of all the nations of the world, the Romans were the moſt exact in their recourſe to the divinity, either * in the beginning of their wars, in the great dangers to which they found themſelves ſometimes expoſed, or after their victories; and aſcribed the ſucceſs of their arms ſolely to the care they had taken to render this homage to their gods.

They were miſtaken in the object, not the principle; and this univerſal cuſtom of all nations ſhews, that they always acknowledged a ſupreme almighty Being, who governed the world, and diſpoſed at his will of all events, and in particular of thoſe of war, attentive to the prayers and vows addreſſed to him.

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* Ejus belli (contra Annibalem) cauſâ ſupplicatio per urbem habita, atque adorati dii, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus juſſiſſet. *Liv.* l. 21. n. 17.

Civitas religioſa, in principiis maximè novorum bellorum, ſupplicationes habuit. *Id.* l. 31. n. 9.

March of the army.

When every thing was ready, and the army aſſembled at the time and place fixed, it began to march. To avoid prolixity, I ſhall ſpeak only of the Romans in this place: from whence the Reader may form a judgment of other nations.

It is amazing to conſider the loads under which the ſoldiers marched. Beſides their arms, ſays[*] Cicero, the buckler, the ſword, the helmet, (the javelins, or half-pikes, might be added) beſides theſe arms which they conſidered no more as a burthen than their limbs, for they ſaid their arms were in a manner a ſoldier's members, they carried proviſions for ſeveral days, and ſometimes for three weeks or a month, with all the implements for dreſſing their food, and each a ſtake or paliſado of conſiderable weight. [†] Vegetius recommends the exerciſing young ſoldiers, in carrying a weight of above five and forty pounds a day's march in the uſual pace of the army, in order to their being accuſtomed to it againſt times of occaſion and neceſſity. * And this was the practice of the antient Roman ſoldiers.

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[*] Noſtri exercitus primùm unde nomen habeat, vides. Deinde qui labor, quantus agminis! ferre plus dimidiati menſis cibaria, ferre ſi quid ad uſum velint, ferre vallum: nam ſcutum, gladium, galeam in onere noſtri milites non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus. Arma enim membra militis eſſe ducunt; quæ quidem ita gerunt aptè, ut, ſi uſus foret, abjectis oneribus, expeditis armis, ut membris, pugnare poſſint. *Cic. Tuſcul.* 2. n. 37.

[†] Pondus quoque bajulare uſque ad 60 libras & iter facere gradu militari, frequentiſſimè cogendi ſunt juniores, quibus in arduis expeditionibus neceſſitas imminet annonam pariter & arma portandi. *Veget.* l. 1. c. 19.

Veget. l. 1. c. 27. The uſual † march of the Roman army, according to Vegetius, was twenty thouſand paces a day; that is to ſay, at leaſt ſix leagues, allowing three thouſand paces to each league. Three times a month, to accuſtom the ſoldiers to it, the foot as well as horſe were obliged to take this march. De bell. Gall. l. 7. By an exact calculation of what Cæſar relates of a ſudden march, which he made at the time he beſieged Gergovia, we find that in four and twenty hours he marched fifty thouſand paces. This he did with the utmoſt expedition. In reducing it to leſs than half, it makes the uſual day's march of ſix leagues.

Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. 7. p. 427. Xenophon regularly ſets down the days marches of the troops, who returned into Greece after the death of the younger Cyrus, and made the fine retreat ſo much celebrated in hiſtory. All theſe marches, one with the other, were ‡ ſix paraſanga's, that is to ſay, more than ſix of our leagues. The uſual marches of our armies are far from being ſo long; and it is not eaſy to comprehend how the antients made them ſo. Their meaſures have varied very much, which perhaps is the reaſon of this difference between their day's march and ours.

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* Non ſecus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis
Injuſto ſub faſce viam cum carpit, & hoſti
Ante expectatum poſitis ſtat in agmine caſtris.
Virg. Georg. l. 3.

As when the warlike Roman under arms,
Charg'd with a baggage of unequal weight,
Purſues his march, and unexpected ſtands
Pitching his ſudden tent before the foe. Trap.

† Militari gradu viginti millia paſſuum horis duntaxat quinque æſtivis conficienda ſunt. *Veget.* l. 1. c. 9.

‡ *The Paraſanga was a Perſian meaſure of the ways. The leaſt conſiſted of thirty ſtadia, each ſtadium of a hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces.*

The conſul, and even the dictator, marched at the head of the legions on foot, becauſe the greateſt force of the Romans conſiſting in the infantry, they believed it neceſſary for the general to remain always at the head of the battalions. But, as age or infirmity might diſable the dictator to ſupport that fatigue, * before he ſet out for the army, he applied to the people, to demand a diſpenſation from obſerving that law eſtabliſhed by antient cuſtom, and permiſſion to ride on horſeback. † Suetonius repreſents Julius Cæſar as indefatigable, marching at the head of his armies, ſometimes on horſeback, but generally on foot, and bareheaded, however the ſun ſhined, or how hard ſoever it rained. ‡ Pliny praiſes Trajan, for having accuſtomed himſelf early to march on foot at the head of the legions under his command, without ever uſing either chariot or horſe, though he had immenſe countries to traverſe; and he always did the ſame after he became emperor. Cæſar, of whom I ſpoke juſt before, either ſwam or forded rivers. It was in order to be able to do the ſame, and to ſupport all the fatigues of war, that the young Romans exerciſed themſelves in horſe and foot races, and, all covered with ſweat after ſuch violent exerciſes, threw themſelves into the Tyber, and ſwam over it. Care was taken to form thoſe for ſeveral years that were to recruit the legions, and had not ſerved before. For this purpoſe they made choice of the moſt healthy, the moſt active, and the moſt robuſt. They were exer-

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* Dictator tulit ad populum, ut equum aſcendere liceret. *Liv*, l. 23. n. 14.

† Laboris ultra fidem patiens erat: in agmine nonnunquam equo, ſæpius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto ſeu ſol ſeu imber eſſet. *Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ.*

‡ Per hoc omne ſpatium cum legiones duceres——non vehiculum unquam, non equum reſpexiſti. *Plin. in Trajan.*

ciſed

ciſed by fatigues, marches, and toils, which were gradually increaſed; and ſuch as experience ſhewed to be unequal to this diſcipline were diſmiſſed, and only tried ſoldiers retained, who formed a body of choſen troops.

It was this manly, hardy, and robuſt education, which at Rome, and long before at Sparta, and in Perſia, in the time of Cyrus, made the ſoldiery indefatigable and invincible.

SECT. III.

Conſtruction and fortification of the camp.

I Suppoſe the army upon a march. Though it were ſtill in the territory of Rome, and had only one night to paſs in a place, it incamped in all the forms, with no other difference, than that the camp was leſs fortified there perhaps than in the enemy's country. From thence comes this manner of ſpeaking ſo uſual in Latin authors, *primis caſtris*, *ſecundis caſtris*, &c. at the firſt camp, at the ſecond camp: to ſignify the firſt or ſecond day's march; becauſe, however ſhort their ſtay was to be in a place, they never failed to form Liv. l. 37. a camp in it. They called it *ſtativa*, when they were to ſtay ſeveral days in it: *ibi plures dies ſtativa habuit.*

This exactneſs of the Romans in their own country ſufficiently intimates their ſtrictneſs when in ſight of, or near, the enemy. It was a law amongſt them, eſtabliſhed by long cuſtom, never to hazard a battle, till they had finiſhed their camp. We have ſeen Paulus Emilius ſpend and arreſt the ardour of his whole army to attack Perſeus, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they had not formed their camp. * In the war with the Gauls, the commanders of the Roman army were reproached with having omitted this wiſe precaution, and the loſs of the battle of Allia was partly attributed to it. The ſucceſs of arms being uncertain, the Romans wiſely took care to ſecure themſelves a retreat in caſe of the worſt. The fortified camp put a ſtop to the enemy's victory, received the troops that retired in ſafety, inabled them to renew the battle with more ſucceſs, and prevented their being entirely routed; whereas, without the refuge of a camp, an army, though compoſed of good troops, was expoſed to a final defeat, and to being inevitably cut to pieces.

The camp was of a ſquare form, contrary to the cuſtom of the Greeks, who made theirs round. † The citizens and allies divided the work equally between them. If the enemy were near, part of the troops continued under arms, whilſt the reſt were employed in throwing up the intrenchments. They began by digging trenches of greater or leſs depth, according to the occaſion. They were at leaſt eight feet broad by ſix deep: but they were often twelve feet in breadth, and ſometimes more, to fifteen or twenty. Of the earth dug out of the foſſé, and thrown up on the ſide of the camp, they formed the parapet or breaſt-work, and, to make it the firmer, they mingled it with turf cut in a certain ſize and form. Upon the brow of this parapet the paliſadoes were planted. I ſhall re-

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* Ibi Tribuni militum non loco caſtris ante capto, non præmunito vallo quò receptus eſſet —— inſtruunt aciem. *Liv.* l. 5. n. 37.

† Trifariam Romani muniebant, alius exercitus prælio intentus ſtabat. *Liv.*

Cæſar——ſingula latera caſtrorum ſingulis attribuit legionibus munienda, foſſamque ad eandem magnitudinem præfici jubet; reliquas legiones in armis expeditas contra hoſtem conſtituit. *Cæſ. de bell. civil.* l. 1.

peat all that Polybius remarks upon theſe ſtakes, with which the intrenchment of the camp was ſtrengthened, though I have already done it elſewhere, becauſe this is the proper place for it. He ſpeaks of them, upon the occaſion of the order given by Q. Flaminius to his troops, to cut ſtakes againſt the time they ſhould have occaſion to uſe them.

Polyb. l. 17. p. 754, 755. This cuſtom, ſays Polybius, which is eaſy to put in practice amongſt the Romans, paſſes for impoſſible with the Greeks. They can hardly ſupport their own weight upon their marches: whilſt the Romans, notwithſtanding the buckler which hangs at their ſhoulders, and the javelins which they carry in their hands, load themſelves alſo with ſtakes or paliſadoes, which are very different from thoſe of the Greeks. With the latter, thoſe are beſt which have many ſtrong branches about the trunk. The Romans, on the contrary, leave only three or four at moſt upon it, and that only on one ſide. In this manner a man can carry two or three bound together, and much more uſe may be made of them. Thoſe of the Greeks are more eaſily pulled up. If the ſtake be fixed by itſelf, as its branches are ſtrong, and in great number, two or three ſoldiers will eaſily pull it away; and thereby an opening is made for the enemy, without reckoning that the neighbouring ſtakes will be looſened, becauſe their branches are too ſhort to be interwoven with each other. But this is not the caſe with the Romans. The branches of their paliſadoes are ſo ſtrongly inſerted into each other, that it is hard to diſtinguiſh the ſtake they belong to. And it is as little practicable to thruſt the hand through theſe branches to pull up the paliſadoes, becauſe, being well faſtened and twiſted together, they leave no opening, and are carefully ſharpened at their ends. Even though they could be taken hold of, it would not be eaſy to pull them out of the ground, and that for two reaſons. The firſt is, becauſe they are driven in ſo deep, that they cannot be moved; and the ſecond, becauſe their branches are interwoven with each other in ſuch a manner, that one cannot be ſtirred without ſeveral more. Two or three men might unite their ſtrength in vain to draw one of them out, which, however, if they effected by drawing it a great while to and fro till it was looſe, the opening it would leave would be almoſt imperceptible. Theſe ſtakes, therefore, have three advantages. They are every-where to be had; they are eaſy to carry; and are a ſecure barrier to a camp, becauſe very difficult to break through. In my opinion (ſays Polybius, in the concluſion he deduces from all he ſays) there is nothing, practiſed by the Romans in war, more worthy of being imitated.

The form, dimenſion, and diſtribution of the different parts of the camp were always the ſame; ſo that the Romans knew immediately where their tents were to be pitched. The Greeks differed from them in this. When they were to incamp, they always choſe the place that was ſtrongeſt by its ſituation, as well to ſpare themſelves the trouble of running a trench round their camp, as becauſe they were convinced, that the fortifications of nature were far more ſecure than thoſe of art. From thence aroſe the neceſſity of giving their camps all ſorts of forms, according to the nature of places, and to vary the different forms of them; which occaſioned ſuch a confuſion, as made it difficult for the ſoldier to know exactly either his own quarters, or that of his corps. Polyb.

The form and diſtribution of the Roman camp admits of great difficulties, and has occaſioned great diſputes amongſt the learned. I ſhall repeat in this place what Polybius has ſaid upon this head, and ſhall endeavour to explain him in ſome places, and to ſupply what he has omitted in others.

Polyb. l. 6. p. 473, 477.

He ſpeaks of a conſular army, which, in his time, conſiſted, in the firſt place, of two Roman legions, each containing four thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe; and, in the ſecond, of the troops of the allies, a like number of infantry, and generally double the number of cavalry, which made, in all, Romans and allies, eighteen thouſand ſix hundred men. For the better conceiving the diſpoſition of this camp, we ſhould remember what has been ſaid above upon the different parts into which the Roman legion was divided.

SECT. IV.

*Diſpoſition of the Roman * camp according to Polybius.*

AFTER the place for the camp is marked out, ſays Polybius, which is always choſen for its convenience in reſpect to water and forage, a part of it is allotted for the general's tent, which I ſhall otherwiſe call the prætorium, upon an higher ground than the reſt, from whence he may ſee with the greater eaſe all that paſſes, and diſpatch the neceſſary orders (1.). A flag was generally planted on the ground where this tent was to be pitched, round which a ſquare ſpace was marked out in ſuch a manner, that the four ſides were an hundred feet diſtant from the flag, and the ground occupied by the conſul about four acres. Near his tent were erected the altar, on which ſacrifices were offered, and the tribunal for diſpenſing juſtice.

The conſul commands two legions, of which each has ſix tribunes, which make twelve in all. Their tents are placed in a right line parallel to the front of the Prætorium, at the diſtance of fifty feet. In this ſpace of fifty feet are the horſes, beaſts of burden, and the whole equipage of the tribunes. Their tents are pitched in ſuch a manner, that they have the Prætorium in the rear, and in the front all the reſt of the camp. The tents of the tribunes, at equal diſtances from each other, take up the whole breadth of the ground, upon which the legions are incamped (2.)

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* *At the end of this ſection the reader will find a print of the Roman camp, with figures to which thoſe in the text refer.*

Between the tents of the legions and tribunes, a ſpace of an hundred feet in breadth parallel to thoſe of the tribunes is left, which forms a ſtreet, called *Principia*, equal in length to the breadth of the camp, which divides the whole camp into the upper and lower parts (3.)

Beyond this ſtreet were placed the tents of the legions. The ſpace which they occupy is divided in the midſt into two equal parts by a ſtreet of fifty feet broad, which extended the whole length of the camp. On each ſide on the ſame line were the quarters of the horſe, the Triarii, the Principes, and Haſtarii. Between the Triarii and the Principes, there is on both ſides a ſtreet of the ſame breadth with that in the middle, which, as well as the latter, runs the whole length of this ſpace. It is alſo cut by a croſs-ſtreet called the fifth, *Quintana*, becauſe it opened beyond the fifth maniple.

As each of the four bodies, I have juſt named, was divided into ten parts; the cavalry into ten companies, *Turmas*, each of thirty men; the three other bodies into ten maniples, of an hundred and twenty each, except thoſe of the Triarii, which conſiſted of only half that number; the quarters of the horſe, Triarii, Principes, and Haſtarii, were ſeverally divided, each into ten ſquares, along the ſpace aſſigned the legions as above deſcribed. Each of theſe ſquares was an hundred feet every way, except thoſe of the Triarii, which were only fifty feet ſquare, upon account of their ſmaller number, which we have already mentioned.

The tents, whether of the cavalry or infantry, are diſpoſed in the ſame manner, with their fronts towards the ſtreets.

The cavalry of the two legions are firſt quartered facing each other, and ſeparated by a ſpace of fifty feet, which is the breadth of the ſtreet in the middle. This cavalry making only ſix hundred men, each ſquare contained thirty horſe on each ſide (4), which are the tenth part of three hundred. On the ſide of the cavalry, the Triarii are quartered, a maniple behind a troop of horſe, both in the ſame form. They join as to the ground, but the Triarii turn their backs upon the horſe, and here each maniple is only half as broad as long, becauſe the Triarii are leſs in number than the other kind of troops (5.)

At fifty feet diſtance and fronting the Triarii, a ſpace which forms a ſtreet on each ſide in length, the Principes are placed along the ſide of the interval (6.)

Behind the Principes the Haſtarii were quartered, joining as to the ground, but fronting the different way (7.)

Thus far we have deſcribed the quarters of the two Roman legions, that formed the conſul's army, and conſiſted of eight thouſand four hundred foot, and ſix hundred horſe. It remains for us to diſpoſe of the allies. Their infantry were equal to that of the Romans, and their cavalry twice their number. In removing, for the extraordinaries or *Evocati*, the fifth part of the infantry; that is to ſay, ſixteen hundred foot, and a third of the cavalry, or four hundred men; there remained in the whole ſeven thouſand five hundred and twenty men, horſe and foot, to quarter.

At fifty feet diſtance, and facing the Roman Haſtarii, a ſpace which formed a new ſtreet on each ſide, the cavalry of the allies incamp (8), upon a breadth of an hundred and thirty-three feet, and ſomething more.

Behind that cavalry, and on the ſame line, incamp their infantry upon a breadth of two hundred feet (9).

At the head of every maniple, on each ſide, are the tents of the centurions. The ſame, no doubt, ſhould be ſaid of the tents of the captains of the horſe, though Polybius does not mention them. Part of the remaining ſpace behind the tents of the tribunes, and on the two ſides of the Prætorium or conſul's tent, was employed for a market (10), and the reſt for the quæſtor, the treaſury, and the ammunition (11).

Upon the right and left, on the ſides, and beyond the laſt tent of the tribunes, facing the Prætorium on a right line, were the quarters of the extraordinary * cavalry, *Evocatorum* (12——14); and of the other voluntier horſe, *Selectorum* (13——15). All this cavalry faced, on one ſide, towards the place of the quæſtor, and, on the other, towards the market. It did not only incamp near the conſul's perſon, but often attended him upon marches; in a word, it was generally at hand to execute the orders of the conſul and quæſtor.

The Roman infantry, extraordinary and voluntiers, are in the rear of the horſe laſt ſpoken of, and upon the ſame line (16), and do the ſame ſervice for the conſul and quæſtor.

Above this horſe and foot is a ſtreet an hundred feet broad, which runs the whole breadth of the camp.

On the other ſide of this ſpace are the quarters of the extraordinary foot of the allies facing the market, the Prætorium, and the treaſury, or place of the quæſtor (17).

---

* *Theſe two corps were horſe, either choſen by the conſuls themſelves, or ſuch as voluntarily attended them. This gave birth to the Prætorian cohorts, or bands under the emperors. The* Selecti *or* Ablecti, *whether horſe or foot, were drawn out of the allies. The* Evocati *were voluntiers, old ſoldiers, either citizens or allies.*

The extraordinary foot of the allies were incamped behind their horſe, and faced the intrenchment and the extremity of the camp (18).

The void ſpaces that remained on both ſides were allotted to ſtrangers and allies, who came later than the reſt (19).

All things thus diſpoſed, we ſee the camp forms a ſquare, and that, as well by the diſtribution of the ſtreets, as the whole diſpoſition, it very much reſembles a city. And this was the ſoldiers idea of it, who conſidered the camp as their country, and the tents as their houſes.

Theſe tents were generally made of ſkins; from whence came the expreſſion, much uſed by authors, *ſub pellibus habitare.* The ſoldiers joined together in meſſes, which they called *Contubernia.* Theſe generally conſiſted of eight or ten men.

From the intrenchment to the tents is a ſpace of two hundred feet; and that interval is of very great uſe, either for the entrance or departure of the legions. For each body of troops advances into that ſpace by the ſtreet before him, ſo that the troops, not marching in the ſame way, were not in danger of crowding and breaking each other's ranks. Beſides which, the cattle, and whatever is taken from the enemy, is placed there, where a guard is kept during the night. Another conſiderable advantage of it is, that, in attacks by night, neither fire nor dart can be thrown to them; or, if that happens, it is very ſeldom, and can do no great execution, the ſoldiers being at ſo great a diſtance, and under the cover of their tents. If the camp of Syphax and Aſdrubal in Africa had been incloſed within ſo great a ſpace, Scipio had never been able to have burnt it in one night.

By the exact calculation of the camp, as Polybius deſcribes it, each front contained 2016 feet, which make 672 yards; ſo that the whole ſuperficies of the camp was 4,064,256 feet, or 225,792 ſquare yards.

When the number of troops was greater, the meaſure and extent of the camp was augmented, without changing its form. When the conſul Livius Salinator received his collegue Nero into his camp, the extent of the camp was not enlarged; the troops were only made to take up leſs ground, becauſe thoſe of Nero were not to ſtay long; which was what deceived Aſdrubal. *Caſtra nihil aucta errorem faciebant.*

Liv. l. 27. n. 46.

Polybius does not tell us, where the lieutenants, *Legati*, who held the firſt rank after the conſul, or the prætors and other officers, incamped. It is very likely, that they were not far from the conſul, with whom they had a continual intercourſe as well as the tribunes.

Nor is he more expreſs upon the gates of the camp, which were four according to Livy: *Ad quatuor portas exercitum inſtruxit, ut, ſigno dato, ex omnibus partibus eruptionem facerent.* He afterwards calls them *the Extraordinary*, *the Right principal*, *the Left principal*, and *the Quæſtorian.* They have alſo other names, about which it is not a little difficult to reconcile authors. It is believed that the *Extraordinary* gate was called ſo, becauſe near the place where the extraordinary troops incamped; and that it was the ſame as the Prætorian, which took its name from its nearneſs to the Prætorium. The gate oppoſite to this, at the other extremity of the camp, was called *porta Decumana*, becauſe near the ten maniples of each legion;

Liv. l. 40. c. 27.

gion; and very probably is the ſame with the *Quæſtorian*, mentioned by Livy, in the place above cited. I ſhall not expatiate any farther upon theſe gates, which would require long diſſertations.

But we cannot ſufficiently admire the order, diſpoſition, and ſymmetry of all the parts of the Roman camp, which reſembles rather a city than a camp: the tent of the general, placed on an eminence, in the midſt of the altars and ſtatues of the gods, which ſeemed to render the Divinity preſent amongſt them; and ſurrounded on all ſides with the principal officers, always ready to receive and execute his orders. Four great ſtreets, which lead to the four gates of the camp, with abundance of other ſtreets on each ſide of them, all parallel to each other. An infinity of tents, placed in a line at equal diſtances, and with perfect ſymmetry. And this camp ſo vaſt and extenſive, and ſo diverſified in its parts, which ſeemed to have coſt infinite time and pains, was often the work of an hour or two, as if it had roſe of itſelf out of the earth. All this, however, is nothing in compariſon with what, in a manner, conſtitutes the ſoul of the camp: I mean the wiſdom of command, the attention and vigilance of the general, the perfect ſubmiſſion of the ſubaltern officers, the entire obedience of the ſoldiers to the orders of their chiefs, and the military diſcipline, obſerved with unexampled ſtrictneſs and ſeverity: qualities which ranked the Roman people above all nations, and at length made them their maſters. The Roman manner of incamping muſt have been very excellent and perfect, as they obſerved it inviolably for ſo many ages, and with ſo great ſucceſs, and there is almoſt no example of their camp's being forced by their enemies.

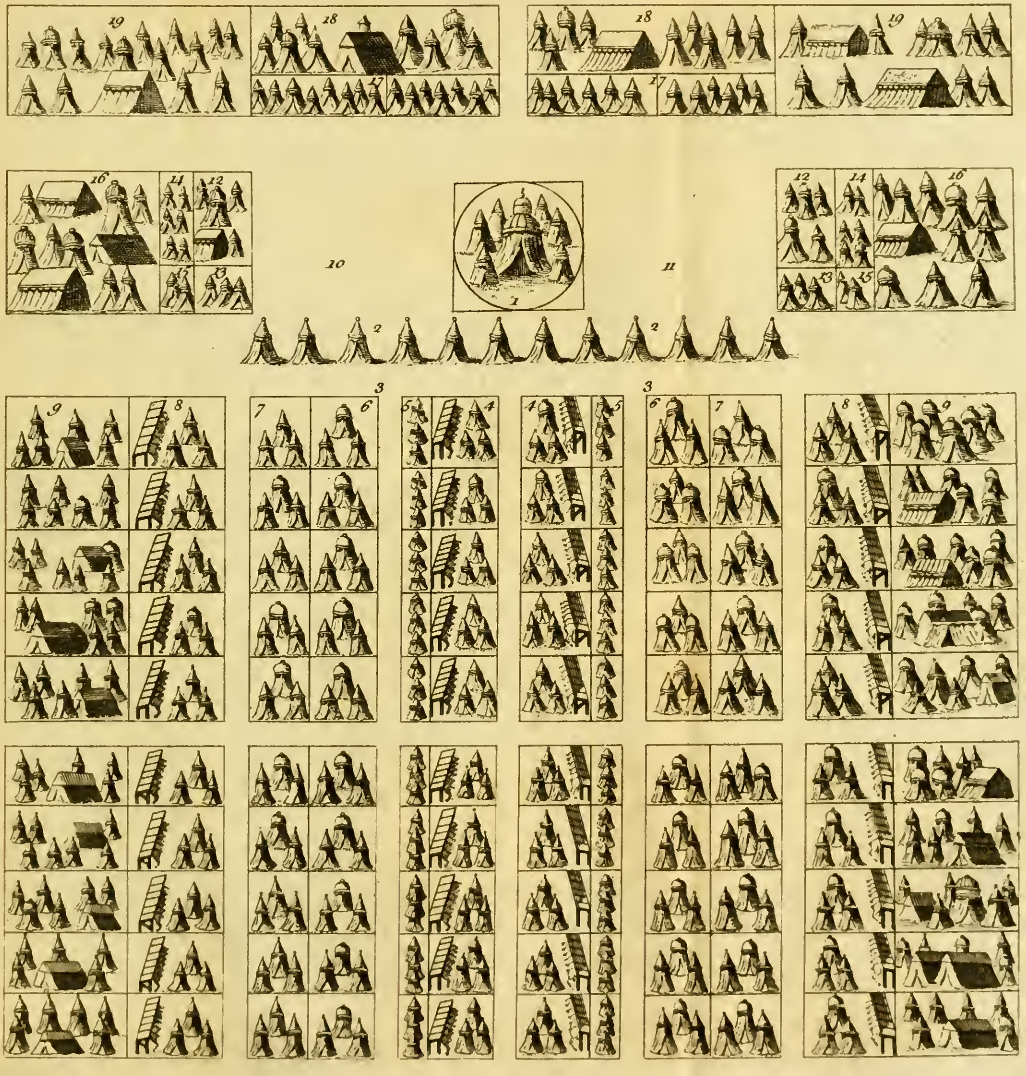
This cuſtom of fortifying camps regularly, which the Romans conſidered as one of the moſt eſſential parts of military knowledge and diſcipline, has been diſuſed by the moderns. The number of troops, of which armies are now compoſed, and that occupies a conſiderable extent of ground, ſeems to render this work impracticable, which would become infinite. The people of Aſia, whoſe armies were far more numerous than ours, never failed to incloſe their camp, at leaſt with very deep trenches, though they ſtaid only a day or a night; and often fortified it with good paliſadoes. Xenophon obſerves, that it was the great number of their troops itſelf, that rendered this practice eaſy.

Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 2. p. 80.

It is agreed, that no people ever carried the knowledge and practice of the art of war to an higher degree of perfection than the Romans: but it muſt be confeſſed, that their principal excellency lay in the art of incamping, and in drawing up armies in battle array. And this is what Polybius admires moſt in it, who was a good judge of military affairs, and had been long a witneſs of the excellent diſcipline obſerved amongſt the Roman troops. When Philip, the father of Perſeus, and before him Pyrrhus, prejudiced by their eſteem for the Greeks, and full of contempt for all other nations, whom they treated as Barbarians, ſaw, for the firſt time, the diſtribution and order of the Roman camp, they cried out with ſurpriſe and admiration: *Sure that cannot be the diſpoſition of Barbarians!*

But what ought to ſurpriſe us moſt, and what it is even difficult to conceive, ſo remote are our manners from it, is this character of a people inured to the rudeſt toils, and invincible to the ſevereſt fatigues. We ſee here the effects of a good

Roman Camp.



good education, and wholſome habits contracted from the moſt early youth. Moſt of theſe ſoldiers, though Roman citizens, had eſtates, and cultivated their inheritances with their own hands. In times of peace they exerciſed themſelves in the moſt painful labours. Their hands, accuſtomed daily to wield the ſpade, turn up the land, and guide an heavy plow, only changed exerciſes, and even found reſt in thoſe impoſed upon them by the military diſcipline; as the Spartans are ſaid never to have been more at their eaſe than in the army and camp, ſo hard and auſtere was their manner of living at all other times.

Who could believe, that there was nothing, even to cleanlineſs, of which particular care was not taken in the Roman camp! As the great ſtreet, ſituated in the front of the Prætorium, was much frequented by the officers and ſoldiers, who paſſed through it to receive and carry orders, and upon their other occaſions, and thereby expoſed to much dirt; a number of ſoldiers were appointed to ſweep and clean it every day in winter, and to water it in ſummer to prevent the duſt.

SECT. V.

Employments and exerciſes of the Roman ſoldiers and officers in their camp.

THE camp being prepared in the manner we have deſcribed, the tribunes aſſemble to take the oath of all the men in the legions, as well free as ſlaves. All ſwear in their turn; and their oath conſiſts in a promiſe not to ſteal any thing in the camp, and to bring whatever they ſhould find in it to the tribunes.

The ſoldiers had before taken a like oath, at the time they were liſted: I deferred repeating it till now, that, being joined with the other, its force might be the better conceived. By this firſt oath "the ſoldier engages to ſteal nothing alone or in "concert with others, either in the army or with-"in ten thouſand paces of it; and to carry to the "conſul, or to reſtore to its lawful owner, what-"ever he may find exceeding the value of one "ſeſtertius, that is to ſay, about five farthings, "excepting certain things mentioned in the oath." What is ſaid here of ten thouſand paces from the army does not mean, that the ſoldiers were allowed to ſteal beyond that diſtance: but whatever they found without thoſe bounds they were not obliged to carry to the conſul. Amongſt things excepted, was the fruit of a tree, *pomum.* Marcus Scaurus tells us, however, as a memorable example of the Roman abſtinence, that, a fruit-tree happening to grow within the incloſure of the camp, when the army quitted it the next day, nobody had touched it. Scaurus commanded the army at that time.

Aul. Gell. l. 16. c. 4.

Frontin. Stratag. l. 4. c. 3.

This oath ſhews, how far the Romans carried their attention and exactneſs in preventing all rapine and violence in the army, becauſe theft is not only prohibited the ſoldiery, upon pain of the moſt indiſpenſable ſeverities; but they are not even permitted to appropriate what they find on their way, and chance preſents them. Hence the laws actually treat, as theft, the retaining any thing of another's after having found it, whether the owner were known or not: *Qui alienum jacens lucri faciendi cauſâ ſuſtulit, furti obſtringitur, ſive ſcit cujus ſit, ſive neſcit.* Sabin. ex lib. Jur. Civil. 2.

I have ſaid, that theft was prohibited with inexorable ſeverity. There is a very terrible example of this under the emperors. Spartian. in Peſcen. A ſoldier had ſtole a fowl from a peaſant, and had eat it with nine other men in his meſs. The emperor Peſcennius Niger condemned them all to die, and only ſpared their lives at the earneſt requeſt of the whole army, obliging each of them to give the countryman ten fowls, and fixing a mark of public infamy upon them during the reſt of the war. How many crimes is ſo wholſome a rigour capable of preventing! What a ſight is a camp under ſuch regulations! But what a vaſt difference is there between ſoldiers obedient to ſuch a diſcipline in the midſt of Paganiſm, and our marauders, who call themſelves Chriſtians, and fear neither God nor man! The incloſure of the camp was a good barrier againſt diſorder and licenſe; and we ſhall ſoon ſee, that, even upon marches, ſeverity of diſcipline had no leſs effect than lines and intrenchments.

A wonderful order was obſerved night and day throughout the whole camp, in reſpect to the watch word, centinels, and guards; and it was in this its ſecurity and quiet conſiſted. To render the guard more regular and leſs fatiguing, the

night

night was divided into four parts or watches, and the day into four ſtations. Every one had his duty fixed, both in regard to time and place; and in the camp all things were regulated and diſpoſed, as in a well-ordered family.

I have already ſpoken elſewhere of the ſimplicity of the antients in regard to their proviſions and equipage. The ſecond Scipio Africanus would not ſuffer a ſoldier to have any more than a kettle, a ſpit, and a wooden bowl. * Epaminondas, the glorious Theban general, had only this furniture both for the field and city. The antient generals of Rome were not more magnificent. They did not know † what ſilver plate was in the army; and had only a bowl and a ſaltcellar of that metal for ſacrifices. The horſes glittered alſo with ſilver ornaments. The hours of dining and ſupping were made known by a certain ſignal. We have obſerved, that moſt of the Roman emperors eat in public, and often in the open air. It has been remarked, ‡ that Peſcennius made no uſe of coverings againſt the rain. The ‖ meals of theſe emperors, as well as of the antient generals, of whom Valerius Maximus ſpeaks, were ſuch as might be eaten in public without any reſerve! the meats of which they conſiſted had nothing

---

* Epaminondas, Dux Thebanorum tantæ abſtinentiæ fuit, ut in ſupellectili ejus, præter ahenum & veru unicum, nihil inveniretur. *Frontin. Strateg.* l. 4. c. 3.

† Præter equos viroſque & ſi quid argenti, quod plurimum in phaleris equorum, (nam ad veſcendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera præda diripienda militi data eſt *Liv.* l. 22. n. 52.

‡ Idem in omni expeditione, ante omnes militarem cibum ſumpſit nec ſibi unquam, vel contra imbres, quæſivit tecti ſuffragium. *Capitol.*

‖ Fuit illa ſimplicitas antiquorum in cibo capiendo, humanitatis ſimul & continentiæ certiſſima index. Nam maximis viris prandere & cœnare in propatulo, verecundiæ non erat. Nec ſane ullas epulas habebant, quas oculis populi ſubjicere erubeſcerent. *Val. Max.* l. 2. c. 5.

in them, that it was neceſſary to conceal from the eyes of the ſoldiers, who ſaw with joy and admiration, that their maſters were no better fed than themſelves.

What was moſt admirable, in the Roman diſcipline, was the continual exerciſe to which the troops were kept, either within or without the camp; ſo that they were never idle, and[*] had ſcarce any reſpite from duty. The new-raiſed ſoldiers performed their exerciſe regularly twice a day, and the old ones once. They were[†] formed to all the evolutions, and other parts of the art military. They were obliged to keep[‡] their arms always clean and bright. They were made to take haſty marches of a conſiderable length, laden with their arms, and ſeveral paliſadoes; and that often in ſteep and craggy countries. They were habituated always to keep their ranks, even in the midſt of diſorder and confuſion, and never to loſe ſight of their ſtandards. They were made to charge each other in mock battles, of which the officers, generals, and even the conſul himſelf were witneſſes, and in which they thought it for their glory to ſhare in perſon. When they had no enemy in the field, the troops were employed in conſiderable works, as well to keep them in exerciſe, as for the public utility. Such in particular are the highways, called for that reaſon *viæ militares*, which are the fruits of this wiſe and ſalutary cuſtom: *Stratum militari labore iter.* Quint. l. 2. c. 14.

---

[*] Opere faciendo milites ſe circumſpiciendi non habebant facultatem. *Hirt. in bell. Afric.*

[†] Ibi quia otioſa caſtra erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat (Sempronius) ut tyrones aſſueſcerent ſigna ſequi, & in acie cognoſcere ordines ſuos. *Liv.* l. 23. n. 35.

Primo die legiones in armis quatuor millium ſpatio decurrerent. Secundo die arma curare & tergere ante tentoria juſſit (Scipio Africanus.) Tertio die ſudibus inter ſe in modum juſtæ pugnæ concurrerent, præpilatiſque miſſilibus jaculati ſunt. *Liv.* l. 26. n. 51.

[‡] Acuere alii gladios; alii galeas buculaſque, ſcuta alii, loricaſque tergere. *Liv.* l. 44. n. 34.

We may judge whether, amidſt theſe exerciſes, which were almoſt continual, the troops could find time for thoſe unworthy diverſions, equally pernicious in the loſs of time and money. This itch, this phrenzy for gaming, which to the ſhame of our times has forced the intrenchments of the camp, and aboliſhed the laws of military diſcipline, had been regarded by the antients as the moſt ſiniſter of omens, and the moſt terrible of prodigies.

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Tranſlated from the French.

VOL. II.

The SECOND EDITION.

Illuſtrated with Copper Plates.

LONDON:
Printed for J. and F. Rivington; R. Baldwin; Hawes,
Clarke and Collins; R. Horsfield; W. Johnston;
W. Owen; T. Caslon; S. Crowder; B. Law; Z. Stuart;
Robinson and Roberts; and, Newbery and Carnan.

MDCCLXVIII.

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CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE V.

Of battles.

IT is time to make our troops march out of their camp, whether Greeks or Romans, and to bring them into the field againſt the enemy.

SECT. I.

The ſucceſs of battles principally depends upon the generals, or commanders in chief.

IT is in this view military merit appears in all its extent. To know whether a general were worthy of that name, the antients examined the conduct he had obſerved in a battle. They did not expect ſucceſs from the number of troops, which is often a diſadvantage; but from his prudence and valour, the cauſe and aſſurance of victory. They conſidered him as the ſoul of his army, that directs all its motions, whoſe dictates every thing obeys, and whoſe good or bad conduct generally determines the obtaining or loſing a battle. The affairs of the Carthaginians were abſolutely deſperate, when Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian arrived. Upon the account they gave him of what had paſſed in the battle, he attributed the ill ſucceſs of it ſolely to the incapacity of their generals, and fully proved the truth of his opinion. He had brought with him neither infantry nor cavalry, but knew how to uſe both. Every thing had ſoon a new aſpect, and demonſtrated that one good head is of more value than an hundred thouſand arms. The three defeats of the Romans by Hannibal taught them the effects of a bad choice. The war with Perſeus had continued three years entire. through the ill conduct of three conſuls, that had been charged with it: Paulus Emilius terminated it glorioufly in leſs than one. It is, on theſe occaſions, the difference between man and man is moſt evident.

The firſt care of a general, and that which demands great force of judgment and equal prudence, is to examine whether it be proper or no to come to a battle: for both may be equally dangerous. Mardonius periſhed miſerably with his army of three hundred thouſand men, for not having followed the advice of Artabazus, which was not to give battle, and rather to uſe gold and ſilver againſt the Greeks than iron. It was contrary to the opinion of the wiſe Memnon, that Darius's generals fought the battle of the Granicus, which gave the firſt blow to the empire of the Perſians. The blind temerity of Varro, notwithſtanding

ſtanding his collegue's remonſtrances, and the advice of Fabius, drew upon the republic the unfortunate battle of Cannæ; whereas a delay of a few weeks would probably have ruined Hannibal for ever. Perſeus, on the contrary, let ſlip the occaſion of fighting the Romans, in not having taken the advantage of the ardour of his army; and attacked them inſtantly after the defeat of their horſe, which had thrown their troops into diſorder and conſternation. Cæſar had been loſt after the battle of Dyrrachium, if Pompey had known how to improve his advantage. Great enterpriſes have their deciſive moments. The important lies in wiſely reſolving what to chuſe, and in ſeizing the preſent occaſion, that never returns * when once neglected: and in this the whole depends upon the general's prudence. † There is a diſtribution of cares and duties in an army. The head decrees, the arms execute. ‡ *Think only*, ſays Otho to his ſoldiers, *of your arms, and of fighting with bravery*; *and leave the care of taking good meaſures, and directing your valour aright, to me.*

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* Si in occaſionis momento, cujus prætervolat opportunitas, cunctatus paulum fueris, nequicquam mox amiſſam quæras. *Liv.* l. 25. n. 38,

† Diviſa inter exercitum duceſque munia. Militibus cupido pugnandi convenit: duces providendo, conſultando, proſunt. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. 3. c. 20.

‡ Vobis arma & animus ſit, mihi conſilium & virtutis veſtræ regimen relinquite. *Ib.* l. 1. c. 84.

SECT. II.

Care to conſult the gods and harangue the troops before a battle.

THE moment before a battle, the antients believed themſelves the moſt obliged to conſult the gods, and to incline them in their favour. They conſulted them either by the flight or ſinging of birds, by the inſpection of the entrails of victims, by the manner in which the ſacred chickens pecked their corn, and by things of the like nature. They laboured to render them propitious by ſacrifices, vows, and prayers. Many of the generals, eſpecially in the earlier times, diſcharged theſe duties with great ſolemnity and ſentiments of religion, which they ſometimes carried to a puerile and ridiculous ſuperſtition: others either deſpiſed them in their hearts, or openly made a jeſt of them; and people did not fail to aſcribe the miſfortunes, which their ignorance or temerity drew upon them, to that irreligious contempt. Never did a prince expreſs more reverence for the gods than Cyrus the Great. When he was marching to charge Crœſus, he ſung the hymn of battle aloud, to which the whole army replied with great cries, invoking the god of war. Paulus Emilius, before he gave Perſeus battle, ſacrificed twenty oxen ſucceſſively to Hercules, without finding any favourable ſign in all thoſe victims: it was not till the one and twentieth that he believed he ſaw ſomething which promiſed him the victory. There are alſo examples of a different kind. Epaminondas, no leſs brave, though not ſo ſuperſtitious as Paulus Emilius, finding himſelf oppoſed in giving battle at Leuctra, upon account of bad omens, replied by a verſe of Homer's, of which the ſenſe is:

The only good omen is to fight for one's country. A Roman conſul, who was fully determined to fight the enemy as ſoon as he came up with them, kept himſelf cloſe ſhut up within his litter, during his march, to prevent any bad omen from fruſtrating his deſign. Another did more: Seeing that the chickens would not eat, he threw them into the ſea, ſaying, *If they won't eat, let them drink.* Such examples of irreligion were uncommon, and the contrary opinion prevailed. There was, without doubt, ſuperſtition in many of theſe ceremonies: but the ſacrifices, vows, and prayers, which always preceded battles, were proofs, that they expected ſucceſs from the divinity, who alone diſpoſed of it.

After having paid theſe duties to the gods, they applied themſelves to men, and the general exhorted his ſoldiers. It was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom with all nations to harangue their troops before a battle; which cuſtom was very reaſonable, and might contribute very much to the victory. It is certainly right, when an army is upon the point of marching againſt the enemy, in order to engage, to oppoſe the fear of a ſeemingly approaching death with the moſt powerful reaſons, and ſuch as, if not capable of totally extinguiſhing that fear ſo deeply implanted in our nature, may at leaſt combat and overcome it: Such reaſons, as the love of our country, the obligation to defend it at the price of our blood, the remembrance of paſt victories, the neceſſity of ſupporting the glory of our nation, the injuſtice of a violent and cruel enemy, the dangers to which the fathers, mothers, wives, and children of the ſoldiers are expoſed: Theſe motives, I ſay, and many of the like nature, repreſented from the mouth of a general beloved and reſpected by his troops, may make a very ſtrong impreſſion upon their minds. Military eloquence conſiſts leſs in words, than in a certain eaſy and engaging air of authority, that at once adviſes and commands; and ſtill more in the ineſtimable advantage of being beloved by the troops, * which might ſupply its place if wanted.

Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 3. p. 84. It is not, as Cyrus obſerves, that ſuch diſcourſes can in an inſtant change the diſpoſition of ſoldiers, and from timorous and abject, as they might be, make them immediately bold and intrepid: but they awaken, they rouſe, the courage nature has before given them, and add a new force and vivacity to it.

To judge rightly of the cuſtom of haranguing the troops, as generally and conſtantly practiſed by the antients, we muſt go back to the ages wherein they lived, and conſider their manners and cuſtoms with particular attention.

The armies of the Greeks and Romans were compoſed of the ſame citizens, to whom, in the city and in time of peace, it was cuſtomary to communicate all the affairs of the ſtate. The general did no more in the camp, or in the field of battle, than he would have been obliged to do in the *Roſtrum*, or tribunal of harangues. He did his troops honour, and attracted their confidence and affection, in imparting to them his deſigns, motives, and meaſures. By that means he intereſted the ſoldier in the ſucceſs. The ſight only of the generals, officers, and ſoldiers aſſembled, communicated a reciprocal courage and ardour in them all. Every one piqued himſelf at that time upon the goodneſs of his aſpect and appearance, and obliged his neighbour to do the ſame. The fear of ſome was abated, or entirely baniſhed, by the valour of others. The diſpoſition of particular perſons became that of the whole body, and gave affairs their aſpect.

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* Caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis. *Tacit. in Agricol.* c. 16.

There were occaſions when it was moſt neceſſary to excite the good-will and zeal of the ſoldier: for inſtance, when a difficult and haſty march was to be made, to extricate the army out of a dangerous ſituation, or to obtain one more commodious: when courage, patience, and conſtancy were neceſſary for ſupporting famine and other violent diſtreſſes, conditions painful to nature: when ſome difficult, dangerous, but very important enterpriſe was to be undertaken: when it was neceſſary to conſole, encourage, and re-animate the troops after a defeat: when an hazardous retreat was to be made in view of the enemy, in a country he was maſter of: and laſtly, when only a generous effort was wanting to terminate a war, or ſome important enterpriſe.

Upon theſe and the like occaſions, the generals never failed to ſpeak in public to the army, in order to ſound their diſpoſition by their acclamations, more or leſs ſtrong, to inform them of their reaſons for ſuch and ſuch conduct, and to conciliate them to it; to diſpel the falſe reports which exaggerated difficulties, and diſcouraged them; to let them ſee the remedies preparing for the diſtreſſes they were under, and the ſucceſs to be expected from them; to explain the precautions it was neceſſary to take, and the motives for taking them. It was the general's intereſt to flatter the ſoldier in making him the confident of his deſigns, fears, and expedients, in order to engage him to ſhare in them, and act in concert and from the ſame motives with himſelf. The general in the midſt of ſoldiers, who, as well as himſelf, were all not only members of the ſtate, but had a ſhare in the authority of the government, conſidered him as a father in the midſt of his family.

It may not be eaſy to conceive how he could make himſelf heard by the troops, but that difficulty will vaniſh if we remember, that the armies of the Greeks and Romans were not very numerous. Thoſe of the former ſeldom exceeded ten or twelve thouſand men, and of the latter very rarely twice that number; I do not ſpeak of later times. The generals were heard, as the orators were in the public aſſemblies, or from the tribunal for harangues. All people did not hear: but however the whole people were informed at Rome and Athens; the whole people deliberated and decided, and none of them complained of not having heard. It ſufficed, that the moſt antient, the moſt conſiderable, the principals of companies and quarters were preſent at the harangue, of which they afterwards gave an account to the reſt.

On the column of Trajan, the emperor is ſeen haranguing the troops from a tribunal of turf raiſed higher than the ſoldiers heads, with the principal officers round him upon the platform, and the multitude forming a circle at a diſtance. One would not believe in how little room a great number of unarmed men will ſtand upright, when they preſs cloſe to each other; and theſe harangues were uſually made in the camp to the ſoldiers quiet and unarmed. Beſides which, they accuſtomed themſelves from their youth to ſpeak upon occaſion with a ſtrong and diſtinct voice.

When the armies were more numerous, and upon the point of giving battle, they had a very ſimple and natural manner of haranguing the troops. The general on horſeback rode through the ranks, and ſpoke ſomething to the ſeveral bodies of troops in order to animate them. * Alexander did ſo at the

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* Alexander ante prima ſigna ibat.—Cumque agmen obequitaret, varia oratione, ut cujuſque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur. *Q. Curt.* l. 3. c. 10.

battle of Iſſus, and Darius almoſt the ſame at that of * Arbela, though in a different manner. He harangued his troops from his chariot, directing his looks and geſture to the officers and ſoldiers that ſurrounded him. Without doubt, neither the one nor the other could be heard by any but thoſe who were neareſt them: but theſe ſoon transferred the ſubſtance of their diſcourſes to the reſt of the army.

Juſt. l. 38. c. 4—7. Juſtin, who abridged Trogus Pompeius, an excellent hiſtorian that lived in the time of Auguſtus, repeats an entire harangue, which his author had put into the mouth of Mithridates. It is very long, which ought not to ſeem ſurpriſing, becauſe Mithridates does not make it juſt before a battle, but only to animate his troops againſt the Romans, whom he had before overthrown in ſeveral battles, and intended to attack again. His army conſiſted of almoſt three hundred thouſand men of two and twenty different nations, who had each their peculiar language, all which Mithridates could ſpeak, and therefore had no occaſion for interpreters to explain his diſcourſe to them. Juſtin, where he repeats the ſpeech in queſtion, barely ſays, that Mithridates called an aſſembly of his ſoldiers: *Ad concionem milites vocat.* But what did he do to make two and twenty nations underſtand him? Did he repeat to each of them the whole diſcourſe quoted by Juſtin? That is improbable. It were to be wiſhed, that the hiſtorian had explained himſelf more clearly, and given us ſome light upon this head. Perhaps he contented himſelf with ſpeaking to his own nation, and making known his views and deſigns to the reſt by interpreters.

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* Darius, ſicut curru eminebat, dextra lævaque ad circumſtantium agmina oculos manuſque circumferens, &c. *Q. Curt.* l. 4. c. 14.

Liv. l. 30. n. 33. Hannibal acted in this manner. When he was going to give Scipio battle in Africa, he thought it incumbent on him to exhort his troops: and, as every thing was different amongſt them, language, cuſtoms, laws, arms, habits, and intereſts, ſo he made uſe of different motives to animate them.

"To the auxiliary troops he propoſed an im-
"mediate reward, and an augmentation of their
"pay out of the booty that ſhould be taken. He
"inflamed the peculiar and natural hatred of the
"Gauls againſt the Romans: As for the Ligu-
"rians, who inhabited a mountainous and barren
"country, he ſet before them the fertile vallies of
"Italy, as the fruit of their victory. He repre-
"ſented to the Moors and Numidians the cruel
"and violent government of Maſſiniſſa, to which
"they would be ſubjected, if overcome. In this
"manner he animated theſe different nations, by
"the different views of hope and fear. * As to the
"Carthaginians, he omitted nothing that might
"excite their valour, and addreſſed himſelf to
"them in the warmeſt and moſt pathetic terms:
"the danger of their country, their houſhold gods,
"the tombs of their anceſtors, the terror and con-
"ſternation of their fathers and mothers, their
"wives and children; in fine, the fate of Car-
"thage, which the event of that battle would either
"ruin and reduce into perpetual ſlavery, or render
"miſtreſs of the univerſe; every thing being ex-
"treme which ſhe had either to hope or fear."
This is a very fine diſcourſe. But how did he make theſe different nations underſtand it? Livy informs us: He ſpoke to the Carthaginians himſelf, and ordered the commanders of each nation to repeat to them what he had ſaid.

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* Carthaginienſibus mœnia patriæ, dii penates, ſepulcra majorum, liberi cum parentibus, conjugeſque pavidæ, aut excidium ſervitiumque, aut imperium orbis terrarum; nihil aut in metum aut in ſpem medium oſtentatur.

In this manner, the general ſometimes aſſembled the officers of his army, and, after having explained what he deſired the troops might be told, he ſent them back to their ſeveral brigades or companies, in order to report what they had heard, and animate them for the battle. Arrian obſerves this in particular of Alexander the Great before the famous battle of Arbela. Arrian. l. 3. p. 117.

SECT. III.

Manner of imbattling armies, and of engaging.

THE manner of drawing up armies in battle, was not always alike with the antients, and could not be ſo, becauſe it depends on circumſtances that vary perpetually, and conſequently require different diſpoſitions. The infantry were generally poſted in the centre, in one or more lines, and the horſe upon the wings.

At the battle of Thymbræa, all the troops of Crœſus, as well horſe as foot, were drawn up in one line thirty men deep, except the Egyptians, who amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand men. They were divided into twelve large bodies or ſquare battalions, of ten thouſand men each, an hundred in front, and as many in depth. Crœſus with all his endeavours could not make them change this order, to which they were accuſtomed: this rendered the greateſt part of thoſe troops uſeleſs, who were the beſt in the army, and did not a little contribute to the loſs of the battle. The Perſians generally fought fourſcore deep. Cyrus, to whom it was of great importance to extend his front as far as poſſible, in order to prevent being ſurrounded by the enemy, reduced his files to twelve deep only. The reader knows the event of this battle. Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 6. p. 158, &c.

Xenoph. hiſt. l. 6. p. 596, &c.

In the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians who had, of their own troops and their allies, four and twenty thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, were drawn up twelve deep; and the Thebans fifty, though not above ſix thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. This ſeems contrary to rules. The deſign of Epaminondas was to fall directly with the whole weight of his heavy battalion upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, well aſſured, that, if he could break that, the reſt of the army would be ſoon put to the rout: And the effect anſwered the deſign.

Vol. VI. p. 29, &c. Polyb. l. 17. p. 764, 767. Id. l. 12. p. 664.

I have deſcribed elſewhere the Macedonian phalanx, ſo famous amongſt the antients. It was generally divided, according to Polybius, into ten battalions, each conſiſting of ſixteen hundred men, an hundred in front, and ſixteen deep. Sometimes the latter number was doubled, or reduced to eight, according to the exigency of the occaſion. The ſame Polybius make a ſquadron conſiſt of eight hundred horſe, generally drawn up an hundred in front and eight in depth: he ſpeaks of the Perſian cavalry.

As to the Romans, their cuſtom of drawing up their infantry in three lines continued long, and with uniformity enough. Amongſt other examples, that of the battle of Zama between Scipio and Hannibal may ſuffice to give us a juſt idea of the manner in which the Romans and Carthaginians imbattled their troops.

Scipio placed the *Haſtati* (or pikes) in the front line, leaving ſpaces between the cohorts. In the ſecond he poſted the *Principes*, with their cohorts not fronting the ſpaces of the firſt line, as was uſual with the Romans, but behind the cohorts of the *Haſtati*, leaving ſpaces directly oppoſite to thoſe of the front line; and this becauſe of the great number of elephants in the enemy's army, to which Scipio thought proper to leave a free paſſage. The

Triarii compoſed the third line, and were a kind of corps de reſerve. The cavalry were diſtributed upon the two wings; that of Italy upon the left commanded by Lælius, and the Numidians upon the right under Maſſiniſſa. Into the ſpaces of the firſt line he threw the light-arm'd troops, with orders to begin the battle; in ſuch a manner, however, that in caſe they were repulſed, or not able to ſupport the charge of the elephants, they ſhould retire, thoſe who ran beſt, behind the whole army through the direct intervals; and thoſe who ſhould find themſelves ſurrounded, through ſuch openings as might be on the right or left.

As to the other army, more than fourſcore elephants covered it in front. Behind them Hannibal poſted the foreign mercenaries, to the number of about twelve thouſand Ligurians, Gauls, Balearians, and Moors: behind this firſt line, were the Africans and Carthaginians. Theſe were the flower of his army, with which he intended to fall upon the enemy, when fatigued and weakened by the battle: and in the third line, which he removed to the diſtance of more than an hundred paces from *More than*
the ſecond, were the troops he had brought with *a ſtadium.*
him from Italy, on whom he could not rely, becauſe they had been forced from their country, and he did not know whether he ought to conſider them as allies or enemies. On the left wing he placed the cavalry of the Numidian allies, and on the right that of the Carthaginians.

I could wiſh that Polybius or Livy had informed us what number of troops there were on each ſide, and what depth the generals had given them in drawing them up. In the battle of Cannæ ſome years before this, there is no mention of the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, that generally compoſed the three lines of the Roman armies. Livy, without doubt, ſuppoſes it a cuſtom known to all the world.

It was uſual enough, eſpecially with ſome nations, to raiſe great cries, and to ſtrike their ſwords againſt their bucklers, as they advanced to charge an enemy. This noiſe, joined to that of the trumpets, was very proper to ſuppreſs in them, by a kind of ſtupefaction, all fear of danger, and to inſpire them with a courage and boldneſs, that had no view but victory, and defied death.

The troops ſometimes marched ſoftly and cooly to the charge: and ſometimes, when they approached the enemy, they ſprung forwards with impetuoſity as faſt as they could move. Great men have been divided in opinion upon theſe different methods of attacking. On the day of the battle of Thermopylæ, Xerxes's ſpy found the Spartans preparing to engage only by combing their hair. Never was danger however greater. This bravado ſuited only ſoldiers determined like them to conquer or die: beſides which, it was their uſual cuſtom. Her. l. 7. c. 208.

The light-armed troops generally began the action by a flight of darts, arrows, and ſtones, either againſt the elephants, if there were any, or againſt the horſe or infantry, to put them into diſorder; after which they retired through the ſpaces behind the firſt line, from whence they continued their diſcharges over the ſoldiers heads.

The Romans began a battle by throwing their javelins againſt the enemy, after which they came to blows with them; and it was then their valour was ſhewn, and great ſlaughter enſued.

When they had broken the enemy and put them to flight, the great danger was, as it ſtill is, to purſue them with too much ardour, without regard to what paſſed in the reſt of the army. We have ſeen that the loſs of moſt battles proceeds from this fault, the more to be feared, as it ſeems the effect of valour and bravery. Lælius and Maſſiniſſa, in the battle of Zama, after having broken the enemy and put them to flight, did not abandon themſelves to ſo imprudent an ardour; but, returning immediately from the purſuit, rejoined the main body, and falling upon Hannibal's rear, put the greateſt part of his phalanx to the ſword.

Lycurgus had decreed, that, after having purſued the enemy enough to ſecure the victory, the purſuit ſhould ceaſe; and that for two reaſons: The firſt, becauſe as the war was made between Greeks and Greeks, humanity required, that they ſhould not act with the greateſt extremity againſt neighbouring people, in ſome ſort their countrymen, who profeſſed themſelves vanquiſhed by their flight. And the ſecond, becauſe the enemy, relying upon this cuſtom, would be inclined to preſerve their lives by retreating, rather than perſiſt obſtinately in a battle, during which they knew they had no quarter to expect.

The attack of an army by the flanks and rear muſt be very advantageous, as in moſt battles it is generally attended with victory. Hence we ſee in all battles, that the principal care of the moſt able generals is to provide againſt this danger.

It is ſurpriſing, that the Romans had ſo few cavalry in their armies; three hundred horſe to four or five thouſand foot. It is true, they made an excellent uſe of thoſe they had. Sometimes they diſmounted and fought on foot, their horſes being trained to ſtand ſtill in the mean while. Sometimes they carried light-armed ſoldiers behind them, who got off and remounted with wonderful agility. Sometimes the horſe charged the enemy on the full gallop, who could not ſupport ſo violent an attack. But however all this amounted to no great ſervice; and we have ſeen Hannibal indebted for his

Liv. l. 3. n. 62.
Id. l. 26. n. 4.
Id. l. 8. n. 30.

his ſuperiority in his four firſt battles chiefly to his cavalry.

The Romans had made war at firſt upon their neighbours, whoſe country was woody, full of vineyards and olive-trees, and ſituate near the Appennine mountains, where the horſe had little room to act or draw up. The neighbouring people had the ſame reaſon for not keeping much cavalry; and hence it became the cuſtom on both ſides to have little. The Roman legion was eſtabliſhed to the number of three hundred horſe, the allies furniſhing twice that number; which cuſtom in ſucceeding times had the force of a law.

The army of the Perſians had no cavalry, when Cyrus firſt had the command of it. He ſoon perceived the want of it, and in a very ſhort time raiſed a great body of horſe, to which he was principally indebted for his conqueſt. The Romans were obliged to do the ſame, when they turned their arms againſt the Eaſt, and had to deal with nations, whoſe principal force conſiſted in cavalry. Hannibal had taught them what uſe they were to make of it.

I do not find any mention made of hoſpitals for the ſick and wounded in the armies of the antients. No doubt they took care of them. Homer ſpeaks of ſeveral illuſtrious phyſicians in the army of the Greeks at the ſiege of Troy; and we know that they acted as ſurgeons. Cyrus the younger, in the army with which he marched to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, did not omit to carry with him a conſiderable number of able phyſicians. Cæſar tells us, in more than one paſſage of his Commentaries, that, after a battle, the wounded were carried into the neareſt neighbouring city. There are many inſtances of generals going to viſit the wounded in their tents: which is a proof, that in quarters, where ſeven or eight comrades, citizens of the ſame diſtrict

Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 1. p. 29.

diſtrict of the ſame city, lay, the ſoldiers took care of one another, when wounded.

Livy often mentions the *Cartel*; or agreement between nations at war for the ranſom of priſoners. After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, having made Liv. l. 22. n. 52.
himſelf maſter of the ſmall camp of the Romans, agreed to reſtore each Roman citizen for three hundred pieces of money called *quadrigati*, which were *denarii:* that is, for about ſeven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres; the allies for two hundred; and the ſlaves for one. The Romans, when they Id. l. 32. n. 17.
took Eretria, a city of Eubœa, where the Macedonians had a garriſon, fixed the price of their ranſom at three hundred pieces of money alſo, that is to ſay, at ſeven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres. Hannibal, ſeeing the Romans were deter- Id. l. 34. n. 49.
mined not to ranſom their priſoners who had ſurrendered themſelves to him, ſold them to different nations. The Achæans bought a conſiderable number of them. When the Romans had reëſtabliſhed the liberty of Greece, the Achæans, out of gratitude, ſent home all theſe priſoners, and paid their maſters five denarii per head, that is to ſay, two hundred and fifty livres; the total of which, according to Polybius, amounted to an hundred talents, or an hundred thouſand crowns: for, in Achaia, there were twelve hundred of thoſe priſoners.

I do not believe, that the uſe of writing in cyphers was known to the antients. It is however very neceſſary for conveying ſecret advices to officers, either remote from the army, or ſhut up in a city, or on other important occaſions. Whilſt Cæſ. Bell. Gall. l. 5.
Q. Cicero was beſieged in his camp by the Gauls, Cæſar wrote him advice, that he was marching to his relief with ſeveral legions, and ſhould ſoon arrive. The letter * was written in Greek, that, if it

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* Epiſtolam Græis conſcriptam literis mittit, ne, intercepta epiſtola, noſtra ab hoſtibus conſilia cognoſcerentur.

fell into the enemy's hands, they might not know that Cæſar advanced. That precaution does not ſeem ſufficiently certain; nor are ſignals, which I have treated of elſewhere, much more ſo: beſides which, the uſe of them was very difficult, and at the ſame time perplexing and full of obſcurity.

Plut. in Cornel. p. 217.

I ſhall relate a common and very remarkable cuſtom amongſt the Romans: That was, when they were drawn up in line of battle, and ready to take their ſhields, and gird their robes cloſe to their bodies, to make their wills without writing, by only appointing their heir before three or four witneſſes. This was terminated *teſtamenta in procinctu facere.*

After the little I have ſaid upon battles, not daring to engage myſelf farther in a ſubject ſo much out of my ſphere, I proceed to the rewards and puniſhments conſequential of good or bad ſucceſs in battle.

SECT. IV.

Puniſhments. Rewards. Trophies. Triumphs.

SOLON had reaſon to ſay, that the two great ſprings of human actions, and what principally ſet mankind in motion, are hope and fear; and that a good government cannot ſubſiſt without rewards and puniſhments; becauſe impunity imboldens guilt; and virtue, when neglected and undiſtinguiſhed, frequently becomes languid and declines. This maxim is ſtill truer, eſpecially with regard to military government, which, as it gives greater ſcope to licence, requires alſo, that order and diſcipline ſhould be annexed to it by ties of a ſtronger and more vigorous nature.

It is true, this rule may be abuſed and carried too far, particularly in point of puniſhment. With the Carthaginians, the generals, who had been unfortunate in war, were generally puniſhed with death; as if want of ſucceſs were a crime, and the moſt excellent captain might not loſe a battle without any fault on his ſide. They carried their rigour much farther. * For they condemned him to death who had taken bad meaſures, though ſucceſsful. Amongſt the † Gauls, when troops were to be raiſed, all the young men capable of bearing arms were obliged to be preſent at the aſſembly on a certain day. He who came laſt was condemned to die, and executed with the moſt cruel torments. What an horrid barbarity was this!

The Greeks, though very ſevere in ſupporting military diſcipline, were more humane. At Athens, the refuſal to bear arms, which is far more criminal than a delay of a few hours or moments, was only puniſhed by a public interdiction, or a kind of excommunication, which excluded the perſon from entering the aſſemblies of the people, and the temples of the gods. But to throw away his ſhield in order to fly, to quit his poſt, or be a deſerter, were capital crimes, and puniſhed with death. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 457.

At Sparta it was an inviolable law never to fly, however ſuperior the enemy's army might be in number; never to abandon a poſt, nor ſurrender their arms. Thoſe who had failed in theſe points, were declared infamous for ever. They were not only excluded from all offices, employments, aſſemblies, and public ſhews; but it was ſcandalous to ally with them in marriage, and a thouſand inſults Her. l. 7. c. 104.

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* Apud Carthaginienſes in crucem tolli imperatores dicuntur, ſi proſpero eventu, pravo conſilio, rem geſſerunt. *Liv.* l. 38. n. 48.

† Hoc more Gallorum eſt initium belli, quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire coguntur; & qui ex eis noviſſimus venit, in conſpectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur. *Cæſ. de Bell. Gal.* 5.

were offered them in public with impunity. On the contrary, great honours were paid to ſuch as had behaved themſelves valiantly in battle, or had died ſword in hand in the defence of their country.

Greece abounded with ſtatues of the great men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battles. Their tombs were adorned with magnificent inſcriptions, which perpetuated their names and memories. The cuſtom of the Athenians in this point was of wonderful efficacy to animate the courage of the citizens, and inſpire them with ſentiments of honour and glory. After a battle, the laſt duties were publicly rendered to thoſe who had been ſlain. The bones of the dead were expoſed for three days ſucceſſively to the veneration of the people, who thronged to throw flowers upon them, and to burn incenſe and perfumes before them. After which, thoſe bones were carried in pomp, in as many coffins as there were tribes in Athens, to the place particularly allotted for their interment. The whole people attended this religious ceremony. The proceſſion had ſomething very auguſt and majeſtic in it, and rather reſembled a glorious triumph, than a funeral ſolemnity. Thucyd. l. 2. p. 121.

Some days after, which far exceeds what I have juſt ſaid, one of the beſt qualified Athenians pronounced the funeral oration of thoſe illuſtrious dead before the whole people. The great Pericles was charged with this commiſſion after the firſt campaign of the Peloponneſian war. Thucydides has preſerved his diſcourſe, and there is another upon the ſame ſubject in Plato. The intent of this funeral oration was to extol the courage of thoſe generous ſoldiers who had ſhed their blood for their country; to inculcate the imitation of their example to the citizens, and eſpecially to conſole their families. Theſe were exhorted to moderate their grief by reflecting on the glory their relations had acquired for ever. "You have never, ſays the "orator to the fathers and mothers, prayed to the "gods, that your children ſhould be exempt from "the common law, which dooms all mankind to "die; but only that they ſhould prove perſons of "virtue and honour. Your vows are heard, and the "glory with which you ſee them crowned, ought "to dry your eyes, and change your lamentations into thankſgiving." The orators often, by a figure common enough with them, eſpecially upon great occaſions, put theſe lively exhortations into the mouths of the dead themſelves, who ſeemed to quit their tombs to chear and conſole their fathers and mothers.

They did not confine themſelves to bare diſcourſe and barren praiſes. The republic, as a tender and compaſſionate mother, took upon herſelf the charge of maintaining and ſubſiſting the old men, widows, and orphans, who ſtood in need of her ſupport. The latter were brought up ſuitably to their condition, till they were of age to carry arms: and then publicly, in the theatre, and in the preſence of the whole people, they were dreſſed in a complete ſuit of armour, which was given them, and declared ſoldiers of the republic.

Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 452, 453.

Was there any thing wanting to the funeral pomp I now ſpeak of, and did it not ſeem in ſome meaſure to transform the poor ſoldiers and common burghers of Athens into heroes and conquerors? Have the honours, rendered amongſt us to the moſt illuſtrious generals, any thing more animating and affecting? It was by theſe means that courage, greatneſs of ſoul, ardour for glory, and that zeal and devotion for their country, which rendered the Greeks inſenſible to the greateſt dangers and death itſelf, were perpetuated amongſt them. For, as

Thucydides * obſerves upon occaſion of theſe funeral honours, *Great men are formed, where merit is beſt rewarded.*

The Romans were neither leſs exact in puniſhing offences againſt military diſcipline, nor leſs attentive in rewarding merit.

The puniſhment was proportioned to the crime, and did not always extend to death. Sometimes a word of contempt ſufficed for the puniſhment of the troops: at others, the general puniſhed them by refuſing them their ſhare in the ſpoils. Sometimes they were diſmiſſed, and not permitted to ſerve againſt the enemy. It was common enough to make them work in the intrenchments of the camp in a ſingle tunic and without a belt. Ignominy was often more affecting than death itſelf. Dion. Caſſ. l. 42. p. 210. Cæſar's mutinous troops demanded to be diſmiſſed with ſeditious complaints. † Cæſar ſaid only one word to them, which was *Quirites*, as much as to ſay, citizens, whereas he uſed to call them *Fellow-ſoldiers* or *comrades*; and immediately diſcharged them. That word was like a ſtroke of thunder to them. They believed themſelves degraded and entirely diſhonoured, and never ceaſed importuning him in the moſt humble and pathetic terms, till he conſented, as the greateſt of favours, that they ſhould continue to carry arms for him. This puniſhment, whereby the ſoldiers were broken, was called *exauctoratio.*

Liv. l. 3. n. 29. The Roman army, through the fault of the conſul Minucius, who commanded it, was beſieged in their camp by the Æqui, and very near being taken. Cincinnatus, appointed dictator for this expedition, marched to his aid, delivered him, and made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, which abounded with riches. He puniſhed the conſul's troops by giving them no ſhare of the booty, and obliged Minucius to quit the conſulſhip, and to ſerve in the army as his lieutenant, which he did without complaint or murmur: "* In thoſe times, obſerves the "hiſtorian, people ſubmitted with ſo much complacency to the perſons in whom they ſaw a ſuperiority of merit joined with authority, that "this army, more ſenſible of the benefit, than "ignominy they had received, decreed the dictator "a crown of gold of a pound weight, and on "his departure ſaluted him their patron and preſerver."

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* Ἆθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσι.

† Divus Julius ſeditionem exercitus verbo uno compeſcuit, *Quirites* vocando qui ſacramentum ejus detrectabant. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 1. c. 42.

After the battle of Cannæ, wherein more than forty thouſand Romans were left upon the ſpot, about ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, who were in the two camps, ſeeing themſelves without reſource or hope, ſurrendered themſelves and their arms to the enemy, and were made priſoners. Ten thouſand, who had fled as well as Varro, eſcaped by different ways, and at length rejoined each other at Canuſium under the conſul. Whatever inſtances theſe priſoners and their relations could make afterwards to obtain their ranſom, and how great ſoever the want of ſoldiers then was at Rome, the ſenate could never reſolve to redeem ſoldiers who had been ſo baſe as to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy, and whom more than forty thouſand men, killed before their eyes, could, not inſpire with the courage to die in the field for their country. The other ten thouſand, who had eſcaped by flight, were baniſhed into Sicily, and their return prohibited as long as the war with the Carthaginians Liv. l. 22. n. 50—60. Liv. l. 23. n. 25.

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* Adeò tam imperio meliori animus manſuetè obediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiæ hic exercitus memor & coronam auream dictatori libræ pondo decreverit, & proficiſcentem eum patronum ſalutaverit. *Liv.*

ginians ſhould continue. They demanded with earneſt intreaties to be led on againſt the enemy, and that they might have an opportunity to expiate with their blood the ignominy of their flight. The ſenate remained inflexible, not believing that they could confide the defence of the republic to ſoldiers, who had abandoned their companions in battle. At length, upon the remonſtrances and warm ſollicitations of the proconſul Marcellus, their demand was granted; but upon condition, that they ſhould not ſet foot in Italy as long as the enemy ſhould remain in it. Liv. l. 27. n. 11. All the knights of the army of Cannæ, baniſhed into Sicily, were alſo ſeverely puniſhed. In the firſt review made by the cenſors after that battle, all the horſes with which the republic furniſhed them, were taken away; which implied their being degraded from the rank of Roman knights; their former years of ſervice were declared void, and that they ſhould be obliged to ſerve ten more, ſupplying themſelves with horſes; that is to ſay, as many years as if they had never ſerved at all: for the knights were not obliged to ſerve more than ten campaigns.

Liv. l. 22. n. 5. l. 24. n. 14—16. The ſenate, rather than ranſom the priſoners, which would have coſt leſs, choſe to arm eight thouſand ſlaves; to whom they promiſed liberty, if they behaved themſelves valiantly. They had ſerved almoſt two years with great bravery: their liberty however was not yet arrived, and, with whatever ardour they deſired it *, they choſe rather to deſerve than to demand it. An important occaſion aroſe, in which it was pointed out to them as the reward of their valour. They did wonders in the battle, except four thouſand of them, who diſcovered ſome timidity. After the battle, they were all declared free. Their joy was incredible.

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* Jam alterum annum libertatem tacitè mereri, quàm poſtulare palam maluerunt. *Liv.*

Gracchus, under whoſe command they were, told them: *Before I make you all equal by the title of liberty, I would not willingly have made a difference between the valiant and the timorous. It is however but juſt that I ſhould do ſo.* He then made all thoſe, who had not done their duty as well as the reſt, promiſe upon oath, that, as long as they ſerved, as a puniſhment for their fault, they ſhould always ſtand at their meals, except when hindered by ſickneſs: which was accepted and executed with entire ſubmiſſion. This, of all the military puniſhments, was the lighteſt and moſt gentle.

The puniſhments I have hitherto related ſcarce affected any thing beſides the ſoldier's honour: there were others which extended to his life.

One of the latter was called *Fuſtuarium*, * the baſtinado. It was executed thus: The tribune, taking a ſtick, only touched the criminal with it, and, immediately after, all the ſoldiers of the legion fell on him with ſticks and ſtones, ſo that he generally loſt his life in this puniſhment. If any one eſcaped, he was not thereby entirely diſcharged. His return into his own country was eternally prohibited, and not one of his relations durſt open his door to him. They puniſhed a centinel in this manner, who had quitted his poſt; from whence may be judged the exact diſcipline they obſerved in reſpect to the guard by night, on which the ſafety and preſervation of the whole army depended: all thoſe who abandoned their poſts, whether officers or ſoldiers, were treated in the ſame manner. † Velleius Paterculus cites an example of this puniſh- Polyb. l. 6. p. 481.

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* Si Antonius conſul, fuſtuarium meruerunt legiones, quæ conſulem reliquerunt. *Cic. Philip.* 3. n. 14.

† Calvinus Domitius cum ex conſulatu obtineret Hiſpaniam, graviſſimi comparandique antiquis exempli auctor fuit. Quippe primipili centurionem, nomine Vibilium, ob turpem ex acie fugam, fuſte percuſſit. *Paterc.* l. 2. c. 78.

ment, executed upon one of the principal officers of a legion, for having ſhamefully taken to flight in a battle: this was in the time of Antony and young Octavius. But, what appears more aſtoniſhing, thoſe were condemned to the ſame puniſhment who ſtole in the camp. The reader may remember the oath taken by the ſoldiers upon their entering it.

When a whole legion or cohort were guilty, as it was not poſſible to put all that were criminal to death, they were decimated by lot, and he, whoſe name was drawn the tenth, was executed. In this manner, fear ſeized all, though few were puniſhed. Others were ſentenced to receive barley inſtead of wheat, and to incamp without the intrenchments at the hazard of being attacked by the enemy. Livy has an example of a decimation as early as the infancy of the republic. Craſſus, when he put himſelf at the head of the legions, who had ſuffered themſelves to be defeated by Spartacus, revived the antient cuſtom of the Romans, which had been diſuſed for ſeveral ages, of decimating the ſoldiers when they had failed in their duty; and that puniſhment had a very happy effect. This kind of death, ſays Plutarch, is attended with great ignominy; and, as it was executed before the whole army, it diffuſed terror and horror throughout the camp.

Liv. l. 2. n. 59. Plut. in Craſſ. p. 584.

Decimation became very common under the emperors, eſpecially in regard to the Chriſtians, whoſe refuſal to adore idols, or perſecute believers, was conſidered and puniſhed as a ſacrilegious revolt. The Theban legion was treated in this manner under Maximinian. That emperor cauſed it to be decimated three times ſucceſſively, without being able to overcome the pious reſiſtance of thoſe generous ſoldiers. Mauritius, their commander, in concert with all the other officers, wrote a very ſhort

Ex epiſt. S. Eucherii Lugd. ad Sylv. Epiſc.

ſhort, but admirable letter to the emperor. [*] *We are your ſoldiers, emperor, but the ſervants of God. We owe you our ſervice, but him our innocency. We cannot renounce God, to obey you; that God, who is our creator and maſter, and your's alſo, whether you will or no.* All the reſt of the legion were put to death, without making the leaſt reſiſtance, and went to join the legions of angels, and to praiſe the God of armies with them for evermore.

Theſe capital puniſhments were not frequent in the time of the republic. [†] It was a capital crime, as we have ſaid, to quit a poſt, or fight without orders: and the example of fathers, who had not ſpared their own ſons, inſpired a juſt terror, which prevented faults, and occaſioned the rules of military diſcipline to be reſpected. There is in theſe bloody executions a ſeverity ſhocking to nature. and which, however, we could not venture abſolutely to condemn; becauſe, if every great public [‡] example has ſomething of injuſtice in it, on the other ſide, whatever of that kind is contrary to the intereſt of particulars, is compenſated by the utility which redounds to the public from it.

A general is ſometimes obliged to treat his ſoldiers with great rigour, in order to put a ſtop, by timely ſeverities, either to a revolt juſt forming, or an open violation of diſcipline. He would at ſuch times be cruel if he acted with gentleneſs, and would reſemble the ſurgeon, who, out of a falſe compaſſion, ſhould chuſe rather to let the whole body periſh, than cut off a mortified member.

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[*] Milites ſumus, imperator, tui, ſed tamen ſervi Dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. Te qui imperatorem in hoc nequaquam poſſumus, ut auctorem negemus; Deum auctorem noſtrum. Deum auctorem, velis nolis, tuum.

[†] Præſidio decedere apud Romanos capitale eſſe, & nece liberorum etiam ſuorum eam legem parentes ſanxiſſe. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 37.

[‡] Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum, quod contra ſingulos, utilitate publica rependitur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 14. c. 44.

What is to be avoided, on theſe occaſions, is to ſeem to act from paſſion or hatred: * for then the remedies, improperly applied, would only aggravate the diſeaſe. Liv. l. 8. n. 36. This happened in the firſt example of deciмation I cited, by which Appius had made himſelf ſo extremely odious to the ſoldiers, that they choſe rather to ſuffer themſelves to be beaten by the enemy, than to conquer with him Liv. l. 8. n. 36. and for him. He was of an obſtinate diſpoſition, and inflexibly rigid. Papirius, long after, acted much more wiſely in a caſe not unlike this. † His ſoldiers, expreſly to mortify him, retreated in battle, and deprived him of a victory. He perceived, like an able captain, the cauſe of that behaviour, and found it neceſſary to moderate his ſeverity, and ſoften his too imperious humour. He did ſo, and ſucceeded ſo well, that he entirely regained the affection of his troops. A complete victory was the conſequence. Much art and prudence are requiſite in puniſhing with ſucceſs.

It was rather by the views of reward and ſenſe of honour that the Romans engaged their troops to do their duty. After the taking of a town, or gaining a battle, the general uſually gave the booty to the ſoldiers, but with admirable order, as Polybius informs us, in his relation of his taking of Carthage. It is, ſays he, an eſtabliſhed cuſtom amongſt the Romans, upon the ſignal given by the generals, to diſperſe themſelves in order to plunder the city that has been taken: after which every one carries the booty he has gotten to his own legion. When the whole has been ſold by auction, the tribunes divide the money into equal ſhares, which are given not only to thoſe who are

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* Intempeſtivis remediis delicta accendebatur. *Tacit.*

† Ceſſatum à milite, ac de induſtria, ut obtrectaretur de laudibus ducis, impedita victoria eſt——Senſit peritus dux quæ res victoriæ obſtaret: temperandum ingenium ſuum eſſe, & ſeveritatem miſcendam comitate. *Liv.*

in other poſts, but to them who have been left to guard the camp, the ſick, and ſuch as have been detached upon any occaſion. And, to prevent any injuſtice from being committed in this part of the war, the ſoldiers are made to ſwear before they take the field, and the firſt day they aſſemble, that they will not ſecrete any part of the booty, but faithfully bring in whatever they ſhall make. What a love of order, obſervance of diſcipline, and regard for juſtice does this argue, admidſt the tumult of arms, and the very ardour of victory!

Upon the day of triumph, the general made another diſtribution of money in greater or leſs proportions, according to the different times of the republic; but always moderate enough before the civil wars.

Honour was ſometimes annexed to advantage, and the ſoldier was much more ſenſible of the one than the other, and how much more the officers! P. Decius the tribune, with a detachment which he conducted, at the hazard of his life, upon the brink of an eminence, had ſaved the whole army by one of the nobleſt actions mentioned in hiſtory. Upon his return, the conſul, in the preſence of all the troops, beſtowed the higheſt praiſes upon him, and beſides many other military preſents, gave him a crown of gold, and an hundred oxen, to which he added another ox of extraordinary ſize and beauty, with gilt horns. He decreed the ſoldiers, who had accompanied the tribune, a double portion of corn during the whole time they ſhould ſerve, and, for the preſent, two oxen and two complete dreſſes a man. The legions alſo, to expreſs their gratitude, preſented Decius with a crown of turf, which was the ſign of a ſiege raiſed; and his own ſoldiers did the ſame. He ſacrificed the ox with the gilt horns to Mars, and gave the other hundred to his ſoldiers: the legions alſo rewarded each of them with a pound of flour, and a gallon of wine. Liv. l. 7. n. 37.

Cal-

Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3.

Calphurnius Piſo, ſirnamed *Frugi*, out of veneration for his virtues and great frugality, having variouſly rewarded moſt of thoſe who had aſſiſted him in terminating the Sicilian war, thought himſelf obliged to reward alſo, but at his own expence, the ſervices of one of his ſons, who had ſignaliſed himſelf the moſt upon that occaſion. He declared publicly, that he had deſerved a crown of gold, and aſſured him, that he would leave him one by his will, of the weight of three pounds: decreeing him that honour as general, and paying the price of the crown as his father: *Ut honorem publicè à duce, pretium privatim à patre acciperet.*

The crown of gold was a preſent ſcarce ever granted but to principal officers. There were ſeveral others for different occaſions. The *Corona Obſidionalis*, of which I have ſpoken before, for having delivered the citizens or troops from a ſiege: it was compoſed of turf, and was the moſt glorious of all. The *Corona Civica*, for having ſaved the life of a citizen: it was of oaken leaves, in remembrance, as is ſaid, that men of old fed upon acorns. The *Mural* crown, for having been the firſt in ſcaling the walls of a place beſieged: it was adorned with a kind of battlements, like thoſe to be ſeen upon the antient walls of towns. The *Corona Navalis*, which was compoſed of ornaments like beaks of ſhips: it was given to the admiral of a fleet, who had gained a victory. Examples of this kind are very rare. Agrippa, who had obtained one, thought it very much for his honour:

Pinnis.

Roſtra.

Virg. *Æn.* l. 8.

——— Cui belli inſigne ſuperbum,
Tempora navali fulgent roſtrata coronâ.

——— Who bears war's glorious ſign,
Beak'd with the naval crown whoſe temples ſhine.

Beſides theſe crowns (for there were ſome others) the generals preſented the ſoldiers or officers, who ſignaliſed themſelves in a particular manner, with a ſword, a ſhield, and other arms; and ſometimes alſo with diſtinguiſhing military habits. [*] We have ſeen an officer rewarded thirty-four times by the generals, and gain ſix civic crowns.

Theſe preſents and crowns were titles of nobility to them, and, upon competitions with rivals for ranks and dignities, often determined the preference in their favour; and they did not fail to adorn themſelves with them upon public ſolemnities. They alſo fixed to the doors of their houſes the ſpoils they had taken from the enemy; nor was any future poſſeſſor permitted to take them down. Upon which Pliny makes a fine reflection, that it is impoſſible to render in terms of ſo much ſpirit as his. "The houſes, ſays he, ſtill triumphed, "though they had changed their maſters. What "could more excite to glory, or be more offenſive "to an unworthy poſſeſſor, than walls which re"proached him as often as he entered, that they "were honoured ſolely by the trophies of another." *Triumphabant etiam dominis mutatis, domus ipſæ. Et erat hæc ſtimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis quotidie imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.*

Liv. l. 10. n. 7. l. 23. l. 38. n. 43.

Plin. l. 35. c. 2.

The praiſes given in the preſence of the whole army made no leſs impreſſion upon their minds, and are what a good general never ſpares on proper occaſions. Agricola [†], ſays Tacitus, neither envied nor leſſened any man's glory: Centurion or Præfect, in him they found a faithful witneſs of their exploits, to which he never failed doing the utmoſt juſtice. Cæſar, upon being informed

Cæſ. de Bell. Gall.

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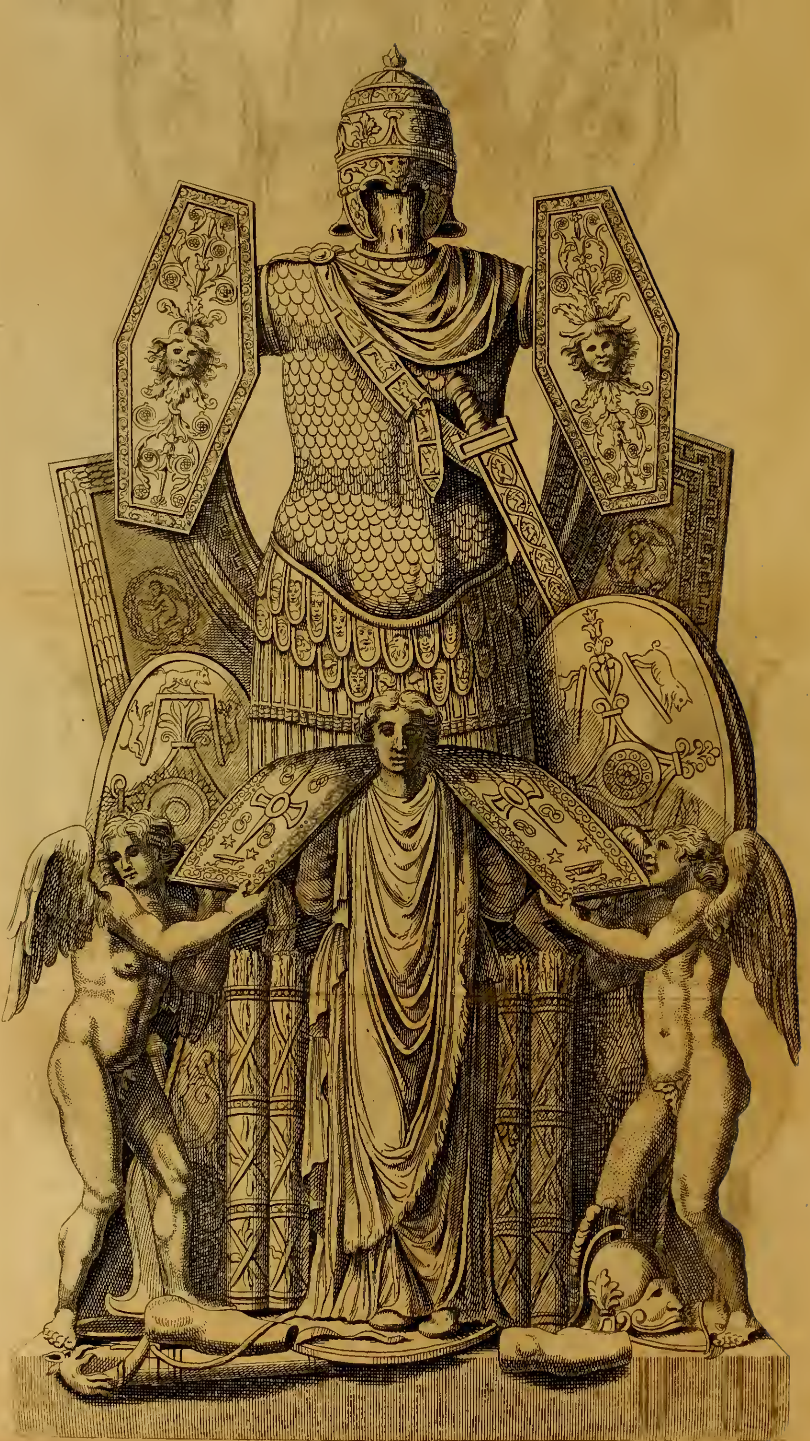
[*] Quater & tricies virtutis cauſa donatus ab imperatoribus ſum: ſex civicas coronas accepi. *Liv.* l. 42. n. 34.

[†] Nec unquam per alios geſta avidus intercepit: ſeu centurio, ſeu præfectus, incorruptum facti teſtem habebat. *Tacit. in vit. Agric.* c. 22.

of the valour with which Q. Cicero, the famous orator's brother, had defended his camp againſt the great army of the Gauls, extolled publicly the greatneſs of the action, praiſed the legion in general, and apoſtrophiſed particularly to thoſe of the centurions and tribunes, who, as Cicero had obſerved to him, diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt. Upon another occaſion, Scæva, a centurion, had contributed very much to the defence of a breach of great importance. When his buckler was brought to Cæſar with two hundred and thirty arrow-ſhots through it; ſurpriſed and charmed with his bravery, he immediately made him a preſent of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, (about twelve hundred pounds) and raiſed him directly from the eighth to the firſt rank of the centurions, appointing him Primipilus, a very honourable poſt, as I have obſerved elſewhere, and which had no ſuperior but the tribunes, lieutenant-generals, and commanders in chief. De Bell. Civ. l. 3.

Nothing was equal to this latter method of rewarding, for inſpiring the troops with valour. By a wiſe eſtabliſhment, there were many degrees of honour and diſtinction in a legion, of which none were granted upon account of birth, or bought for money. Merit was the only means of attaining them, at leaſt it was the moſt ordinary method. Whatever diſtance there was between the private centinel, and the conſular dignity, the door lay open to it: it was a beaten path, and there were many examples of citizens, who, from one degree to another, at length attained that ſupreme dignity. With what ardour muſt ſuch a ſight inſpire the troops! Men are capable of every thing when properly excited by the motives of honour and glory.

It remains for me to ſay ſomething upon trophies and triumphs.



Trophy of the Antients.

Trophies, amongſt the antients, were originally an heap of arms and ſpoils taken from enemies, and erected by the victor in the field of battle, of which, in after-times repreſentations were made in ſtone and braſs. They never failed, immediately after a victory, to raiſe a trophy, which was looked upon as a ſacred thing, becauſe always an offering to ſome divinity: for which reaſon none preſumed to throw it down. Neither, when it fell through age, was it permitted to erect it again; for which Plutarch gives a fine reaſon, that argues great humanity in the ſentiments of the antients. *To reinſtate*, ſays he, *and ſet up again the monuments of antient differences with enemies, which time has conveniently demoliſhed, has ſomething odious in it, ſeems to argue a deſire to perpetuate enmity.* Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. p. 272.

We do not obſerve the ſame humanity in the Roman triumphs, of which I am ſtill to ſpeak. The generals, as well as the officers and ſoldiers, had alſo rewards in view. The title of *Imperator* granted after a victory, and the ſupplications, that is to ſay, the public proceſſions, ſacrifices, and prayers, decreed at Rome for a certain number of days, to thank the gods for the ſucceſs of their arms, agreeably flattered their ambition. But the triumph exceeded every thing. There were two ſorts of it, the leſs and the greater.

The leſs triumph was called *Ovatio*. In that the general was neither ſeated on a chariot, dreſſed in triumphal robes, nor crowned with laurel. He entered the city on foot, or, according to ſome, on horſeback, crowned with myrtle, and followed by his army. This kind of triumph was granted only, either when the war had not been declared, had been with a people little conſiderable, or not attended with any great defeat of the enemy.

A triumph could properly be granted only to a dictator, a conſul, or a prætor, who had com-

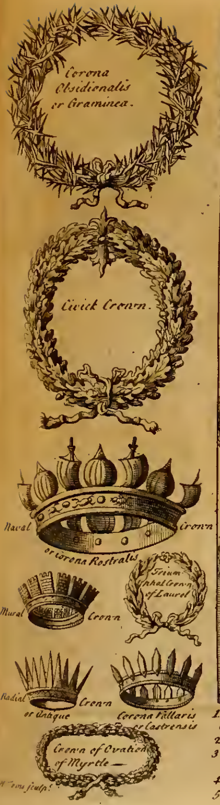
manded

manded in chief. The ſenate decreed this honour, after which the affair was deliberated upon in the aſſembly of the people, where it often met with great difficulties. Several however triumphed without the ſenate's concurrence, provided the people had decreed them that honour. But if they could not obtain it from either the one or the other order, they went and triumphed upon the Alban mountain, in the neighbourhood of the city. It is ſaid, that to obtain this honour, it was neceſſary to have killed five thouſand enemies in battle. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 8.

After the general had diſtributed part of the ſpoils to the ſoldiers, and performed ſome other ceremonies, the proceſſion began, and entered the city through the triumphal port to aſcend to the capitol. At the head of it were the players upon muſical inſtruments, who made the air reſound with their harmony. They were followed by the beaſts that were to be ſacrificed, adorned with fillets and flowers, many of them having their horns gilt. After them came the whole booty, and all the ſpoils, either diſplayed upon carriages, or borne upon the ſhoulders of young men in magnificent habits. The names of the nations conquered were written in great characters, and the cities, that had been taken, repreſented. Sometimes they added to the pomp extraordinary animals, brought from the countries ſubjected, as bears, panthers, lions, and elephants. But what moſt attracted the attention and curioſity of the ſpectators, were the illuſtrious captives, who walked in chains before the victor's chariot; great officers of ſtate, generals of armies, princes, kings with their wives and children. The conſul followed (ſuppoſing the general to be ſo) mounted upon a ſuperb chariot, drawn by four horſes, and robed with the auguſt and magnificent habit of triumph, his head incircled with a crown of laurel, holding alſo a branch of

the

ROMAN TRIUMPH.


Corona Obsidionalis or Graminea.
Civick Crown.
Naval Crown
or Corona Rostralis
Triumphal Crown of Laurel
Mural Crown
Radial Crown
or Antique
Corona Vallaris
or Castrensis
Crown of Ovation of Myrtle
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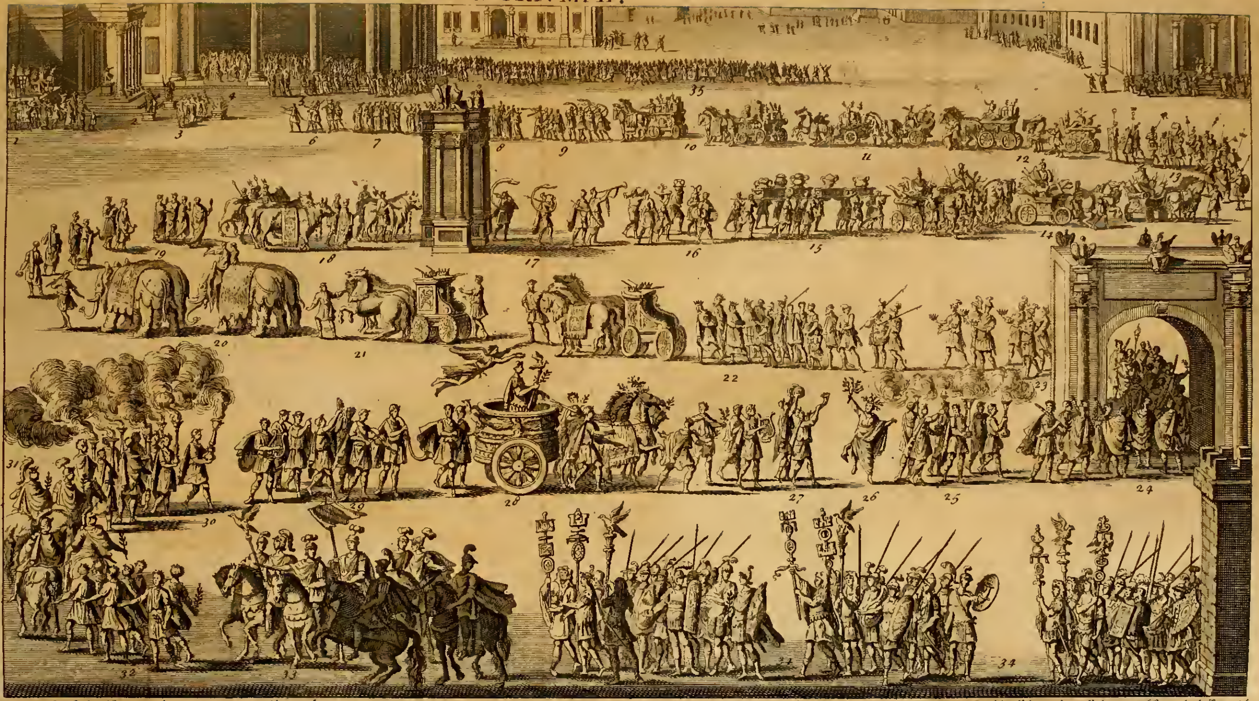
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1. Largeſs of the Victor who triumphs to the Roman People.
2. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus
3 Ministers and Officers of the Pontiffs.
4. The Consuls.
5. The Lictors.
6. Persons to clear the way.
7. Lictors. 8. Magistrates.
9. Trumpets.
10. Pictures of the Cities taken, & other conquests.
11. Gold, Silver, & Copper either in Ingots, or Coined.
12. Paintings, Colours, Standards, Gold, Silver Braſs, Ivory, Jewels, Purple Robes, & other rich Spoils.
13. Crowns distributed amongst the Roman Soldiers.
14 Arms of ye Conquer'd Nations.
15. Coined Money.
16. Veſsels of Gold & Silver.
17. Trumpets.
18. Victims & Sacrifices.
19. Ministers & Officers of the Pontiffs.
20. Elephants of the Conquered people.
21. Chariots, Arms, Diadems, & Crowns of the Conquered Princes, & Generals
22. Captive Kings with their Families & train.
23. Crowns given to ye General who triumphs by ye Provinces.
24. Lictors crown'd with laurel, under a Triumphal Arch.
25. Persons with incense & perfumes
26. The mocker of ye Vanquished.
27. Players on ye Flute & Lyre.
28. The Victor in his Triumphal Chariot.
29. Players upon ye Flute & Lyre.
30. Perfumes &c.
31. Relations of ye General who Triumphs.
32 The Domesticks, Train of ye Victor.
33 The Lieutenants, Generals, Tribunes, & other Commanders of the Army.
34. The Army of ye Roman People divided into Legions, Cohorts, Centuries, and maniples.
35. The Crowd of Citizens.

the ſame tree in his hand; and ſometimes accompanied with his young children ſitting by him. Behind the chariot marched the whole army, the cavalry firſt, then the infantry. All the ſoldiers were crowned with laurel, and thoſe who had received particular crowns, and other marks of honour, did not fail to ſhew them on ſo great a ſolemnity. They emulated each other in celebrating the praiſes of their general, and ſometimes threw in expreſſions, ſufficiently offenſive, of raillery and ſatire againſt him, which ſavoured of the military freedom; but the joy of the ceremony entirely blunted their edge, and abated their bitterneſs.

As ſoon as the conſul turned from the forum towards the capitol, the priſoners were carried to priſon; where they were either immediately put to death, or often kept in confinement for the reſt of their lives. Upon his entrance into the capitol, the victor made this very remarkable prayer to the god: * *Filled with gratitude and joy, I return you thanks, O moſt good and moſt great Jupiter, and you queen Juno, and all the other gods, the guardians and inhabitants of this citadel, that to this day and hour you have vouchſafed by my hands to preſerve and guide the Roman republic happily. Continue always, I implore you, to preſerve, guide, protect, and favour it in all things.* This prayer was followed by ſacrificing the victims, and a magnificent feaſt, given in the capitol, ſometimes by the public, and ſometimes by the perſon himſelf who triumphed. The reader may ſee in Plutarch the long and fine deſcription he gives of the triumph of Paulus Emilius.

It muſt be allowed, that this was a glorious day for a general of an army; and it is not ſurpriſing that all poſſible endeavours ſhould be uſed to deſerve ſo grateful a diſtinction, and ſo ſplendid an honour. Nor had Rome any thing more magnificent and majeſtic than this pompous ceremony. But the ſight of captives, the mournful objects of compaſſion, if thoſe victors had been capable of any, obſcured and effaced all its luſtre. What inhuman pleaſure! What barbarous joy! To ſee princes, kings, princeſſes, queens, tender infants, and feeble old men, dragged before them! We may remember the diſſembled marks of friendſhip, the falſe promiſes, the treacherous careſſes of young Cæſar, called afterwards Auguſtus, in regard to Cleopatra, ſolely with the view of inducing that princeſs to ſuffer herſelf to be carried to Rome, that is to ſay, to adorn his triumph, and gratify him in the cruel ſatisfaction of ſeeing the moſt potent queen in the world proſtrate at his feet, in the moſt depreſſed and forlorn condition it were poſſible to imagine. But ſhe well knew the ſnare. Such a conduct and ſuch ſentiments, in my opinion, diſhonour human nature.

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* Gratias tibi, Jupiter optume, maxume; tibique Junoni reginæ, & cæteris hujus cuſtodibus habitatoribuſque arcis diis lubens lætuſque ago, re Romana in hanc diem & horam, per manus quod voluiſti, ſervata, benè geſtaque. Eandem & ſervate, ut facitis, fovete, protegite, propitiati, ſupplex oro. *Ex Roſini Antiq. Rom.*

In relating the rewards granted by the Romans to the ſoldiery, I have omitted a very important circumſtance, I mean the eſtabliſhment of colonies. When the Romans firſt carried their arms, and extended their conqueſts out of Italy, they puniſhed the people, who reſiſted them with too much obſtinacy by depriving them of part of their lands, which they granted to ſuch of the Roman citizens as were poor, and eſpecially to the veteran ſoldiers, who had ſerved their full proportion of time in the army. By this means the latter ſaw themſelves ſettled in tranquillity with a comfortable income, ſufficient for the ſupport of their families. They became by degrees the moſt conſiderable perſons in the cities to which they were ſent, and obtained the firſt poſts, and principal dignities in them.

Rome by theſe ſettlements, which were the reſult of a wiſe and profound policy, beſides rewarding her ſoldiers advantageouſly, kept the conquered nations in ſubjection by their means, formed them to the Roman manners and cuſtoms, and by degrees made them forget their own uſages and diſpoſitions, to embrace thoſe of their victors. France has eſtabliſhed a new kind of military reward, which merits a place here.

SECT. V.

ſtabliſhment of the royal hoſpital of Invalids at Paris.

WE do not find, either amongſt the Greeks or Romans, or any other people, any public oundations, for the relief of the ſoldiery, whom ither long fatigues or wounds had made incapable f ſervice. It was reſerved for Lewis XIV. to ſet ther princes that example, which England ſoon egan to imitate; and we may ſay, that amongſt n infinite number of great actions which have ren-ered his reign illuſtrious, nothing equals the glo-ous foundation of the *Hôtel roial des Invalides.*

There has been lately publiſhed a book upon the oyal hoſpital of invalids, which anſwers, in ſome eaſure, the magnificence of that foundation, in e beauty and number of its plates and orna-ents. In this book, all that regards the reve-ues, expences, buildings, diſcipline, and govern-ent, temporal and ſpiritual, of that houſe, are rcumſtantially explained. We are obliged to erſons, who take pains to preſerve and tranſmit this manner to poſterity an exact knowledge of cts ſo worthy of remembrance. For my part, my tent is only to give a brief idea of them.

Every thing in this ſtructure denotes the gran-ur and magnificence of its auguſt founder. We are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſight of a vaſt and ſuperb edifice, capable of containing almoſt four thouſand perſons, in which art has known how to unite whatever could ſtrike the eye on the outſide, by pomp and ſplendor, with all that can conduce to the uſes and conveniencies of life within.

There, in tranquillity and repoſe, the officers and ſoldiers, whom their wounds or age have made unable to ſerve, and the narrowneſs of their fortunes incapable to ſupport themſelves; there, thoſe brave warriors, freed from all care and diſquiet, are lodged, fed, cloathed, and maintained, as well in ſickneſs as health, in a decent manner, and find a ſafe retreat, and an honourable aſylum provided for them, by the piety and paternal goodneſs of Lewis XIV.

It is natural to conceive, that the expence for the ſupport of ſuch an houſe muſt be immenſe. Two thouſand five hundred quarters of wheat, and about eleven thouſand five hundred hogſheads of wine, are annually conſumed in it. Phyſicians, ſurgeons, apothecaries, and ſervants, abound in this houſe. The infirmaries are ſerved by thirty-five ſiſters, *Filles de la charité*, with ſurpriſing induſtry and cleanlineſs.

But from whence ariſe the funds neceſſary for ſuch a multitude of wants and occaſions? Who could believe it, or can ſufficiently admire the wiſdom that inſtituted ſuch order and œconomy? It is the officer and ſoldier, who contribute with joy, and almoſt inſenſibly, to an eſtabliſhment, in which they hope one day to find tranquillity and repoſe, and a period of all their labours. The fund for all theſe expences ariſes from three deniers (a twelfth part of a French penny) deducted from every livre of the ordinary and extraordinary expences of war. This ſeems a ſmall matter in itſelf, but the total amounts to a very conſiderable ſum. During the war, which ended in 1714, in which an hundred millions of livres were yearly expended, theſe three deniers *per* livre produced twelve hundred and fifty thouſand livres a year.

About ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling.

I have ſaid nothing yet of what is moſt admirable in this foundation, is in a manner it's ſoul, and does moſt honour to the memory of Lewis XIV. I do not mean the magnificent temple, wherein the moſt famous maſters in architecture, painting, and ſculpture, the Manſards, Decottes, Coypelles, Girardons, Couſtons, have exhauſted their whole art to adorn that auguſt pile. I mean the charitable care and chriſtian attention of that prince, after having provided, with a magnificence truly royal, for the temporal occaſions of the officers and ſoldiers, in providing alſo that they ſhould not want all the aids of religion in their retreat.

It happens ſometimes that theſe warriors take upon them the profeſſion of arms, ſolely from the views of intereſt and ambition: that though moſt accompliſhed in military knowledge, they are utterly ignorant of religion: and that full of zeal and fidelity for their prince, they never give themſelves any trouble about knowing their duty to God. How great an advantage and conſolation is it to them to find, towards the cloſe of their days, in the zeal and charity of wiſe and religious miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, thoſe inſtructions, which perhaps they have wanted in the former part of their lives; to recal in the bitterneſs of their hearts, whole years entirely paſt in vice and libertiniſm; and to retrieve by ſincere repentance and ſorrow, the reward of all their actions, even of the moſt laudable, which were otherwiſe unfortunately loſt to them from the badneſs of their motives.

The pomp and magnificence of this temple are juſtly admired. But another object preſents itſelf to our view at whatever hour of the day we enter it, a ſight far more worthy of admiration, and which cannot be looked upon without tears in our eyes: antient warriors maimed, crippled, without legs, arms, eyes, humbly proſtrating themſelves before the God of armies, whoſe majeſty they adore with the moſt profound reſignation; to whom they pay continual thankſgivings for having delivered them out of ſo many dangers, and eſpecially for having taken them from the gates of hell; to whom, filled with the moſt lively ſenſe of gratitude, they inceſſantly lift up their hands and voices, to ſay: Be mindful, O Lord, of the prince who has opened this thy ſacred aſylum for us, and be merciful to him for the mercy which he hath ſhewn to us thy ſervants.

CHAPTER II.

OF SIEGES.

THE antients diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by the art of forming and ſuſtaining ſieges, than by that of making war in the field. It is agreed by all, that they carried theſe two parts of military knowledge to a very high degree of perfection, which it is difficult for the moderns to exceed. The uſe of muſkets, bombs, cannons, and other fire-arms, ſince the invention of powder, has occaſioned the alteration of many things in the manner of making war, eſpecially in ſieges, the duration of which has been very much abridged by their means. But theſe changes have not been ſo conſiderable as generally imagined, and have added nothing either to the merit or capacity of generals.

To treat what relates to ſieges with ſome order, I ſhall premiſe ſomething upon the manner in which the fortifications of the antients were formed; and ſhall then give ſome general idea of the principal machines of war uſed by them in ſieges; and conclude with the attack and defence of places. The Chevalier Follard has treated theſe ſeveral articles very extenſively in the ſecond and third volumes of his remarks upon Polybius, and has been my guide in a ſubject that required the direction of an able and experienced ſoldier.

ARTICLE I.

Of antient fortifications.

HOW far ſoever we look back into antiquity, we find amongſt the Greeks and Romans, cities fortified almoſt in the ſame manner with their foſſes, courtines, and towers. Vitruvius in treating of the conſtruction of places of war in his time, ſays, that the towers ought to project beyond the wall, in order that when the enemy approaches, the defenders upon the right and left may take them in flank: and that they ought to be round, and faced with many ſtones, becauſe ſuch as are ſquare are ſoon beat down by the machines of war and battering-rams, which eaſily break their angles. He adds after ſome remarks, that near the towers the wall ſhould be cut within-ſide the breadth of the tower, and that the ways broken in this manner ſhould only be joined and continued by beams laid upon the two extremities, without being made faſt with iron, that in caſe the enemy ſhould make himſelf maſter of any part of the wall, the beſieged might remove this wooden bridge, and thereby prevent his paſſage to the other parts of the wall and into the towers.

The beſt towns of the antients were ſituated upon eminencies. They incloſed them ſometimes within two or three walls and foſſes. Beroſus, cited by Joſephus, informs us, that Nebuchadonoſor fortified Babylon with a triple incloſure of brick walls of a ſurpriſing ſtrength and height. Polybius, ſpeaking of Syringa, the capital of Hyrcania, which Antiochus beſieged, ſays, that city was ſurrounded with three foſſes, each forty-five feet broad, and twenty-two deep; upon each ſide of theſe was a double a double intrenchment, and, behind all, a ſtrong wall. The city of Jeruſalem, ſays Joſephus, was ſurrounded by a triple wall, except on the ſide of the vallies, where there was but one, becauſe they were inacceſſible. To theſe they had added many other works, one of which, ſays Joſephus, had it been compleated, would have rendered the city impregnable. The ſtones, of which it was built, were thirty feet long by fifteen broad, which made it ſo ſtrong, that it was in a manner impoſſible to ſap or ſhake it with machines. The whole was flanked with towers from ſpace to ſpace of extraordinary ſolidity, and built with wonderful art.

The antients did not generally ſupport their walls on the inſide with earth, in the manner of the Talus or ſlope, which made the attacks more dangerous. For though the enemy had gained ſome footing upon them, he could not aſſure himſelf of taking the city. It was neceſſary to get down, and to make uſe of part of the ladders by which he had mounted; and that deſcent expoſed the ſoldier to very great danger. Vitruvius however obſerves, that there is nothing renders a rampart ſo ſtrong as when the walls both of the courtine and towers are ſupported by earth. For then neither rams, mines, nor any other machines, can ſhake them.

The places of war of the antients were not always fortified with ſtone walls. They were ſometimes incloſed within good ramparts of earth of great firmneſs and ſolidity. The manner of coating them with turf was not unknown to them, nor the art of ſupporting the earth with ſtrong faſcines made faſt by ſtakes, and of arming the top of the rampart with a ruff or fraiſe of paliſades, and the foot of the parapet or pas de ſouris with another: they often planted paliſades alſo in the foſſe to defend themſelves againſt ſudden attacks.

They made walls alſo with beams croſſed over one another, with ſpaces between them in the manner of a chequer, the void parts of which they filled up with earth and ſtones. Such almoſt were the walls of the city of Bourges, deſcribed by Cæſar in his ſeventh book of the war with the Gauls.

PLATE XI. explained.

Profile and elevation of the walls of the antients.

THE lower part of this plate is a ſide-view or profile of the walls, towers, and foſſe of the antient fortifications, as deſcribed in the text according to Vitruvius.

A. The wall or courtine.

B. The towers. Theſe were ſituated at the diſtance of an arrow-ſhot from each other, for the better annoying the beſiegers upon attacks.

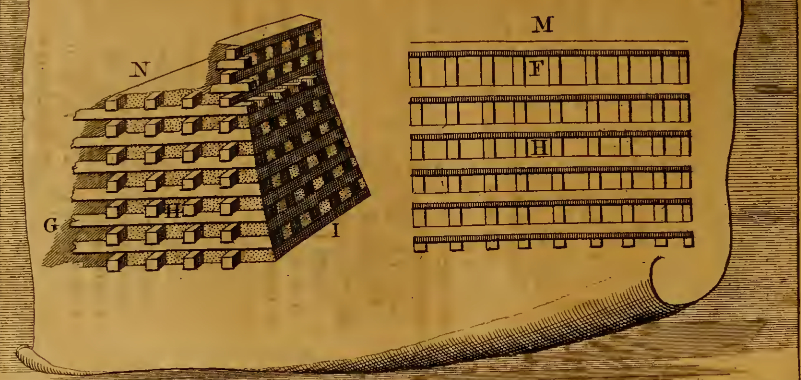
C. The foſſe.

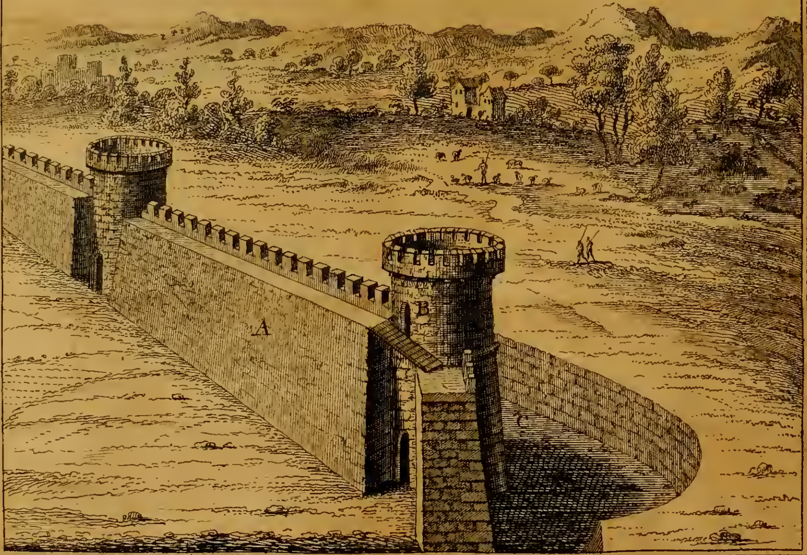
The materials of theſe works differed; all places not affording the ſame kinds, and the beſt they produced being the rule for the uſe of them.

The plan and profile of the walls of Bourges, on the upper part of this plate, is an example of theſe materials and the manner of uſing them.

Cæſar deſcribes them thus: "The walls of "Bourges, and almoſt thoſe of the country, were "made of pieces of wood forty feet in length F, "laid along the earth at the diſtance of two feet "from each other, and croſſed over by others of "equal length and at equal diſtance with their "ends to the front of the wall G. The ſpaces on "the inſide H were filled up with earth and faſ"cines, and on the outſide with ſolid ſtones I, in

Plan and Profile of the Walls of Bourges





W.H. Toms sculp.

Profile and Elevations of the Walls of the Ancients

" which manner the work was carried to the top; " the ſtone-work upon the ends, and in the ſpaces " of the wood, and the ends of the wood, &c. upon " the ſtone-work, as in the figures N M." He adds, " that the work by this diſpoſition was agree- " able to the eye, and very ſtrong; becauſe the " wood was of great force againſt the ram, and " the ſtones againſt fire: beſides which, the thick- " neſs of the wall, which was generally forty feet, " or the length of the beams, made it next to im- " poſſible either to make a breach in it, or throw " it down in any manner."

What I ſhall ſay in the ſequel, when I come to explain the manner of attacking and defending places, will ſhew more diſtinctly what kind of fortifications thoſe of the antients were. It is pretended that the moderns excel them very much in this point. The thing is not ſo indiſputable but it may be called in queſtion; though no compariſon can be made between them; becauſe their manner of attacking and defending is entirely different. The moderns have retained all they could after the antients. Fire-arms have obliged them to uſe other precautions. The ſame genius is evident in both. The moderns have imagined nothing, that the antients could uſe, and have not uſed. We have borrowed from them the breadth and depth of foſſes, the thickneſs of walls, the towers to flank the courtines, the paliſades, the intrenchments within the ramparts and towers, the advantage of many flanks, in multiplying of which only modern fortification conſiſts; this fire-arms make the more eaſy to execute. I have heard theſe remarks made by very able and experienced perſons, who, with a profound knowledge of the manner in which the antients made war, unite a perfect experience of the modern practice of it.

ARTICLE II.

Of the machines of war.

THE machines, moſt uſed and beſt known amongſt the antients for beſieging places, were the tortoiſe, the catapulta, the baliſta, the corvus or crane, the ram, and moving towers.

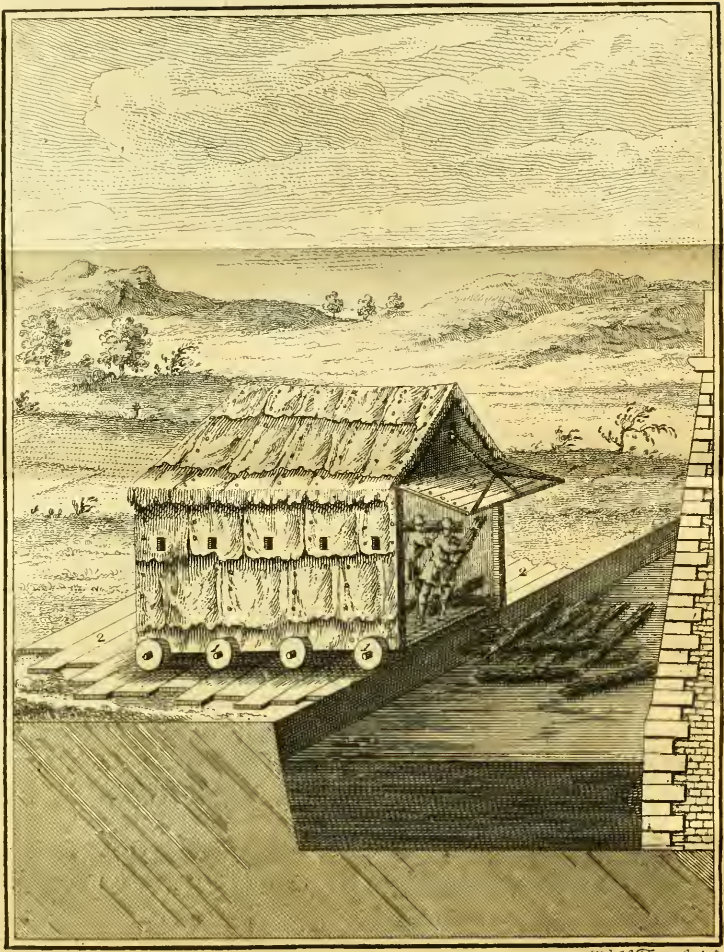
SECT. I.

The tortoiſe.

THE tortoiſe was a machine compoſed of very ſtrong and ſolid timber-work. The height of it to its higheſt beam, which ſuſtained the roof, was twelve feet. The baſe was ſquare, and each of its fronts twenty five feet. It was covered with a kind of quilted mattreſs made of raw hides, and prepared with different drugs to prevent its being ſet on fire by combuſtibles. This heavy machine was ſupported upon four wheels, or perhaps upon eight. It was called tortoiſe, from its ſerving as a very ſtrong covering and defence, againſt the enormous weight thrown down on it; thoſe under it being ſafe in the ſame manner as a tortoiſe under his ſhell. It was uſed both to fill up the foſſe, and for ſapping.

For the filling up of the foſſe, it was neceſſary to join ſeveral of them together in a line and very near one another. Diodorus Siculus, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus by Alexander the Great, ſays, that he firſt cauſed three tortoiſes to approach, in order to fill up the ditch, and that afterwards he planted his rams upon the ſpace filled up, to batter the wall. This machine is often mentioned by authors. There were, without doubt, tortoiſes of different forms and ſizes.

Plate XII.



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Tortoise for filling up the Foſſe of a Besieged place.

PLATE XII. explained.

Tortoiſe for filling up the foſſe of a beſieged place.

THIS machine is diſtinctly enough deſcribed in the text: however, it may not be improper to add, that it is believed ſo enormous a weight could not be moved from place to place on wheels, andthat it was puſhed forwards on rollers. Under theſe wheels or rollers the way was laid with ſtrong planks (2) to facilitate its motion, and prevent its ſinking into the ground, from whence it would have been very difficult to have removed it. The antients have obſerved, that the roof had a thicker covering of hides, hurdles, ſea-weed, &c. than the ſides, as it was expoſed to much greater ſhocks, from the weight thrown upon it by the beſieged. It had a door in front (3), which was drawn up by a chain as far as was neceſſary, and covered the ſoldiers at work in filling up the foſſe with faſcines.

The machine, called *Muſculus*, uſed by Cæſar in the ſiege of Marſeilles, was believed to be alſo a tortoiſe, but very low, and of a great length: it would be called in theſe days a wooden gallery. It is likely that its length was equal to the breadth of the foſſe. Cæſar cauſed it to be puſhed on to the foot of the walls, in order to demoliſh them by ſap. Cæſar however often diſtinguiſhes the tortoiſe from the *Muſculus*.

PLATE

PLATE XIII. explained.

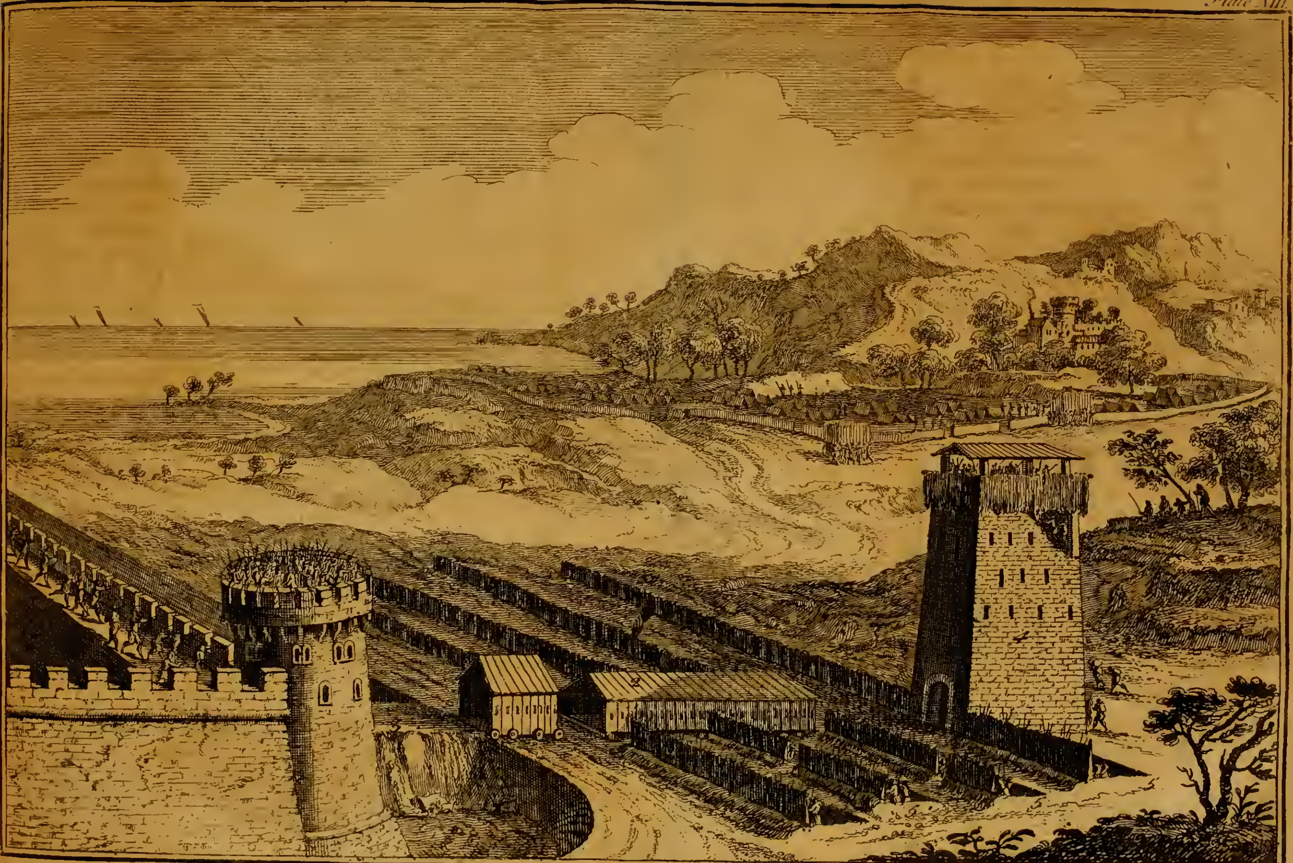
Cæſar's Muſculus, or wooden gallery, at the ſiege of Marſeilles.

THE Muſculus, though very little underſtood by modern authors, who have repreſented it variouſly, was undoubtedly a kind of tortoiſe, very low, and with a ſharp roof. Such was that of Cæſar at the ſiege of Marſeilles as in the plate (2). It was ſixty feet in length, and was moved forwards to the walls upon rollers, where it was fixed over the part of the ditch filled up (3). The tower of brick (4), which he built there, communicated with this muſculus and the trenches (5).

Cæſar ſays the planks of the roof were covered with bricks and mortar, over which hides were laid to prevent the mortar from diſſolving by the water, which the beſieged might pour down upon it; and, to ſecure it from ſtones and fire, it was again covered over with thick quilted mattreſſes properly prepared: all this was done under mantles *(vineis)* after which it was thruſt forwards on a ſudden from the tower to the walls.

Beſides this, there was another kind of muſculus, that was uſed for levelling the ground, and laying the planks, on which the tortoiſes and moving towers were to advance to the foſſe; they were, like this, of greater length than breadth, and equal in breadth to the way they were to level.

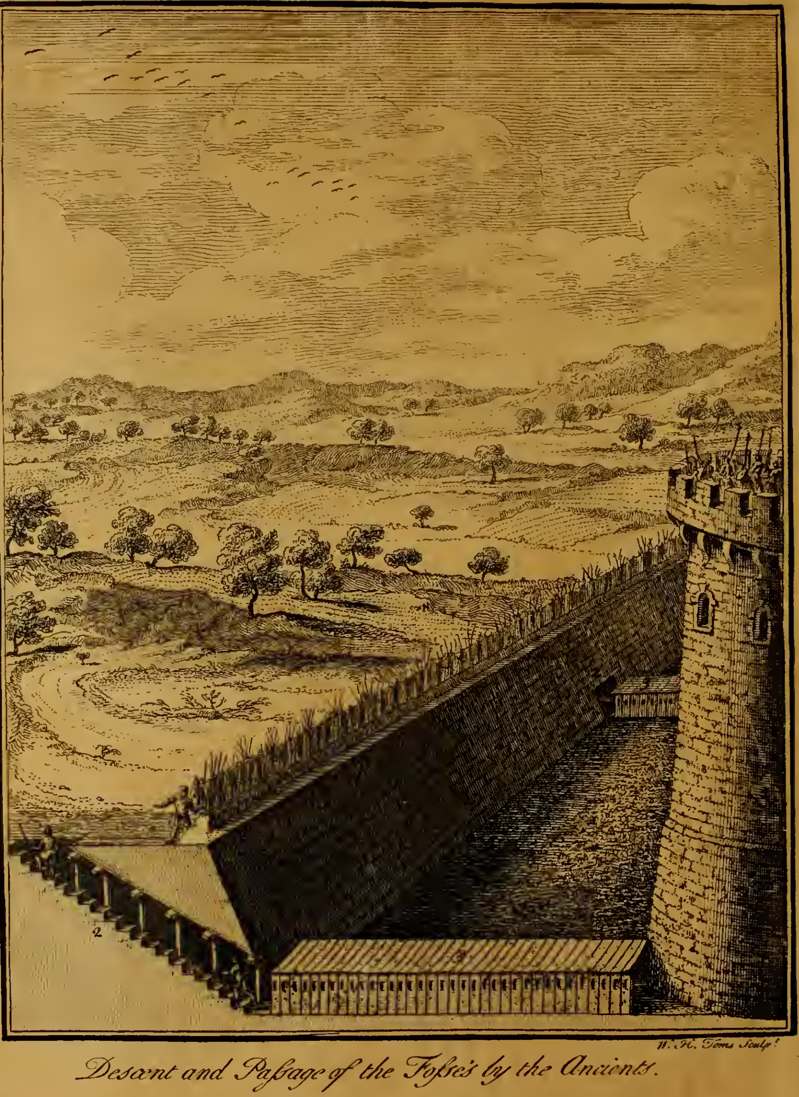
Plate XIII.



Cæsar's Muſculus, or Wooden Gallery, and Brick Tower at the Seige of Marseilles

W. H. Toms ſculp.

Plate XIV.



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Desɑent and Paſsage of the Foſses by the Ancients.

PLATE XIV. explained.

Deſcent and paſſage of the foſſes by the antients.

THE manner, in which the antients filled up the foſſes of beſieged places, differed little from that of the moderns: for, except the tortoiſe and muſculus, which the invention of artillery has occaſioned the latter to abandon, there is nothing practiſed now, that was not in uſe amongſt the antients. What they called tortoiſes of earth were only trenches cut in the earth, and blinded at top in form of a gallery, from the laſt line covered with hurdles or faſcines interwoven to the edge of the foſſe. It appears from hiſtory, that they had another method, when the foſſe was dry. They opened a ſubterraneous gallery or mine (2) into the foſſe, which they entered through an opening in the counterſcarp, where they erected a muſculus, or wooden gallery (3) of the whole breadth of the foſſe. Under this machine they worked at ſapping the wall.

There were alſo ſeveral other machines intended to cover the ſoldiers, called *crates*, *plutei*, *vineæ*, &c. that were uſed in ſieges, which I ſhall not undertake to deſcribe here, to avoid prolixity. They may be compriſed in general under the name of mantles, *or ſheds*.

PLATE XV. explained.

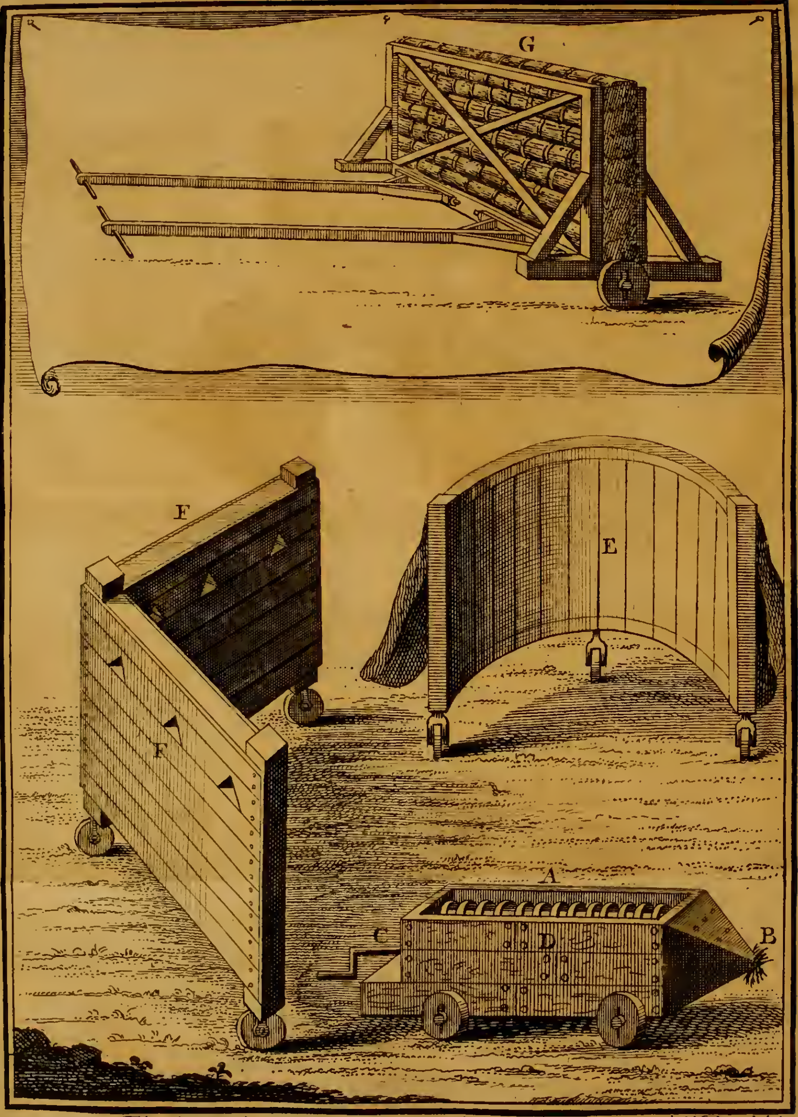
The muſculus and pluteus of the antients.

SOME authors, as Lipſius and Stewechius after Choul, have repreſented the muſculus of the antients as in the figure A. Stewechius, ſays the Chevalier Follard, adorns it comically enough with a beard or whiſkers. It is plain, adds the ſame author, theſe writers do not know what they mean themſelves, though they conclude this a machine for demoliſhing walls, and give it as much as poſſible the form of a rat. If, continues he, I might venture a pleaſantry, I ſhould ſay that abundance of theſe animals were neceſſary for the execution of ſuch a deſign. They have put a handle to it C without which their rat would have no tail. As for the ſcrew D, I leave that, ſays he, to the more penetrating; for my part, it is above my comprehenſion. But, whatever they imagined, it is plain that Cæſar's muſculus was a wooden gallery to cover the troops in ſapping a wall, as in Plate XIII.

The figure marked E is the pluteus of the antients according to Vegetius. It was made of wood in a kind of ſemicircular form, and covered with hurdles of oſiers over which raw hides were laid. It moved upon three ſmall wheels, one in the centre, and two at the extremities. This deſcriptio is ſuppoſed to be erroneous, and that the pluteu was covered at top to defend the ſoldiers behind i againſt downright blows.

The figure marked F is a kind of modern pluteus, called a mantle. Its form was triangular, an it moved upon three wheels diſpoſed as the former Mr. Follard conceives the pluteus or mantle mark ed

Plate XV



The Muſculus and Pluteus of the Ancients

W. H. Toms ſculp.

ed G, of his own invention, would be of more ſervice in opening the trenches neareſt to a beſieged place. He ſays the faſcines ſhould be of oſiers, and five or ſix inches thick, and the height of the machine four or five feet by ſix long. The ſoldiers may eaſily puſh it before them, and cover themſelves behind it whilſt they work. The wheels he adds would make ſome noiſe, but that ſignifies little, whilſt it covers the workmen from the fire of the place.

Beſides the tortoiſe, the wooden machine I have been ſpeaking of, there was another compoſed of ſoldiers, which may be ranked in the number of machines of war. A body of ſoldiers, drawn up together, put their great ſhields, in the form of gutter-tiles, cloſe to each other over their heads. Well practiſed in this exerciſe, they formed ſo firm a roof, that, whatever efforts the beſieged might make, they could neither break nor move them. Upon this firſt tortoiſe of ſoldiers, a ſecond was made to mount; and by this means they ſometimes roſe to an equal height with the walls of the place beſieged.

SECT. II.

Catapulta. Baliſta.

I Join theſe two machines together, though authors diſtinguiſh them: but they alſo often confound them, and it would be difficult to ſettle exactly the difference. They were both intended for diſcharging darts, arrows, and ſtones. They were of different ſizes, and conſequently produced more or leſs effect. Some were uſed in battles, and might be called field-pieces; others were employed in ſieges, which was the uſe moſt commonly made of them. The baliſtæ muſt have been the heavieſt and moſt difficult to carry; becauſe there was always a greater number of the catapultæ in the armies. Livy, in his deſcription of the ſiege of Carthage, ſays, that there were an hundred and twenty great, and more than two hundred ſmall catapultæ taken, with thirty-three great baliſtæ, and fifty-two ſmall ones. Joſephus mentions the ſame difference amongſt the Romans, who had three hundred catapultæ, and forty baliſtæ, at the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

Theſe machines had a force which it is no eaſy to comprehend, but which all good author atteſt.

Vegetius ſays, that the baliſta diſcharged dart with ſuch rapidity and violence, that nothing coul reſiſt their force. Athenæus tells us, that Ageſiſtratus made one of little more than two feet in length which ſhot darts almoſt five hundred paces. Theſ machines were not unlike our croſs-bows. There wer others of much greater force, which threw ſtones

thre

three hundred weight, upwards of an hundred and twenty-five paces.

We find ſurpriſing effects of theſe machines in Joſephus: “The darts and force of the catapultæ “deſtroyed abundance of people. The ſtones “from the machines beat down the battlements, “and broke the angles of the towers. There was “no phalanx ſo deep but one of theſe ſtones would “ſweep an whole file of it from one end to the “other. Things paſſed this night that ſhewed the “prodigious force of theſe machines. A man, “who ſtood by Joſephus, had his head taken off “by a ſtone at an hundred and ſeventy-five paces “diſtance.” It were better to ſuppoſe that the ſtone, which took off this man’s head, was diſcharged from a machine at three hundred and ſeventy-five paces diſtance; and the Greek ſeems to require this ſenſe, though the interpreters explain it otherwiſe: τὸ κρανίον ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐσφενδονήθη ϛαδίων.

PLATE XVI. explained.

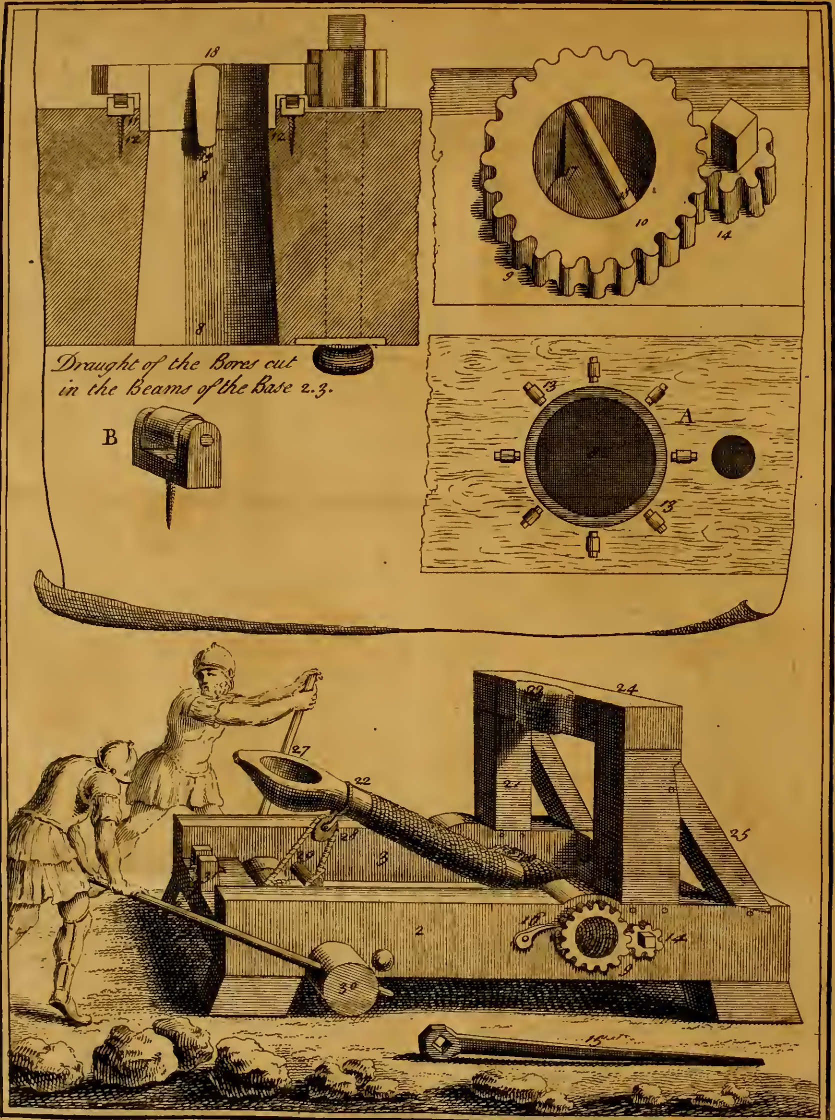
Battering catapulta.

THIS plate repreſents the form and conſtruction of a catapulta that is ſuppoſed to carry an hundred weight, which may ſuffice as the doctrine of all the reſt to ſuch as carried twelve hundred and upwards, it being eaſy to increaſe their powers.

The baſe is compoſed of two large beams (2) (3). The length of thoſe beams is fifteen diameters of the bore of the capitals, which meaſure will be explained when we deſcribe the capitals (9). At the two extremities of each beam two double mortiſes are to be cut to receive the eight tenons of the two croſs-beams (4) (5), each of them four of the above diameters in length, without their tenons, obſerving to mark the centre of them exactly by a line cut ſtrong in the wood (6). The croſs-beam (5) muſt be hollowed a little on the upper ſide, or made not ſo thick as that at the other end (4), to give the greater bent to the tree or arm (22) of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

In the centre of each of the beams of the baſe (2) (3), at the ſixth diameter of their length, a bore (8) perfectly round ſhould be cut ſixteen inches in diameter: theſe bores muſt be exactly oppoſite to each other, and ſhould increaſe gradually to the inſide of the beams; ſo that each of them, being ſixteen inches on the outſide towards the capitals (9), ſhould be ſeventeen and an half at the opening on the inſide; the edges to be carefully rounded off. We come now to the deſcription of the capitals (9), which are in a manner the ſoul of the machine, and

ſerve


18
11
12
8
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8
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14
Draught of the Bores cut in the Beams of the Base 2.3.
B
A
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Battering Catapulta.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

ſerve to twiſt and ſtrain the cordage, that are its principle, or power of motion.

The capitals (9) are either of caſt braſs, or iron, each conſiſting of a wheel with teeth (10) of two inches and an half thick. The hollow or bore of theſe wheels ſhould be eleven inches and about a fourth in diameter, perfectly round and with the edges ſmoothed down. The inward ledge (11) muſt be four inches deep and one thick; but, as that thickneſs would make it larger by one inch than the outſide bore of the beams (2) (3), they muſt be cut to the depth of four inches (12), ſo as to receive it exactly. As the friction would be too great, if the capitals rubbed againſt the beams, by the extreme ſtraining of the cordage which draws them towards theſe beams, that inconvenience may be eaſily remedied by the means of eight little wheels (13) of an inch in diameter, and an inch and one ſixth in length, as in Fig. B, placed circularly, and turning upon axes as in Fig. A.

Theſe little wheels or cylinders of caſt braſs ſhould be round, and equal in their diameters, that the capitals may work equally on all ſides.

Upon this number of cylindrical wheels, the capitals (9) muſt be placed in the beams (2) (3), ſo that the cylinders do not extend to the teeth of the wheels, which muſt receive a ſtrong pinion (14). By the means of this pinion, the wheel of the capital is made to turn for ſtraining the cordage with the key (15). To the wheel a ſtrong ſtay (16) is annexed, and another of the ſame kind may be added, to prevent any thing from giving way through the extreme and violent force of the ſtrained cordage. Theſe precautions are neceſſary upon account of the cylindrical wheels, which, by entirely preventing the friction of the capitals, make them the more eaſy to give way through the extraordinary and almoſt inconceivable tenſion of the cordage. This muſt be ſtill greater in a catapulta carrying four hundred weight or upwards. In ſuch large machines, the wheels ought to be multiplied, and, for the greater precaution, a ſtrong ſtay added to every wheel. We come now to the *Capital-piece*, or piece within the capital, over which the cordage is folded, and which ſuſtains the whole force in ſtraining it to the proper height.

This capital-piece is a nut or croſs pin of iron (17) hammered cold into form, that divides the bore of the capitals exactly in two equal parts at their diameters, into which it is inſerted at the depth of about an inch. This piece or nut ought to be about two inches and one third thick at top (18), and rounded off and poliſhed as much as poſſible, that the cords folded over may not be hurt or cut by the roughneſs or edges of the iron. Its height ought to be eight inches, decreaſing gradually in thickneſs to the bottom (19), where it ought to be only one inch. It muſt be very exactly inſerted in the capitals: its depth of eight inches adds force to the engine, and prevents its giving way through the ſtraining of the cordage. Perhaps its being caſt with the capital, and of the ſame metal, might have an equal, if not a better effect.

After applying the two capitals to the bores of the two beams in the baſe, in an exact line with each other, and fixing the two croſs diametrical nuts or pieces, over which the cordage is to fold, one end of the cord is put through the void ſpace of one of the capitals in the baſe, and made faſt to a nail withinſide of the beam. The other end of the cord is then carried through the bore in the oppoſite beam and capital, and ſo folded or wound over the croſs-pieces of iron in the center of the two capitals till they are quite full; the cordage forming a large ſkain (20). When this is done, the laſt end of the cord is tied to the firſt which I have mentioned. The tenſion or ſtraining of the cordage ought to be exactly equal, that is to ſay, the ſeveral foldings of cord over the capital pieces ſhould be equally ſtrained, and ſo near each other, as not to leave the leaſt ſpace between them. As ſoon as the firſt folding or bed of cord has filled up one whole ſpace or breadth of the capital pieces, another muſt be carried over it; and ſo on, always equally ſtraining the cord till no more will paſs through the capitals, and the ſkain of cordage entirely fills them, obſerving to rub it from time to time with ſoap. The cord may alſo be carried thro' with both ends, taking it from the centre.

At three or four inches behind the cordage thus wound over the capital-pieces, two very ſtrong upright beams (21) are raiſed: theſe are poſts of oak, fourteen inches thick, croſſed over at top by another of the ſame ſolidity. As this part of the machine is two or three inches behind the ſkain of cordage, it muſt have a ſmall obliquity towards the cordage, in ſuch a manner, that the arm or tree (22) fixed at the bottom, exactly in the centre of the cordage, half of which holds it on one ſide, and half on the other, it is neceſſary, I ſay, that the arm ſtrike with ſome obliquity againſt the cuſhion or ſtomacher (23), which muſt be placed exactly in the middle of the croſs-beam (24). Without this obliquity the ſpring of the cordage would be ſomething abated from relaxing before the tree reached the croſs-beam. The height of the upright beam (21) is ſeven diameters and an half, and three inches, each propped behind with very ſtrong props, fixed at bottom in the extremities of the baſe (2)(3). The croſs-beam (24) muſt be propped in the ſame manner in the centre (26). The upright and croſs beams, props, &c. in this part of the machine, ſhould be ſtrengthened, eſpecially in the joints, with double ſquares of iron of four inches broad, and a quarter of an inch thick, pinned with ſtrong pins, keyed at the end of them to keep them firm. Care muſt be taken to place the cuſhion or ſtomacher in the centre, as has been ſaid. It ſhould be covered with tanned ox-hide and ſtuffed with hair, the arm ſtriking againſt it with inconceivable force.

When the Catapulta is to batter with ſtones, the bottom of the arm muſt be placed exactly in the centre of the ſkain or cordage. This is the more important, becauſe, if it be not exactly in the middle, the tenſion would be unequal; and whatever cordage ſhould be more on the one than the other ſide, would infallibly break in ſtraining, which is worth noting. To prevent miſtakes in ſo important a circumſtance, a piece of wood, of the ſame bigneſs with the end of the tree or arm, might be fixed in the ſkain of cordage when formed. The ſame piece of wood might ſerve to mark the centre of the cords, in carrying them backwards and forwards through the ſpaces in the capitals.

The tree, arm, or *Stylus*, as Ammianus Marcellinus calls it, ſhould be of excellent aſh, the foundeſt that can be got. Its length is from fifteen to ſixteen diameters of the bore of the capitals. The end at bottom to be fixed in the middle of the ſkain is ten inches thick, by fourteen broad: that is to ſay, it ſhould be narrower in the firſt than ſecond dimenſion, to make it the ſtronger, and prevent it's bending: for, if the arms bends, it muſt have more breadth.

The bottom of the arm which the cords receive, muſt have theſe dimenſions, its edges being ſmoothed off; for, without that precaution, they would fret or cut the cordage, which are of cat-gut. The reſt of the arm ſhould be made in an elliptical form, not ſo thick by an inch as the end fixed in the cords, and of the ſame breadth, to the place where

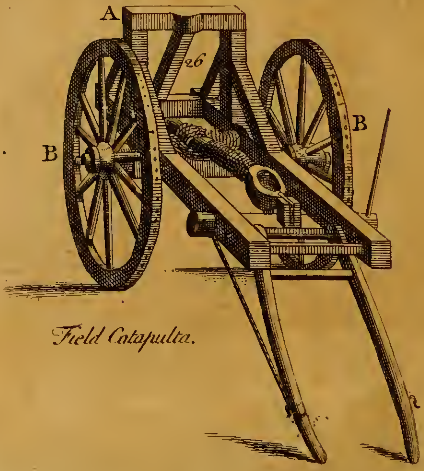
It ſtrikes againſt the ſtomacher, which ought to be ſomewhat thicker, but flat, leaſt the violence of the ſtroke cut it in two: in the ſame place the arm ſhould be a little curve.

To ſtrengthen the arm or tree, of which the force of being diſcharged is every thing that can be conceived of moſt violent, it ſhould be wrapped round with a cloth dipped in ſtrong glue, like the tree of a ſaddle, and bound very hard with waxed thread of the ſixth of an inch in diameter from the large end at bottom, almoſt to the top, as in the plate.

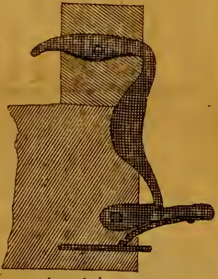
The force of this arm is entirely ſurpriſing, when the trigger is ſtruck. The experiments Mr. Follard made of it in his catapulta convinced him of this. Though his machine threw only a weight of half a pound, the working of the arm in great machines might be judged from it. The antients who experienced the ſame every day, had no better expedient to prevent the arms of this kind of machine from breaking, than to make them of two pieces of wood of equal length. Theſe they joined together with abundance of art and care, and ſtrengthened with a ſtrong binding of wax cord. We proceed now to the manner of working the catapulta.

At the top of the arm juſt under the iron hand or receiver (27), a ſtrong cord is made faſt, with two loops to it twiſted the one within the other for ſtrength. Into theſe two loops the hook of the pulley (28) is put; this pulley ſhould be of braſs with double wheels. Upon occaſion, another may be hooked on at bottom, and to the centre of the cock or trigger. The cord (29) is then put through the wheels of the two pullies, and faſtened to the roll (30), round which, in turning, it divides itſelf. The roll ought to be placed in ſuch a manner that the end of the arm at top, to which the pulley is hooked, may almoſt touch it, when the hand or receiver is come to it's proper place at bottom. The cock or trigger (31), which ſerves as a ſtay, is then brought to it, and made faſt by its hook to the extremity of the hand, which is either in the form of a ſpoon, as in the plate; or of an iron hand, with three branches a little curve: in this the body to be diſcharged is put. If the machine is to throw flints, they are put into an oſier baſket, that exactly fits the hand or receiver: the pulley at the neck of the arm is then unhooked, and when the trigger is to let it off, a ſtroke muſt be given upon it with an iron bar or crow, of about an inch in diameter; the arm then goes off, with a force little unequal to that of a modern mortar. It is to be obſerved, that the tree or arm deſcribes an angle of ninety degrees, beginning at the cock, and ending at the ſtomacher or cuſhion. See the ſecond plate of the catapulta (32), to which this explanation refers in another inſtance or two.

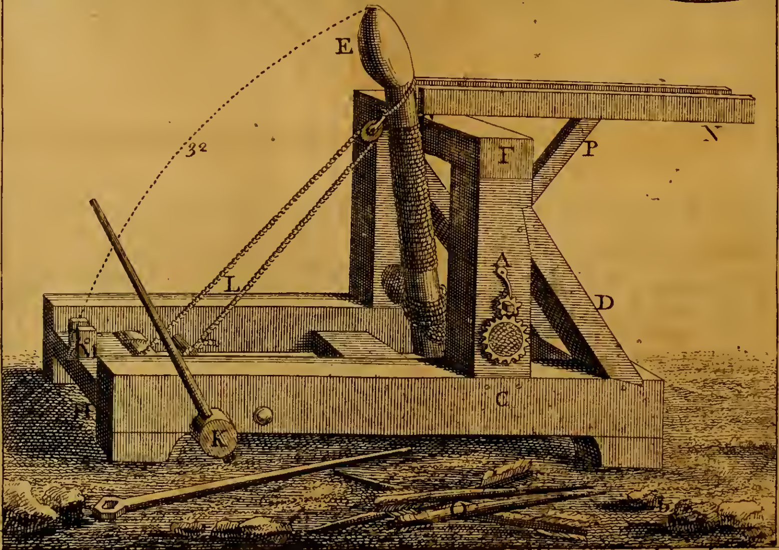
My little catapulta, ſays Mr. Follard, is only ten inches long by thirteen broad. It throws a ball of lead, of a pound weight, almoſt five hundred yards. This kind of machines carry a greater or leſs way, according to the points of elevation given them, and their different degrees or beds of the cordage, which we have carried to thirty-ſix. We believe, that a catapulta, according to the proportions here laid down, muſt carry at leaſt eight hundred yards. However, adds he, we do not pretend to advance this as a certainty, not having had opportunity to make the experiment.



Field Catapulta.



Draught of the trigger.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Battering Catapulta with its Capitals affixed, in its upright beams, and Canal for throwing great Darts, or many at a time.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

PLATE XVII. explained.

Another battering catapulta, with its capitals affixed in its upright beams, and a canal for throwing great darts, or many at a time.

ARE the two double beams of the capitals A fixed upright upon the baſe C, and ſupported by the props D, with tenons and mortiſes, which ſerve to ſtrengthen them againſt the ſtroke of the arm E upon the croſs-beam F, which ſhould have its cuſhion or ſtomacher G.

When the arm E is to be brought down to the croſs-beam H, it is done by the roller K, round which runs the cable L. The cock M is then brought to it, which ought to be a little curve. This catapulta is ſcarce leſs ſimple than the former, and, according to Mr. Follard, might be of great uſe in beſieged places, if planted at bottom, and behind the walls.

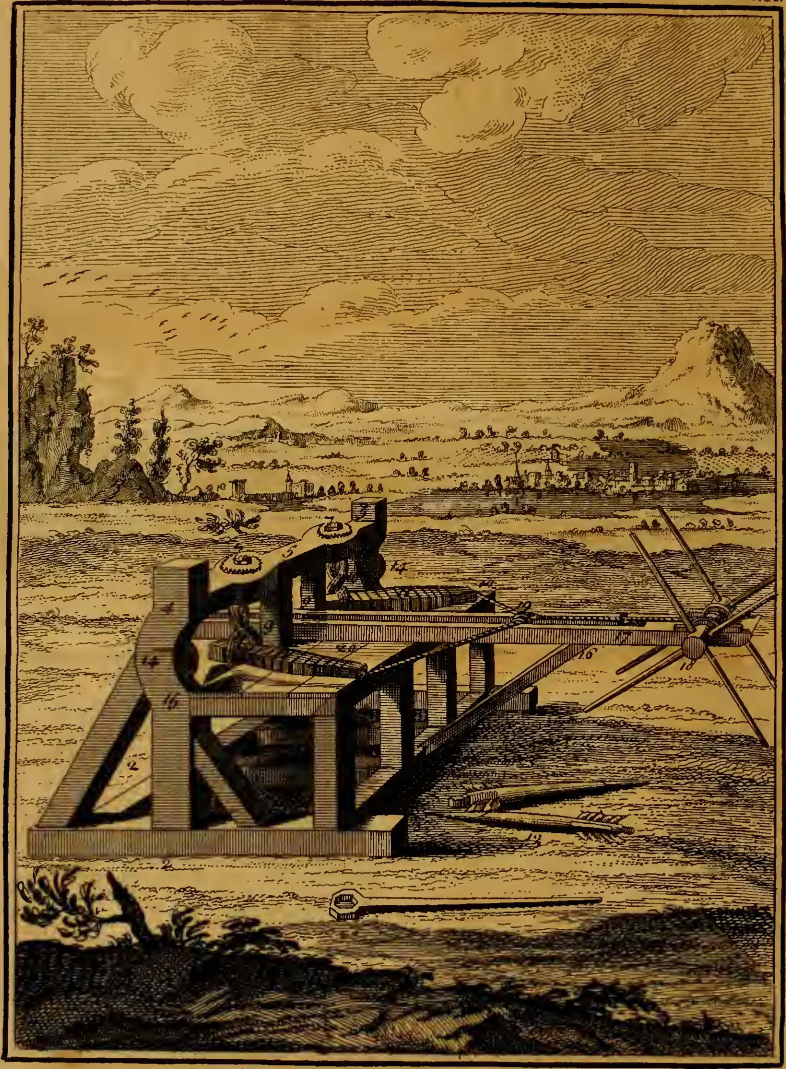
It was particularly uſed for throwing darts of an extraordinary ſize, and ſometimes ſeveral together; the other threw both ſtones and darts at once, and in very great numbers. The ſame author ſays, that he doubted at firſt whether the catapulta could do this or no, but was not long without diſcovering the myſtery. As there is ſomething curious in it, he gives the following explanation of it.

N is a canal of oak rounded withinſide in form of a gutter. It's length is ſix diameters of the capitals, and its breadth in proportion to the ſize of the large dart O, or bundle of darts to be diſcharged. Theſe darts were larger and longer, and more or leſs in number, according to the ſize of the machine.

When arrows were to be ſhot in the manner of cartridges, the end of the canal or gutter was placed in a cut of the depth of two inches in the centre of the croſs-beam F, which it fitted exactly. It entered about two inches into the cuſhion or ſtomacher, ſupported by the prop P; to hinder it from bending or giving way. The upper part of the arm ought to be flat at the place where it ſtrikes the great dart or cartridge, and covered with a plate of ſteel, a quarter of an inch thick.

To diſcharge a bundle of large darts, they undoubtedly made uſe of a deal box of a round form, into which the bundle of arrows were put, tied with a very ſmall twine in the middle, to keep them in a right line and parallel with each other. This box was put into the canal or gutter, and projected ſix or ſeven inches beyond the cuſhion towards the arm. It muſt have been very ſlight, looſely put together, and of little or no weight, except at the end ſtruck by the arm, which, it is ſuppoſed, might be an inch thick or upwards. It's length was according to that of the arrows, that is to ſay, it ſhould be about half as long, their length being two diameters and an half *(of the bore of the capitals as in the former catapulta)*. The trigger was then ſtruck, and the arm, coming flat againſt the box, drove it with the arrows to a very great diſtance. The wind took the pieces of the box, which ſoon ſeparated, and the arrows, ſcattering and ſpreading in their flight, did terrible execution in the ranks of the enemy. My little catapulta, ſays Mr. Follard, (from whoſe *Polybius* moſt of theſe extracts are made) diſcharged ten arrows in this manner, to the diſtance of almoſt an hundred paces, at eight degrees of elevation. The antients no doubt made uſe of the quadrant in planting their machines, as the moderns do for their mortars.

Plate XVIII.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The Balista used in Sieges.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

PLATE XVIII. explained.

The baliſta uſed in ſieges.

THE baliſta was uſed particularly to diſcharge darts of a ſurpriſing length and weight, and often many ſmall ones together. It ſometimes carried leaden bullets of equal weight to the darts it diſcharged. This, ſays Mr. Follard, is plain from experiments, but we are convinced, adds he, that it was ſeldom uſed in the latter manner. Its form was not unlike that of a broken bow; it had two arms, but ſtraight and not curve like thoſe of the croſs-bow, of which the whole acting force conſiſts in bending the bow. That of the baliſta, as well as of the catapulta, lies in its cords; which will diſpenſe with our entering too circumſtantially into the deſcription of its different parts. The plate will explain infinitely better its ſtructure, and the powers that act it, than can be done in words.

The baliſta in the plate is ſuppoſed to be one that carried a dart of ſixty pounds weight, of the length of three feet, nine inches, and three quarters, that is to ſay, according to Vitruvius, that the bores of the capitals were eight inches and three quarters in diameter, or one fifth of the length of the dart which the machine carried. It is compoſed of a baſe (2), two upright beams (3) (4) of fifteen diameters and five ſixths in height without the tenons; and of two croſs-beams (5) (6), ſeventeen diameters five ſixths long. (7) The capitals of the croſs-beam (5). (8) The capitals of the croſs-beams below (6); both which muſt be underſtood to anſwer exactly to thoſe above (7). Theſe two croſs-beams are propped and ſtrengthened by the ſquare poſts (9), which are five diameters i height without the tenons, and of equal thickneſ with the upright beams. The ſpace between th two poſts (9), and the upright beams (3) (4), i about ſeven diameters. (10) The two ſkains o cordage on the right and left. (11) The two arm engaged in the centre of thoſe ſkains. The lengt of thoſe arms is ten diameters, including the tw hooks at the extremity of each of them, in whic the cord (12), or, to ſpeak more properly, the grea cable, is faſtened like the ſtring of a croſs-bow This cable ought to be of cat-gut, exceedingl ſtrained and twiſted together; whence it lengthen in charging, and contracts in diſcharging, an thereby gives ſome addition of force to the machine.

The ends of the arms have no receiver as the catapulta, and ought to be of one form, perfectly equa in their thickneſs, length, and weight, withou bending when ſtrained to the utmoſt. The dart (13) ought to be as exactly equal in all reſpects a the arms, which muſt be placed in a parallel line and, in conſequence, on the ſame height in the centre of the two ſkains of cordage (10).

The two upright beams (3) (4) ought to be curv at the place marked (14), where the arms ſtrike i diſcharging. In this hollow or curve place, th cuſhions (15) muſt be affixed. By the hollowing theſe upright beams in this manner, the arms ar in a parallel line with the cordage, and each deſcribes a right angle, when ſtrained to the utmoſt in charging. It is of no great conſequence whether the arms of the baliſta ſtrike againſt the cuſhions with their ends or middles; ſo that the croſs-beams (5) (6), wherein the capitals (7) are affixed with the cordage, may be ſhortened as much as convenient without retrenching the height of the machine. This muſt ſuit the field-baliſta beſt.

The ſpace between the two poſts (9), which ught to be in the centre between the two croſs-eams, where the tree (16) is inſerted, muſt be omething narrower than that tree, in order that uts of two or three inches may be made in each de the poſt (9) to keep it in form. In this tree 16) a canal or gutter muſt be made in an exactly ght line, to receive and guide the great dart. Its ngth is in proportion to the bending of the two rms with the cord (12): in the ſame manner the ngth of its canal is known, and the place where e nut of the cock or trigger (17) is to be fixed, receive the cord or cable at the end of the arms, the ſtring of a bow, in its centre. This nut or ook holds faſt the cord, and the cock or trigger of the ſame kind with that of the croſs-bow. In ſpect to the tree with the canal in it (16), it muſt e exactly of the ſame height with the cord (12), hich ought to rub upon it: for, if the cord were igher, it would not take the dart; and if it preſ-d too much upon it, there would be a friction pon the tree with the canal in which the dart lies, hat would leſſen the force impelling it.

At the two feet below the trigger is the roll or indlaſs (11) round which a cord turns with an on hand or grappling (19) at the end of it. This rappling ſeizes the cord of the arms or bow in the ntre to charge the machine. It has two hooks, hich are wider from each other than the breadth f the nut, that ought to have an opening in the iddle, like that of the croſs-bow, to receive e end of the dart againſt the cord, when ſeized y it.

The upright beams (3) (4), beſides their tenons nd mortiſes at the baſe, were ſtrongly propped nd ſtayed behind and before. Some authors, and ven Vitruvius, give the machine a kind of table 20), upon which the tree (16) is partly ſupported;

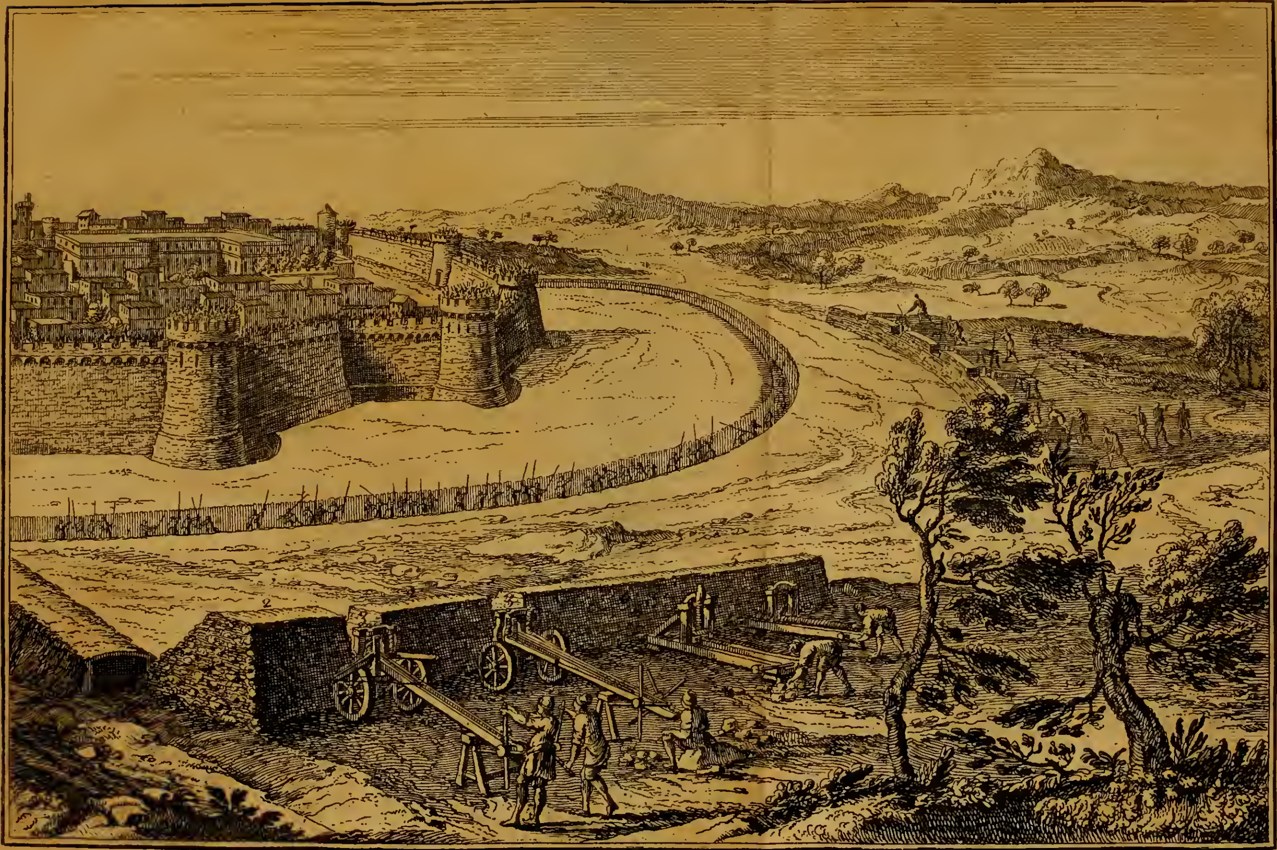
the

the height of which, with the tree, ought to b exactly equal with that of the cord (12). Thi table is ſuppoſed to have been intended only t ſupport the tree (16), which muſt have been very large beam of ſixteen diameters, and two fee in length, and of a breadth and thickneſs in pro portion to the ſize of the dart it diſcharged. It very natural to be of this opinion, if we conſid the vaſt force neceſſary in charging this machin which was capable of bending the ſtrongeſt bean if its thickneſs did not exceed its breadth.

As to the powers neceſſary in charging this m chine, it is certain that thoſe which carried dar or beams of an extraordinary ſize, beſides ſever wheels with teeth, for twiſting the cordage in t capitals, muſt have uſed the roll (18), with ſeve double-wheeled pullies, and perhaps the windla for bending the arms, and bringing the cord (1 to the ſtay or nut of the cock or trigger: aft this the great dart was laid in the canal cut alo the tree (16). Procopius tells us, *De Bell. Goth. c.* 2 that, becauſe feather wings could not be put to the arrows, the antients uſed pieces of wood ſix inch thick, which had the ſame effect. Under the na of baliſta, Vitruvius, *lib.* 10. *cap.* 17, gives us t proportions of the capitals of the catapulta, a conſequently of the whole machine, by the weig of the ſtones it diſcharged; how juſtly, the ing-nious commentator upon Polybius refers to be e-amined by better judges. The paſſage is as f-lows:

> “ The catapulta that throws a ſtone of t
> “ pounds, ought to have the bores of its capit
> “ five inches wide. If the ſtone be four poun
> “ they muſt be from ſix to ſeven inches: if
> “ pounds, eight: if twenty pounds, ten inch
> “ if forty pounds, twelve inches and three qu
> “ ters: if ſixty pounds, thirteen inches and

“ eigh



Batteries of Balistas and Catapultas.

W.H. Toms Sculp.

“ eighth: if fourſcore pounds, fifteen inches: if
“ an hundred and twenty pounds, eighteen inches
“ and an half: if an hundred and ſixty pounds,
“ two feet five inches: if two hundred pounds,
“ two feet ſix inches: if two hundred and ten
“ pounds, two feet ſeven inches: if two hundred
“ and fifty pounds, two feet eleven inches and an
“ half.”

PLATE XIX. explained.

Batteries of baliſta's and catapulta's.

MR. Follard proves the batteries in this plate to be of the form of thoſe of the antients from a part of Trajan's column, a plate of which he has inſerted in his Polybius.

(2) A battery of baliſta's.

(3) The embrazures through which the baliſta's diſcharge.

(4) The breaſtwork or covert for the men that worked the machines; which muſt undoubtedly have been much higher than thoſe of the modern batteries, becauſe the timbers of the baliſta uſed in ſieges were very high. They did not make theſe works ſo thick as we do, and raiſed them higher, proportioning their thickneſs only to their height. Neither is it to be doubted, but that they made them ſometimes of ſmall beams laid acroſs each other at equal diſtances, filling up the ſpaces with earth and turf.

The batteries of catapulta's (5) are not ſo well known, nothing being ſaid of the conſtruction of them in hiſtory; but, if we conſider attentively the manner in which they diſcharged, it muſt be

agreed,

agreed, that the antients were under the neceſſit of placing them behind ſuch a work as the moderns cover their batteries of mortars with; an that with no addition except in the height, as i thoſe of the baliſta. This is evident to ever man's common ſenſe; it being utterly impoſſibl to invent any other method for covering theſe machines from the view of the beſieged in uſing them The upper beam of the catapulta was very high which made it neceſſary to raiſe the work or covert (6) in proportion.

The ingenious commentator upon Polybius, wh treats the baliſta and catapulta with great exten tells us their force was very near equal to that artillery. He prefers the uſe of the latter, for mai very ſolid reaſons, to that of the mortar; whic he ſays, it would ſoon baniſh from armies, if t ignorance of its effects, and the prejudice of cu tom, did not oppoſe.

SECT. III.

The ram.

THE uſe of the ram is very antient, and the invention of it aſcribed to different people. t ſeems difficult, and hardly worth the trouble, to iſcover the author of it.

The ram was either ſlung or not ſlung.

The ſwinging ram was compoſed of a large beam f oak, reſembling a ſhip's maſt, of prodigious ngth and thickneſs, with the end armed with an ead of iron proportioned to the body, and in the hape of a ram's, from whence it had its name, ecauſe it ſtrikes againſt the walls, as a ram doth ith his head againſt all he encounters. This am's bigneſs ſhould be conformable to its length. itruvius gives that he mentions four thouſand taents in weight, that is to ſay, four hundred and ourſcore thouſand pounds *, which is not very exrbitant. This terrible machine was ſuſpended and alanced equally, like the beam of a pair of ſcales, ith a chain or large cables, which ſupported it in he air in a kind of building of timber, which was uſhed forwards, upon the filling up of the foſſe, to certain diſtance from the wall, by the means of ollers or wheels. The building was ſecured from eing ſet on fire by the beſieged, by ſeveral coverngs, with which it was caſed over. This maner of working the ram ſeems the moſt eaſy, and equires no great ſtrength. The heavieſt body uſpended in the air may be moved with inconſiderable force.

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* *The Roman pound weighed leſs than the French by almoſt a uarter.*

PLATE XX. explained.

Battering ram ſuſpended.

(2) THE ram.

(3) The form of its head, according all the monuments Greek and Roman, made fa to the enormous beam by four bands, or fillets iron, of four feet in length. At the extremity each of theſe bands (4) was a chain (5) of the ſam metal, one end of which was faſtened to an hoo (6), and at the other extremity of each of the chains was a cable very firmly bound to the l link: theſe cables ran the whole length of the bea to the end of the ram (7), where they were all ma as faſt together as poſſible with ſmall cordage.

At the end of theſe cables another was affixe compoſed of ſeveral ſtrong cords platted togeth to a certain length, and then running ſingle (At each of theſe ſeveral men were placed, to b-lance and work the machine. To ſtrengthen t ram, it was bound with ſtrong cords from t feet to two feet, the whole length of the beam.

The thickneſs of this terrible machine, as Jo-phus calls it, was in proportion to its length.

(10) The chains or cables by which it hung the croſs-beam (11) upon the top of the frame very ſtrong timbers.

The baſe (12) was not ſuch as Vitruvius and J-ſephus repreſent it, ſays Mr. Follard, but an c-long ſquare of thirty or forty feet, and ſometin more, in length, by more or leſs in breadth, a-cording to the length of the ram.

It was planted, the frame being firſt well c-vered in the manner of the tortoiſe, upon the pa of the foſſe filled up, and was worked by men b-

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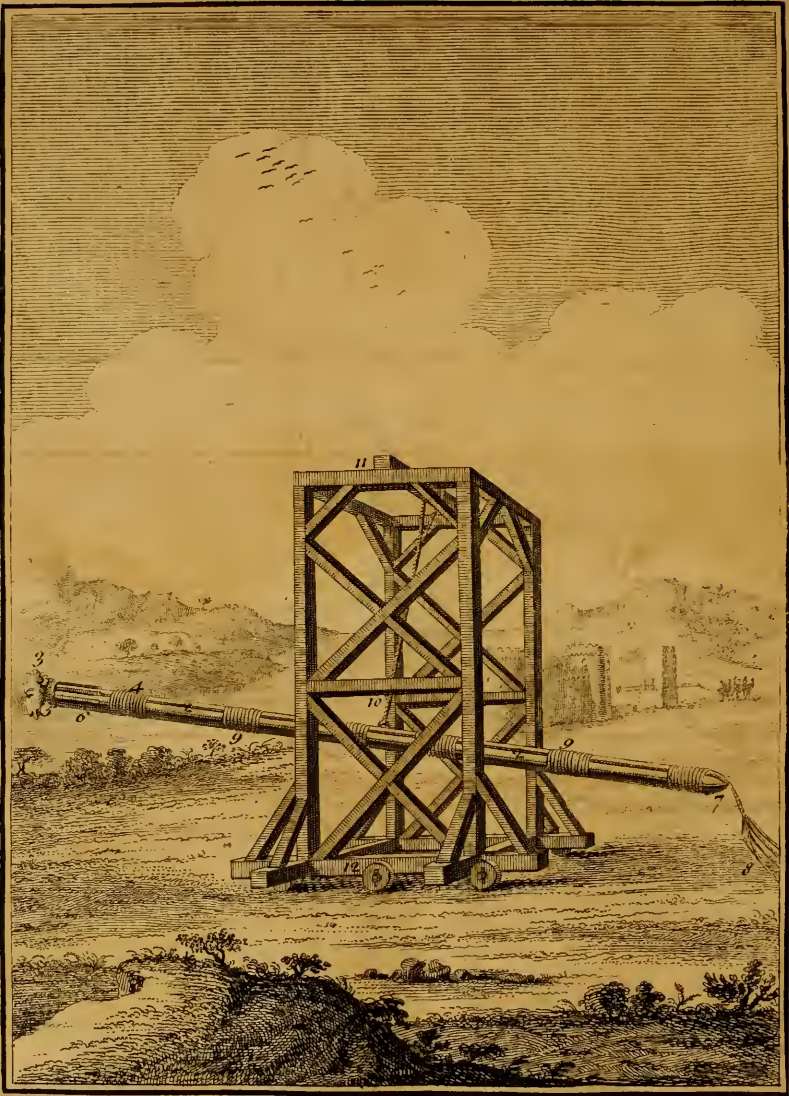
Plate. XX.


11
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9
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8
12

Battering Ram ſuſpended.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

hind the blinds of the trench next the counterſcarp; the batteries of baliſta's and catapulta's from the ſide of the counterſcarp, the moving towers and cavaliers, all covering the workmen by clearing the works of the beſieged.

But it is not ſo eaſy to comprehend how theſe rams were carried from place to place. For it is not to be imagined, that beams of ſuch immenſe thickneſs and extraordinary length could be found wherever there was occaſion for them; and it is certain that armies never marched without theſe machines. The Chevalier Follard, for want of information in this point from the writers of antiquity, conjectures, that they carried this ram-beam upon a four-wheel carriage of a particular form, compoſed of very ſtrong timbers; the beam ſuſpended ſhort to a ſtrong ſtay or croſs-beam in form of a gibbet (as in Plate XXI.) powerfully ſuſtained by all the wood-work capable of reſiſting the moſt violent ſhocks, and the whole joined and ſtrengthened well with bindings and plates of iron.

PLATE XXI. explained.

Carriage of the battering ram.

A THE carriage according to Mr. Follarc B The ram, tied up ſhort to the croſs beam, laid over two others in the form of a gibbet C.

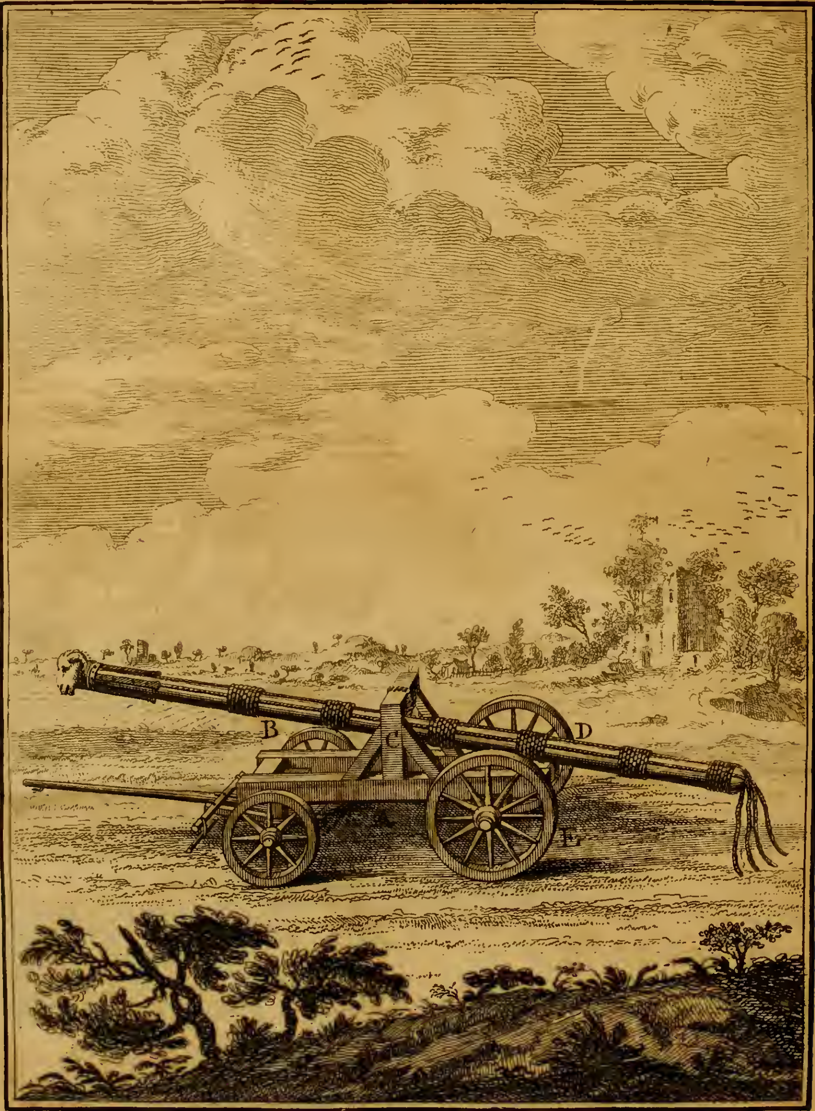
As it muſt have been very difficult to carr beams of this great length through deep and na row defiles and hollow ways, it ſeems almoſt in poſſible to have carried them in any other mann than ſlung ſhort to a croſs-beam, as in the plat in order to their being either raiſed or lowered c the ſides DE, according to occaſion, and the n ture of the ways.

The ſame author thinks the figure of this ca riage a ſufficient explanation of the manner in whic the antients muſt neceſſarily have tranſported the machines from place to place; which he ſubmi to the reader's judgment.

There was another kind of ram which was n ſuſpended or ſlung. We ſee, upon the column Trajan, the Dacians beſieging ſome Romans in fortreſs, which they batter with a ram, workc only by ſtrength of arms. They are not coverc with any thing, ſo that both the ram, and tho who work it, are expoſed to the darts of the b ſieged. It could not, in this method of uſing i produce any great effect.

PLAT

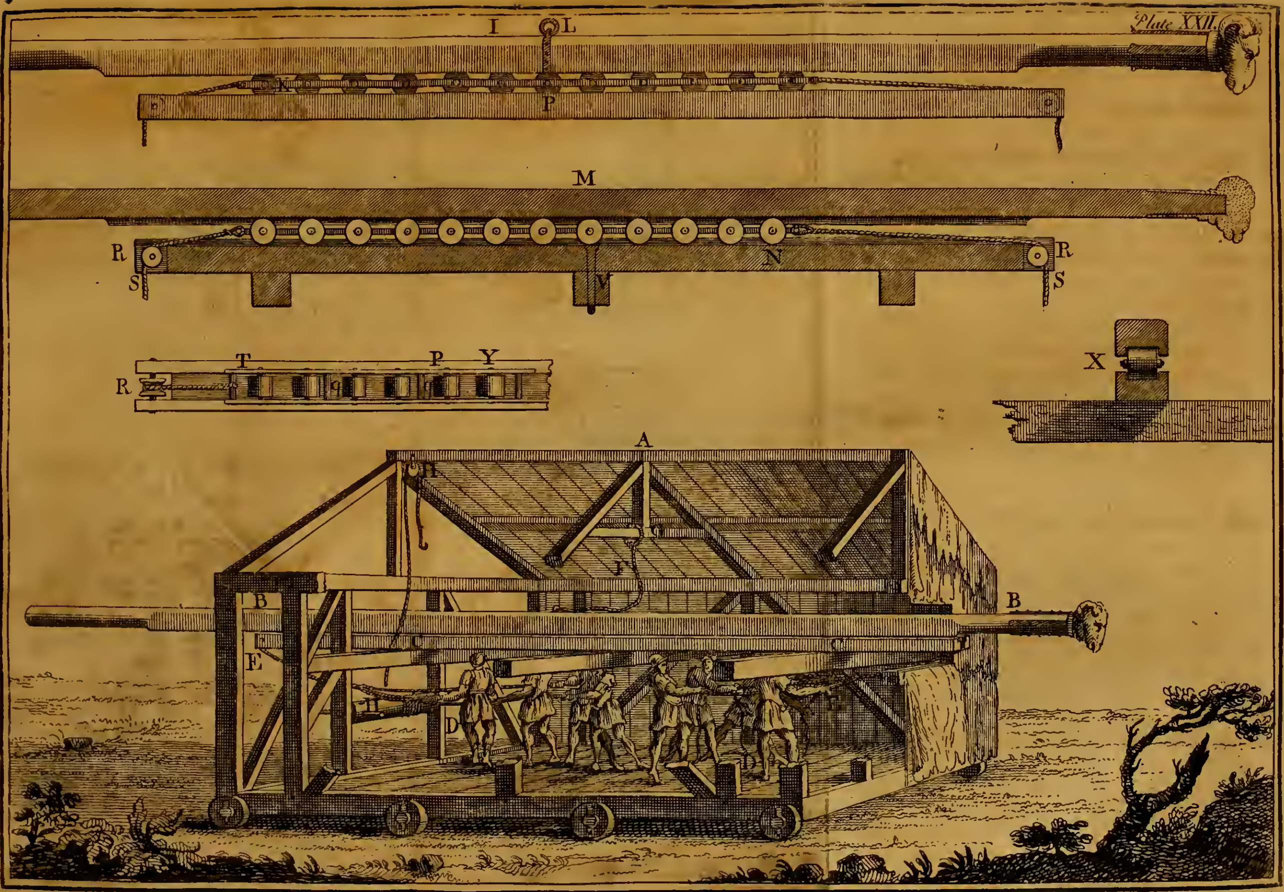
Plate XVI.



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Carriage of the Battering Ram.

Plate XXII.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E
H
D

Battering Ram not Suspended.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

PLATE XXII. explained.

Battering ram not ſuſpended.

A TORTOISE for the ram according to the antients*.

B The two ends of the ram out of the tortoiſe, which ran upon a chain of little wheels.

C The chanal or groove cut in the great beam.

D Soldiers working the ram in the tortoiſe by he cordage at each end E.

F Cordage faſtened to the ram and the croſs-eam G, to ſtop the ram, and prevent its quitting s canal or groove in being puſhed backward and orward.

H Roller, with its cordage and pulley at top; or raiſing the ram, and placing it upon its canal.

Powers for moving the ram explained.

I Ram upon its canal and chain of little wheels efore quite let down.

L Ring in which the cordage is faſtened that tops the ram at a certain proper diſtance.

M Draught of the ram, and its canal or groove N at length.

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* *Mr. Rollin ſeems to have been led into a miſtake, in reſpect to this ind of ram, by the plate of it in Mr. Follard's Polybius; in which it was neceſſary to give a view of the inſide of the tortoiſe, to ſhew the anner of working it by the ſoldiers. The very name of tortoiſe, as ell as the front, and part of the roof and ſides, covered againſt the achines and fires of the beſieged, ſhew, that it was not* open, *(as e ſuppoſes) but covered like other tortoiſes; otherwiſe, as he obſerves,* could have been of very ſmall, *or rather of no,* uſe againſt the nemy.

O Draught of the little cylinders, that tur upon their axes, fixed in two bands of iron, eac of a ſingle piece P, which are held at due diſtanc and parallel to each other for the moving of tl wheels by the croſs-pieces Q.

R Pullies to facilitate the motion of the tw cables S faſtened to the two croſs-pieces at the e tremities T of the wheels, which put the ram motion.

V Axis, or pin of iron put in a bore, ma in the centre of one of the beams, which ſuppo the ram, for turning it, and battering the wall different places.

X Croſs-view of the wheels between the ram a the groove.

Y Plan of the little cylinder or wheels as fix by the axis in the iron frames or bands P.

It has been queſtioned whether the rams, fix in the moving towers, or in a kind of tortoi were ſlung or not; and there are ſtrong reaſons both ſides. My plan does not admit my enteri into this diſpute.

I ſhall preſently relate the prodigious effects the ram. As it was one of the machines that h the beſieged moſt, many methods were contriv to render it uſeleſs. Fire was darted upon the r that covered, and the timbers that ſupported in order to burn them with the ram. To dead its blows, ſacks of wool were let down againſt t place at which it was levelled. Other machi were oppoſed againſt it to break its force, or turn aſide its head, when battering the worl Abundance of means were employed to prevent effects. Some of them may be ſeen in the ſie

I ha

have cited in the beginning of this paragraph. oſephus relates a ſurpriſing action of a Jew, who, t the ſiege of Jotaphat, threw a ſtone of an enormous ſize upon the head of the ram with ſuch iolence, that he looſened it from the beam, and nade it fall down. He leaped afterwards from the op of the wall to the bottom, took the head from he midſt of the enemies, and carried it back with im. He received five arrows in his body, and, otwithſtanding thoſe wounds, boldly kept in his oſt, till, through loſs of blood and ſtrength, he ell from the wall, and the ram's head with him, vith which he would never part.

De Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 16.

PLATE

PLATE XXIII. explained.

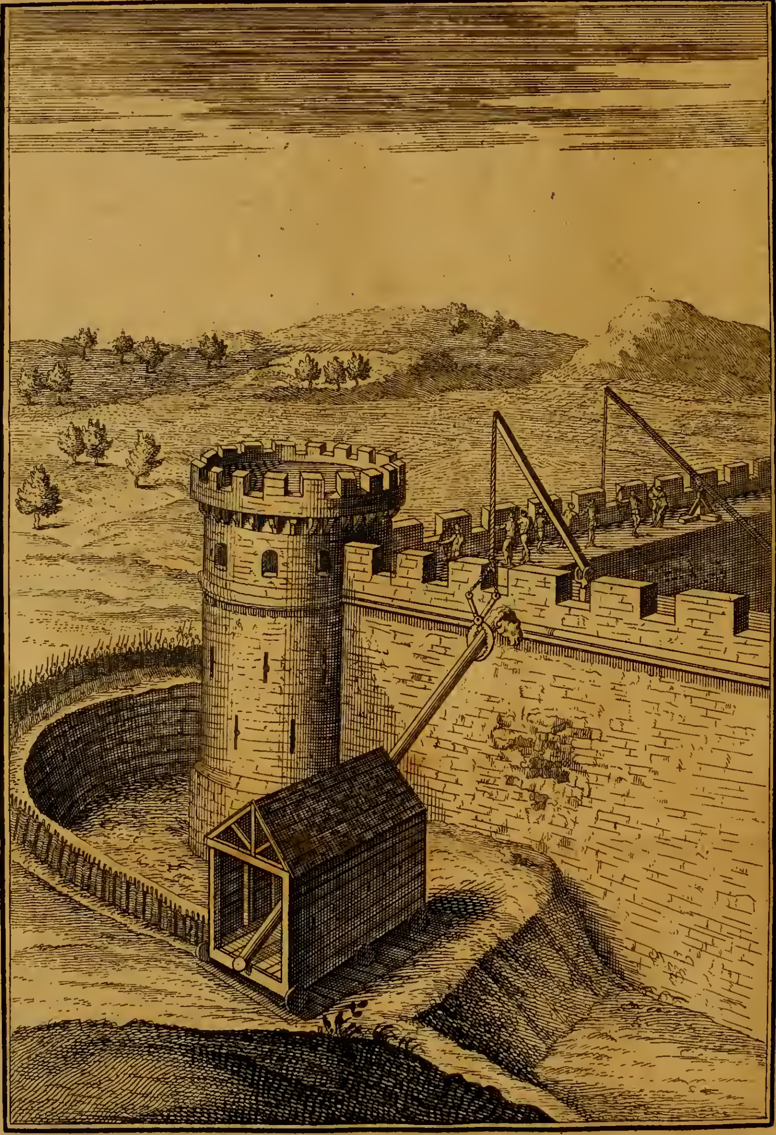
The corvus *(crow or crane) with nippers for ſeizi the battering ram.*

THE antients called many different machin by the name of corvus (crane) the inventi of which is aſcribed to ſeveral, and amongſt othe to Archimedes; but that opinion is refuted by t teſtimony of authors, ſome of whom aſcribe it Chariſtion at the ſiege of Samos, two hundred a twenty years before that of Syracuſe. If we m believe Quintus Curtius, neither Archimedes, n Chariſtion, had any ſhare in this invention, the T-rians having uſed the ſame machine againſt Alexa-der the Great, long before either of them came i to the world. The ſeveral ſpecies of it are inſert in this place, and at Chapter III, that treats of t navies of the antients.

The plate repreſents the corvus with nippers claws, that have teeth, and opened and ſhut li ſciſſars, to ſeize the ram, or any thing, betwe them. They were uſed in many antient ſieges, a particularly in that of Byzantium by the Empe Severus. Dion ſays, that the beſieged had *cor (harpagones)* with iron claws, which carried off wha-ever they faſtened upon with ſurpriſing velocit. The plate ſufficiently explains the doctrine of t machine, which is of the nature of the balance a lever.

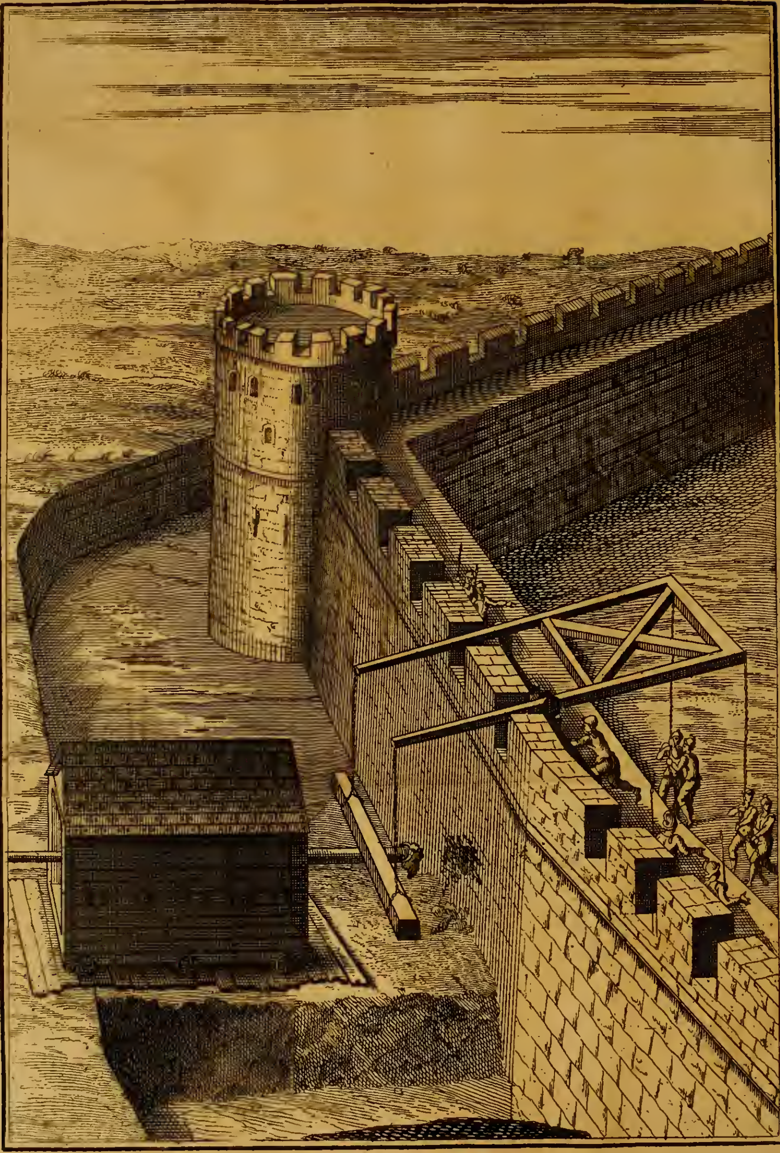
PLAT

Plate XXIII



Corvus (Crow or Crane) with nippers for seizing ye Battering Ram

Plate XXIV.



Double Corvus (or Crane) for breaking the blow of the Battering Ram.

PLATE XXIV. explained.

Double corvus *(or crane) for breaking the blow of the battering ram.*

THIS machine was uſed at the famous ſiege of Platæa. Thucydides ſays: “They made “ uſe of this artifice: They faſtened a large beam “ by the two ends to long iron chains. Thoſe “ chains were at the ends of two long timbers, “ that projected over the wall. As the ram was “ thruſt forward to batter it, they raiſed the beam “ in the air, and then let it fall croſs-wiſe with its “ whole weight upon the head of the ram, which “ rendered its blow ineffectual.”

Lipſius is not in the wrong for reckoning this machine amongſt the corvi or cranes. It was two cranes, as in the plate, with their extremities within the walls. They turned upon their axes on the ſame line, at ſomething leſs than the diſtance of the beam ſuſpended; and broke the blows of the ram, in raiſing up the beam, and letting it fall upon it. There are many examples of this machine to be found in hiſtory.

PLATE

PLATE XXV. explained.

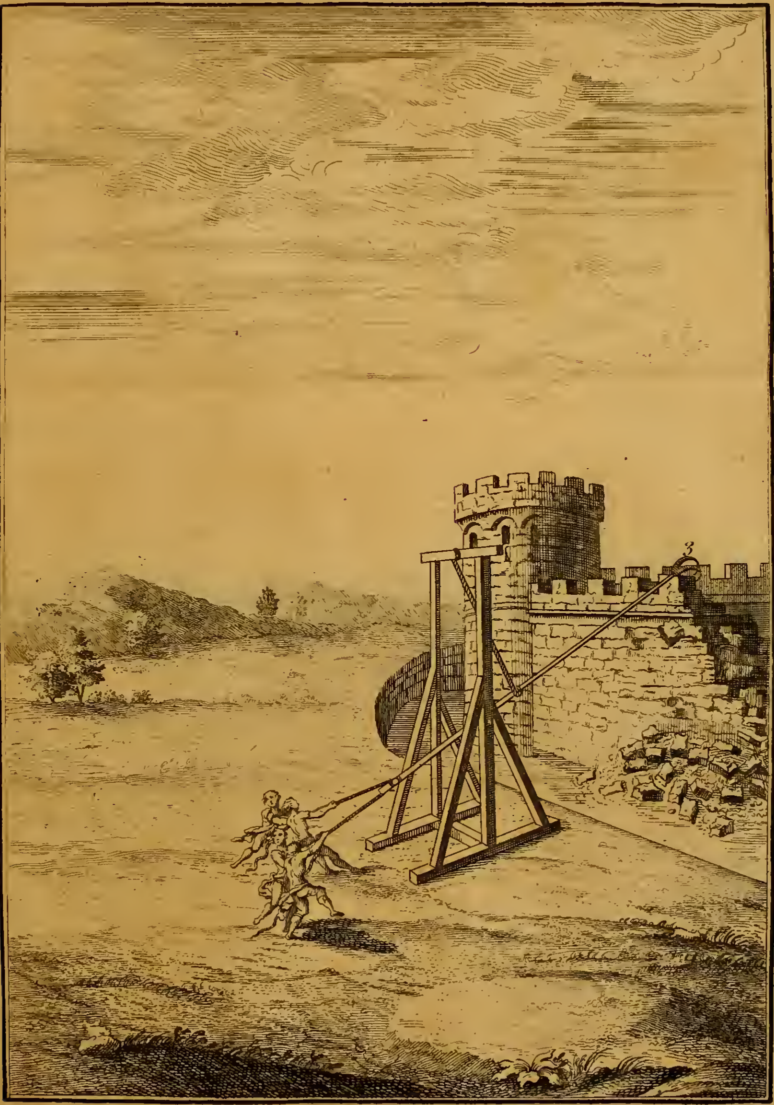
Corvus or crane for demoliſhing walls.

VITRUVIUS ſpeaks of the *demoliſhing cor u* of Diades, which ſeems to be the ſame a-chine Vegetius calls a tortoiſe. Within this tort ſe were one or two pieces of wood made round d very long for reaching a great way. At the end ( ), they had ſtrong hooks of iron, and were flung o ſuſpended upon an equilibrium like the rams. T y were applied either to the battlements or the p ts of the wall looſened by the ram to pull th m down.

Cæſar mentions this machine in his Comme a-ries, where he ſays, “ that the Gauls, beſieged in “ Bourges, turned aſide the hooks, with wh h “ the ruins of the works were pulled down, a d “ after having ſeized them with their machi s “ drew them up to the tops of the walls.”

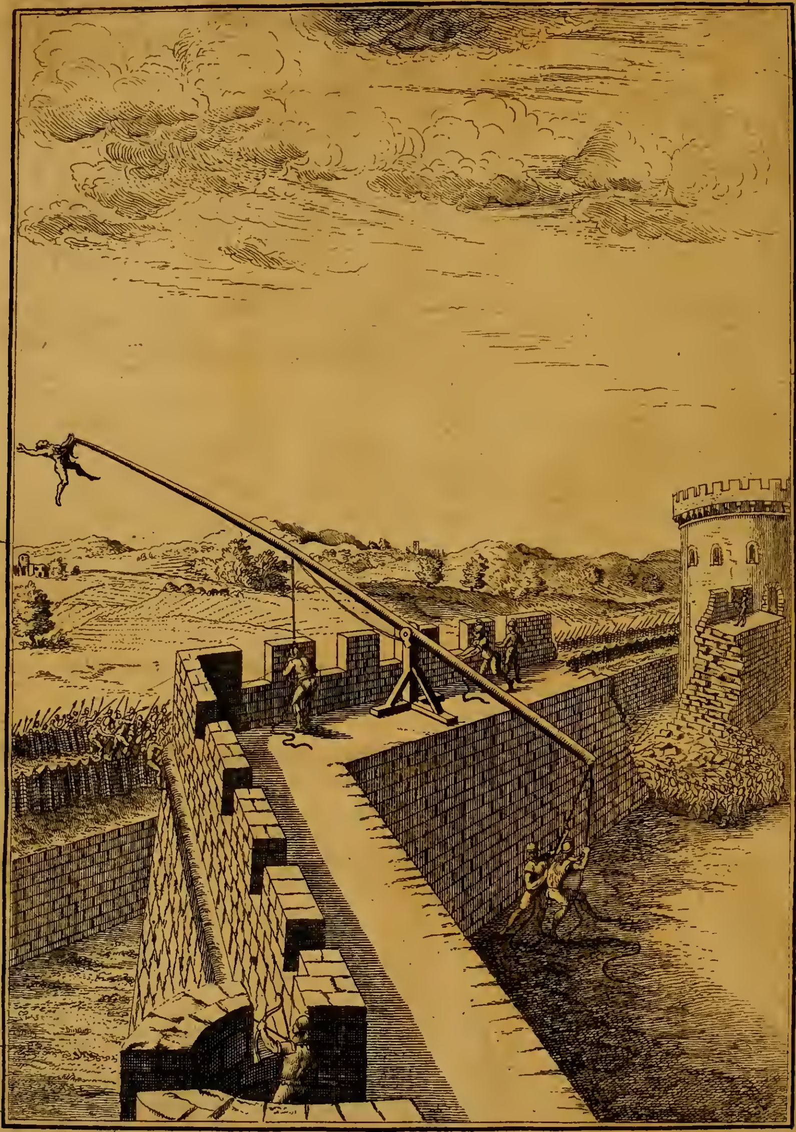
PLA

Plate XXV.



Corvus (or Crane) for demolishing Walls.

Plate XXVI.



Corvus (or Crane) with Claws to take up men in scaling or upon assaults.

PLATE XXVI. explained.

Corvus *(or crane) with claws, to take up men in ſcaling, or upon aſſaults.*

THE machine mentioned by Tacitus in the war of Civilis was a real corvus, the antients having given it that name. The Romans, when attacked in their camp by the army of that rebel, made uſe of all the artifices invented by the antients for the defence of the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified cities. " As the Romans were ſuperior in addreſs " and experience, ſays that author, they oppoſed " the inventions of the enemy with others of their " own, and made a pendent machine, which, being " let down, catched up the aſſailants, and threw " them with a ſudden turn upon the ramparts." Many may imagine this a very myſterious machine, but the plate ſufficiently ſhews that nothing is leſs ſo. Vitruvius is of the ſame opinion, who ſays, *As to the crane for hoiſting up men, I do not think it neceſſary to ſay any thing, being perfectly eaſy to form, and uſually made by the ſoldiers themſelves.* I am ſurpriſed, ſays Mr. Follard, that Tacitus ſhould call ſo known a machine *an invention* in the above-cited paſſage, when Polybius, and all the hiſtorians after him, tell us, that Archimedes uſed it at the ſiege of Syracuſe. After having mentioned the loſſes which the Romans ſuſtained by the great machines of Archimedes, Polybius adds, " without including thoſe occaſioned by the iron hooks, which " catched up the troops, and either daſhed them " againſt the ground, or plunged them into the " ſea."

PLATE XXVII. explained.

Corvus *(or crane) with a cage, or the tellenno*
uſed by the antients for lifting men to the top
works.

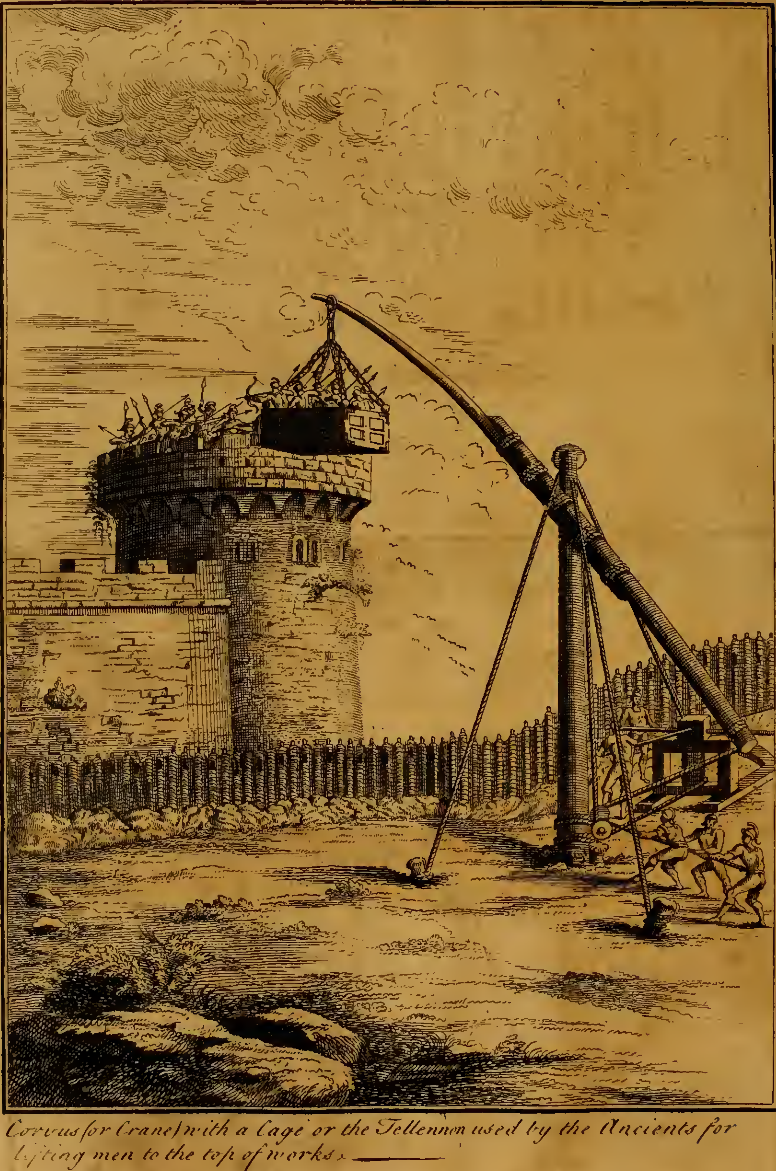
THE tellennon, as Vegetius repreſents it,
very ſeldom mentioned in the ſieges of th
antients. The machine ſuſpended muſt have bee
of a ſquare form with a door in the front of it to l
down as a bridge for paſſing to the wall. The te
lennon of Vegetius is manifeſtly ſuch as repreſente
in this plate, which ſufficiently explains the natu
of it.

The machine, uſed by Herod to diſlodge a gre
number of robbers who had fled into the caverns
certain rocks and mountains, was of this kin
the paſſage of Joſephus is worthy the reader's cu
rioſity.

“ Theſe caverns, ſays he, were in vaſt mou
“ tains inacceſſible on all ſides. There was no a
“ proaching them but by very narrow winding pat
“ on the ſide of a vaſt ſteep rock in the fron
“ which extended to the bottom of the valle
“ broken in ſeveral places by the impetuoſity of to
“ rents. A ſituation of ſuch ſtrength ſurpriſe
“ Herod, who did not know how to put his en
“ terpriſe in execution. He at length thought
“ a method unknown before. He cauſed ſoldie
“ to be let down in ſquare cheſts of great ſtrengt
“ to the entrance of the caverns, who killed th
“ robbers with their families that were in them
“ and put fire into thoſe where thoſe ſculked wh
“ would not ſurrender: ſo that this race of thiev

“ we

Plate XXXII.



Corvus (or Crane) with a Cage or the Tellennon used by the Ancients for lifting men to the top of works.

"were ſoon deſtroyed either by the ſword, fire, or "ſmoke." But to return to our tellennon.

It is not to be believed, that this machine was invented for raiſing and throwing men upon the towers and walls of beſieged places; unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a multiplicity of theſe machines might be of great ſervice, when placed near one another: but, as there is no mention of that in any hiſtorian, it is probable that this kind of corvus was intended for diſcovering what the beſieged were doing upon the towers and within the walls, for which purpoſe one man ſufficed as well as four.

SECT. IV.

Moving Towers.

VEGETIUS deſcribes theſe towers in a manner that gives a ſufficiently clear idea of them. The moving towers, ſays that author, are made of an aſſemblage of beams and ſtrong planks, not unlike an houſe. To ſecure them againſt the fires thrown by the beſieged, they are covered with raw hides, or with pieces of cloth made of hair. Their height is in proportion to that of their baſe. They are ſometimes thirty feet ſquare, and ſometimes forty or fifty. They are higher than the walls or even towers of the city. They are ſupported upon ſeveral wheels according to mechanic principles, by the means of which the machine is eaſily made to move, how great ſoever it may be. The town is in great danger, if this tower can approach the walls. For it has ſtairs from one ſtory to another, and includes different methods of attack. At bottom it has a ram to batter the wall, and on

Veget. de re milit. l. 4. c. 17.

the

the middle ſtory a draw-bridge, made of two beam with rails of baſket-work, which lets down eaſil upon the wall of a city, when within the reach o it. The beſiegers paſs upon this bridge, to mak themſelves maſters of the wall. Upon the highe ſtories are ſoldiers armed with partiſans and miſſiv weapons, who keep a perpetual diſcharge upon th works. When affairs are in this poſture, a plac ſeldom holds out long. For what can they hop who have nothing to confide in but the height their ramparts, when they ſee others ſuddenly appear which command them?

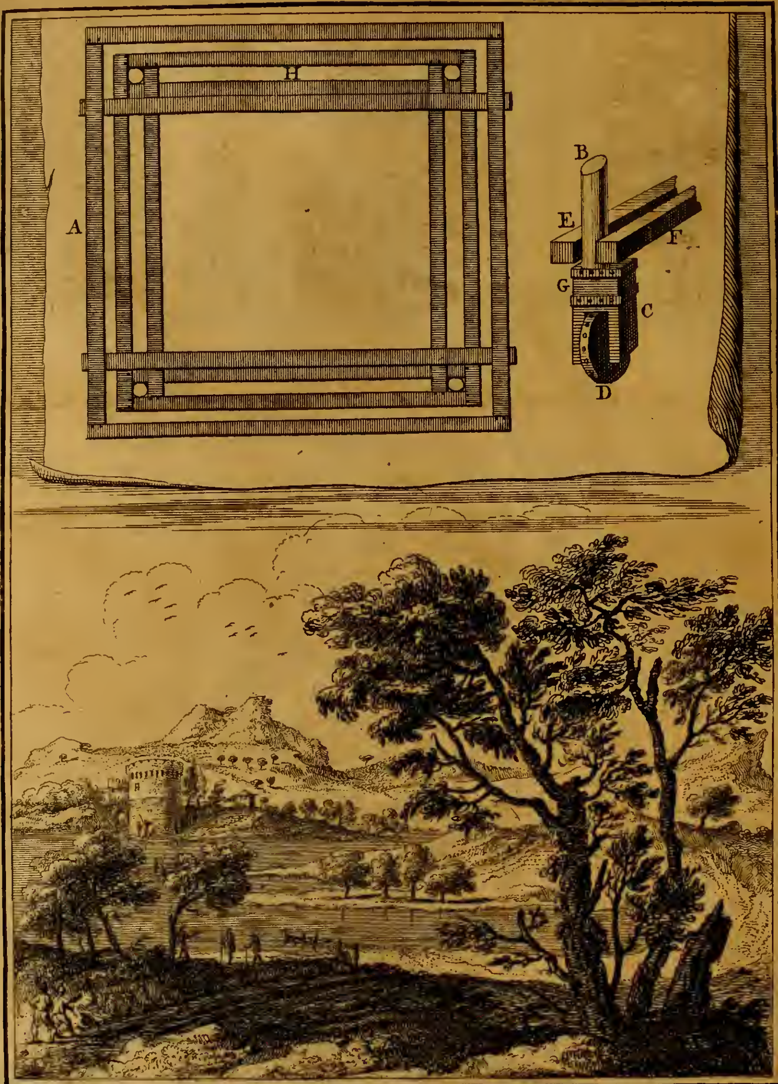
PLATE XXVIII. explained.

AS the moving towers of the antients were t moſt ſtupendous machines they uſed in wa, it was thought proper to give an idea of ther, their ſtructure, and the mechanic powers f moving them, in the following ſeven plates a plans of ſome of the moſt extraordinary mention in antient hiſtory.

Plan of the baſe of the helepolis of Demetrius ſu-ported upon wheels with their axis turning up n a pivot.

THIS plan relates to the moving tower n plate XXXI.

A are beams laid croſs each other at the baſe f the tower. They projected three or four feet b yond the lower frame or baſe, to facilitate e moving of the machine, when it arrived near e foſſe of the beſieged place, and the cordage cod wk



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Plan of the Baſe of the Helepolis of Demetrius ſupported upon wheels & their axis turning upon a pivot.

work no longer: Beſides which, this projection ſerved to cover the wheels againſt the ſhot of the machines, and to prevent it from overturning, in caſe the wheels ſunk in ſome bad way, as it ſometimes happened.

B and C repreſent the pieces of wood for the pivot and frame to receive the axis of the wheel D. Theſe pieces were of a ſolidity proportioned to the weight they ſuſtained: the upper part E was not ſo large as the lower C, in order to its forming a pivot B, that went through the two ſides of the baſe. This is Mr. Perrault's explanation of what Vitruvius call *Amaxapodes.* The ledge F muſt have been very large to ſupport the enormous weight of the tower; and, as the wheel was two cubits or three feet from the axis to the extremity, the pivot and frame B C muſt have been made of three pieces of wood, ſtrongly joined together with great art; and ſtrengthened with bindings of iron G.

The frame of the baſe, therefore, muſt have been compoſed of eight great beams on the four ſides H, to receive the *Amaxapodes* or pivot and frame. The Chevalier Follard ſays, that he does not ſee how this ſort of wheels with their pivots, being ſo few, could move every way without breaking in the mortiſe or hole in which the axle turns: He adds, that he chuſes rather to believe theſe wheels an imagination of Vitruvius.

PLATE XXIX. explained.

Towers with bridges of the emperor Frederic I. *a*
Jeruſalem.

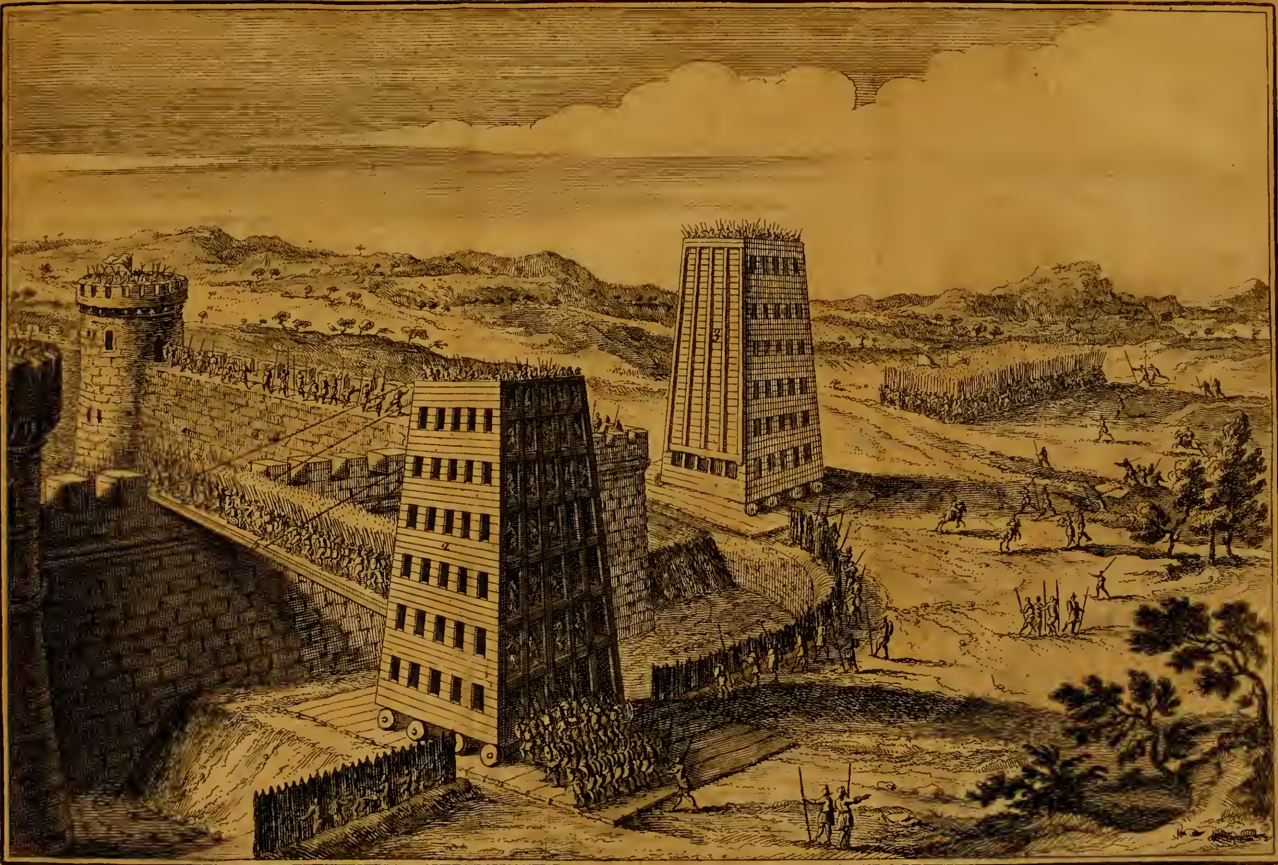
THIS plate repreſents two towers before th walls of the city, each having a bridge (2 compoſed of ſeveral long beams covered wit planks, and equal in breadth to the tower, in ord to receive a greater front of aſſailants.

(3) Shews the bridge drawn up againſt the towe beginning at the firſt ſtory, in order to be let dow in a parallel line with the top of the wall.

(4) The cables or chains, by which that eno mous draw-bridge was let down when at a prop diſtance.

(5) The bridge let down, and the troops paſſin to the wall.

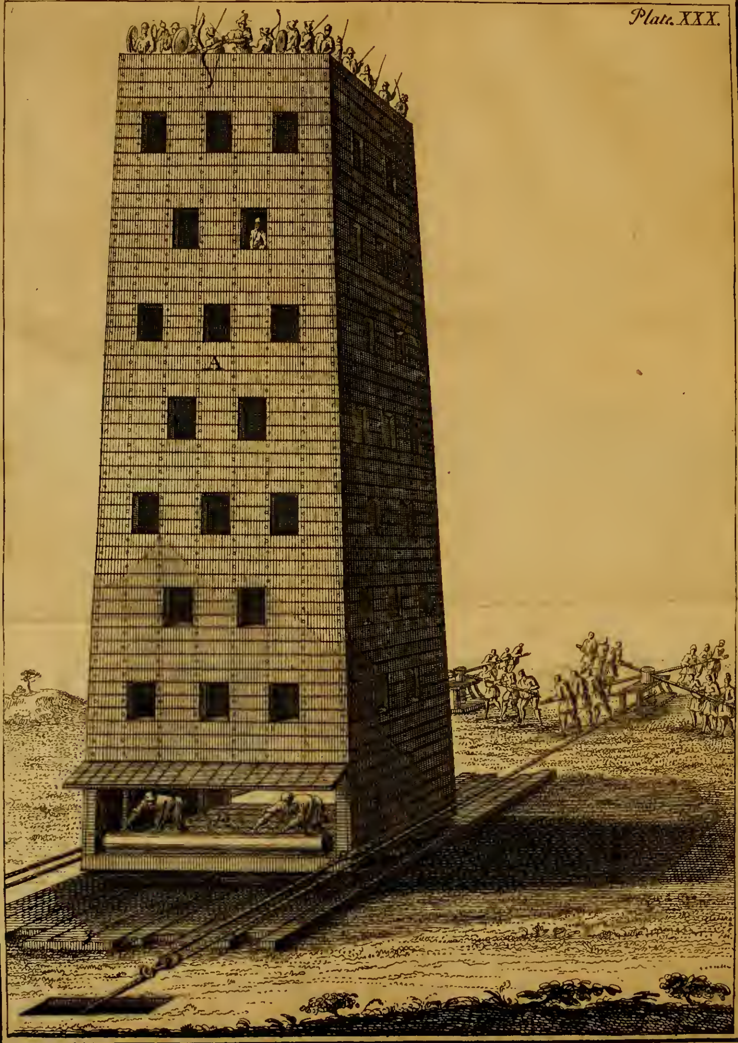
PLAT



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Towers with Bridges of the Emperor Frederick I. at Jerusalem.

Plate. XXX.



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Cæsars moving tower at the Siege of Namur with the powers for moving it.

PLATE XXX. explained.

Cæſar's moving tower at the ſiege of Namur, with the powers for moving it.

THE people of Namur demanded to capitulate, when they ſaw the prodigious tower A, of which they had made a jeſt, whilſt it was building at a conſiderable diſtance from their walls, move towards them very faſt. "They believed 'this a prodigy, ſays Cæſar, and were aſtoniſhed, 'that ſuch little people, as we ſeemed to them, 'ſhould think of carrying ſo vaſt and heavy a 'machine to their walls." It is no wonder they were ſurpriſed, as they had never ſeen nor heard of any ſuch thing, and as this tower ſeemed to advance by inchantment and of itſelf, the mechanic powers that moved it being imperceptible to thoſe of the place. The deputies, whom they ſent to Cæſar, ſaid, that they believed the Romans muſt be aſſiſted by the gods in their wars, who could make machines of ſo enormous a ſize advance ſo ſwiftly to command their walls. *Non ſe exiſtimare Romanos ſine ope deorum bellum gerere, qui ex tantæ altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere, & ex propinquitate pugnare poſſent.*

In the following plate, this tower, and the powers for moving it, are explained at large.

PLATE XXXI. explained.

Helepolis of Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the ſiege Rhodes, with its two draw-bridges.

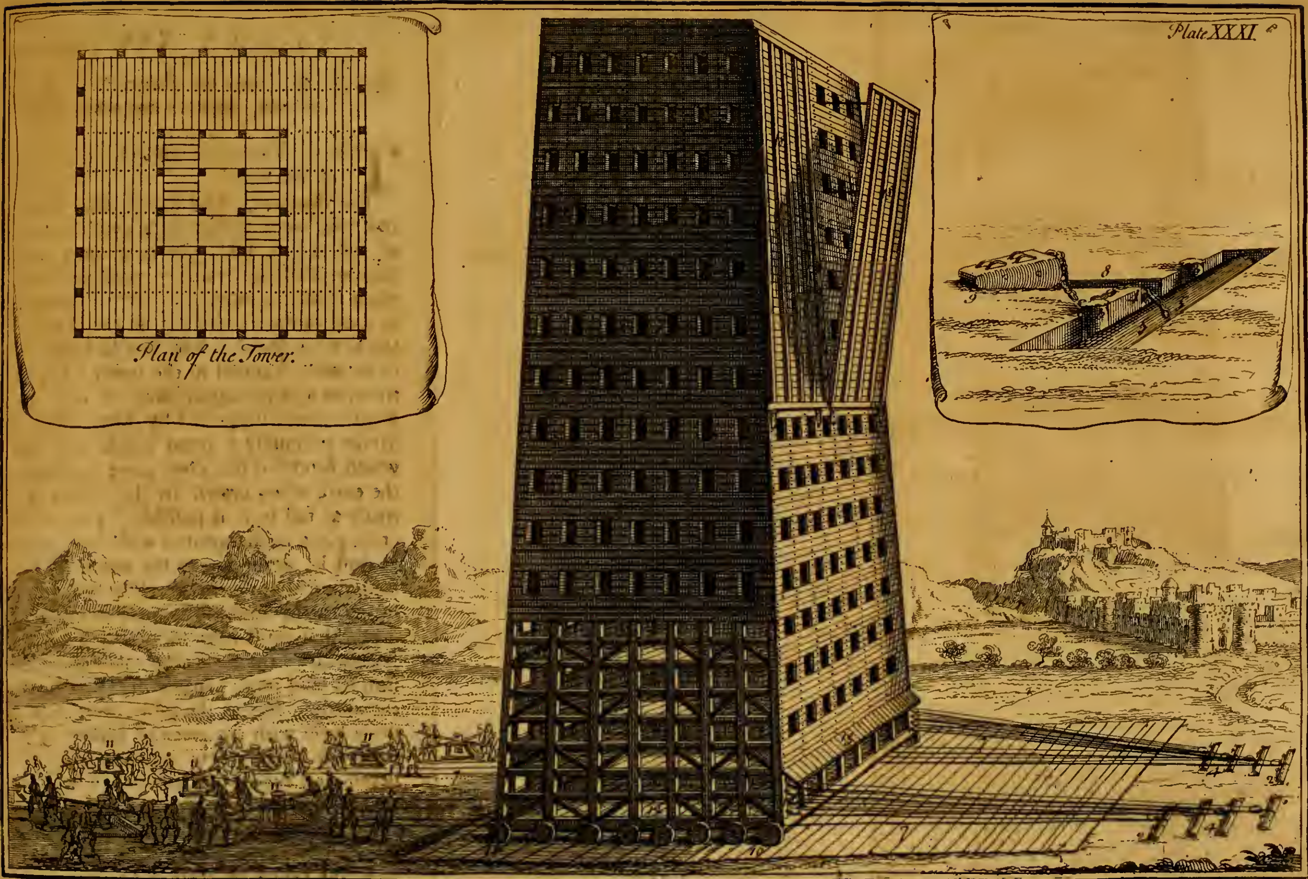
THE deſcription of this plate includes th of the laſt.

The machines, like that in the foregoing pla and this, were erected upon cylinders, in the natu of rollers (2), laid a-croſs upon a platform (3 compoſed of flat beams covered with thick plank when it was to move ſeveral ſmall trenches were c in the ground (4), diſpoſed in the manner of a qui cunx, from three to four feet in length by as mai in breadth, parallel to the tower: in each of the trenches a large round piece of oak (5) was la length-ways, ſupported by four ſtrong ſtakes (6 driven obliquely a good depth into the groun which hindered the croſs-piece (5) from breakii the earth when drawn by the cables (7) that we made as faſt to it as poſſible. Let us imagine t croſs-piece in the ground with four or two ſtak againſt it, according to the nature of the ſoil, n ſuppoſing that one ſtake, how deep ſoever driv in the earth, could ſuſtain the draught of the co dage, that muſt have inevitably pulled it up; b ſides which, the following method is much mo ſimple, and more capable of bearing the force the cords. But as the cables were each of them draw level with the piece of timber (5), it was n ceſſary to make a cut in the earth, of the ſan depth and breadth as the trench (4), in the for of the letter T: without which precaution, tl cable in drawing againſt the ſide of the trench (would have drawn the croſs-piece (5) out of its plac

In the centre of theſe croſs-pieces ſtrong looj were faſtened, to which pullies with double

treb

Plate XXXI.


Plan of the Tower.
8
9
11
11
10
2

The Helepolis of Demetrius Poliorcetes at the Siege of Rhodes with its two Draw bridges.

W.H Toms Sculp

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

eble wheels (9) were hooked, fitted with cables, which others anſwered (10), that were made faſt i the ſame manner to the beams at the bottom of ie tower; each of theſe pullies had hooks at the ids of them, to put on and take off from time time.

After having fixed theſe pullies to the loops of ie croſs-pieces in the trenches and to the towers, ith their cables in them, they were let looſe, and ot ſtrained, till each of the cables were made faſt the ſame number of windlaſſes or capſtanes (11), hich were more or leſs according to the magni-ide of the machine, ſeveral men turning at each their arms; but it was neceſſary for them to ork the windlaſſes or capſtanes exactly together, iat all the cables might have their effect at one id the ſame motion; without this agreement in ie moving powers, the machine would have turn-l ſometimes towards one ſide, and ſometimes to-ards the other.

It moved forwards upon rollers or cylinders. here were men within (12), and others without, ho took away the roller, as the tower left it be-ind in advancing; thoſe within puſhed the rollers efore the tower, as faſt as it quitted them be-ind; ſo that it continually went on upon the ſame umber of rollers. When the tower came near ie croſs-beams in the trenches, they unhooked the ullies from the loops, and carried them with the ables to other trenches, cut at the ſame diſtance s the former; there they hooked the pullies on gain as at firſt, after having brought forwards the indlaſſes or capſtanes to the proper diſtance: and iis was repeated, till the tower arrived on the ſide f the foſſe of the place beſieged, without any dan-er to the workmen, or the enemy's perceiving he powers that moved the machine, the windlaſſes, c. being behind it: for when they approached

the walls, thoſe who turned them worked un
cover, and behind the hurdles or fence-work of
lines of approach.

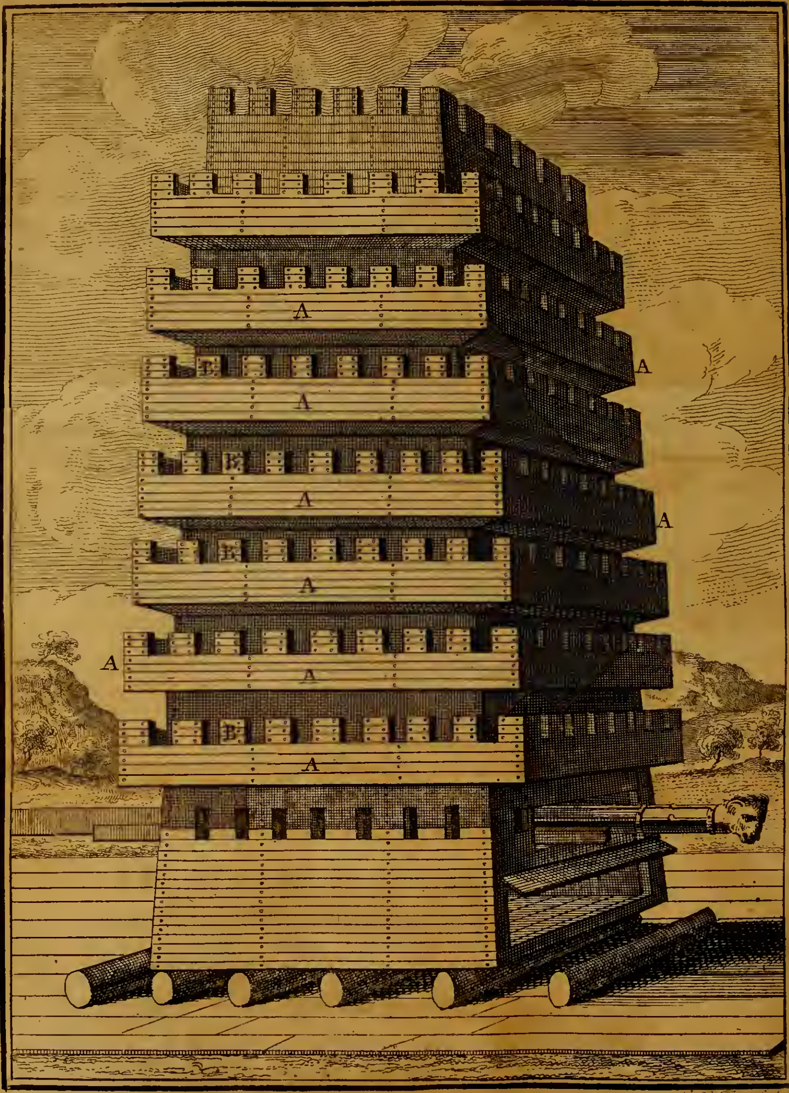
Theſe the Chevalier Follard conjectures to ha
been the mechanic principles for moving gr
towers; which, he adds, do not only ſeem v
ſimple, but argue the *tanta celeritate* of Cæſar. T
pent-houſe (13) that moved up and down at
diſcretion of thoſe within, was to cover the me
bringing forward the rollers to the front of
tower: it is left open purpoſely in the plate to ſh
their manner of working within the machine.

He continues, that it is his opinion the ſa
mechanic powers were as likely to be uſed in mov
ſmall towers as great ones: though it is poſſi
that the latter had wheels (16), with this differen
that a greater force was required for making th
go forwards, and conſequently, that the ca
ſhould go under the machine, as in the helep
with wheels. Though Diodorus pretends that
laſt machine went upon eight wheels, I have gi
it ſixteen, becauſe to me it ſeems impoſſible fo
to move upon eight; and I have placed its t
bridges (18) at the middle ſtory, which it is
improbable were let down and drawn up by c
ſtanes.

Had the rollers, upon which theſe towers mov
been turned by levers, the ſame learned comm
tator upon Polybius ſays they could not h
made two yards a day, which he proves by
example of Vitiges, the Goth, at the ſiege of Ro
defended by Beliſarius, as related by Procopius.

PLAT

Plate XXXII.


A
A
E
A
E
A
A
E
A
A
A
B
A

W. H. Toms ſculp.

Tower with corridors or Galleries & a Ram not Suſpended.

PLATE XXXII. explained.

wer with corridors or galleries, and a ram not ſuſpended.

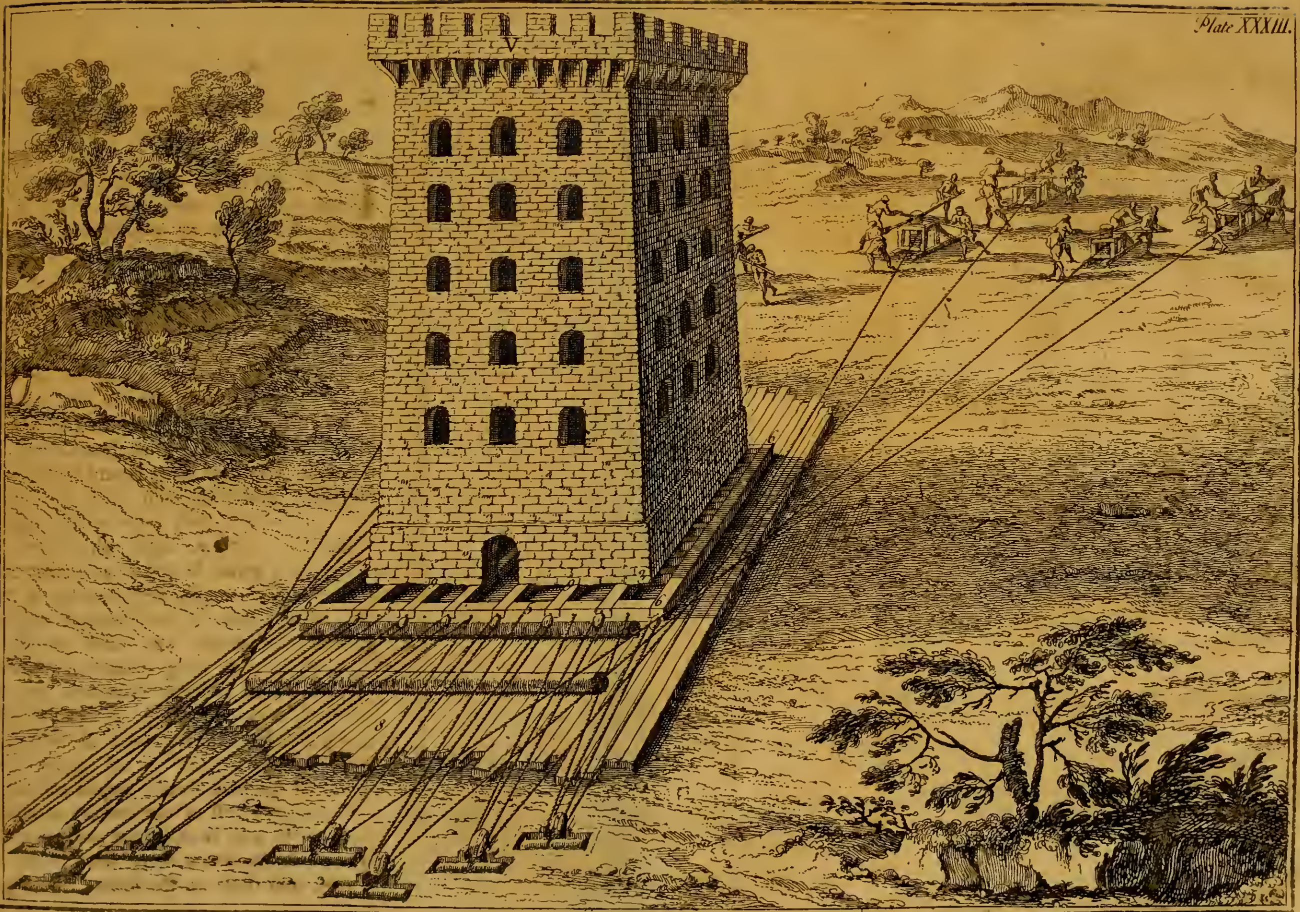
THE corridors or galleries (A) that ſurround this tower at each ſtory, were intended to ɜvent its being ſet on fire; and, indeed, nothing uld have been better invented for that purpoſe, ɔſe galleries being full of troops, armed with ſſive weapons, who made their diſcharges from hind the kind of parapets or battlements (B), d were always ready to pull out the darts of e, and extinguiſh all other combuſtibles thrown ainſt the tower; ſo that it was impoſſible for the e to make the leaſt progreſs, the remedy being ways at hand. Theſe corridors were built upon ams that projected five or ſix feet beyond the wer; ſeveral of which kind are ſtill to be ſeen ɔon Trajan's column.

PLATE XXXIII. explained.

Tower of ſtone moved from one place to another b
architect of Boulogne.

IT is ſuppoſed, that this architect muſt h
taken the following method for removing
tower. He began by making cuts in it at the b
tom, level with the ground on all ſides, and exa
facing one another. Theſe cuts were wide enou
to receive ſeveral large ſquare beams, prepared
forehand to form a double frame, and ſerve a
baſe to the tower; theſe beams thus laid, and p
jecting ſix feet on each ſide of the baſe of the to
er, other croſs-beams were carried through the c
in the other ſides (3), and laid chequer-wiſe a
ſquare baſe (5). All theſe beams were inſerted,
the ends, into four other beams (6) with tenons a
mortiſes, and into each other by cuts hewed
them, at which they were made firm by teno
This double frame, upon which the tower was
move, and which ſerved it as a baſe, ſhould ha
projected five or ſix feet beyond the tower.
this being done in the ſtrongeſt and moſt ex
manner, the whole was raiſed on the four ſi
with levers, and long cylindrical beams or roll
(7), all equal in their diameters, put under.
platform was then laid of beams covered w
ſtrong planks, and the parts of the wall, that ſ
ſupported the tower in the ſpaces between t
beams of the baſe, were ſapped and taken away
level with the reſt of the bottom as poſſible : th
parts of the wall thus ſapped and removed all at t
ſame time, the tower being fixed on the baſe of t
beams, and thoſe on the rollers, nothing remain

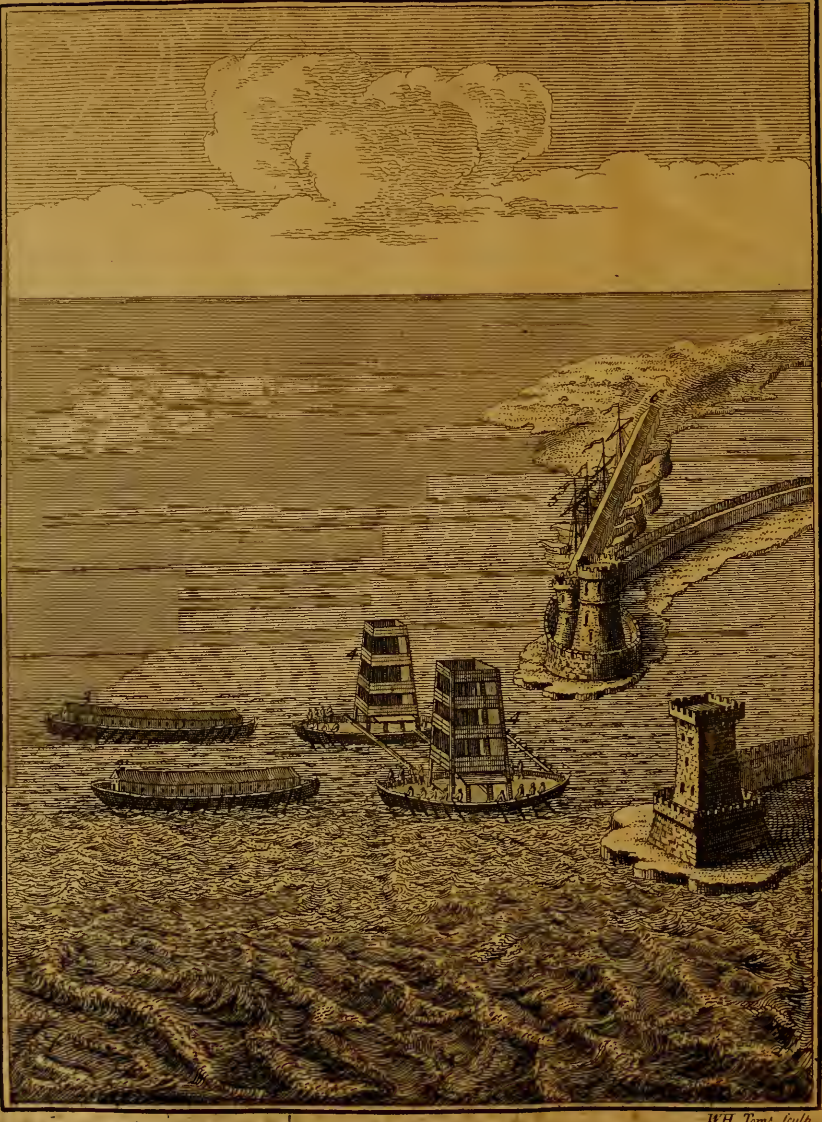
b



Tower of Stone mov'd from one place to another, by an Architect of Boulogne.

W.H Toms Sculp.

Plate XXXIV



W.H. Toms ſculp.

Floating Towers & Galleries of Demetrius at the ſiege of Rhodes.

to ſet it in motion by the ſame mechanic pow- as are deſcribed in moving the helepolis, increa- g the number of pullies and windlaſſes to the ce neceſſary, and adding a greater number of lers than it had at firſt.

PLATE XXXIV. explained.

ating towers and galleries of Demetrius at the ſiege of Rhodes.

DEMETRIUS cauſed two tortoiſes to be built upon flat-bottomed veſſels, for ap- aching the nearer to the places he had occaſion atter. Thoſe machines may be called *Floating toiſes* (2), the one to cover his troops againſt enormous weight, thrown by the beſieged from tops of their walls and towers, or diſcharged the catapulta's planted at the bottom of them. e other (3) was covered at top with timber-work ſomething leſs ſolidity than the firſt, and was nded to ſhelter the troops againſt the arrows l darts diſcharged by the baliſta's. Theſe two toiſes were in a line, and at ſome diſtance from h other. There were alſo two veſſels or *prahms* the front of the tortoiſes or galleries, upon which towers with battering-rams (4) were erected, h of four ſtories, and higher than thoſe that de- ded the entrance of the port. Theſe floating vers were intended to batter thoſe of the port, ilſt the troops from the ſeveral ſtories diſcharged petually on the enemy that appeared on the lls.

As theſe four floating machines were intended, leaſt thoſe with the rams, to batter the two tow- that defended the entrance of the port, and Demetrius was in hopes of carrying the place b t port, which could not be taken but by attaci the two branches of the mole, on the ſide nex t main, at the ſame time, with a great body of t o well provided for that ſervice, he at laſt thc g of this, as the moſt happy method that coul imagined.

He commanded a number of his leaſt, b ſtrongeſt ſhips (5) to be drawn up in a line, o t ſides of the mole, at a certain diſtance from a other; over theſe he built a covered galler (with doors along the ſides of it for going in a out. Within this gallery he poſted a great bo y ſoldiers and archers, that could be immediatel r inforced from his other ſhips, as the occaſio attacking the mole ſhould require.

Notwithſtanding many ſurpriſing inventio the ſame nature, the Rhodians obliged him tc a the ſiege, after he had been a year befor t place.

See the hiſtory of this ſiege in Vol. VIII. o th work.

ARTICLE III.

Attack and defence of places.

Join the attack and defence of places together, in order to abridge this ſubject, which of itſelf ery extenſive : I ſhall even treat only on the moſt ntial parts of it, and that in as brief a manner oſſible.

SECT. I.

Lines of circumvallation and countervallation.

V HEN the cities were extremely ſtrong and populous, they were ſurrounded with a and intrenchment againſt the beſieged, and by ther foſſe on the ſide next the country againſt troops, which might come to the aid of the e; and theſe were called lines of circumvallation countervallation. The beſiegers pitched their p between theſe two lines. Thoſe of counter-ation were againſt the beſieged city, the others inſt attempts from without.

When it was foreſeen that the ſiege would be of g duration, it was often changed into a block-, and then the two lines in queſtion were ſolid ls of ſtrong maſonry, flanked with towers at per diſtances. There is a very ſenſible example his at the ſiege of Platæa by the Lacedæmo-ns and Thebans, of which Thucydides has left a long deſcription : “ The two ſurrounding ines were compoſed of two walls ſixteen feet diſtant, and the ſoldiers lay in that ſpace, which was divided into quarters : ſo that it might ave been taken for only one wall, with high “ towers

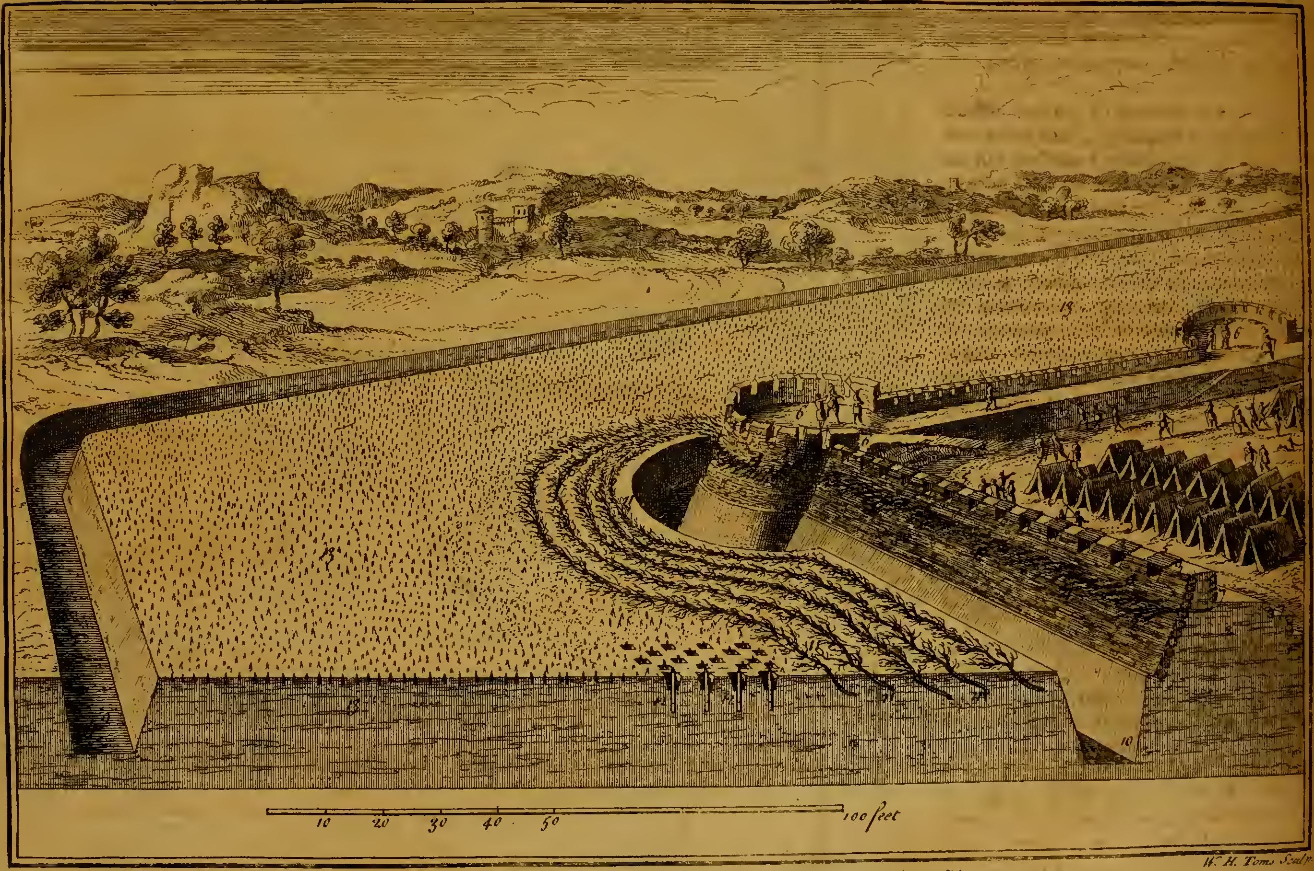
Thucyd. l. 2. p. 147. &c.

" towers from diſtance to diſtance, which occu
" the whole interval, in order to inable the
" ſiegers to defend at the ſame time againſt
" within and thoſe without. The quarters o
" ſoldiers could not be gone round without
" ſing the towers of the wall, and the top o
" wall was ſkirted with a parapet of oſier. T
" was a foſſe, on each ſide of which, the eartl
" been uſed to make bricks for the wall." I
manner Thucydides deſcribes theſe two ſurro
ing walls, which were of no very great circu
Vol. III. Book VI. Chap. V.
rence, the city being very ſmall. I have elſew
related, with ſufficient extent, the hiſtory o
ſiege, or rather blockade, very famous am
the antients; and have obſerved in what ma
notwithſtanding theſe fortifications, part o
garriſon eſcaped.

Appian. in Iberic. p. 306.

The camp of the Roman army before Nu
tia took up a much greater extent of gr
That city was four and twenty ſtadia in circu
rence, that is to ſay, a league. Scipio, wh
inveſted it, cauſed a line of circumvallation
drawn, which incloſed more than twice the gr
the city ſtood upon. When this work was f
ed, another line was thrown up againſt the beſi
at a reaſonable diſtance from the firſt, com
of a rampart of eight feet thick by ten
which was ſtrengthened with ſtrong paliſades.
whole was flanked with towers of an hundre
from each other. It is not eaſy to comprehe
what manner the Romans compleated theſe
menſe works; a line of circumvallation of
than two leagues in compaſs: but nothing is
certain than theſe facts. Let us now advan
wards the place.

PLA


13
6
6
6
13
13
10
10
20
30
40
50
100 feet

W. H. Toms Sculp.

Profile of part of the Circumvallation with its fosse and advanced fosse of Cæsar's Camp before Alexia.

PLATE XXXV. explained.

ofile of part of the circumvallation with its foſſe, and
advanced foſſe of Cæſar's camp before Alexia.

THE work (2) was formed of faſcines inſtead
of turf, with its parapet (3), and fraiſe (4),
de of large ſtakes, with their branches cut in
ints, and burnt at the ends like a ſtag's horns;
y ſeemed like wings at the foot of the parapet,
like the oars of a galley inclining downwards.
the ſame nature are the fraiſes of the moderns,
t are far from being ſo well imagined, and are
ooth-pointed paliſades bending downwards to
vent ſcaling. The moderns fix them in the
ne manner at the bottom of the parapet, where
y form a kind of cincture very agreeable to the
. The battlements, mentioned by Cæſar, were
e the modern embraſures for cannon (5); here
archers were placed. Upon the parapet of the
vers (6), field baliſta's were planted to flank the
rks. Theſe towers were not always of wood, but
netimes of earth covered with turf, or ſtrength-
d with faſcines. They were much higher than
reſt of the intrenchment, and ſometimes had
wers of wood raiſed upon them, for battering the
ces that commanded the camp.

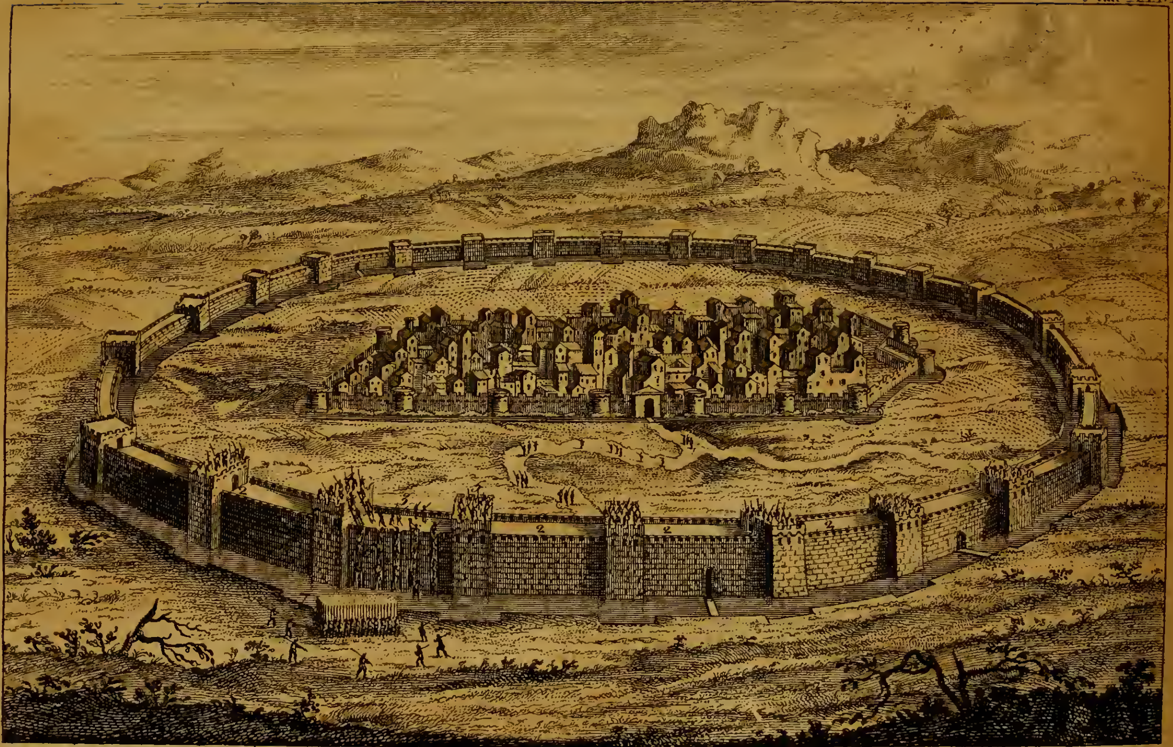
Some authors have believed that theſe intrench-
nts and works of the antients in the field, like
ſe of maſonry, were perpendicular; but that
inion is very abſurd. Theſe had a platform with
talus or ſlope, and ſometimes banquette's (7) in
e form of ſteps for aſcending; beſides which, at
e towers, there were ways made (8) to go up.
ll this was indiſpenſably neceſſary in Cæſar's lines,
they were very high, to prevent the earth from
lling away. Thus much for the two lines of cir-
cum-

cumvallation. We proceed to the ground incl
between the two foſſes (9) and (10), which i
the moſt curious part of this celebrated block
and will be beſt explained in Cæſar's own worc

“ As the ſoldiers were employed at the
“ time to fetch wood and proviſions from a
“ ſiderable diſtance, and to work at the fort
“ tions, and the enemy often ſallied at ſe
“ gates to interrupt the work; Cæſar found i
“ ceſſary to make ſome addition to his lines,
“ they might not require ſo many men to g
“ them. He therefore took trees of no
“ height, or large branches, which he cauſ
“ be made ſharp at the ends, and running, a tr
“ of five feet deep before the lines, he orc
“ them to be put into it, and made faſt at bot
“ ſo that they could not be pulled up.
“ trench was again filled up in ſuch a ma
“ that nothing but the branches of the head
“ appeared, of which the points muſt have
“ into thoſe who ſhould have endeavoured to
“ them: as there were five rows of them (11
“ terwoven in a manner with each other,
“ were unavoidable. In the front of theſ
“ cauſed pits of three feet deep to be dug in
“ form of the quincunx (12). In theſe pi
“ fixed ſtrong ſtakes, burnt and ſharpened a
“ top, which roſe only four inches above th
“ vel of the ground, into which they were pl
“ three feet deeper than the pits, for the ſak
“ firmneſs. The pits were covered over
“ buſhes to deceive the enemy. There were
“ rows of them, at the diſtance of three feet
“ each other. In the front of all he ſowec
“ whole ſpace between the pits and the adv
“ foſſe (9) with crows feet of an extraord
“ ſize (13), which the ſoldiers called *ſpurs*.”
other line, to prevent ſuccours from without,
entirely the ſame with this.

P L A

Plate XXXII.



Blockade of Platæa by a double line of Masonry surrounding it.

PLATE XXXVI. explained.

ckade of Platæa by a double line of maſonry ſurrounding it.

THIS ſiege is related in the third volume of
this hiſtory.

(2) Is the platform or terraſs upon the top
l between the two walls, which were ſixteen feet
nder.

The garriſon of Platæa (7) made uſe of ladders
eſcaping over theſe works, which they applied
the inward wall. After they had got upon the
tform (2), and ſeized the two towers (4) (5),
y drew up the ladders, and let them down on
other ſide of the outward wall (6), by which
y deſcended to the bottom, drawing up in line
battle as faſt as they came down (7); in which
nner, by the favour of a dark night, they
rched to Athens.

PLATE XXXVII. explained.

Celebrated blockade of Numantia, with its two
rounding lines.

(2) THE firſt line of circumvallation next country.

(3) The other line next the place.

(4) The rampart.

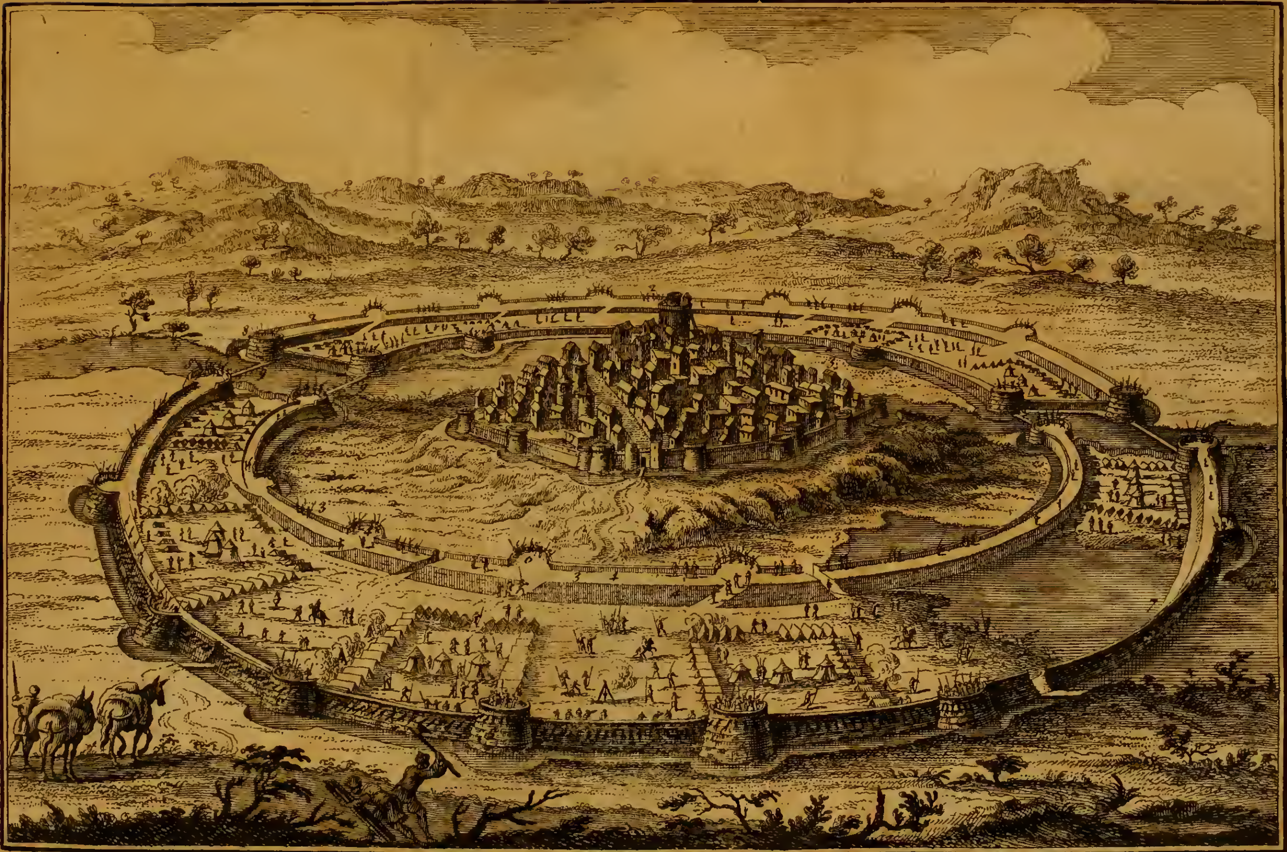
(5) The paliſades in the nature of a fraiſe.

(6) The towers at an hundred feet diſtance fr each other.

(7) A bank or mole over a marſh, with a p pet upon it equal to the height of the wall.

(8) The four ports Scipio cauſed to be erec upon the banks of the river Duæra contiguou the lines.

(9) A ſtoccado, or chain of floating bea pierced through croſs-wiſe with long ſtakes poin with iron, to prevent barks from entering, divers from getting any intelligence of what doing in the camp.



W. H. Toms Sculp.

The celebrated Blockade of Numantia with its two surrounding lines.

SECT. II.

Approach of the camp to the body of the place.

HOUGH trenches, oblique lines, mines,
and other the like inventions, ſeem neither
n nor clearly expreſſed in authors, we can
lly doubt with reaſon, that they were not in
amongſt the Greeks and Romans. Is it pro-
le, that, with the antients, whoſe generals,
ngſt their other excellent qualities, had that
taking great care to ſpare the blood and lives
heir ſoldiers, approaches were made in beſieg-
, without any precautions againſt the machines
he beſieged, whoſe ramparts were ſo well pro-
d, and defence ſo bloody? Though there is
mention of this in any of the hiſtorians, who
ht poſſibly, in the deſcription of ſieges, omit
circumſtance, as well known to all the world;
ſhould not conclude, that ſuch able generals
er did not know, or neglected, things, on the
ſide ſo important, and on the other ſo eaſy;
which muſt naturally have entered the thoughts
every man ever ſo little verſed in attacking
es. But ſeveral hiſtorians ſpeak of them; of
ch one ſhall ſerve for all the reſt: this is Poly-
s, where he relates the ſiege of the city of E-
na by Philip. He concludes the deſcription Polyb. l. 9.
it with theſe words: *To cover from the arrows of* p. 571.
beſieged, as well thoſe who went from the camp to
works, as thoſe who returned from the works to the
p, trenches were drawn * *from the camp to the tor-*
s; and thoſe trenches covered at top.

---

* Σύριγγες κατάστεγοι. *Suidas underſtands, by* σύριγξ, *a long*
h: ἐπιμήκης διώρυξ, foſſa longa. Longus cuniculus, &
tus ſubterraneus.

Long before Philip, Demetrius Poliorcetes
uſed the ſame method at the ſiege of Rhodes. I
odorus Siculus tells us, *that famous warrior ca*
tortoiſes, and galleries, cut in the earth, or cov
mines, to be made, for communication with the b
ries of rams; and ordered a trench with blinds
head, to cover and ſecure the troops in going and
ing from the towers and tortoiſes. The ſeamen
marines were appointed for this ſervice; the
was four ſtadia in length, that is to ſay, five
dred paces.

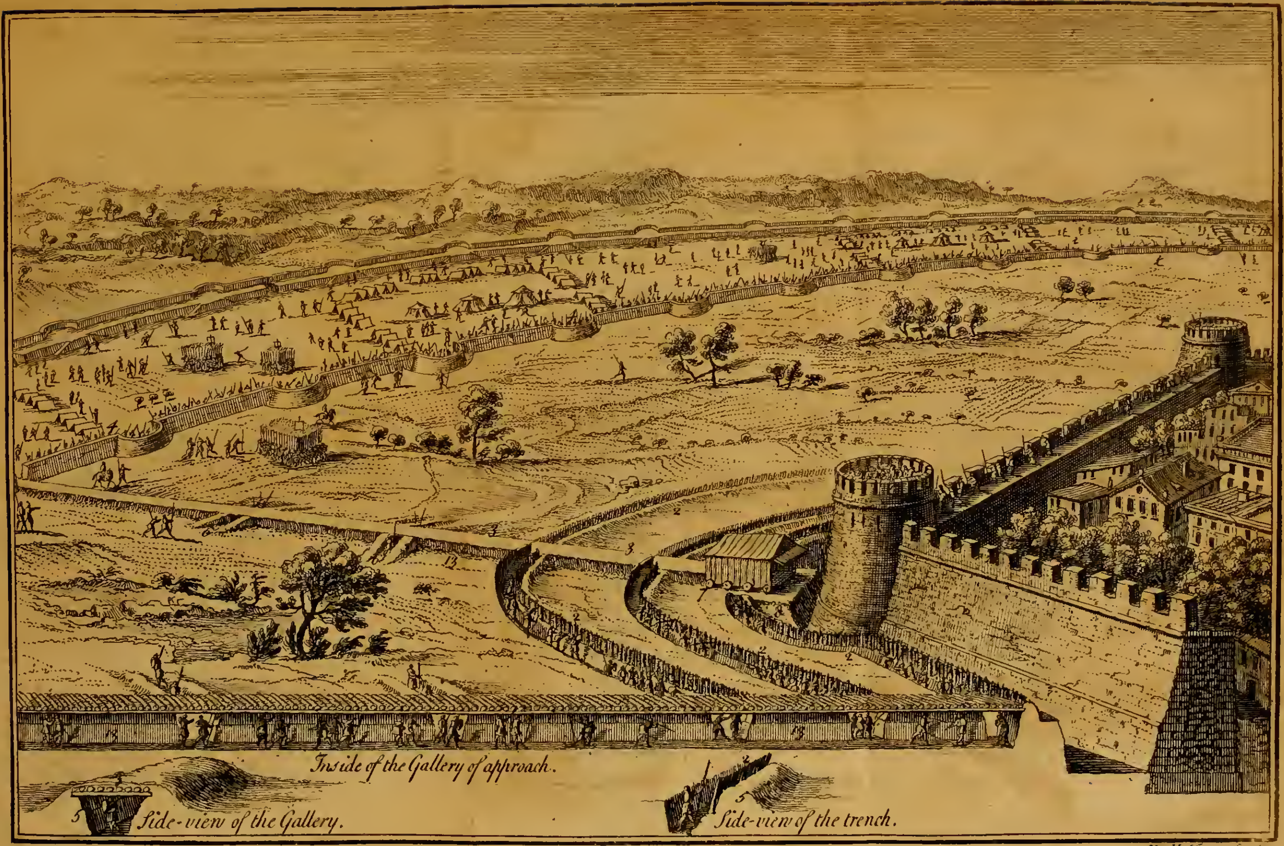
PLATE XXXVIII. explained.

Trenches and galleries of approach of the antien

THE approaches of the antients, ſays Mr.
lard, were not entirely like thoſe of the
derns, nor ſo deep in the earth, the fire from
works being of a quite different nature from
of the baliſta's and catapulta's, though ſurpriſi
violent.

It is certain, that they went under cover
their camp to their batteries, and uſed more o
precaution, according to the ſtrength and v
of the beſieged, and the number of their mach
by which they regulated the form of their
proaches or trenches. Theſe were of two
The firſt were compoſed of a blind (2) of faſ
or ſtrong hurdles, placed on the ſide of each
without any ſpace between them; ſo that
formed a kind of wall of five or ſix feet
with loop-holes cut from ſpace to ſpace bet
the faſcines or through the hurdles. To ſup
this blind, it is ſuppoſed they planted fo
pieces of wood in the ground, upon which

Plate XXXVIII.


2
3
13
Inside of the Gallery of approach.
5
Side-view of the Gallery.
5
Side-view of the trench.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

Trenches and Galleries of approach of the Ancients.

les were laid croſs-wiſe, with the faſcines or hur- s made faſt to them.

There was another kind of approaches very dif- ent from the former; theſe were ſeveral trenches galleries of communication covered at top (3), wn in a right line from the camp (4) to the rks, or to the parallels (2) not much unlike ours. eſe galleries of communication, of which there a ſide view or profile in the plate (5), were cut or twelve feet broad in the earth. The work- n threw up the earth on both ſides, which they ported with faſcines, and covered the ſpace with rdles and earth, laid upon by poles and rafters. e whole length of theſe galleries in the earth, y cut loop-holes through the ſides and iſſues (6) go out at. On the ſides of theſe covered nches or communications were eſplanades, or aces of arms, which extended the whole front of e attack. Theſe places were ſpacious, and capa- e of containing a great body of troops in order battle: for here they were poſted to ſupport eir towers, tortoiſes, and batteries of rams, ba- ta's, and catapulta's, againſt the ſallies of the be- ged.

The firſt parallel trench (2), next the body of e place, was drawn along the ſide of the foſſe, d ſerved as a communication to the battering wers and tortoiſes (7) of the beſiegers. This ſort f communications to the moving towers were ſome- mes covered at top by a blind of hurdles or faſ- ines; becauſe, as they ran along the ſide of the ounterſcarp, they were expoſed to the downright iſcharges of the towers and ramparts of the be- ieged. Loop-holes were cut in the ſides of them, hrough which the beſiegers fired perpetually upon he works. Theſe covered lines ſerved beſides for illing up the foſſes, and had paſſages of commu- ication (7) with the battering tortoiſes cut in them, which tortoiſes were puſhed forwards upon the pa of the foſſe filled up (8). When the walls of place were not high, theſe trenches were not c vered with blinds either at top or in front, but on with a parapet of the earth dug out of them, li thoſe of the moderns.

At ſome diſtance from this parallel, another w cut behind it, which left a ſpace between them the nature of our eſplanades or places of arm here the batteries of baliſta's and catapulta's we erected, which differed from ours in being highe There was ſometimes a third upon the ſame p rallel line: theſe places of arms contained all t troops that guarded the works; the lines comm nicated by the galleries or trenches covered at to

(13) Repreſents the inſide and outſide of the covered approaches.

It is certain therefore that the uſe of trenches w well known to the antients, without which the could have formed no ſiege. There were differe ſorts of them. They were either foſſes parallel t the front of the attacks, or communicationt cu in the earth and covered over head, or open, an drawn obliquely, to prevent being ſcowered by th enemy. Theſe trenches are often expreſſed in au thors by the Latin word *aggeres*, which does no always ſignify *cavaliers* or *platforms*.

The cavaliers were mounts of earth, on whic machines were planted, and were thrown up in th following manner: The work was begun at ſmall diſtance from that ſide of the foſſe next th country. It was carried on under the cover o mantles, or moving ſheds, of conſiderable height behind which the ſoldiers worked in ſecurity from the machines of the beſieged. This ſort of mantle

o

galleries were not always compoſed of hurdles faſcines, but of raw hides, mattreſſes, or of a rtine made of ſtrong cables*, the whole ſuſpend- etween very high maſts fixed in the ground, ch broke the force of whatever was diſcharged inſt it. The work was continued to the height theſe ſuſpended courtines, which were raiſed in portion with it. At the ſame time the void es of the platform were filled up with ſtones, h, and any thing; whilſt ſome were employed evelling and beating down the earth, to make rm and capable of ſuſtaining the weight of the ers and machines to be planted upon it. From e towers and batteries of baliſta's and catapulta's, hail of ſtones, arrows, and large darts, were harged upon the ramparts and works of the eged.

Cæſar made uſe of ſuch a courtane at the ſiege of Marſeilles. De civ. l. 3.

PLATE XXXIX. explained.

Profile and manner of erecting the cavaliers or platfor of the antients.

(2) THE mantles behind which the beſiege worked in raiſing the cavaliers.

(3) The mattreſs thrown over the mantles.

(4) A ſecond cavalier raiſed behind the firſt wh very high.

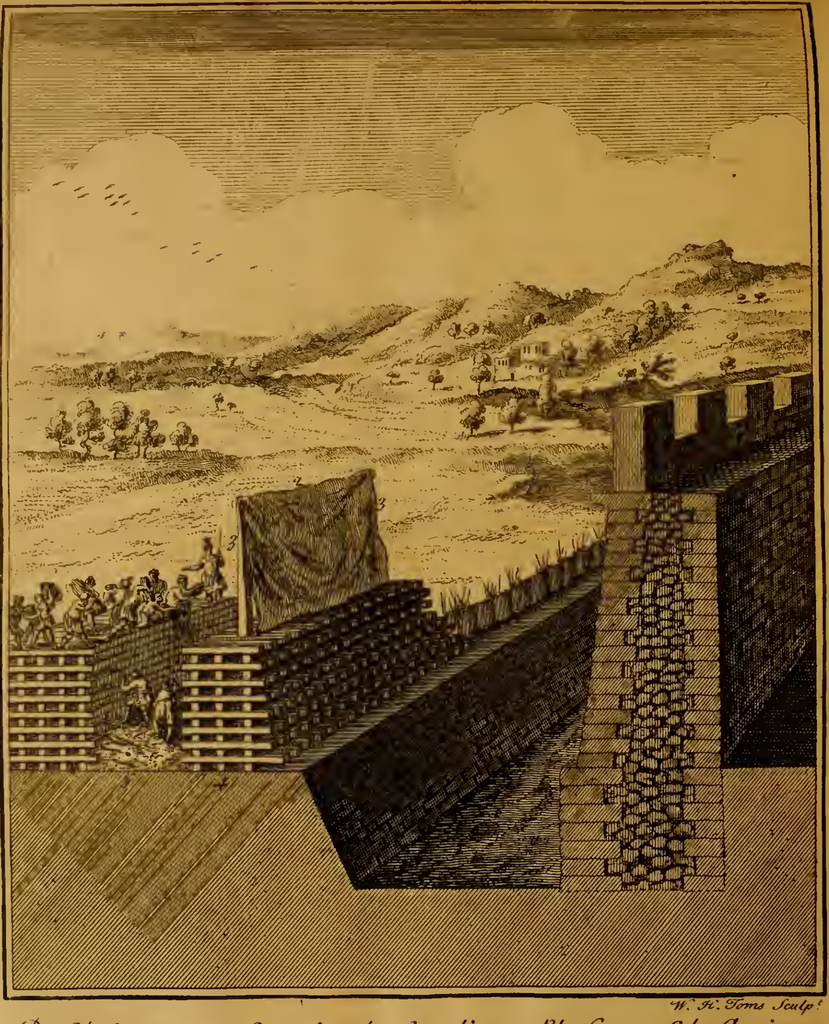
(5) The void ſpace which was filled up betwe both cavaliers to the ſame height with them.

Arrian. l. 4. p. 180.

The terraſs, which Alexander the Great cauſed be raiſed againſt the rock of Coriænæ, was ve ſurpriſing. That rock, which was ſuppoſed ir pregnable, was two thouſand five hundred pac high, and ſeven or eight hundred round. It w exceſſively ſteep on all ſides, having only o path, hewn out of the rock, by which no mc than one man could aſcend without difficulty. was beſides ſurrounded with a deep abyſs, whi ſerved it inſtead of a foſſe, and which it was nece ſary to fill up, in order to approach it. All the difficulties were not capable of diſcouraging Ale ander, to whoſe valour and fortune nothing w impoſſible. He began therefore by ordering t high fir-trees, that ſurrounded the place in gre numbers, to be cut down, in order to uſe them ſtairs to deſcend by into the foſſe. His troo worked night and day in filling it up. Thoug the whole army were employed in their turns this work, they could do no more than thirty fe a day, and ſomething leſs a night, ſo difficult w

tl

Plate XXVI.



W. H. Toms Sculp.t

Profile & manner of erecting the Cavaliers or Platforms of the Ancients.

work. When it was more advanced, and began
ome nearer the due height, they drove piles
both ſides of the foſſe at proper diſtances from
other, (with beams laid a-croſs) in order to ſup-
the weight to be laid on it. They then form-
kind of floor, or bridge, of wicker and faſ-
, which they covered with earth, to equal the
ht of the ſide of the foſſe, ſo that the army
d advance on a way even with the rock. Till
the Barbarians had derided the undertaking,
ving it utterly impracticable. But, when they
themſelves expoſed to the darts of the enemy,
worked upon their terraſs behind mantles,
began to loſe courage, demanded to capi-
e, and ſoon after ſurrendered the rock to
ander.

PLATE

PLATE XL. explained.

Surpriſing terraſs of the Romans at the ſiege Maſſada.

THIS terraſs is ſuppoſed to have been of nature of that of Alexander mentioned in text.

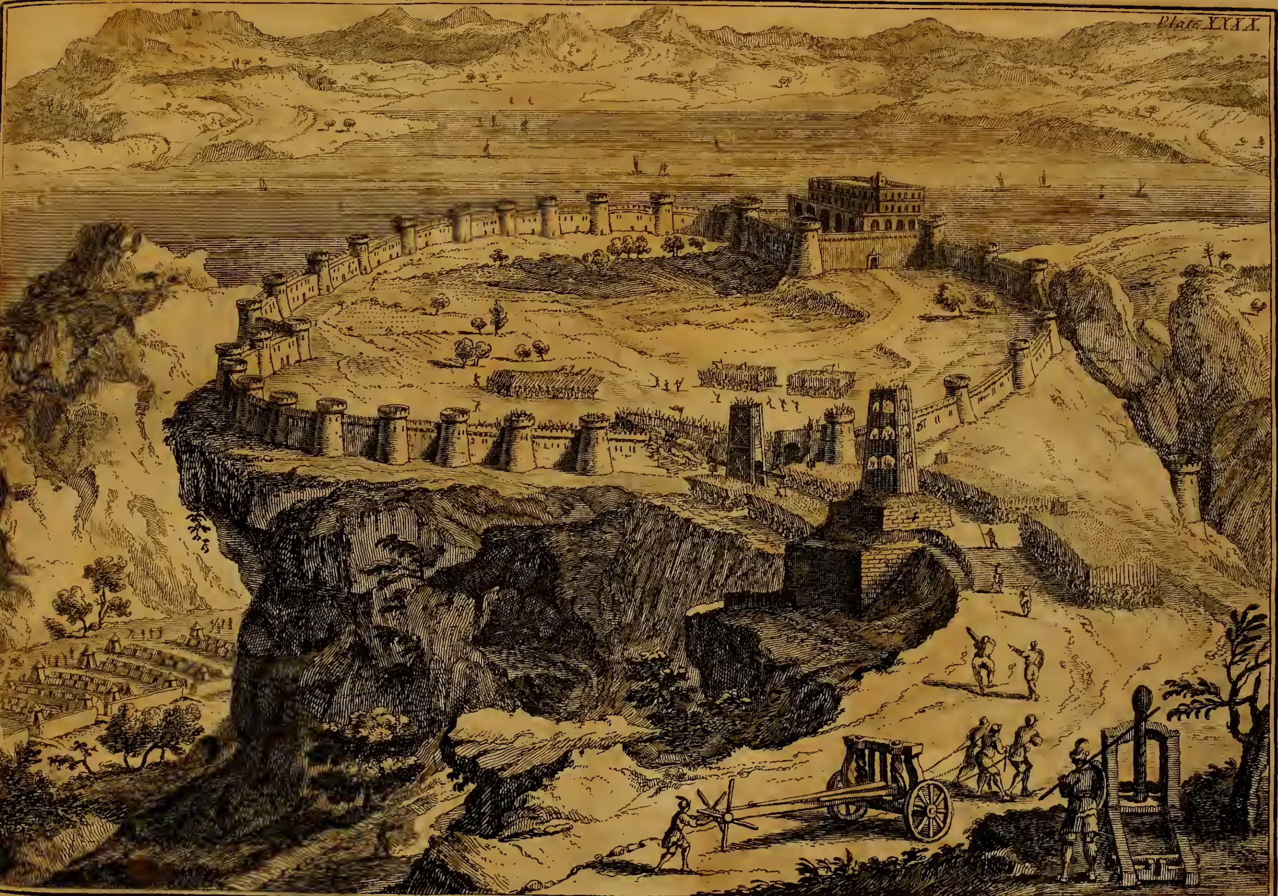
Sylva having beſieged Maſſada on the ſide of caſtle or citadel, where there was a rock, la than that upon which it was built, but not ſo by two hundred cubits (three hundred feet); he had ſeized this poſt, he raiſed a terraſs upon an hundred cubits (2), which he ſtrengthened a wall of great ſtones (3). Upon this he erect ſecond cavalier (4) of fifty cubits, upon which planted a tower (5) of ſixty feet high.

It was under the diſcharges from theſe terra that the antients brought their battering tortoiſ work. At the ſiege of Maſſada, Sylva could ruin the wall, becauſe ſituated upon a rock, ti had erected the prodigious terraſs (2); but, as terraſs was only equal in height to the rock (7), the ram (8) could batter only the bottom o wall (9), Sylva, to purſue this attack, cauſe ſecond cavalier (4) to be erected, as is ſaid abo

---

The filling up of the foſſes was not alwa difficult as in this inſtance, but always req great precautions and labour. The ſoldiers we under cover in the tortoiſes, and other the like chines. To fill up the foſſes, they made u ſtones, the trunks of trees, and faſcines, the mingled with earth. It was neceſſary that

v



Surprizing Terraſs of the Romans at the ſiege of Maſsada.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

ks ſhould be of great ſolidity, to bear the pro-
ous weight of the machines planted upon them,
h would have made them fall in, if this kind
auſeway had been compoſed only of faſcines.
he foſſes were were full of water, they began by
ving it off either entirely or in part by different
ns, which they cut for that purpoſe.

hilſt theſe works were carrying on, the be-
d were not idle. They ran many mines under
foſſe to the part of it filled up, in order to
off the earth, which they handed from man
an into the city: this prevented the work from
ncing, the beſieged carrying off as much as the
gers laid on it. They uſed alſo another more
tual ſtratagem, which was to cut large cavi-
nderneath the works of the latter. After ha-
removed ſome of the earth without its being
vered, they ſupported the reſt with props or
beams, which they ſmeared over with greaſe
other combuſtibles. They then filled up the
ſpace between the props with dry wood, and
things as would ſooneſt burn, and ſet them on
hence, when the props gave way, the whole
nto a kind of gulph, with the tortoiſes, batter-
ams, and men employed in working them.

PLATE

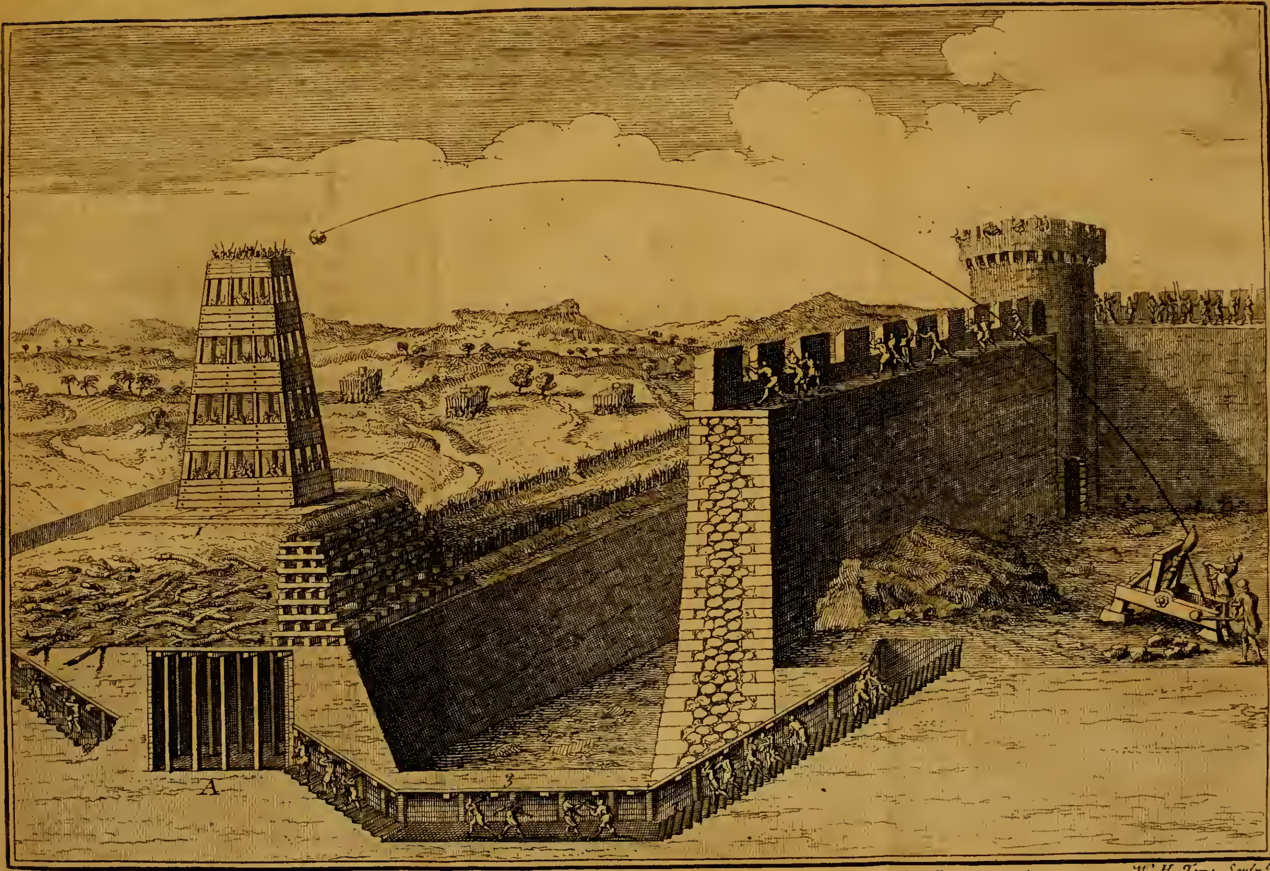
PLATE XLI. explained.

Terraſs of Coſroez at the ſiege of Edeſſa undermine
the beſieged.

THE hiſtory of this terraſs is the beſt mar
of explaining this plate.

The beſieged, apprehending a work already at
the height of their walls, attempted to raiſe on
front of it, but the greatneſs of the work, and
time it would take up in the execution, diſcou
ing them, they took the ſhorteſt method, w
was to undermine the terraſs or platform, an
ſet it on fire. For this purpoſe they open
mine (2), which they carried under the foſſe
to the middle of the cavalier (1), under which
dug, and taking away the earth, propped up
terraſs A ſtrongly, after having rummaged it
ſiderably on the inſide. The beſiegers, percei
that the beſieged were under them, had no
remedy in ſo urgent a danger, than to open c
termines on each ſide of the platform B.
miners of the beſieged, perceiving that they
working to come at them, replaced the eart
the ſide they worked, to keep them emplo
and filled up the mine A and part of the ca
with dry wood, pitch, oil, ſulphur, and other
buſtibles; to which, after they had ſet fire,
retired. The Perſians, whether out of neglig
of their work, or from whatever other cauſe
not perceive at firſt, that there was any fire i
terraſs; but as the fire did not make all the
greſs the beſieged deſired, time being preciou
the cavalier was finiſhed and commanded
walls, they carried in ſo great a quantity of

buſ



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Terraſs of Coſroez at the Siege of Edeſsa undermined by the Beſieged.

bles to thoſe that were already on fire, that the es began to take hold every-where within the ſs. As the ſmoke came through it at different es, the beſieged, fearing the enemy would ren- he fire ineffectual, by having recourſe to im- iate remedies; to make them believe that the was without, and not within, the work; they the addreſs to throw ſo great a quantity of darts arrows with fire and other combuſtibles upon platform, that thoſe fires which poured from arts prevented the enemy from diſcovering the greater under their feet, and they applied them- s to extinguiſh the former, without thinking at f the latter. Coſroez went to the terraſs him- and perceived the real danger. He imme- ly cauſed the work to be opened in ſeveral es, in order to extinguiſh the fire within it with a and water; which only augmented the vio- e of the flames. The whole day paſſed at this k, the people in the place laughing at the be- ers all the while. The air coming in, and the finding a vent at the openings, it ſoon burnt prodigious violence. The beſieged took the antage of the confuſion it occaſioned, and drove Perſians out of all their works.

The beſiegers uſed the ſame artifice to make the ls of places fall down. When Darius beſieged alcedon, the walls were ſo ſtrong, and the place well provided with all neceſſaries, that the inha- ants were in no pain about the ſiege. The king not make any approaches to the walls, nor lay te the country. He lay ſtill, as if he expected onſiderable reinforcement. But, whilſt the people Chalcedon had no other thoughts than of guard- their walls, he opened at the diſtance of three arters of a league from the city a mine, which the

Polyb. l. 5. c. 5.

the Perſians carried on as far as the market-pl They judged themſelves directly under it from roots of the olive-trees, which they knew g there. They then opened their mine, and, ente by that paſſage, took the place whilſt the defe were ſtill employed in keeping guard upon the w

Liv. l. 4. n. 22.

In the ſame manner, A. Servilius the dictator the city of Fidenæ, having caused ſeveral falſ tacks to be made on different ſides, whilſt a m carried on as far as the citadel, opened him a

Liv. l. 5. n. 19.

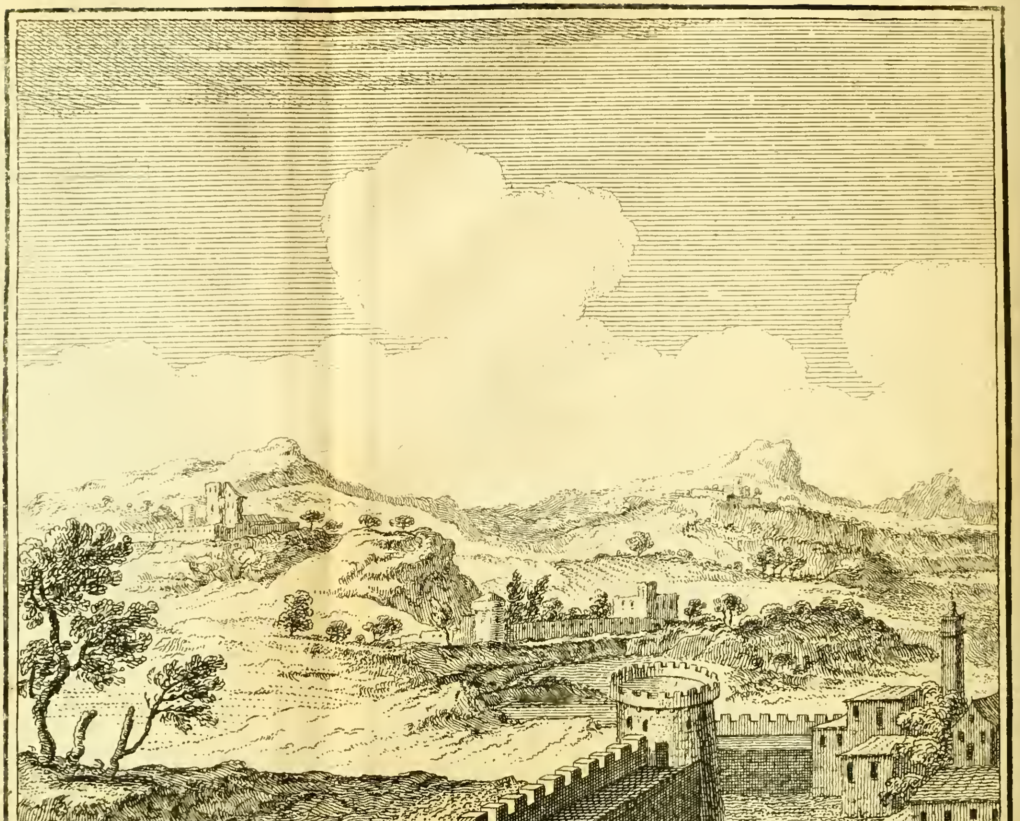
ſage there for his troops. Another dictator celebrated Camillus) could not terminate the l ſiege of Veii, but by this ſtratagem. He un took to run a mine as far as the citadel of place. And, that the work might not be diſ tinued, nor the troops diſcouraged by the le of it, he divided them into ſix brigades, who lieved each other every ſix hours. The work b carried on night and day, it extended at lengt the citadel, and the city was taken.

Appian. de bell. Mithrid. p. 193.

At the ſiege of Athens by Sylla, it is aſtoniſ to conſider the mines and countermines uſed both ſides. The miners were not long before met and fought furiouſly under ground. The mans, having cut their ways as far as the v ſapped a great part of it, and ſupported it i manner in the air on props of wood, to which t ſet fire without loſs of time. The wall fell ſ denly into the foſſe with an incredible noiſe ruins, and all that were upon it periſhed. T was one of the methods of attacking places.

PLAT

Plate. XXVII



W. H. Toms Sculp.t

Mine from the Camp to the Inside of a place.

PLATE XLII. explained.

Mine from the camp to the inſide of a place.

HIS kind of mines were long uſed before the invention of ſapping, and conſiſted at in only running the mine A from the camp e wall; and from thence a conſiderable way the place, underneath ſome large temple, or great building little frequented in the night. n they came thither, they cut a large ſpace B, h they propped up with ſtrong timbers C; then cut the paſſage D, of the whole breadth e large chamber B, for entering the place in greater number, whilſt the ſoldiers filed off gh the narrow part of the mine E into the ber B with the utmoſt diligence.

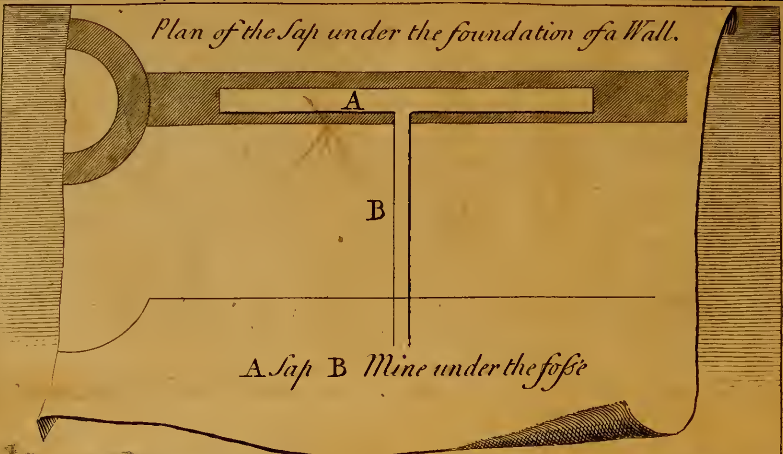
PLATE

PLATE XLIII. explained.

Mine for ſapping the foundations of a wall.

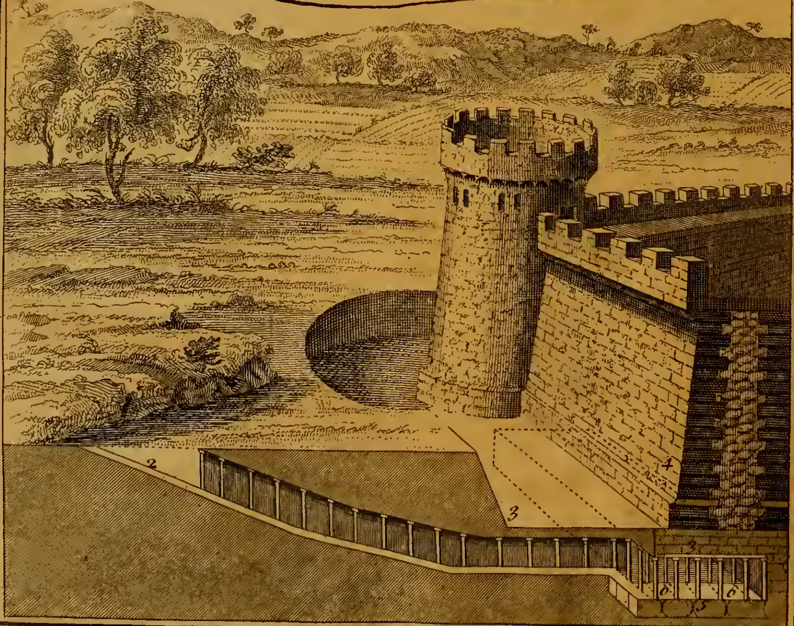
THE mine (2) was opened very near the can
to avoid its being diſcovered, and was c
ried under the foſſe to the foot of the wall (
when it was enlarged to the right and left of
foundations (5). This latter part ought to be v
large for receiving the great number of workm
and long in proportion to the extent of the wal
be thrown down. This being done, they bega
ſap at bottom, and, as the ſtones were pulled
and the work advanced, they propped the ſu
ſtructure with timbers four feet high (6) upon
bottom ſtones of the foundation (5). As ſoon
the work was finiſhed, they laid faggots and ot
combuſtibles between the props, and after t
had ſet them on fire, they quitted that part of
mine, and repaſſed the foſſe to avoid being ſti
by the ſmoke; beſides which, there was reaſon
fear, that the wall in falling would break into
mine, and bury all under it in its ruins.

SEC



Plan of the Sap under the foundation of a Wall.

A Sap B Mine under the foſse



Mine for Sapping the foundation of a Wall.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

SECT. III.

Means uſed in repairing breaches.

THE antients uſed ſeveral methods to defend themſelves againſt the enemy after a breach made.

ometimes, but not ſo frequently, they made uſe ees cut down, which they extended along the le front of the breach, very near each other, in r that the branches might mingle together; tied the trunks very firmly to one another, ſo it was impoſſible to ſeparate theſe trees, which ed an impenetrable fence, behind which a itude of ſoldiers were poſted, armed with pikes long partiſans.

he breaches were ſometimes made ſo ſuddenly, r by ſaps above, or under ground, or by the nt blows of the rams, that the beſieged often d their works laid open, when they leaſt ght of it. They had recourſe on ſuch occa- s to a very ſimple refuge, in order to gain time ook about them, and to intrench behind the ch. They threw down upon the ruins of the a prodigious quantity of dry wood. and other buſtible matter, to which they ſet fire: this ſioned ſo violent flame, that it was impoſſible the beſieged to paſs through it, or approach breach. The garriſon, of Haliartus in Bœotia Liv. l. 42. n. 63. ght of this remedy againſt the Romans.

ut the moſt uſual method was to erect new s behind the breaches, which are now called, rench, *retirades*, retrenchments. Theſe works rally were not parallel with the ruined walls. y deſcribed a kind of ſemicircle towards the

place, of which the two ends joined the two ſ
of the wall that remained whole. They did
omit to cut a very large and deep foſſe before
work, in order that the beſieged might be u
the neceſſity of attacking it with no leſs diffic
and all the machines employed againſt the ſtron
walls.

Appian. de bell. Mithrid. p. 194.

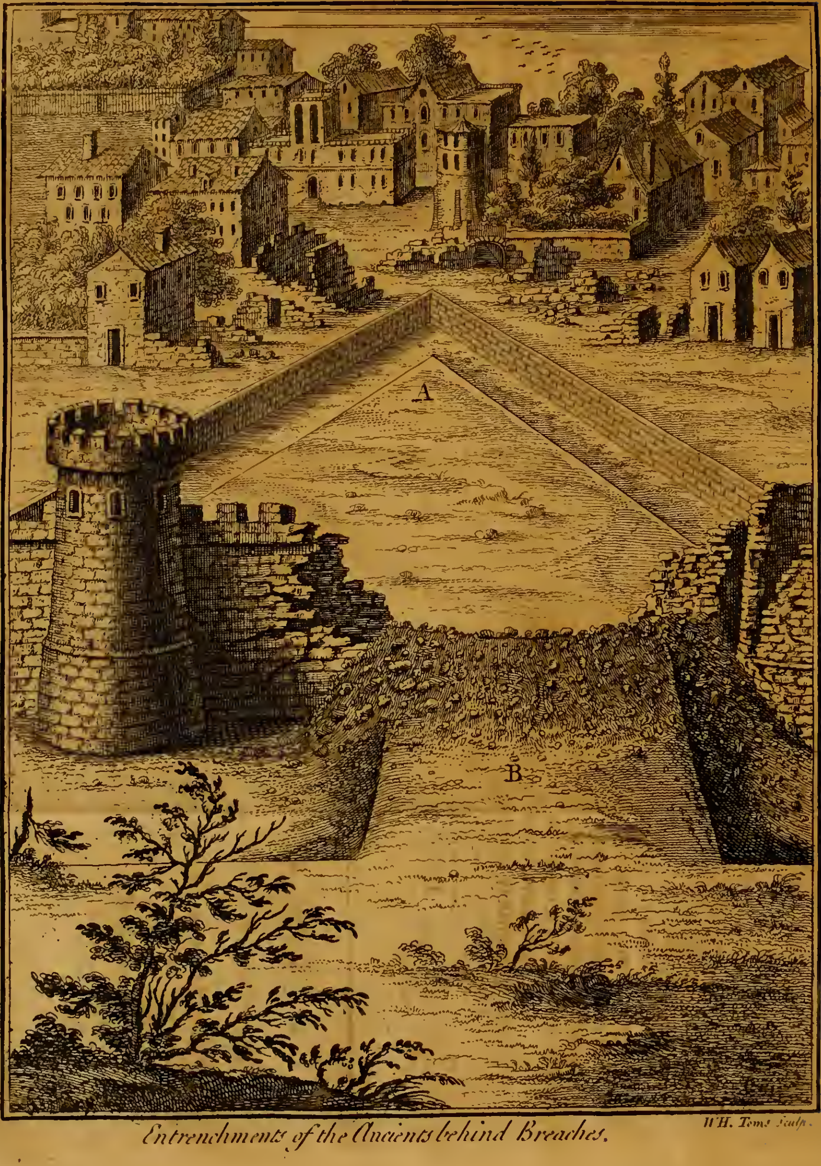
Sylla, having beat down a great part of the v
of the Piræum with his battering-rams, cauſed
breach to be immediately attacked, where ſo
ous a battle enſued, that he was obliged to ſou
retreat. The beſieged, improving the opportu
this gave them, immediately ran a ſecond
behind the breach. Sylla, perceiving it, mad
machines advance to batter it, rightly judging,
being newly built, it could not long reſiſt their
lence. The effect anſwered with no great diff
ty, and he immediately ordered the aſſault t
given. The action was warm and vigorous;
he was at laſt repulſed with loſs, and oblige
abandon his deſign. Hiſtory abounds with ex
ples of this kind.

PLATE XLIV. explained.

Intrenchments of the antients behind breaches.

A INtrenchment in form of an angle rever
it was ſometimes in the form of a ſe
of a circle.

B The lodgment of the beſiegers upon the
of the breach, which was ſometimes made leve
the paſſage of the machines to batter the new w



Entrenchments of the Ancients behind Breaches.

W.H. Toms sculp.

SECT. IV.

Attack and defence of places by machines.

THE machines moſt uſed in ſieges were, as I have obſerved before, the catapulta, baliſta, toiſes, battering-rams, and moving towers. To ow the force of them, the reader need only turn k to the relations of the moſt important ſieges ated of this hiſtory, ſuch as thoſe of Lilybæum Sicily by the Romans; of Carthage by Scipio; Syracuſe, firſt by the Athenians, and afterwards Marcellus; of Tyre by Alexander; of Rhodes Demetrius Poliorcetes; and of Athens by Sylla. I ſhall cite here no more than one, of which I ll repeat only ſome detached, but very proper, cumſtances, in my opinion, to ſhew the manner which the antients attacked and defended places, d the uſe they made of machines of war. This the famous ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, related large by the hiſtorian Joſephus, who was an eye- neſs of the whole.

The city of Jeruſalem was fortified with a tri- wall, except on the ſide of the valiles, where re was but one, becauſe they were inacceſſible.

Joſeph. de bell. Jud. l. 1.

Titus began by cauſing all the trees in the neighbourhood to be cut down, and made uſe of that od in erecting ſeveral platforms or terraſſes. e whole army were employed in this work; the rkmen were covered by hurdles and gabions. e Jews omitted nothing on their ſide, that might tribute to their defence; the ramparts were ſoon ered with a great number of machines.

The firſt wall was firſt attacked. When the tforms were erected, Titus cauſed the rams to be planted upon them, with the other machines annoy the enemy, and battered the wall in th different places. The Jews perpetually poured incredible number of fires and darts upon th machines, and the ſoldiers that worked the ra They made alſo ſeveral ſallies to ſet them on fi and were repulſed with great difficulty.

Titus had cauſed three towers to be erected theſe platforms, each of ſeventy-five feet in heig to command the ramparts and works of the pla In the night, one of theſe towers fell of itſelf, a occaſioned a great conſternation throughout whole army. They gauled the beſieged exceeding for they were full of portable machines, ſling and archers, who poured a continual ſhower darts, arrows, and ſtones upon them, which t did not know how to remedy, becauſe they co neither raiſe platforms of an equal height w thoſe towers, nor throw them down, they were ſtrong; nor burn them, becauſe covered all o with plates of iron. Nothing therefore being a to retard the effect of the rams, and thoſe dread machines perpetually advancing, the Jews ab doned the firſt wall, after a defence of fifteen da The Romans entered the breach without difficu and opened the gates to the reſt of the army.

The ſecond wall gave them no great troub Titus ſoon made himſelf maſter of that, with new city. The Jews then made very extraordin efforts, and drove him out of them, and it was till a continual and very fierce battle of four da that he regained them.

But the third wall coſt him much labour blood, the Jews refuſing to hearken to any p poſals of peace, and defending themſelves with obſtinacy, that reſembled rather the madneſs fury of men in deſpair, than valour and fortitu

This

Titus divided his army into two bodies, in or-
r to form two attacks on the ſide of the fort An-
ia; and made his troops work in erecting four
raſſes, upon each of which a legion was employ-
. Though the work was carried on night and
y, it took up above fifteen days to compleat it;
the end of which the machines were planted
on it. John and Simon were at the head of the
itious, who ruled all things in the city. They
t cauſed a mine to be run as far as the terraſs
the front of the fort Antonia, the ground under
to be ſupported by props, a great quantity of
od prepared with roſin and pitch to be carried
o it, and then ordered it to be ſet on fire. The
ops being ſoon conſumed, the terraſs fell in with
readful noiſe. Two days after, Simon attacked
other terraſſes, upon which the beſiegers had
iced their rams, and begun to batter the wall.
iree young officers, followed by ſoldiers as de-
mined as themſelves, opened their way with
rches in their hands through the midſt of their
emies, as if they had nothing to fear from the
ultitude of darts and ſwords; and did not retire
l they had ſet fire to the machine. When the
mes began to riſe, the Romans ran from their
mp to ſave their machines. The Jews repulſed
em by the ſhower of darts from the top of their
alls, where they had three hundred catapultæ and
rty baliſtæ. They alſo ſallied in large bodies,
d deſpiſing danger, came to blows with thoſe who
lvanced to extinguiſh the fire. The Romans uſed
eir utmoſt endeavours to draw off their rams, of
hich the covers were burnt; and the Jews, to
event them, continued amidſt the flames without
ving way. The fire from the machines catched
e terraſſes, the Romans not being able to hin-
r it. So that, ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded on
l ſides with the flames, and deſpairing of all

means to preſerve their works, they retreated
their camp. They were inconſolable for havir
loſt in one hour, by the ruin of their works, wh
had coſt them ſo much time and pains; and man
ſeeing all their machines deſtroyed, deſpaired
ever being able to take the place.

But Titus did not loſe courage. Having call
a great council of war, he propoſed the building
a wall round the city, to deprive the beſieged
all hopes of receiving aid or proviſions, of whi
they began to be in want. This advice was gen
rally approved, and the troops recovered ſpir
But what ſeems incredible, and was truly wortl
of the Romans, is, that this great work, which a
peared to require three months for the execution
it, the city being two leagues in circumference, w
begun and finiſhed in three days. The city bei
incloſed in this manner, the troops were poſted
the towers, with which the new wall was flank
at proper diſtances. Titus at the ſame time cauſ
four more terraſſes to be raiſed againſt the fort A
tonia, larger than the former. They were cor
pleated in twenty-one days, notwithſtanding t
difficulty of finding the wood neceſſary for ſo gre
a work.

John, who commanded in fort Antonia, in c
der to prevent the danger conſequential of a breacl
being made by the beſiegers, loſt no time in fort
fying himſelf; and, to try all things before t
rams began to batter, he made a ſally with torch
in hand, in order to ſet fire to the enemy's work
but was obliged to return without being able
approach them.

The Romans then advanced their rams to batt
the tower Antonia; but ſeeing, notwithſtandin
reiterated efforts, that they could not make a breac
they reſolved to ſap it, and, covering themſelv
with their bucklers in form of a tortoiſe, again
tl

quantity of ſtones and flints which the Jews
red down upon them, they perſevered to work
ſuch a manner with their levers and hands, that
y looſened four of the ſtones in the foundation
the tower. Night obliged both ſides to ſome
ite: and, in that time, the part of the wall,
ler which John had cauſed the mine to be run,
the means of which he had ruined the firſt ter-
es of the Romans, being weakened by the
kes they had given it, fell down on a ſudden.
e Jews the ſame moment raiſed another wall
ind it.

As it was ſo newly built, it was expected that it
ld be the more eaſily thrown down; but no-
ly dared to be the firſt to aſſault it, ſo much the
ermined courage of the Jews had diſmayed the
ops. Several attempts were however made, but
hout ſucceſs. Providence opened them another
y. Some ſoldiers, who guarded the terraſſes, got
without noiſe, towards the cloſe of the night,
the ruins of the wall into the fort Antonia.
ey found the centinels upon the advanced poſts
ep, and cut their throats. Having made them-
ves maſters of the wall in this manner, they
ſed their trumpets to ſound, which they had
en care to bring with them. Upon that alarm,
guards at the other poſts, imagining the num-
of the Romans much greater than it was, were
zed with ſuch fear that they fled. Titus came
ſoon after with part of his troops, and, entering
the ſame ruins, purſued the Jews to the gates of
temple, which they defended with incredible
lour. The action was very hot, and continued
leaſt ten hours. But at length the fury and de-
ir of the Jews, who ſaw their ſafety depended
on the ſucceſs of this battle, prevailed over the
lour and experience of the Romans. The latter
ought proper to content themſelves with having

taken fort Antonia, though only a part of th army was preſent in the battle.

Several other aſſaults paſſed which I omit. T greateſt of the rams, that Titus had cauſed to made, and planted upon the platform, batter the walls of the temple continually for ſix da without being able to make any more progreſs th the reſt; of ſuch proof was that ſuperb edifice gainſt their efforts. The Romans, having loſt hopes of ſucceeding by attacks of this kind, r ſolved to proceed by ſcaling the walls. The Jev who had not foreſeen it, could not prevent the from planting their ladders. But never was reſ tance greater than theirs. They threw down ſu as had got on the wall, killed thoſe upon the upp ſteps of the ladders, before they could cover the ſelves with their ſhields, and even threw down t ladders, quite covered with ſoldiers, which coſt t Romans many men. The reſt were obliged to r tire without being able to ſucceed in the attempt.

The Jews made many ſallies, in which th fought with the utmoſt fury and deſperation, a killed abundance of the Romans. But Titus laſt made himſelf maſter of the temple, to whic notwithſtanding the moſt ſevere orders to the co trary, a ſoldier ſet fire, and it was conſumed e tirely. And thus the prediction of Jeſus Chr concerning it was accompliſhed.

CHAPTER III.

Of the navies of the antients.

ave already ſpoken elſewhere of the maritime fairs of the antients, their ſhips, and naval s. I muſt beg the reader to have recourſe to I have ſaid there, to ſupply what may be ng in this place. Vol. IV. p. 341.

thing certain can be ſaid concerning the origin vigation. We may however be aſſured, that deſt veſſel mentioned in hiſtory is Noah's ark, ich God himſelf gave the deſign, and direct- form and all the meaſures, but ſolely with iew which he had of its containing the family oah, and all the animals of the earth and

is art without doubt was in its beginning groſs imperfect: planks, rafts,[*] ſmall boats, and barks. The manner in which fiſh move in ater, and birds in the air, might ſuggeſt to ind the thoughts of imitating the aids nature iven thoſe animals by oars and ſails. How- t were, they have attained by degrees the art ilding veſſels in the perfection we now ſee

e ſhips of the antients may be divided into ſpecies: thoſe for tranſporting merchandiſe, *ariæ naves*; and ſhips of war, often called ſhips, *longæ naves*.

e firſt were ſmall veſſels, which were com- y called *open barks*, becauſe they had no deck. little barks had no beaks called *roſtra*, uſed

in

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milcar centum triginta navibus longis, & ſeptingentis one- rofectus. *Liv.* l. 25. n. 27.

in ſea-fights, to run againſt and ſink the enen ſhips.

The long ſhips uſed in war were of two ſc The one had only one bench of oars on each ſ the other more.

Of thoſe which had only one bench, ſome twenty oars, εἰκόσοροι; others thirty, τριηκόντεροι; ſ fifty, ϖεντηκόντεροι; or even an hundred, ἑκατόντεροι. thing is more common than theſe names of ſ in Greek authors. The rowers were placed on one ſide of the veſſel, and half on the other, the ſame line.

Amongſt the veſſels of ſeveral benches of ſome had two only, *biremes*; others three, *trire* ſome four, *quadriremes*; others five, *quinquere* and others a greater number, as we ſhall ſee in ſequel. Thoſe moſt ſpoken of by authors, an which the antients made moſt uſe in battles, the *triremes* and *quinqueremes:* by which name reader will permit me to expreſs the ſhips with t and five benches of oars.

We find in all the antient authors a clear evident diſtinction between theſe two ſorts of ve Some were called τριηκόντεροι, *ſhips of thirty* ϖεντηκόντεροι, *ſhips of fifty oars*, &c. and theſe ranked in the number of ſmall ſhips. We ſha preſently the difference there was in the numb the cres on board each of them. The latter diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral benches of oar
Liv. l. 37. n. 30. well as magnitude. And Livy ſays expreſ *Quinqueremis Romana——pluribus remorum ordi*
Æn. l. 5. *ſcindentibus vortices*; as well as Virgil, *Terno con gunt ordine remi.* It is therefore not to be doub that the antients had ſhips with ſeveral benche oars, two, three, four, five, ſix, to thirty or fo but only thoſe of a ſmall number of benches of uſe: the reſt being only for ſhew.

know of what nature theſe ſeveral benches of were, and how they could be put in motion, is iculty, and has always been a matter of diſpute gſt the learned moderns, which in all proba- may continue for ever undecided. The moſt nd experienced perſons in naval affairs amongſt elieve the thing utterly impoſſible. And in- it would be ſo, if we ſuppoſe, that theſe dif- ranks of oars were placed perpendicularly one another. But we ſee the contrary upon n's column, on which the biremes and tri- have their benches placed obliquely, and, as re, by ſteps one above the other.

e arguments, oppoſed to the opinion of thoſe dmit ſeveral ranks of oars in veſſels, are, it be owned, very ſtrong and concluſive : But force can the beſt reaſons in the world have ſt real facts, and an experience confirmed by ſtimony of all the antient writers ?

appears, that the rowers were diſtinguiſhed the place or ſtep where they ſat. The loweſt called *Thalamites*, thoſe in the middle *Zugites*, hoſe above *Thranites*. The latter had larger han the others, without doubt, becauſe they ed longer and heavier oars than thoſe of the benches.

Interp. Ariſtoph. in Ranis.

Thucyd. l. 6. p. 431.

is ſtill a queſtion, whether in great ſhips each ad only one man to it, or more, as now in allies of France. In the biremes and triremes e column of Trajan, there is only one rower bench on each ſide. It is very probable, that were more in larger veſſels ; but I avoid en- g into diſcuſſions, which would carry me a way beyond the extent of my plan.

here are deſcriptions in Athenæus of ſhips of ſhing and incredible magnitude. The two were Ptolemy Philopator's, king of Egypt. of them carried forty benches of oars, and was

Athen. l. 5. p. 203—206.

was four hundred feet long, and fifty-ſeven br
Four thouſand rowers hardly ſufficed to put
enormous hulk in motion. It was launched l
machine, compoſed of as much wood as was
ceſſary in making fifty ſhips of five benches of
How ſhall we conceive the making uſe of the
benches of oars in this veſſel? But indeed it
only for ſhew.

The other ſhip, called *Talamega*, becauſe it
beds and apartments in it, was three hundred
twelve feet and an half in length, and forty-fi
its greateſt breadth. Its height, including the
or pavilion upon its deck, was almoſt ſixty
All round it (except the head) there was a do
gallery of immenſe extent. It was really a flo
palace. Ptolemy cauſed it to be built to
himſelf and his whole court upon the Nile; A
næus does not mention the number of its ran
benches of oars.

Athen. l. 3. p. 206—209. The third veſſel is that which Hiero II, ki
Syracuſe, cauſed to be built under the directi
the famous Archimedes. It had twenty ben
of oars, and was of incredible magnificence.
port of Sicily being capable of containing it, H
made a preſent of it to Ptolemy Philopator,
ſent it to Alexandria. Though the hold or
was very deep, one man emptied it by the m
of a machine invented by Archimedes.

Theſe veſſels, which were only for ſhew, h
properly ſpeaking, no relation to the ſubject I trea
As much may be ſaid of that of Philip, the fa
of Perſeus, mentioned by Livy. It had ſix
benches of oars, but could ſcarce be made to m
upon account of its magnitude.

Plut. in Demetr. p. 897. What Plutarch ſays of the gallies of Deme
Poliorcetes is very ſurpriſing, and he takes ca
apprize the reader that he ſpeaks with the ſtri
truth, and without any exaggeration. That pr

'tis known, was well verſed in the arts, and inventive in regard to machines of war, had cauſed ſeveral gallies of fifteen and ſixteen es of oars to be built; not merely for oſtenta- as he made a wonderful uſe of them in battles eges. Lyſimachus, not being able to believe was ſaid of them, ſent to deſire him, though emy, to let his gallies row before him; and, he had ſeen their ſwift and eaſy motion, he expreſſibly ſurpriſed, and could ſcarce ven- o believe his own eyes, Theſe veſſels were oniſhing beauty and magnificence; but their eſs and agility ſeemed ſtill more worthy of ation, than their ſize and ſplendor.

t we will confine ourſelves to thoſe which were known and common, I mean, principally, the s of three, four, and five benches of oars; bſerve upon the uſe made of them in battles.

ere is no mention in Homer of veſſels with l benches of oars; it was not till after the n war that the uſe of them was introduced, he æra is unknown. The Corinthians were the who changed the antient form of the gallies, uilt thoſe of three benches of oars, and per- alſo of five. Syracuſe, a Corinthian colony, d herſelf, eſpecially in the time of Dionyſius lder, upon imitating the induſtry of the city which ſhe derived her origin; and even at h ſurpaſſed it, by carrying that to perfection, h the former had only deſigned. The wars h ſhe had to ſupport againſt Carthage, obliged o devote all her cares and application to naval s. Thoſe two cities were at that time the eſt maritime powers in the world.

Thucyd. l. 1. p. 8. —10.

reece, in general, had not yet diſtinguiſhed lf in this reſpect. It had been the plan and n of Lycurgus abſolutely to prohibit the uſe avigation to his citizens; and that from two

motives, equally worthy the wiſe and prof
policy of that legiſlator. His firſt view was t
move from his republic all commerce with ſ
gers, leaſt ſuch mixture ſhould alter the puri
its manners, and weaken the ſeverity of the ma
he had eſtabliſhed. In the ſecond place, he
for baniſhing from the Lacedæmonians all c
of aggrandiſing themſelves, and all hope of ma
conqueſts; conſidering that dire ambition a
ruin of ſtates. Sparta therefore at firſt had o
very ſmall number of ſhips.

Athens was originally no better provided
them. It was Themiſtocles, who, penetrating
the future, and foreſeeing at a diſtance what
had to apprehend from the Perſians, converte
whole power of Athens into a maritime
equipped upon a different pretext a numerous
and, by that wiſe proviſion, preſerved Greece,
tained immortal glory for his country, and
into a condition to become in a ſhort time ſup
to all the neighbouring ſtates.

During almoſt five ages, Rome, if Pol
may be believed, was entirely ignorant of w
veſſel, galley, or fleet were. As ſhe was ſolely
ployed in ſubjecting the ſtates around, ſhe ha
occaſion for them. When ſhe began to ſend (Polyb. l. 1. p. 25.)
troops into Sicily, ſhe had not a ſingle bark o
own, and borrowed veſſels of her neighbours to
ſport her armies. But ſhe ſoon perceived, tha
could not oppoſe the Carthaginians, whilſt
were maſters of the ſea. She therefore conc
the deſign of diſputing the empire of it with t
and of equipping a fleet. A quinqueremis, w
the Romans had taken from the enemy, gave
to the thought, and ſerved them for a m
In leſs than two months they built an hun
gallies of five and twenty of three benches of
They formed mariners and rowers by an exe

b

e unknown to them; and, in the firſt battle gave the Carthaginians, they overcame them, h the moſt powerful nation of the world by nd the moſt expert in naval affairs.

e fleet of Xerxes, when it ſet out from to attack Greece, conſiſted of more than e hundred gallies with three benches of oars, hich each carried two hundred and thirty and three thouſand gallies of thirty or fifty beſides tranſports, which one with another d fourſcore men. The other gallies, ſup- by the provinces of Europe, had each two red men on board. Thoſe which ſet out from ns, during the Peloponneſian war, to attack yracuſans, carried as many. From whence ay ſuppoſe the uſual complement of thoſe s was two hundred men.

Herod. l. 7. c. 89.

could have wiſhed, that hiſtorians had di- uiſhed clearly in regard to theſe two hundred who were the complement of the ſhips; how of them were merely ſeamen, and how many rs. Plutarch, in ſpeaking of thoſe of the nians that were in the battle of Salamis, ob- s, that each of the hundred and fourſcore s, of which their fleet conſiſted, had only een fighting men on board, of whom four archers, and the reſt heavy-armed troops: h is a very ſmall number.

Plut. in Themiſt. p. 119.

he battle of Salamin is one of the moſt famous tiquity; but we have no very particular ac- t of it. The Athenians diſtinguiſhed them- s in it by invincible valour, and their com- der ſtill more by his ability and prudence. erſuaded the Greeks, not without much dif- ty, to ſtop in a ſtreight, which rendered the riority in number of the Perſian veſſels uſeleſs: he delayed engaging, till a certain wind very rary to the enemy began to blow.

Herod. l. 8. c. 84—96.

The laſt battle of the Athenians, in the por Syracuſe, occaſioned their ruin. Becauſe they ceedingly apprehended the beaks of the enem gallies, of which they had made a ſad experie in the former actions, Nicias had provided g pling irons, in order to prevent their effect, come immediately to blows as upon ſhore. the enemy, who perceived it, covered the h and upper parts of their gallies with leather, in der to give leſs hold to the grapples, and a being boarded. Their diſcharges did much gre execution. The Athenians were overwhelmed an hail of ſtones, which never miſſed their a whilſt their darts and arrows were almoſt al ineffectual, from the motion and agitation of veſſels. Their antient glory and power ſuff ſhipwreck in this laſt battle.

Polybius has a ſhort but very fine deſcriptio a ſea-fight, which was to the Romans an ha omen of the future, and made way for the queſts, which were to aſſure them of the empir the ſea. It is that of Myla in Sicily againſt Carthaginians, in which the conſul Duillius c manded. I have related it in the hiſtory of Carthaginians. What is particular, in this ba is a machine of a new invention, made faſt to top of the heads of the Roman ſhips, and ca *Corvus.* It was a kind of crane, drawn up on h and ſuſpended by cords, which had an heavy c of iron, called *Corvus,* at its extremity, that let down with impetuoſity, upon the ſhips of enemy, to break through the planks of the dec and grapple them. This machine was the pri pal cauſe of the victory, the firſt the Romans e gained at ſea.

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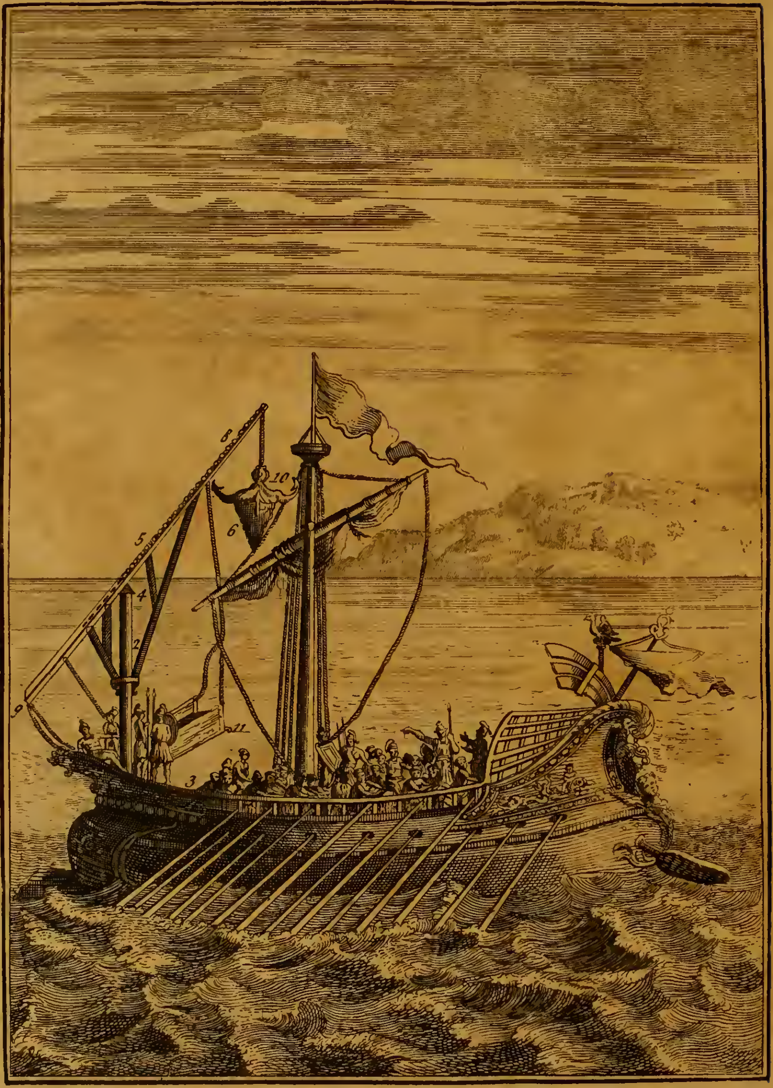
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XLV. *Grappling Corvus of Duillius.*

P L A T E XLV. explained.

Grappling Corvus (or Crane) of Duillius.

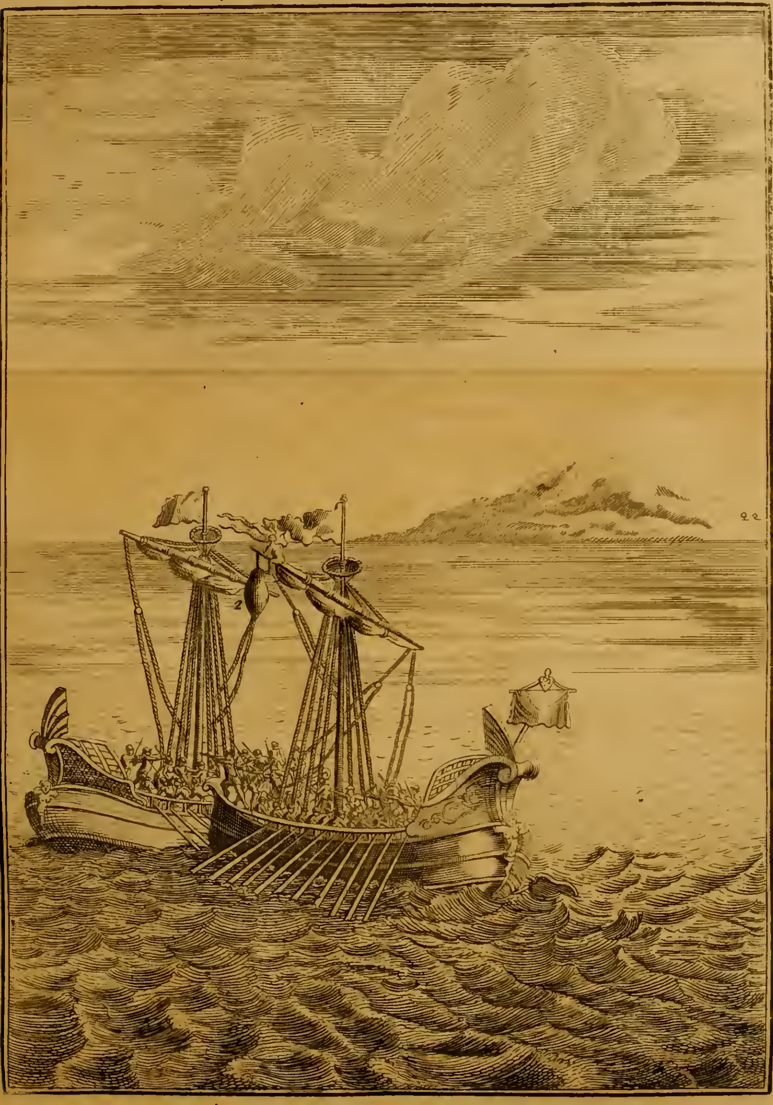
HIS Corvus, or crane, conſiſted of the maſt
or tree (2) fixed in the forecaſtle (3), of the
of four fathoms, and about twelve or ſixteen
in diameter. Upon the top of it there was
ı pivot (4), upon which turned the neck of
ıne (5) with the Corvus (6) very ſharp-pointed,
orvus hung by the rope (8), which ran
h a pulley at the end of the neck of the
When the end of this rope (9) was let go,
with ſuch force into the enemy's ſhip, that
ed through the deck into the forecaſtle; but,
ight come out again through the ſame hole,
neceſſary to add the moveable hooks (10)
ere affixed to it in the manner of hinges, ſo
hen the Corvus pierced through the deck
ave way, and opened again of themſelves
iately, to ſeize whatever they were drawn
t. The Corvus was let fall, when within
oper diſtance from the enemy's ſhip, from
gheſt part of the neck of the crane (5), and
ı as it had grappled, the bridge (11), with
aws to faſten by, was let down.

PLATE

PLATE XLVI. explained.

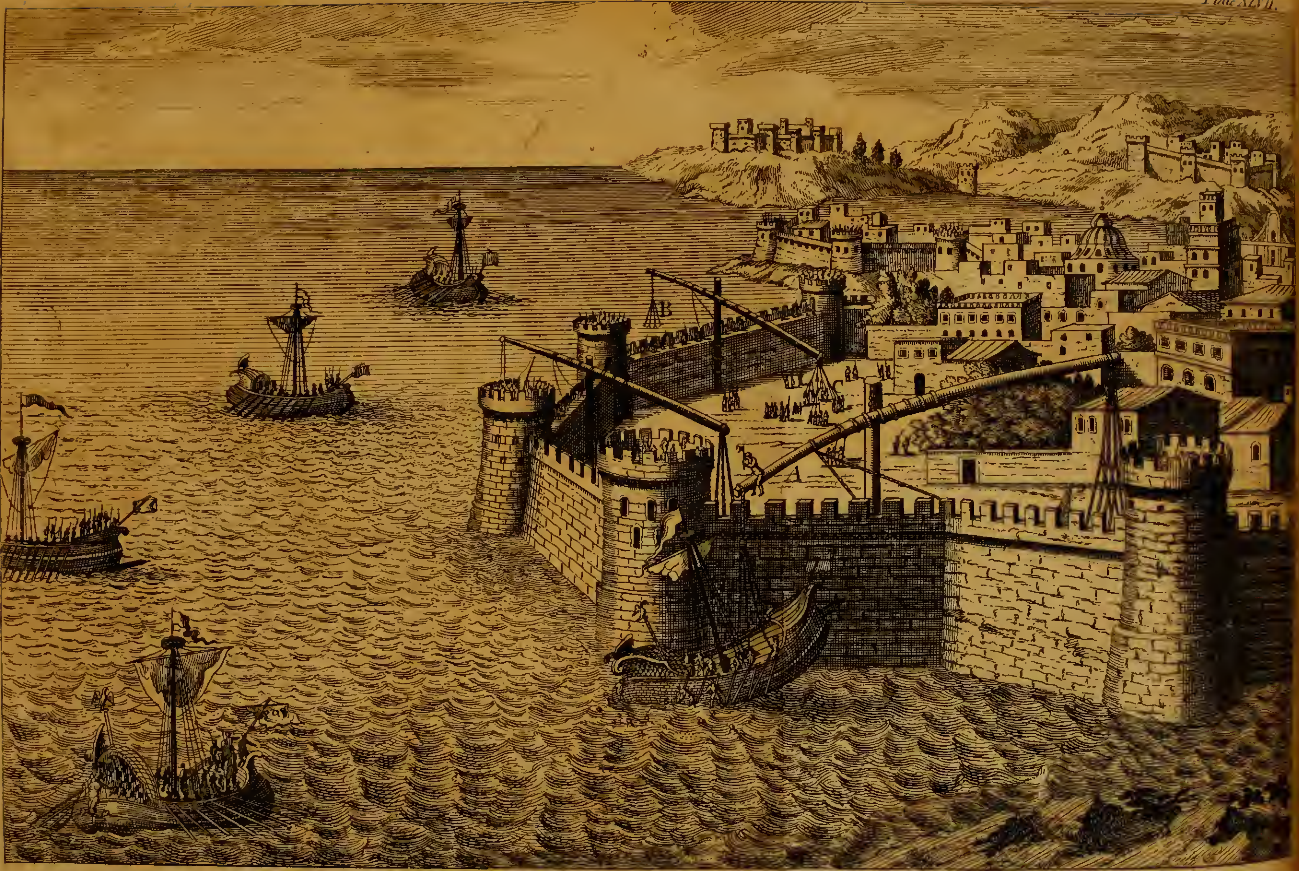
The Dolphin of the Greeks.

THIS machine, like the former, was on
mafs of caft iron (2) which hung at the
of fhips. It muft have been of an exceffive we
to have produced the effects related of it b
thors. It was in ufe amongft the Greeks, ac
ing to Suidas, and the fcholiaft of Ariftoph
They called it a Dolphin, perhaps from its
of a fimilar form to that fifh; it hung by a
at the end of the yard, from whence it was le
upon the enemy's fhip, which it pierced fron
deck to the hold. In the famous battle in o
the ports of Syracufe, the Athenians having
defeated, the Syracufans purfued them towar
fhore, but were ftopped, fays Thucydides, b
yards of the Athenian fhips, at the ends of
hung Dolphins of lead, capable of finking t
two of their fhips, that went too near them,
ally were funk. Authors do not mention th
gin of thefe machines.



XLVI. *The Dolphin of the Greeks.*

Plate XLVII.



Corvus (or Crane) of Archimedes according to Polybius and Plutarch for Seizing and lifting Ships out of the Water

PLATE XLVII. explained.

us (or crane) of Archimedes, according to Poly-
us and Plutarch, for ſeizing and lifting ſhips out
the water.

ROM what Plutarch ſays, the Corvus of Ar-
chimedes ſeems to have been a kind of crane,
the addition of ſeveral other powers of mo-
not uſed by the moderns with that kind of
ine.

olybius expreſly ſays, that it conſiſted of a ba-
and a lever, which ſeems moſt probable, thoſe
rs being moſt capable of producing the effects
bed to it, as well as of being worked with
expedition and eaſe. It was undoubtedly a
n, or maſt of prodigious length, conſiſting of
al pieces or maſts joined together, to render it
tronger and the leſs flexible. Theſe were very
ſtrengthened in the middle with iron work,
bound from ſpace to ſpace with cordage, like
maſt of a ſhip compoſed of ſeveral pieces.
enormous beam was lengthened by another of
ſt equal ſtrength.

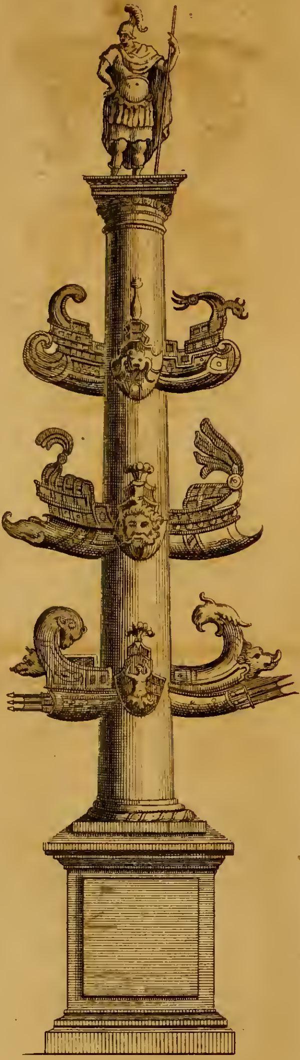
his vaſt lever muſt have been ſuſpended, al-
t in the nature of a crane, to a great tree
upright, and made faſt within the wall by
g rings of iron wound about with cords, as in
plate.

he lever, being firmly ſlung in this manner by
ſt cable or chain to the tree that ſupports it,
the greater effect, in proportion to the diſtance
e power or line of direction from the centre of
ion, (at the beam to which it was faſtened)
dding other powers A, acting perpendicularly,

or drawing directly down from the ſame point w the line of direction.

At the extremity of this vaſt lever were ſev grapplings, like flukes of anchors B, hanging the ends of chains, which were flung over the ſh when they came within reach of the machine. conſiderable number of men C lowered the en this lever by the means of cords, made faſt to great cables at the ends of it. As ſoon as the claws had taken hold, a ſignal was given to workmen C, and the end of the lever within walls drawn down, whilſt the other roſe up, c ing the ſhip with it to a certain height, whic ter was either beat to pieces, by vibration ag the walls, or let fall into the ſea by cutting great cable, at the end of which the ſhip hun the chains and claws or flukes.

PLA



XLVIII

Columna Rostrata or Naval Trophy erected in memory of the Victory of Duillius over the Carthaginians.

PLATE XLVIII. explained.

lumna roſtrata, *or a naval trophy erected in memory*
f the victory of Duillius over the Carthaginians.

HIS was the firſt victory gained by the Romans
at ſea. Florus tells, that they erected a co-
n, or naval trophy, with an inſcription in me-
ry of it. This is undoubtedly true, for, about
end of the ſixteenth century, part of it was dug
at Rome. Theſe columns were called *Roſtrata*,
m *roſtra*, the beaks of ſhips, with which they
re adorned, and which projected from the pil-
, and were diſpoſed as in the plate.

The ſame Polybius deſcribes more extenſivel
famous naval battle near Ecnoma, a city of Sici
The Romans, commanded by the conſuls Attil
Regulus and L. Manlius, had three hundred a
thirty deck-ſhips, and an hundred and forty th
ſand men, each veſſel carrying three hundred r
ers, and one hundred and twenty ſoldiers. T
Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hanno
Hamilcar, had three hundred and fifty veſſels,
above one hundred and fifty thouſand men. T
deſign of the former was to carry the war i
Africa, which the others were extremely intereſ
to prevent. Every thing therefore was diſpoſed
a battle.

The order of battle of the Romans at this ti
was entirely unuſual. They did not draw up
one or more lines, which was very common,
the enemy ſhould get between their lines, with
advantage of their number; but took care to
on all ſides. Beſides which, as the enem
ſtrength conſiſted in the agility of their ſh
they thought it neceſſary to row in an obli
line, and obſerve an order of battle not eaſy
be broken.

For this purpoſe, the two ſhips of ſix benc
on board of which were the conſuls Regulus
Manlius, were placed in the front, ſide by ſi
They were each followed by a file of ſhips, ca
the firſt and ſecond fleet. The veſſels of each
ſtood off, and enlarged the file as they drew
turning their heads outwards. The two firſt fl
being thus drawn up in the form of a beak
wedge, the third line of ſhips was formed, cal
the third fleet. This cloſed the ſpace, and fa
the enemy; ſo that this order of battle had
form of a triangle. Theſe three lines compoſe
kind of divided whole, conſiſting of three flee
for ſo they were called. This third line, or th

fl

t, towed the tranſports, on board of which were cavalry, which formed a ſecond body. And, ly, the fourth fleet, or the triarii (for ſo it was ed) brought up the rear, in ſuch a manner, t it extended beyond the two ſides of the line in nt of it; and this was the third body. In this poſition the order of battle repreſented a wedge beak, of which the fore part was hollow, and baſe ſolid; but the whole ſtrong, fit for action, hard to break.

The Carthaginians, on their ſide, drew up alſt their whole fleet in one line. The right wing nmanded by Hanno, and conſiſting of the nteſt and nimbleſt galleys, advanced very much ead of the fleet, to ſurround thoſe of the ene-, that were oppoſite to it, and had their heads facing towards it. The left wing, conſiſting of fourth part of the fleet, was drawn up in the form in horn-work, or gibbet, and inclined towards coaſt. Hamilcar, as admiral, commanded the tre, and this left wing. He made uſe of ſtraem to ſeparate the Roman fleet. The latter, o aſſured themſelves of victory over a fleet wn up with ſo great an extent, began, by atking the centre, which had orders to retire by le and little, as if giving way to the enemy, and paring to fly. The Romans did not fail to pur- them. By which movement the firſt and ſecond t (we have before obſerved which to diſtinguiſh thoſe names) parted from the third, that had tranſports in tow; and the fourth, in which re the triarii deſigned to ſupport them. When y were at a certain diſtance, upon a ſignal given m Hamilcar's galley, the Carthaginians fell all at e upon the veſſels that purſued them. The rthaginians had the advantage of the Romans in nimbleneſs of their ſhips, and the addreſs and ility with which they either advanced or retired:

but

but the vigour of the Romans in the charge, the cranes for grappling the enemy's veſſels, the pr ſence of the two conſuls, who fought at their hea and in whoſe ſight they were infinitely ardent ſignaliſe themſelves, inſpired them with no le confidence, than the Carthaginians had on the ſide. Such was the engagement here.

At the ſame time Hanno, who commanded th right wing, fell in with the ſhips of the triar and put them into diſorder and confuſion. O the other ſide, the Carthaginians, who were in t form of a fork or gibbet, and near ſhore, drew u in a line, and charged the ſhips that towed t tranſports. The latter immediately let go the cor and came to blows with them, ſo that the who battle was divided into three parts, which made many different fights at conſiderable diſtances fro each other.

As the forces were very near equal on both ſid ſo was the advantage at firſt. At length the ſqu dron commanded by Hamilcar, not being able reſiſt any longer, was put to flight, and Manli made faſt the ſhips he had taken to his own. R gulus, at the ſame time, went to the aid of t triarii and tranſports, with the veſſels of the ſ cond fleet, which had not ſuffered at all. Whi he engaged Hanno, the triarii, who had b fore given way, reſumed courage, and returned the charge with vigour. The Carthaginians, a tacked in front and rear, could not reſiſt lon and fled.

While this paſſed, Manlius returned, and pe ceived the third fleet driven cloſe to the ſhore b the left wing of the Carthaginians. The tran ports and triarii being ſafe, they joined him an Regulus, to make haſte and extricate it out the danger in which they ſaw it; and it wou have been entirely defeated, if the Carthaginian

throug

gh fear of being grappled, and thereby re-
d to come to blows, had not contented them-
s with ſhutting it in near the ſhore, without
g to attack it. The conſuls coming up in
good time, ſurrounded the Carthaginians, and
fifty ſail of them with their whole comple-
s.

ch was the event of this ſea-fight, in which
Romans were entirely victorious. Twenty-
of their ſhips, and above thirty of the Cartha-
ns periſhed in it. None of the Roman ſhips
r fell into the enemy's hands, who loſt more
ſixty-four.

e Romans never, even in the time of their
eſt power, fitted out in their own names, and
, ſo great a fleet as this we now ſpeak of;
Polybius obſerves upon it. Four years be-
hey were abſolutely ignorant of what a fleet
ſted, and now ſet ſail with three hundred and
deck ſhips.

hen we conſider the rapidity, with which theſe
s were built, we are tempted to imagine, that
were of a very ſmall ſize, and could not con-
abundance of hands. We find here the con-
. Polybius tells us a circumſtance, which is no
e elſe ſo clearly explained, and which it is ex-
ly important to know: that is, that each gal-
rried three hundred rowers, and one hundred
wenty ſoldiers. How much room muſt the
ng, proviſion, water, and other ſtores of ſuch
ley require! We ſee in Livy, that they ſome- Liv. l. 29.
carried proviſions and water for forty-five n. 25.
and without doubt ſometimes for a longer

e Corvus, or crane, of which mention is of-
ade in ſea-fights, a machine for grappling
, ſhews us, that the antients found no means
fectual to aſſure themſelves of victory, as to
join

join in cloſe fight, or board the enemy. They
ten carried baliſta's and catapulta's on board,
diſcharge darts and ſtones. Though theſe
chines, which ſerved them inſtead of our cann
had ſurpriſing effects, they only uſed them w
ſhips were at a certain diſtance, and boarded th
as ſoon as poſſible. It is in this indeed, and o
in this, that the valour of troops really appears.

The galleys, of which theſe two fleets conſiſt
were of three benches of oars, or, at moſt, of f
except thoſe of the two conſuls, which had
At the battle of Myla, the admiral galley
ſeven benches of oars. It is eaſy to judge,
theſe admiral galleys were not merely for ſh
and that they muſt have been of more ſervic
the battle than any of the reſt.

T H

THE
ISTORY
OF THE
RTS and SCIENCES
OF THE
NTIENTS, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

VE are at length arrived at the arts and ſciences which relate merely to the mind, and are intended to inrich it with branches of knowledge, neceſſary to inſtruct to give his nobler part all the perfection of it is capable; to form his underſtanding and and, in a word, to inable him to diſcharge veral functions, to which the divine Provi- ſhall vouchſafe to call him. For we muſt ceive ourſelves in this reſpect: The end of iences is neither to become learned ſolely for ves, nor to ſatisfy a reſtleſs and barren curio- vhich draws us on by a ſeducing pleaſure objects to objects; but to contribute, each way, to the general advantage of ſociety. nfine one's labours and ſtudies to one's own ction, and to centre every thing in one's ſelf, e ignorant that man is the part of an whole, to which he ought to adhere and refer himſelf which the beauty conſiſts eſſentially in the u and harmony of the parts that compoſe it ; which all, though by different means, tend tc ſame end, the public utility.

It is with this view God diſtributes to man their different talents and inclinations, which ſometimes ſo ſtrongly implanted, that it is al impoſſible to reſiſt them. Every body knows an inclination the famous Mr. Paſchal had his earlieſt infancy for geometry, and what a derful progreſs he made in it by the pure forc his genius, notwithſtanding the care taken by father to hide all the books and inſtruments him, which could give him any idea of it. I c quote a great number of the like examples in e art and ſcience.

A ſequel and effect of theſe natural inclinat which always denote great talents, is the induſt application of the learned to certain ſtudies, abſtracted and difficult, and ſometimes even agreeable and tedious, to which, however, find a ſecret pleaſure attach them with an al irreſiſtible violence. Who can doubt but this ſure is a kind of attractive charm, which Pr dence annexes to certain ſevere and painful labo in order to ſoften their rigours to theſe purſu and to make them ſurmount with courage the ſtacles, which ſooner or later might diſguſt th if not paſſionate after their object and actuated a taſte ſuperior to all difficulty ?

But do we not alſo ſee, that the deſign of G in diſpenſing the talents and inclinations of with ſo aſtoniſhing a diverſity, has been to in the learned to be uſeful to ſociety in general, to obtain for it all the aids in their power ? what can be more glorious and more gratefu them, if they underſtand aright their true g

to perceive themſelves ſelected from all man-
to be miniſters and co-operators in the cares
e divine Providence with regard to man, in
very circumſtance wherein thoſe cares are
ſt and moſt divine; which is in being the
of the underſtanding, and the light of the ſoul.
ould I be ſuffered, when I behold the in-
variety of the branches of knowledge in-
d for the inſtruction of man, from Gram-
which is their baſe, to thoſe which are more
d and ſublime, if I compared them with the
blage of the ſtars diſperſed throughout the
xtent of the firmament to diſpel the darkneſs
ght? I ſeem to ſee in thoſe bodies a wonder-
lation with learning and learned men. They
each their allotted ſphere, in which they con-
y remain. They all ſhine, but with different
dor, ſome more, ſome leſs, without envying
other. They keep always within the paths
ed them, without ever deviating to the right
t. In fine, and this, in my opinion, is moſt
y of attention, they do not ſhine for them-
s, but for him who made them: *Stellæ dede-* Bar. III.
lumen in cuſtodiis ſuis, & lætatæ ſunt. Vocatæ 34.
& dixerunt, adſumus; & luxerunt ei cum jucun-
e qui fecit illas. The ſtars ſhined in their watches,
ejoiced: when he calleth them they ſay, here we
nd with chearfulneſs they ſhewed light unto him
made them. This is our duty and our model:
hich I ſay no more.

his book contains what relates to Grammarians,
ologers, which term I ſhall explain in its place;
oricians and Sophiſts. I muſt premiſe to the
r, that he will find in his progreſs here ſome
s and difficulties. I have removed abundance,
have left only ſuch as could not be excluded,
g obliged to it by the nature of the ſubjects
r conſideration.

CHAPTER I.

OF GRAMMARIANS.

GRAMMAR is the art of ſpeaking writing correctly.

There is nothing more admirable, nor m worthy of our attention, than the double gift G has conferred upon us of ſpeech and writing. make continual uſe of them, almoſt without e reflecting that we do ſo, and without conſider the amazing wonders both the one and other inclu

Speech is one of man's greateſt advantages o all other animals. It is one of the greateſt pro of his reaſon, of which it may be ſaid to be principal evidence. But by what rare art is it p duced, and for how many different parts was it ceſſary to unite and concur with each other, form the voice at the firſt motion of the ſoul!

I have a thought within me, that I deſire to co municate to others; or ſome doubt, in whic would be ſatisfied. Nothing is more of the nat of ſpirit, and conſequently more remote from ſer than thought. In what manner therefore ſhall I able to transfer it from myſelf to the perſons arou me? If I cannot effect this, confined within myſ reduced to me alone, deprived of all commer diſcourſe, and conſolation, I ſuffer inexpreſſible t ments: The moſt numerous aſſembly, the wh world itſelf, is to me no more than an hideous ſo tude. But the divine Providence has ſpared me theſe pains, in affixing ſounds to my ideas, and making thoſe ſounds ſubſervient to my will, b natural mechaniſm never to be ſufficiently admir

At the very inſtant, the exact moment, I wou communicate my thoughts to others, my lun

thro

t, tongue, palate, teeth, lips, and an infinity
her organs, which depend on, and are parts
hem, put themſelves in motion, and execute
rders with a rapidity, which almoſt prevents
leſires. The air from my lungs, varied and
fied an infinity of ways, according to the di-
y of my ſentiments, iſſues forth to carry the
l of them into the ears of my auditors, and
form them of all that paſſes within me, and of
deſire they ſhould know.

inſtruct me in producing ſuch wonderful
s, have I had occaſion for tutors, leſſons,
pts? Nature, that is to ſay the divine Pro-
ice, has made every thing within me and
ne. It has formed in my body all the or-
neceſſary for producing ſuch wonderful ef-
; and that with a delicacy the ſenſes can
y trace, and with a variety, multiplicity,
ction, art, and activity, which the natura-
onfeſs above all expreſſion and admiration.
is not all. It has imparted to us an abſolute
rity over all theſe organs, in regard to which
mere will is an indiſpenſible command that
never diſobey, and that immediately puts them
otion. Why are we not equally docile and
iſſive to the voice of the Creator?

e manner of forming the voice includes, as I
obſerved, innumerable wonders. I ſhall only
t one circumſtance in this place, from which
ay judge of the reſt. It is extracted from the
oirs of the academy of ſciences, *An.* 1700.
our throat, at the top of the Tracheanartery,
is, the canal through which the air enters and
pired from the lungs, there is a ſmall oval
capable of being more or leſs extended, call-
e *Glotta*. As the opening of this little mouth
y ſmall, in proportion to the largeneſs of the
hea, the air cannot paſs through it from the
Trachea,

Trachea, without extremely augmenting its ve city, and precipitating its courſe. Hence, in p ſing, it violently agitates the ſmall parts of two lips of the Glotta, ſets them in motion, a cauſes them to make vibrations, which prod ſound. This ſound, ſo formed, goes on to u itſelf in the cavity of the mouth and noſtrils.

This mouth of the Trachea forms the differ tones or notes, as well as ſounds; which it only do by the different changes of its opening. is oval, as I ſaid before, and capable of extend or cloſing itſelf in certain degrees; and thereby fibres of the membranes, of which it is compoſ become longer in low, and ſhorter in high, tone

We find by Mr. Dodart's exact calculation of tones or notes and half-notes of an ordinary vo that for all the ſmall parts of tone with whic can raiſe an octave without ſtraining itſelf, for more or leſs force it can give ſound without cha ing the tone or note, we muſt neceſſarily ſupp that the little diameter of the *Glotta*, which i moſt a line, or the twelfth of an inch, and wh changes its length with all theſe changes, muſt and actually is, divided into 9632 parts; that e theſe parts are not all equal, and that conſeque ſome are much leſs than the $\frac{1}{9632}$ part of a l By what means could the art of man attain to fine and exquiſite diviſions! And is it not amazi that nature itſelf was capable of executing the On the other ſide, it is no leſs ſurpriſing that ear, which has ſo juſt a ſenſe of tones, percei when the voice changes its notes ever ſo little difference, of which the origin is no more than $\frac{1}{9632}$ part of leſs than a line, or twelfth of inch.

The ear itſelf; can we ever be weary of conſi ing its ſtructure, framed in an admirable man to collect on all ſides, in its winding cavit ying impreſſions and undulations of ſound, o determine them afterwards by a pleaſing ion to the internal organ of hearing? It is for aturaliſts to explain theſe wonders: But it is to admire with gratitude their infinite advan- , which we almoſt every moment enjoy, with- eflecting much upon them. What manner of e would a nation of mutes be, who ſhould in- the ſame place, with no power to impart their ghts to each other, but by ſigns and geſtures; o communicate their wants, their doubts, their ulties, their joy, their ſorrow, in a word, all ntiments of their ſouls, in which the life of a al creature properly conſiſts.

RITING is another wonder, which comes very that of *Speech*, and which adds a new value to om the extent it gives the uſe to be made of n, and the permanence or kind of perpetuity h derives from it. This invention is perfectly deſcribed in the fine verſes of Lucan:

Phœnices primi, famæ ſi creditur, uſi
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.

If fame ſpeak true, and facts believ'd of old,
Phœnicia's ſons did firſt the art unfold
Diſcourſe in uncouth figures to confine,
And ſound and ſenſe to image and deſign.

is ſtill better expreſſed in Brebeuf's tranſlation, riſes conſiderably upon the original:

eſt de [*] lui que nous vient cet art ingenieux
peindre la parole, & de parler aux yeux;
par les trait divers de figures tracées,
nner de la couler & du corps aux penſees.

---

[*] *Cadmus the Phœnician.*

From him deſcended firſt the fine device
To paint the voice, and to diſcourſe the eyes;
In forms and colours ſenſe to cloath he taught,
And all the various features of a thought.

It is * this invention, which inables us to c
reſpond and diſcourſe with the abſent, and to tra
fer our thoughts and opinions to them, notw
ſtanding the remoteſt diſtance of places.
tongue, which is the principal inſtrument and or
of ſpeech, has no ſhare in this equally uſeful
agreeable commerce. The hand, inſtructed by
to trace ſenſible characters upon paper, lends i
aid, makes itſelf its interpreter; mute as it is,
becomes in it's place the vehicle of diſcourſe.

It is to the ſame invention, as Theodoretus
ther obſerves, whoſe words I have juſt be
quoted, that we are indebted for the ineſtim
treaſure of the writings come down to us,
which have imparted to us the knowledge not
of the arts, ſciences, and all paſt facts, but, w
is of infinitely greater value, of the truths
myſteries of religion.

It is not eaſy to comprehend how men have b
able to compoſe, out of twenty-five or thirty let
at moſt, that infinite variety of words, wh
having no reſemblance in themſelves to what pa
in our minds, do however diſcloſe all the ſecret
them to others, and make thoſe, who could
otherwiſe penetrate our ſenſe, underſtand all

---

* Ejuſdem beneficio abſentibus converſamur; & qui mult
dierum itinere diſtamus, atque immenſis manſionum ſpatiis
tervallis ſejungimur, ingeniorum concepta & animorum ſente
nobis invicem per manus tranſmittimus. Et lingua quidem,
primarium orationis organum eſt, otioſa ceſſat. Sermoni a
dextra ancillatur, quæ calamo arrepto, quod nobis cum a
tranſigendum erat negotium, papyro aut chartæ inſcribit; &
monis vehiculum eſt, non os, nec lingua, ſed manus, quæ
temporis uſu artem edocuit, & alimentorum compoſitionem
ſtructuram probè edocta eſt. *Theod. de Provid. orat.* 4.

eive, and all the different affections of our n. Let us imagine ourſelves in the countries, her the invention of writing has not reached, here it is not practiſed: What ignorance! ſtupidity! what barbariſm do we not ſee! ſuch people be called men? The reader may ult the learned diſſertation of Mr. Freret upon *principles of the art of writing*; which contains at abundance of very curious knowledge.

t us not bluſh to own it, and let us render omage of gratitude to him, to whom alone e indebted for the double advantage of ſpeech riting. Only God could teach mankind to iſh certain figures to ſignify all ſounds or s.

d theſe are the firſt objects of grammar, which, ave already ſaid, is the art of ſpeaking and g correctly. It was infinitely more eſteemed ultivated with much greater attention by the s and Romans, than with us, amongſt whom allen into great contempt, and almoſt gene- neglected. This difference of ſentiments and ct in this point, ariſes from thoſe two nations g beſtowed conſiderable time and particular ation in the ſtudy of their own tongue; where- very ſeldom learn ours by rudiments, which tainly a great defect in our uſual method of cting youth.

e are ſurpriſed to read in Quintilian an exalted of grammar, which he ſays † is neceſſary to , agreeable to age, a delightful employment irement, and of all ſtudies, that which is at- d with more utility than it promiſes. This is e idea we form of it. And indeed it was of

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emoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions, Vol. VI.

eceſſaria pueris, jucunda ſenibus, dulcis ſecretorum comes, vel ſola omni ſtudiorum genere plus habet operis quam oſ- nis. *Quint.* l. 4. c. 4.

far greater extent amongſt the antients than we g it. It did not confine itſelf to the laying dow rules for ſpeaking, reading, and writing corre which is certainly a very important part of it. underſtanding and explication of the poets one of it's branches, and we are not ignorant many things that ſtudy neceſſarily includes. added another part, which ſuppoſes a great fun erudition and knowledge : this was *Criticiſm.* I ſoon ſhew in what it conſiſted.

That kind of grammarians, called alſo *Phi logers*, *Philologi*, were not confounded with *Grammatiſts*, *Grammatiſtæ ſive Literatores*, whoſe employment was to teach children the firſt elem of the Greek or Latin tongues. For which re the latter did not enjoy the immunities or o privileges granted by the emperors to the gram rians.

I ſhall relate here in a few words what hiſ tells us concerning thoſe who diſtinguiſhed th ſelves moſt in this way, either amongſt the Gr or Romans. Mr. Capperonier, my brother, fellow of the royal college, who has perfe ſtudied all that relates to grammar, has bee good to communicate ſome of his remarks u that ſubject to me.

ARTIC

ARTICLE I.

GRECIAN GRAMMARIANS.

HALL not enter into an examination of
e origin of the Greek letters. Thoſe who de-
o be informed upon that head, may conſult
Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Vol. II.
s Lettres, in which it is treated with great
tion by the late Abbé Renaudot. I adhere
e common opinion of almoſt all the Greek
Latin authors, who agree, that Cadmus brought
irſt letters from Phœnicia, and communicated
to the Greeks, that were afterwards called
, of which the origin is ſufficiently denoted
eir reſemblance to the Hebrew and Phœnician
bets. I ſhall confine myſelf in this place to
ing of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves
with regard to the Greek grammar.

ATO is believed to be the firſt author in whom
footſteps of the art of grammar are to be found.
accordingly in his *Philæbus* he ſhews the me- Pag. 18.
of teaching the knowledge of the letters. In
ratylus, he treats the antient and famous queſ-
whether the ſignification of words be natural
em, or arbitrary, and founded ſolely upon the
of mankind, who has thought fit to annex cer-
ideas to words? He divides words into two
es: the primitive, which he aſcribes to God;
the derivative, which are of human invention.
inſinuates, that the Greek tongue is derived
the Hebrew, which he calls the language of
Barbarians. In the ſame dialogue, he exa-
s the origin and etymology of ſeveral nouns;
which reaſon Phavorinus ſays, in Diogenes
tius, that Plato was the firſt that obſerved the
riety and uſe of grammar.

It ſeems, however, that ARISTOTLE might
conſidered as the firſt author of this ſcience.
has diſtributed words into certain claſſes; of wh
he has examined the different kinds, and particu
properties. The twentieth chapter of his Poet
begins with this enumeration: “ The poeti
“ ſtyle or elocution contains theſe eight pa
“ the element, the ſyllable, the conjunction,
“ noun, the verb, the article, the caſe or inflexi
“ the propoſition or phraſe.”

In vit. Epic. Hermippus, cited by Diogenes Laërtius, tells
that EPICURUS taught grammar before reading
books of Democritus engaged him in the ſtudy
philoſophy.

Lib. 6. c. 6. Quintilian ſays, that the Stoic philoſophers ma
a great many additions to what Ariſtotle and Th
dactes had introduced concerning grammar.
mongſt thoſe additions he reckons the prepoſitio
the pronoun, the participle, the adverb, and
interjection.

The great etymologiſt Suidas, Heſychius, S
phanus Byzantinus, Athenæus, Harpocration, a
other *polygraphical Philologers*, mention ſeveral a
tient grammarians. of whom ſome lived after A
ſtotle and Alexander the Great, and others in t
Auguſtan age. We ſhall ſay ſomething of the mo
celebrated of them.

PHILETES, of the iſland of Cos, may be plac
in the firſt claſs of theſe, whom Ptolomy, the fi
of that name, king of Egypt, made præceptor
his ſon Ptolomy Philadelphus.

HECATÆUS of Abdera, who compoſed a treati
upon the poems of Homer and Heſiod.

LYNCÆUS of Samos, the diſciple of The
phraſtus.

ZENODOTUS of Epheſus, who firſt corrected t
faults which had crept into the works of Homer.

CALL

ALLIMACHUS, uncle on the mother's ſide to
Callimachus, ſome of whoſe poems are ſtill
nt. The celebrated Eratosthenes, of whom
ll ſoon ſpeak under the title of Philologer, was
of his diſciples.

RISTOPHANES of Byzantium was the ſcholar
Eratoſthenes, and lived in the time of Ptolomy
opator. He was in great eſtimation.

RISTARCHUS, the diſciple of Ariſtophanes, ob-
ed by his reputation all the grammarians who
eded him, or lived in his own times. He was
in Samothracia, and had for his country by
tion the city of Alexandria. He was highly
med by Ptolomy Philometor, who confided the
ation of his ſon to his care. He applied him-
extremely to criticiſm, and reviſed Homer's
ns with incredible, but perhaps too magiſterial
xactneſs. For, when a verſe did not pleaſe him,
eated it as ſuppoſitious and interpolated: *Ho-* Cic. Epiſt.
verſum negat, quem non probat. It is ſaid he 11. l. 3. ad Famil.
ked the verſes he condemned as ſuppoſititious,
the figure of a ſpit on the ſide of them; from
nce came the word ὀβελίζειν.

ow great ſoever the reputation and authority
riſtarchus were, appeals were often made from
decrees, and liberty taken to condemn this
t critic's taſte, who upon ſome occaſions de-
ined that ſuch and ſuch verſes ſhould be tranſ-
d from the Iliad to the Odyſſey. Tranſpoſi-
s of this kind are ſeldom very happy, and ge-
lly argue more preſumption than judgment.
odotus was appointed to reviſe and examine the Suid.
ciſms of Ariſtarchus.

n the opinion of ſome authors, it was this Ariſ-
hus that divided the two great poems of Ho-
, each into as many books as there are letters
e alphabet, and gave each book the name of
ter.

He worked alſo upon Pindar, Aratus, and otl poets.

He had abundance of diſputations in Pergan with Crates the grammarian, of whom I ſhall ſc ſpeak.

Lib. 1. Epiſt. 10. ad Attic. In Art. Poet.

Cicero calls Atticus his Ariſtarchus, becauſe, a good friend and excellent critic, he uſed to viſe and correct his harangues. Horace alſo mal uſe of the ſame name, to ſignify an exact and dicious critic:

Vir bonus & prudens verſus reprehendet inertes, &
Fiet Ariſtarchus, nec dicet: Cur ego amicum
Offendam in nugis?

Quintilian * informs us, that theſe grammari critics, not only took upon them to note, with kind of cenſorial authority, the verſes they did n approve, and to ſtrike out whole books from an a thor's works, as offspring unjuſtly aſcribed to hin but carried their power ſo far, as to aſſign autho their ranks, diſtinguiſhing ſome with peculiar h nours, leaving many in the common herd, and e tirely degrading others.

What I have ſaid of Ariſtarchus ſhews that cr ticiſm, in which the principal merit of the antie grammarians conſiſted, was principally intent diſcovering the true author of a work, or diſti guiſhing the writings falſely aſcribed to him fro ſuch as were really his; and even in thoſe whic were admitted to be genuine, in rejecting the pa ſages which a different hand had deſignedly i ſerted; in fine, to explain what was moſt beaut

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* Miſtum his omnibus judicium eſt. Quo quidem ita ſeverè ſunt veteres Grammatici, ut non verſus modò cenſoria quadam virgu notare, & libros, qui falsò viderentur inſcripti, tanquam ſubdititi ſummovere familia permiſerint ſibi: ſed auctores alios in ordine redegerint, alios omnino exemerint numero. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 4.

fu

noſt ſolid, and moſt remarkable in works of ınd to aſſign the reaſons for their judgment. all this required abundance of reading, erudi- taſte, and, above all, a juſt and refined diſ- ıent. To know the uſefulneſs of this art, and a right ſenſe of it's value, we need only call ind certain nations and ages, in which a pro- ignorance reigned univerſally, and, for want tical knowledge, the groſſeſt abſurdities, and ıoſt palpable falſifications of all kinds, paſſed conteſtable truths. It is the glory of our age, ıe effect of the beſt ſtudies, to have entirely led all thoſe clouds and darkneſs, by the of ſolid and judicious criticiſm.

ATES of Mallos, a city of Cilicia, was Ariſ- ıs's contemporary. He was ſent to Rome in y of ambaſſador, by Attalus II. king of Per- s. He introduced in that great city the ſtudy ımmar, which he had always made his principal ɔation. He left nine books of corrections Homer's poems.

Sueton. de Illuſt. Gram.

ter his death there were ſeveral other Greek s at Rome; amongſt the reſt the two Tyran-

.

RANNION, a famous grammarian in Pom- time, was of Amiſus in the kingdom of Pon- He called himſelf at firſt Theophraſtus: but, his violent behaviour in reſpect to his compa- in ſtudy, and perhaps his diſciples, he was ned Tyrannion.

Suidas.

e was the diſciple of Dionyſius of Thrace at les, and fell into the hands of Lucullus, when general of the Romans had put Mithridates to :, and poſſeſſed himſelf of part of his domi- ;. This captivity was no diſadvantage to Ty- ion, as it gave him the opportunity of render- himſelf illuſtrious at Rome, and of acquiring derable riches. He employed them, amongſt other uſes, in collecting a library, accordi Suidas, of more than thirty thouſand volu Charles Stephens, and other authors, ſay only thouſand; which is moſt probable.

Tyrannion's care in collecting books contrib very uſefully to preſerving the works of Ariſt The fate of thoſe works was ſomething ſing as I have related elſewhere. Vol. X.

His underſtanding, and particular induſtr this reſpect, inabled him to do Cicero a very ag able ſervice, of which he was highly ſenſ Every body knows the fondneſs which perſon ſtudy and ſcience have for their books. They in a manner, their friends of all hours, their f ful companions; that entertain them agreeabl all times; that ſometimes ſupply them with ſer employment, and ſometimes with neceſſary rec tion; that go with them into the country, when they travel; and in times of adverſity are moſt their ſole conſolation. Cicero's baniſhn had torn him from his dear library. It ſeeme have been ſenſible of it's maſter's diſgrace; during his abſence, many of his books had diſperſed. One of his firſt cares, after his ret was to retrieve what remained of them, which found more abundant than he expected. He co miſſioned Tyrannion to put them in order, and diſpoſe them into their ſeveral claſſes, in wh he ſucceeded perfectly well. Cicero, in a let wherein he invites his friend Atticus to his hou aſſures him that he will be charmed with the manner in which Tyrannion had diſpoſed his

Epiſt. 4. Libri 4. ad Attic. brary: *Perbelle feceris, ſi ad nos veneris. Offe deſignationem mirificam in librorum meorum bibliothe quorum reliquiæ multò meliores ſunt quam putaver* That dear friend, at his requeſt, had ſent him t of his ſlaves, very expert in what related to boo and in paſting them, called for that reaſon *gluti*

to

The books of the antients, as every body
s, were not bound like ours, but were long
conſiſting of many leaves of parchment or
m, either tied or paſted together. Tyrannion Epiſt. 8.
ſet theſe two ſlaves to work, who had done Libri 4.
ers: and my library diſpoſed in ſo fine an or- ad Attic.
r, ſays Cicero, ſeems to have given a new ſoul
y houſe: *Poſtea quam Tyrannio mihi libros diſ-*
u, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in
rifica opera Dionyſii & Menophili tui fuit.

e merit of Tyrannion was not confined to diſ- Epiſt. 2.
g books; he knew how to uſe them. When l. 12. ad Attic.
r was in Africa, making war againſt Juba, A. M.
o and Atticus had promiſed to fix a day for 3958.
ng Tyrannion read a book of his compoſing.
us, having heard it read without his friend, Ibid. Ep. 6.
eproached by him for it: " What, ſays Cicero
him, did I ſeveral times refuſe to hear that
ok read, becauſe you were abſent, and would
t you ſtay to ſhare that pleaſure with me? But
forgive you for the admiration you expreſs of
" What then muſt a book ſo agreeable, and
e ſame time ſo worthy of being praiſed, and
admired by ſuch a man as Atticus, have
? It was only remarks upon grammar, upon
ifferent accents, the quantity of ſyllables, and
t is called proſody. Would one believe, that
ns of ſuch extraordinary merit could find any
ure in works of ſuch a kind? They went much
er, and compoſed tracts of the ſame nature
ſelves, as Quintilian relates of Cæſar and Meſ- Lib. 1. c. 4.
the firſt of whom wrote a treatiſe upon ana-
g, and the other upon words and letters.

icero muſt have had an high value for Tyran-
c, as he permitted him * to open a grammar-

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* Quinctus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregiè. Hoc nunc
s animadverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. *Epiſt.* 4. l. 2.
uinct. frat.

ſchool in his houſe, where he taught this art ſome young Romans, and, amongſt others, to brother Quintus's, and no doubt to Cicero's o ſon.

Tyrannion, ſo named from his having b the former's diſciple, was otherwiſe called Dioc He was a native of Phœnicia, and was taken ſoner in the war between Anthony and Auguſt and bought by Dymas, one of the emperor's fre men. He was given to Terentia, who made free: ſhe had been Cicero's wife, who repudia her. Tyrannion opened a ſchool in Rome, compoſed ſixty-eight books. He wrote one prove, that the Latin was derived from the Gr tongue; and another, which contained a correct of Homer's poems.

Dionysius the Thracian was the diſcipl Ariſtarchus. He taught grammar at Rome Pompey's time, and compoſed ſeveral books u that ſubject, many treatiſes upon others, an great number of commentaries upon various auth Mr. Fabricius has cauſed one of his grammars be printed, in the ſeventh volume of his Biblioth Græca.

This piece may give us ſome idea of the meth of the antient Greek grammarians. The aut divides his work into ſix parts. 1. Reading cording to the accents. 2. The explanation of tropes and figures in poetry. 3. The interpre tion of the dialects, extraordinary words, and c tain hiſtorical paſſages. 4. The etymology words. 5. The exact knowledge of * analo 6. The manner of judging poems, which Dio ſius conſiders as the moſt refined and moſt imp tant part of his art. After having explained

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* Analogy, *according to Vaugelas, is a conformity to things alr eſtabliſhed, which we propoſe as our model, in making word phraſes like words or phraſes already eſtabliſhed.*

th

accents, the acute, the grave, and the cir-
lex; he goes on to treat the different method
inting. He even gives, in the courſe of his
, the definition of the term *Rhapſody*, in the
of the antient Homeriſts, who holding a ſmall
of laurel-wood in their hand, ſung detached
s of Homer's poems. From thence he pro-
to the explanation of the letters, which he
es into vowels and conſonants, into *hemiphonæ*
lf-vowels, *aphonæ* or *cacophonæ*; that is to ſay,
founding, becauſe he ſuppoſes that they have
ſound than the others. And laſtly, he ſub-
es the *aphonæ* into *tenues*, *mediæ*, and *aſpiratæ*,
out forgetting the *double* conſonants, and the
ls or immutables. After which he treats the
, ſhort, and common ſyllables. He next ex-
ıs the *parts of ſpeech*, which he reduces to eight,
ıoun, the verb, the participle, the article, the
oun, the prepoſition, the adverb, and the con-
tion. This author conſiders the interjection as
ıd of adverb. Having explained the ſix com-
conjugations called *Barytoni*, he obſerved, that
grammarians add a ſeventh, of which the ter-
ations were in ξω and ψω, as ἀλέξω and ἕψω. The
ımflex verbs in έω, άω, όω; and the four verbs
are not forgot.

his detail of grammar appears tedious and uſe-
to us; but the antients had a different opinion
t. There was no part of it, even to the point-
and accents, of which they did not make very
t uſe.

hey knew that ſtopping or pointing well gives
picuity, grace, and harmony to diſcourſe; and
it aſſiſts the eyes and minds of readers and
ers, by making the order, ſeries, connexion,
diſtinction of parts more evident; in render-
the pronunciation natural, and in preſcribing it
bounds and pauſes of different kinds, as the
ſenſe

ſenſe requires. It is to the grammarians we h this obligation. The learned, who conſult antient manuſcripts, in which there are neit comma's, points, *a linea*, nor any other diſtincti experience the confuſion and difficulty that a from ſo vicious a manner of writing. This par grammar is almoſt generally neglected amongſt and often even amongſt the learned: which ho ever is a ſtudy of no more than half an hour or hour at the utmoſt.

I ſay as much of the accents. The accent is elevation of the voice upon one of the ſyllables o word, after which the voice neceſſarily falls. T elevation of the voice is called the *acute* acce marked, thus (ˊ); and the *grave* accent, or loweri of the voice, thus (ˋ). But becauſe in the Greek a Latin tongues there were certain long ſyllabl upon which the voice was both raiſed and depreſſ they invented a third accent, which they called t *circumflex*, at firſt marked thus (ˆ), and afterwa thus (˜), which comprehended both tones.

The grammarians introduced accents in writin (for they are not of the earlieſt antiquity) to diſti guiſh the ſignification of ſome words otherw equivocal, to make the cadences more harmonio to vary the tones, and to direct when to raiſe depreſs the voice.

We uſe them alſo in the French language, b in a different manner. The *acute* accent is alwa put over the é ſhut, as *temerité*, &c; the *grave* a cent is over the è open, followed with the letter at the end of words; *procès*, &c. The *circumfl* accent is put over certain long (*) vowels; *depô* *enfant mâle*, &c.

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* *Or from being uſed at firſt to denote the eliſion of the letter when written as pronounced: All the old French books have* depo maſle.

The

ıere are a thouſand obſervations of a like na- to which we lend little or no attention. ngſt the Greeks and Romans, all children, from earlieſt years, learned the rules of grammar ly, which became natural to them by long From whence the meaneſt of the people at ns and Rome knew, to a tittle, the leaſt defect e orators or actors, in regard to accent or ity, and were ſenſibly diſguſted at it.

mit a great number of celebrated gramma- who afterwards diſtinguiſhed themſelves by great learning.

LIUS POLLUX of Naucratia, a city of Egypt, ft us his *Onomaſticon*, a work highly eſteemed any of the learned. He lived in the ſecond ry, in the reign of the Emperor Commodus. the interval of time, between the ſeventh cen- and the taking of Conſtantinople by Maho- the Second, in 1453, we find ſeveral learned marians, who took abundance of pains to ex- the Greek authors, and render them intelli- . Such are amongſt others HESYCHIUS, the r of an excellent dictionary, of great uſe for rſtanding the poets: THE GREAT ETYMOLO-, SUIDAS, who compoſed a great hiſtorical grammatical dictionary, in which there is dance of erudition: JOHN TZETZES, author hiſtory in thirteen books, under the name of *ades*; and his brother ISAAC, commentator Lycophron: EUSTATHIUS, archbiſhop of ſalonica, author of a large comment upon ıer; and many others.

ARTICLE II.

LATIN GRAMMARIANS

SUETONIUS, in his book *Of Illuſt* *Grammarians*, tells us, that grammar of was ſo far from being in honour, that it was ſo much as in uſe at Rome, becauſe the an Romans valued themſelves much more upon b warlike than learned; and that Crates of Ma of whom we have ſpoken above, was the firſt introduced the ſtudy of grammar at Rome. T antient grammarians, at the ſame time, ta rhetoric, or at leaſt prepared their ſcholars for ſtudy by preliminary exerciſes.

Amongſt the twenty illuſtrious grammarians n tioned by Suetonius, we find:

Aurelius Opilius, who at firſt taught pl ſophy, afterwards rhetoric, and at laſt gramr I have already obſerved, that this art was of m greater extent than with us.

Marcus Antonius Gniphon, who alſo ta rhetoric in the houſe of Julius Cæſar, when a cl Cicero, during his prætorſhip, heard his lectur

Atteius, ſirnamed the Philologer. Salluſt Aſinius Pollio were his diſciples.

Verrius Flaccus, who compoſed a collec of words of difficult conſtruction, abridged af wards by Feſtus Pompeius. He was præcepto Auguſtus's grandſons.

Caius Julius Hyginius, Auguſtus's fr man and library-keeper; to whom a treatiſe u mythology, and another upon poetical aſtrono are aſcribed.

Marcus Pomponius Marcellus, who ſumed to criticiſe upon a ſpeech of Tiberius. A

en Atteius Capito endeavoured to juſtify it, by
intaining, that the word criticiſed by this gram-
rian was Latin, or if it was not, yet being
opted, it would be ſo; Pomponius made that
morable anſwer, *You can make men free of the*
, *Cæſar*, *but not words.*

REMMIUS PALÆMON of Vicentia, who, in the
gns of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius,
ing rendered himſelf famous by his great erudi-
n, and facility in ſpeaking and making verſes
emporaneouſly, diſgraced himſelf as much by
bad morals and arrogance.

Beſides the antient grammarians, whoſe lives
tonius has abridged, there were others, whoſe
nes do honour to this art, though they did not
h it in any other manner than by their writings;
Varro, Cicero, Meſſala, and Julius Cæſar; for
ſe great perſonages thought it no diſhonour to
nſelves to treat on ſuch ſubjects.

To avoid prolixity, I omit many learned gram-
ians, of whom ſeveral will recur in the enſuing
pter, where I ſhall treat of Philologers. Thoſe
may be curious to collect all the Latin authors
n this ſubject, will find them in the collection of
antient grammarians, publiſhed by Elias Putſ-
us in 1605, two volumes *in quarto*. An excel-
book, and very neceſſary to all thoſe who teach
Latin tongue, is *the Minerva* of Sanctius, with
notes of Scioppius and Perizonius.

SHORT REFLECTIONS.

Upon the progreſs and alteration of languages.

T is ſurpriſing to conſider the manner in which
languages are formed, augmented, and attain
r perfection; and how, after a certain courſe of
s, they degenerate and corrupt.

God, the ſole author of the primitive tongu
(and how could man have invented them?) int
duced the uſe of them to puniſh and fruſtrate
fooliſh undertaking of men, who, before they
perſed themſelves into different regions, were
rendering themſelves immortal by erecting the m
ſuperb ſtructure that had ever appeared upon
face of the earth. Till then mankind, who ir
manner formed but one family, ſpoke alſo but
language. On a ſudden, by the moſt ſurpriſing
prodigies, God obliterated from the human mi
the antient traces and remembrances of all
words it knew, and ſubſtituted new ones in th
ſtead, which in an inſtant formed new languag
It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that in diſperſing the
ſelves into different countries, each joined him
with thoſe whoſe language he underſtood, as th
did his.

I ſhall confine myſelf to the ſons of Javan,
the Hebrew *Javan* is the ſame as *Ion*) from wh
deſcended the Ionians, that is to ſay, the Gree
Behold then the Greek language eſtabliſhed amo
them, entirely different from the Hebrew, (I
this, on the ſuppoſition that the Hebrew was
language of the firſt man) different, not only
reſpect of words, but the manner of declini
nouns and conjugating verbs, inflexions, tur
phraſes, number, and ſound or cadence. For
is remarkable, that God has given each langu
a peculiar genius and character, which diſtinguiſ
it from allothers, and of which the effect is ſenſib
though the reaſon of it be almoſt infinite and in
hauſtible. To the multitude of Greek words, w
which their memory was furniſhed in theſe f
times, uſe, neceſſity, invention, the exerciſe
arts, and perhaps even convenience and embelli
ment, occaſioned the addition of new ones. T
Greek *radices (roots or radical words)* are compu

Rad. Græc. de Port Royal.

: two thouſand one hundred and fifty-ſix. The rative or compound words very much augment a number, and are multiplied to infinity: no uage is near ſo copious and abundant as the k.

itherto we have in a manner only ſeen the er of the Greek language, that is to ſay, the ls of which it is compoſed, that were almoſt y the gift of the Creator and neceſſity. The connexion, and diſpoſition of theſe words, occaſion for the aids of art. It is obſerved, amongſt thoſe who uſed this language, ſome e better than others, and expreſſed their thoughts clearer, more compact, emphatical, and agree- manner. Theſe were taken for models, were ed with care, and had obſervations made upon diſcourſes, whether in writing, or only by l of mouth. And this gave birth to what we grammar, which is no more than a collection ſervations upon a language: a very important, ther abſolutely neceſſary, work, for fixing the of a tongue, reducing them to a method that itates the ſtudy of them, clearing up their ts and difficulties, explaining and removing uſes and modes of ſpeech, and conducting, by ble and judicious reflections, to all the beauty hich it is ſuſceptible.

Ve know nothing of the beginning nor progreſs he Greek tongue. The poems of Homer are moſt antient work we have in that language; the elocution of them is ſo perfect, that no re age has been capable of adding any thing . This perfection of language ſubſiſted and erved itſelf longer amongſt the Greeks than any r nation of the world. Theocritus lived above undred years after Homer. All the poets who riſhed during that long interval, except a very ll number, are eſteemed excellent with regard

to

to language, in their ſeveral ways. The ſame m be almoſt ſaid of the orators, hiſtorians, and pl loſophers. The univerſal and prevailing taſte the Greeks for arts, the eſteem they always had f eloquence, their care in cultivating their languag which was the only one they learned, diſdaini generally the Roman, tho' ſpoken by their maſter all this conſpired to ſupport the Greek tongue in purity during many ages, till the tranſlation of t empire to Conſtantinople. The mixture of Lat and the decline of the empire, which induced t decay of the arts, ſoon after occaſioned a ſenſil alteration in the Greek language.

The Romans, ſolely intent upon eſtabliſhing a ſecuring their conqueſts by the method of ar had little regard at firſt to the embelliſhment a improvement of their tongue. The ſmall remai which we have of the annals of the pontiffs, laws of the twelve tables, and ſome other mor ments, few in number, ſhew how groſs and i perfect it was in thoſe early times. It afterwar by little and little, grew more copious, and enla ed itſelf inſenſibly. It borrowed a great num of words from the Greek, which it dreſſed after own mode, and in a manner naturaliſed; an vantage the Greeks had not. We may perceive this day the taſte of the Greek language in the Latin poets, ſuch as Pacuvius, Ennius, and Plaut eſpecially in the compound words with which t abound. What we have of the diſcourſes of Ca the Gracchi, and the other orators of their tim ſhews a language already of great copiouſneſs energy, and that wanted nothing but beauty, poſition, and harmony.

The more frequent communication Rome h with Greece, after having conquered it, introdu an entire change in it with reſpect to language, well as taſte for eloquence and poetry, two thi

wh

w ch ſeem inſeparable. To compare Plautus with
ence, and Lucretius with Virgil, one would be
to believe them many ages remote from each
er; and however they were divided only by
e few years. The epocha of reviving, or rather
bliſhing, pure Latinity at Rome, may be fixed
Terence, and continued to the death of Auguſtus;
ething more than an hundred and fifty years.
is was the happy age of Rome with regard to
te learning and arts, or as it is called the golden
d *Auguſtan*] age, in which a crowd of authors
he higheſt merit carried the purity and elegance
diction to their utmoſt height, by writings en-
ly different as to ſtile and matter, but all
ally diſtinguiſhed by pure Latinity and eleva-
n of taſte.

This rapid progreſs of the Latin tongue will be
ſurpriſing, if we remember that ſuch perſons as
pio Africanus the younger, and Lælius, on the
ſide, and Cicero and Cæſar on the other, did
diſdain, in the midſt of their important occupa-
ns, the former to lend their hands and pens to a
ic poet, and the latter to compoſe treatiſes them-
es upon grammar.

This purity of language continually declined
m the death of Auguſtus, as well as the taſte
found eloquence; for their fate is almoſt always
ſame. There needs no great diſcernment to
ceive a ſenſible difference between the authors of
Auguſtan age, and thoſe who ſucceeded it.
t two hundred years after the difference is ex-
ive, as we may eaſily obſerve in reading the
hors, who have written the hiſtory of Auguſtus.
e purity of language was preſerved almoſt ſolely
d that too not without ſome alteration) amongſt
civilians Ulpian, Papinian, Paulus, &c.

do not know whether it were juſt to ſay the
of language and that of taſte were always the

ſame.

ſame. We have old French authors, as Mar Amiot, Montaigne, and others, the reading whom ſtill pleaſes infinitely, and, no doubt, w for ever pleaſe. What is it we love and eſteem theſe authors? Not their language, becauſe in th days we could not ſuffer any thing like it. It ſomething more eaſily conceived than expreſſed: ſimple and genuine air, a fine tour of imaginatio natural manners, a nobleneſs and majeſty of ſt without affectation or bombaſt, and eſpecially t ſentiments of nature, which flow from, and reac the heart: in a word, it is that taſte of antie Greece and Rome, which is of all ages and natior and diffuſes through writings a certain ſalt, t ſpirit and delicacy of which every reader of geni perceives, whilſt it adds a new value to the for and ſolidity of the matter with which it is united.

But why does not this old language pleaſe ſtil I ſpeak only in regard to words. We want abu dance in our language, and theſe old authors ha excellent ones; ſome clear, ſimple, and natura and others full of force and energy. I always wiſ ed, that ſome able hand would make a ſmall co lection of both kinds, that is to ſay, of ſuch as v want, and might regain, to ſhew us our error neglecting the progreſs and improvement of ou language as we do, and to rebuke our ſtupid ind lence in this point. For if the French tongue, othe wiſe rich and opulent, experiences on certain occ ſions a kind of barrenneſs and poverty, it is to ou own falſe delicacy we ſhould impute them. Wh ſhould we not inrich it with new and exceller terms, which our own antient authors, or even th neighbouring nations, might ſupply, as we ſee th Engliſh actually do the ſame with great ſucceſs? am ſenſible, that we ſhould be very diſcreet and re ſerved in this point: but we ought not to carry ou diſcretion to a narrow puſillanimity.

W

Ve have reaſon to believe, that our language ha attained the higheſt perfection of which it is able; and of this the honour of its being adopted nto almoſt all the courts of Europe ſeems a gl ious proof. If it be defective in any thing, it s, in my opinion, only with regard to a richer a ndance; notwithſtanding good ſpeakers ſcarce ceive, that it wants any words for the expreſſion of houghts; but it would admit a greater number. F nce had in the laſt age, and ſtill has, writers of diſtinguiſhed merit, highly capable of acquiring this new advantage. But they reſpect and fear h public. They make it, with reaſon, a duty to form to, and not to claſh with, its taſte. Hence, avoid incurring its diſpleaſure, they hardly dare ture any new expreſſion, and leave the language this point where they found it. It would there- e be incumbent on the public, for the honour of language and nation, to be leſs delicate and ere; and alſo on authors, to become a little leſs norous; but, I repeat it, great diſcretion and re- ve are always neceſſary in uſing this liberty.

But I do not perceive, that whilſt I venture my lections upon our language in this manner, my- f perhaps may ſeem wanting in reſpect for the blic; which would be very contrary to my in- tion. I conclude this article with taking the erty to acquaint the reader again, that this dy is of great importance, and ſhould by no eans be neglected. It is with joy I ſee the French ammar regularly taught in ſeveral claſſes of the iverſity.

That of Mr. Reſtaut.

CHAPTER II.

OF PHILOLOGERS.

THOSE who have applied their ſtudies examining, correcting, explaining, and publiſhing the antient authors, are called *Philologers* they profeſs univerſal learning, including all ſciences and authors, in which antiently the principa and moſt noble part of the grammarian's art conſiſted. By philology therefore is underſtood a ſpecies of ſcience containing grammar, rhetoric, poetry, antiquities, hiſtory, philoſophy, and ſometime even mathematics, phyſic, and civil law; withou treating any of theſe ſubjects either in whole or in part, but occaſionally uſing all or any of them. I do not know for what reaſon this philology, which has done ſo much honour to the Scaligers, Salmaſius's, Cauſabons, Voſſius's, Sirmondius's, Gronovius's, &c. and which is ſtill ſo much cultivated in England, Germany, and Italy, is almoſt deſpiſed in France, where we ſet no value upon any thing beſides exact and perfect ſciences, ſuch as phyſics, geometry, &c. Our academy of Belles Lettres, which, under that name, includes all the ſpecies of erudition antient and modern, and publiſhes every year, in its memoirs, treatiſes upon all manner of ſubjects, may contribute very much to revive and augment this taſte for philology and erudition amongſt us. I ſhall here give a brief account of ſome of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in this kind of literature, mingling Greeks and Romans together.

ERATOSTHENES.

tonius ſays, that Eratoſthenes was the firſt De Illuſtr.
vas called a *Philologer*. He was a native of Grammat.
e, and became library-keeper of Alexandria. c. 10.
ed in the time of Ptolomæus Philadelphus, Olymp. 146.
ad applied himſelf to all kinds of ſcience, Ant. J. C.
t thoroughly cultivating any one, as thoſe 200.
o make one their ſole ſtudy in order to ex-
it. This occaſioned his being nicknamed Suidas.
, becauſe, though not capable of aſpiring to
ſt rank in any particular ſcience, he had at
attained the ſecond in all in general. He
fourſcore years, and ſtarved himſelf to death,
eing able to ſurvive the loſs of ſight with
he was afflicted. I ſhall have occaſion to
of him again elſewhere. Ariſtophanes of By-
m, maſter of the famous critic Ariſtarchus,
is diſciple.

VARRO.

V ro (*Marc. Terentius*) was eſteemed the moſt
d of all the Romans. He was born in the A. M.
year of Rome, and died in the 726th, at the 3619.
ninety. He aſſures us himſelf, that he had Apud
ſed almoſt five hundred volumes upon diffe- Aul.
bjects, of which he dedicated that upon the Gell. l. 3.
tongue to Cicero. He wrote a treatiſe upon c. 10. A. M.
ife, *De re ruſtica*, which is very much eſteem- 3709.
Both theſe pieces are come down to us.
St Auſtin admires and extols in many places
ſt erudition of this learned Roman. He has
ved the plan of Varro's great work upon the
n antiquities, conſiſting of forty-one books.
f this work Cicero ſpeaks, addreſſing himſelf

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* *The ſecond letter of the Greek alphabet.*

to Varro: "We * were before, ſays he, in a r "ner ſtrangers, that did not know our way in "own city. Your books have as it were ſ "right, and informed us who, and where. "are." After the enumeration Cicero mak them, St. Auguſtine cries out with admirat "Varro † read ſo great a number of books, "it is wonderful he could find time to com "any himſelf, and however compoſed ſo m "that one can hardly conceive how one "could read them all."

It was difficult to write ſo many works in an gant and polite ſtile. And the ſame St. Auſtir ſerves, ‡ that Cicero praiſes Varro as a man oſ netrating wit and profound learning, not as or great eloquence and refinement of diction.

ASCONIUS PEDIANUS.

Aſconius Pedianus, cited by Pliny the natur and by Quintilian, lived in the reigns of Nero Veſpaſian. We have a fragment of his note comments upon ſeveral of Cicero's orations. may be ſaid to have been the model of moſt o Latin critics and ſcholiaſts who ſucceeded him, of ſuch as applied themſelves after him in exp ing authors.

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[*] Nos, inquit, in noſtra urbe peregrinantes erranteſque, tan hoſpites, tui libri quaſi domum reduxerunt, ut poſſemus aliq qui & ubi eſſemus cognoſcere. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 9.

[†] Varro tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei ſcribere vacaſſe mir tam multa vix quemquam legere potuiſſe credamus. *De Dei,* l. 6. c. 2.

[‡] Cum Marco Varrone, homine, inquit, omnium facilè acuti & ſine ullâ dubitatione doctiſſimo. Non ait, eloquentiſſimo cundiſſimo; quoniam re vera in hac facultate multum imp *S. Auguſt.* ibid.

PLINY THE ELDER.

ny (*C. Plinius ſecundus*) called the elder, might iked amongſt the hiſtorians, or rather amongſt hiloſophers who have treated of phyſics. But ultiplicity of the ſubjects he ſpeaks of, in his s of natural hiſtory, made me conceive I might him amongſt the philologers.

ny was born at Verona, and lived in the firſt ry, under Veſpaſian and Titus, who honoured vith their eſteem, and employed him in different ffairs. He ſerved in the armies with diſtinc- was admitted into the college of augurs, was overnor into Spain; and notwithſtanding the ſpent in his employments, he found enough plication to a great number of works, which tunately are loſt, except his *natural hiſtory* in -ſeven books: * A work, ſays Pliny the ger, of infinite extent and erudition, and al- as various as nature itſelf: Stars, planets; hail, , rain; trees, plants, flowers; metals, mine- animals of every kind, terreſtrial, aquatic, ile; geographical deſcriptions of countries and ; he takes in all, and leaves nothing in nature t without an induſtrious examination. To oſe this work, he peruſed almoſt two thouſand nes.

e takes † care to inform the reader, that he the time for this work, not out of that which ublic affairs he was charged with required, is hours of reſt, and ſuch only as would other- have been loſt. Pliny the younger, his ne- Ep. 5. l3. , tells us, that he led a ſimple and frugal life,

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pus diffuſum, eruditum, nec minus varium quàm ipſa natura. *piſt.* 5. l. 3.

ucceſſivis temporibus iſta curamus, id eſt, nocturnis. *Præf.*

ſlept little, and made the moſt of his time, at meals, making ſomebody to read to him; anc travelling, having always his books, tablets, copyiſt by his ſide: for he read nothing witl making extracts from it. He conceived, that naging his time in this manner was adding to length of his life, the duration of which is m *In Præfat.* abridged by ſleep: *Pluribus horis vivimus: pro enim vita vigilia eſt.*

Pliny was far from having the low vanity ſome authors, who are not aſhamed to copy ot without quoting them. "Probity * and hon "in my opinion, ſays he, require, that we ſh "pay a kind of homage to thoſe, whoſe lear "and knowledge are uſeful to us, by a ſincere "ingenuous confeſſion of it." He compares author, who makes an advantage of another's bours without owning it, to a perſon who borr money and pays uſury for it: with this differe however, that the debtor, by the intereſt he p does not diſcharge the principal ſum lent hi whereas an author, by the frank confeſſion of v he borrows, gains it in ſome meaſure, and m it his own. From whence he concludes, that meanneſs of ſpirit and baſeneſs to be better ple with being ſhamefully detected in theft, than i nuouſly to confeſs a debt. I have made my very rich in the latter way, and at no great pence.

He perfectly underſtood all the difficulty and conveniencies of an undertaking like his, in w the ſubject he treats on is of its own nature ungr ful, barren, and tedious, without leaving any r writer to diſplay his genius. But * he was nced, that the public are not a little obliged athors who prefer being uſeful to pleaſing it; who, from that view, have the courage to ſur-it and undergo all the pains of a tedious and areeable labour.

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* In his voluminibus auctorum nomina prætexui. Eſt enir nignum, ut arbitror, & plenum ingenui pudoris, fateri per profeceris.—Obnoxii profectò animi, & infelicis ingenii eſt, d hendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere, cum præſertim nat ex uſura. *In Præfat.*

flatters himſelf, that he ſhall be pardoned l the faults he may commit; which are in-very numerous, as they were inevitable in a of ſo vaſt an extent, and ſo prodigious a y.

iny dedicated his work to Titus, at that time ſt aſſociated in the empire by Veſpaſian his fa- and who afterwards became the delight of ind. He gives him a ſhort, but very exalted , in telling him: "Your exaltation has made other change in you, but that of inabling u to do all the good you deſire, by making ur power equal to the benevolence of your art.": *Nec quicquam in te mutavit fortunæ am-lo, niſi ut prodeſſe tantundem poſſes & velles.* Epiſt. 16. l. 6.

iny the younger tells us, in a letter, which he eſſes to Tacitus the hiſtorian, the ſad accident occaſioned his uncle's death. He was at Mi-n, where he commanded the fleet. Being in-ed that a cloud appeared of extraordinary nitude and form, he put to ſea, and ſoon diſ-red that it came from mount Veſuvius. He e all the haſte he could to get to a place from nce every body elſe fled, and to that part of it e the danger ſeemed greateſt; but with ſuch edom of ſpirit and unconcern, that he made dictated obſervations upon every extraordinary arance that aroſe. His ſhips were already co-

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Equidem ita ſentio, peculiarem in ſtudiis cauſam eorum eſſe, difficultatibus victis, utilitatem juvandi prætulerunt gratiæ pla-. *Ibid.*

vered with aſhes, which fell the thicker and hot
the nearer they approached the mountain. Alre
calcined ſtones and flints, all black, burnt, and p
veriſed by the violence of the fire, poured d
around them. Pliny deliberated ſome time w
ther he ſhould return back: but, having re-aſſu
himſelf, he went forwards, landed at Stabiæ,
went to the houſe of his friend Pomponia
whom he found in the greateſt terror, and end
voured to encourage. After ſupper he went
bed, and ſlept ſoundly, till the approach of d
ger obliged them to wake him. The houſes w
ſhaken in ſuch a manner by repeated earthqua
that one would have thought they had been t
from their foundations. The family went into
fields. I omit abundance of circumſtances. T
dark and frightful night, that hung over all,
no other light than what it received from the
of the mountain. Flames that appeared of an
uſual vaſtneſs, and the ſmell of ſulphur, wh
foretold their approach, made every body tak
to their heels. Pliny roſe by the help of two
vants, and that very moment fell down dead,
parently ſuffocated by the thickneſs of the ſmok

This was the end of the learned Pliny.
cannot but be pleaſed with a nephew, for hav
drawn ſo well the death of his uncle, and hav
ſeen nothing in it but fortitude, courage, in
pidity, and greatneſs of ſoul. But to judge o
rightly, can we acquit an enterpriſe of raſhn
in which a man hazards his life, and what is m
to be condemned, that of others, only to ſati
his curioſity?

It remains for me to conclude this article wit
word or two upon Pliny's ſtile, which is peculia
him, and like that of no other writer. We m
not expect to find in it either the purity, elega
or admirable ſimplicity of the Auguſtan age, fr
which however it was not removed very many ye

roper character is force, energy, vivacity, and, ht ſay, even boldneſs, as well in his expreſ- as thoughts, with a wonderful fertility of nation, to paint and make the objects he de- s ſenſible. But it muſt alſo be owned, that le is ſtiff and cramped, and thereby often ob- ; and that his thoughts frequently ſwell beyond and are exceſſive, and even falſe. I ſhall vour to ſhew this by ſome examples.

ny explains the wonders contained in the mat- Lib. 19. in Proœm. which ſails for ſhips are made, that is to ſay, x and * hemp. Man ſows only a ſmall ſeed in round, which ſuffices to make him maſter of inds, and to ſubject them to his occaſions. out mentioning an infinite number of uſes of flax and hemp, what can be more won- l, than to ſee an herb make Egypt and Italy ach each other, notwithſtanding the ſea that ates them? And what herb is this? A ſmall, r, weak blade, that ſcarce raiſes itſelf above round, that of itſelf forms neither a firm body bſtance, and requires to be prepared for our by being broken and reduced to the ſoftneſs ol. Yet little as this plant is, we are indebt- it for the facility of tranſporting ourſelves one end of the world to the other: *Seritur . Sed in qua non occurrit vitæ parte? quodve ulum majus, herbam eſſe quæ admoveat Ægyptum .—Denique tam parvo ſemine naſci, quod orbem rum ultro citroque portet, tam gracili avena, tam ltè a terra tolli; neque id viribus ſuis necti, ſed n, tuſumque, & in mollitiem lanæ coactum!*

e gives a magnificent idea of the grandeur Lib. 3. c. 5. majeſty of the Roman empire. Rome, ſays s the mother at the ſame time and nurſe of the rſe; choſen expreſsly by the gods to render

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* *Pliny mentions only flax.*

heaven itſelf more illuſtrious, to unite all the
pires diſperſed over the whole earth, to refin
ſoften manners and cuſtoms, to reduce to one
the ſame language the barbarous and diſco
tongues of ſo many nations, to eſtabliſh am
them by that means an eaſy and ſalutary comm
to communicate to man the laws of humanit
a word, to make that city the common count
all the people of the univerſe: *Terra (Italia)*
nium terrarum alumna, eadem & parens; *numine*
electa, quæ cælum ipſum clarius faceret, ſparſa co
garet imperia, rituſque molliret, & tot populorun
cordes feraſque linguas ſermonis commercio contrahe
colloquia, & humanitatem homini daret; *brevit*
una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.

I ſhall only add one more paſſage in this p
which ſeemed very remarkable to me, and re
Lib. 7. to all of us. It is with reaſon, ſays Pliny, th
in Procem. give man the firſt rank amongſt all creatures,
for whom nature ſeems to have formed all ot
but ſhe makes him pay dear for all her preſ
ſo that we do not know whether we have
room to conſider her in regard to him as an ir
gent parent, or a rigid ſtep-mother. All other
mals come into the world, each in a different
to cover it; man is the only one that ſtand
need of a foreign aid to cloath him. He is thr
at his birth ſtark naked upon the ground as n
as himſelf. The firſt ſigns of life that he
are * cries, lamentations, and tears, which is no

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* *The Latin tongue has a peculiar word to expreſs the cries*
fants, vagitus; *as it alſo has for that of oxen, cows, and bulls*
gitus; *and that of lions*, rugitus. *Our language has adopted th*
laſt words, mugiſſement, rugiſſement. *I know not why it ſhou*
do the ſame in regard to the firſt, and uſe vagiſſement, *which is*
ſame mode of analogy. This word might offend at firſt through
velty; but we ſhould inſenſibly accuſtom ourſelves to it as well
the others. For my part, not having ſufficient authority with th

with any of the other animals. To this firſt uſe
ch he makes of the light, ſucceed the folds and
dages in which all his members are wrapt and
nd up, a thing no leſs particular to him. It is
is condition the king of animals, over whom
is deſtined to reign, finds himſelf, as ſoon as
n, tied hand and foot, and venting ſobs and
eks. His life begins with torments and inflic-
s for the ſole crime of being born.. How
nge is the folly of mankind to imagine them-
es, after ſuch beginnings, born for pride and
p. *Principium jure tribuetur homini, cujus cauſa*
tur cunctа alia genuiſſe natura, magna ſæva mer-
contra tanta ſua munera; non ſit ut ſatis æſtimare,
ns melior homini, an triſtior noverca fuerit. Ante
a, unum animantium cunctorum alienis velat opi-
cæteris variè tegmenta tribuit.——Hominem tan-
nudum, & in nuda humo, natali die abjicit ad va-
ſtatim & ploratum, nullumque tot animalium aliud
lacrymas, & has protinus vitæ principio.——Ab
lucis rudimento, quæ ne feras quidem inter nos ge-
, vincula excipiunt, & omnium membrorum nexus.
ue fæliciter natus jacet, manibus pedibuſque de-
tis, flens animal cæteris imperaturum; & a ſup-
is vitam auſpicatur unam tantùm ob culpam, quia
m eſt. Heu dementiam ab his initiis exiſtimantium
ſuperbiam ſe genitos! The pagans had a right
e of man's miſery from his birth, but did not
w the cauſe of it, as St. Auguſtin obſerves,
king of Cicero: *Rem vidit, cauſam non vidit.*

, dared not venture it, and contented myſelf, with ſome regret, to
ly to myſelf, ~~*with ſome regret, to ſay only to myſelf*~~:

—— Ego cur acquirere pauca
Si poſſum, invideor? —— *Horat.*

he Tranſlator thought proper to retain this note, becauſe it is an
ple of what the author has ſaid above in the text, upon intro-
g new words into a language, and may ſerve for ours as well
e French.

Theſe few paſſages which I have here quote
from Pliny, and have tranſlated as well as I coul
without being able to render the energy of the or
ginal, may ſuffice to give the reader ſome idea
his ſtile and character. I ſhould obſerve, before
conclude, upon the induſtrious art of the author
now ſpeak of. His work, which takes in all natu
ral hiſtory, and treats circumſtantially an infinit
of ſubjects, abſolutely neceſſary to his plan, b
intirely diſagreeable in themſelves, abounds almo
every where with thorns and brambles, which pr
ſent nothing grateful to the reader, and are ver
capable of giving him diſguſt. Pliny, like an ab
writer, to prevent, or at leaſt to leſſen this diſtaſt
has taken care to interſperſe here and there ſom
flowers, to throw into ſome of his narratives abu
dance of graces and ſpirit, and to adorn almoſt a
the prefaces, which he places in the front of eac
of his books, with fine and ſolid reflections.

LUCIAN.

Lucian, a Greek author, was born at Samoſat
the capital of Comagena, a province of Syria,
parents of very moderate condition. His fathe
not having any fortune to give him, reſolved t
make him learn a trade. But the beginnings n
being very much in his favour, he applied himſe
to literature, upon a dream, true or fictitious, r
lated in the beginning of his works. I ſhall giv
an extract of it in this place, which may contr
bute to the reader's having an idea of his geni
and ſtile.

I was fifteen years old, ſays he, when I left o
going to ſchool, at which time my father conſulte
with his friends how to diſpoſe of me. Several di
not approve my being brought up to letters, b
cauſe much time and expence were neceſſary f

ſs in them. They conſidered that I was not
and that in learning a trade, I ſhould ſoon be
to ſupply myſelf with the means of life, with-
being a charge to my father or family. This
e was followed, and I was put into the hands
uncle, who was an excellent ſculptor. I did
diſlike this art, becauſe I had amuſed myſelf
early in making little works of wax, in which
ceeded tolerably well: beſides which, ſculp-
did not ſeem ſo much a trade to me, as an
nt diverſion. I was therefore ſet to work, to
ow I ſhould take to it. But I began by laying
e chiſſel ſo clumſily upon the ſtone, which
een given me to work upon, and was very
that it broke under the weight of my fiſts.
uncle was ſo violently angry, that he could
elp giving me ſeveral blows: ſo that my ap-
iceſhip began with tears.

an home crying bitterly, and related this un-
nate adventure, ſhewing the marks of the
; I had received, which exceedingly afflicted
nother. In the evening I went to bed, and
othing but ruminate upon what had happened
ght. In my ſleep I had a dream, which made
y lively impreſſion upon me. I thought I
wo women. The one was rough and un-
ed, with dirty hands, ſleeves tucked up, and
ce all covered with ſweat and duſt, in ſhort,
as my uncle was when at work. The other
. graceful air, a ſweet and ſmiling aſpect, and
very neat, though modeſt, in her attire. Af-
ving eagerly pulled me to and fro, to make me
ne of them, they referred the deciſion of their
ence to my own choice, and pleaded their
alternately.

e firſt began thus: " Son, I am ſculpture,
om you have lately eſpouſed, and whom you
ve known from your infancy, your uncle hav-

" ing made himſelf very famous by me. If y
" will follow me, without hearkening to the ſoo
" ing words of my rival, I will render you il
" ſtrious, not like her, by words, but deeds. I
" beſides, that you will become ſtrong and vig
" rous like me, you ſhall require an eſtimation n
" ſubject to envy, nor one day the cauſe of yo
" ruin, like the charms of her who now endeavo
" to ſeduce you. For the reſt, be not in p
" upon account of my habit; it is that of P
" dias and Polycletus, and thoſe other great ſcu
" tors, who, when alive, were adored for th
" works, and who are ſtill adored with the g
" that they made. Conſider how much praiſe
" glory you will acquire by treading in their ſte
" and what joy you will give your father
" family." This is very near what this lady
to me in a rude groſs tone, as artiſans ſpeak,
with force and vivacity. After which, the o
addreſſed herſelf to me in theſe words.

" I am erudition, who preſide over all
" branches of polite knowledge. Sculpture
" diſplayed the advantages you would have w
" her. But if you hearken to her, you will
" ways continue a miſerable artificer, expoſed
" the contempt and inſults of the world, and co
" pelled to make your court to the great for
" ſiſtence. Should you even become the
" excellent in your art, you will only be admi
" whilſt none will envy your condition. Bu
" you follow me, I will teach you whateve
" moſt noble and moſt excellent in the unive
" and whatever antiquity boaſts of remarkable
" will adorn thy ſoul with the moſt exalted
" tues, ſuch as modeſty, juſtice, piety, huma
" equity, prudence, patience, and the lov
" whatever is virtuous and laudable: for theſ
" the real ornaments of the ſoul. Inſtead of

" n

mean dreſs of your's, I will beſtow upon thee a majeſtic one, like that thou ſeeſt me wear; and from poor and unknown, I will render thee illuſtrious and opulent, worthy of the higheſt employments, and capable of attaining them. If hou deſireſt to travel into foreign countries, I will cauſe thy renown to go before thee. People will come from all parts to conſult thee as an oracle: the whole world will homage and adore thee. I will even give thee ſo much boaſted immortality, and make thee ſurvive for ever in the remembrance of men. Conſider what Æſchines and Demoſthenes, the admiration of all ages, became by my means. Socrates, who at firſt followed Sculpture, my rival, no ſooner knew me, than he abandoned her for me. Has he had cauſe to repent his choice? Will you enounce ſuch honours, riches, and authority, to ollow a poor unknown, who has nothing to give thee, but the mallet and chiſſel, the low nſtruments ſhe holds in her hands, who is reduced to get the means of life by the ſweat of her brows, and to be more intent on poliſhing a piece of ſtone, than in poliſhing herſelf?"

he had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, than ſtruck h her promiſes, and not having yet forgot the ws I had received, I ran to embrace her almoſt ore ſhe ceaſed to ſpeak. The other, tranſport- with rage and indignation, was immediately nged into a ſtatue, as is related of Niobe. Eru- on thereupon, to reward my choice, made me nd with her into her chariot, and touching her ged horſes, ſhe carried me from eaſt to weſt, king me ſcatter univerſally, ſomething I know what, of cœleſtial and divine, that cauſed manid to look up with aſtoniſhment, and to load me h bleſſings and praiſes. She afterwards brought me back into my own country, crowned with h nour and glory; and reſtoring me to my fathe who expected me with great impatience: "B "hold," ſaid ſhe to him, pointing to the robe had on, "of how exalted a fortune you would ha "deprived your ſon, had I not interpoſed." He ended my dream.

Lucian concludes this ſhort diſcourſe with o ſerving, that his deſign, in relating this drear which ſeems entirely a fiction of his own, was inculcate the love of virtue in youth, and to enco rage them by his example to ſurmount all t difficulties they may meet with in their cour and to conſider poverty as no obſtacle to re merit.

The effect this dream had, was to kindle in hi an ardent deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the ſtu of polite learning, to which he entirely devot himſelf. We may judge of the progreſs he ma in it, by the erudition that appears in his writin upon all manner of ſubjects; which gave me re ſon to place him amongſt the philologers.

He ſays himſelf, that he embraced the profeſſi of an advocate: but that abhorring the clamo and chicanery of the bar, he had recourſe to ph loſophy as to an aſylum.

It appears alſo from his writings, that he was rhetorician, who profeſſed eloquence, and con poſed declamations and harangues upon differe ſubjects, and even pleadings, though none of h making, have come down to us.

He ſettled firſt at Antioch; from whence went into Ionia and Greece, and afterwards in Gaul and Italy: but his longeſt reſidence was Athens. In his extreme old age, he accepted t office of regiſter to the præfect of Egypt. I ſha not enter into a circumſtantial account of the pa ticulars of his life, which are of little importan

ny ſubject. He lived to the reign of Commo-
di, to whom he inſcribed the hiſtory of Alexan-
d the Impoſtor, after the death of Marcus Au-
us.

Ie left abundance of writings upon different
ects. The purity of the Greek tongue, and
clear, agreeable, lively, and animated ſtile, in
ch they are wrote, give the reader great plea-
. In his dialogues of the dead, he has hit that
irable ſimplicity, and natural pleaſantry of hu-
ır, which are ſo well adapted to a manner of
ing, which is extremely difficult, though it
s not ſeem ſo, becauſe a vaſt number of perſon-
s, very different in their age and condition, are
oduced ſpeaking in it, each according to their
liar character.

His writings have this advantage, as Quintilian
obſerved of Cicero's, that they may be uſeful to
inners, and no leſs ſo to the more advanced.
is wonderful in his narration, and has an abun-
ce in him, which may be of great ſervice to
iuſes naturally dry and barren.

He treats fable in a manner at once agreeable and
proper to impreſs it upon the memory, which
f no ſmall advantage for the underſtanding of
poets. He paints admirably in a thouſand
es the miſeries of this life, the vanity of man-
d, the pride of the philoſophers, and the arro-
ce of the learned.

t is however true, that choice and diſcernment
neceſſary in reading this author, who, in many
his works, ſhews little reſpect for modeſty, and
kes open profeſſion of impiety, equally deriding
chriſtian religion, of which he ſpeaks in many
es with extreme contempt, and the pagan ſu-
ſtitions, of which he ſhews the ridicule. This Suidas.
aſioned his being called blaſphemer and atheiſt.
d indeed he followed the Epicurean philoſophy,

which

which differs little from atheiſm ; or rather he ha
neither religion, nor any fixed and conſtant pri
ciples, regarding every thing as uncertain a
problematical, and making every thing matter
jeſt.

Suidas ſays, it was generally believed that
was torn in pieces by dogs, as a judgment for h
preſumption in making Chriſt the ſubject of h
raillery: It were to be wiſhed that this fact w
better atteſted.

AULUS GELLIUS.

Aulus Gellius (or by corruption Agellius) was
grammarian, who lived in the ſecond century,
the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, and ſome oth
emperors his ſucceſſors. He ſtudied grammar
Rome, and philoſophy at Athens, under Calviſi
Taurus, from whence he afterwards returned
Rome.

Gell. in. Præf. He rendered himſelf famous by his *Noctes Attic*
which name he gave to a collection he made f
his children of whatever he had learned, that w
fine, either in reading authors, or from the conve
ſation of learned men. He called it ſo, becauſe h
had compoſed it at Athens during the winter, whe
the length of the nights afforded more time for ap
plication. Macrobius has copied ſeveral thing
from him without quoting him.

There does not ſeem to be any great diſcernme
in the topics he has choſen as the moſt conſide
able and moſt uſeful, which are generally gram
matical remarks of little importance. We ar
however, indebted to him for many fact and mon
ments of antiquity, no where elſe to be found. C
the twenty books that compoſe this work, the eigh
is entirely loſt ; nothing remaining of it but th
Lib. 20, c. 1. titles of the chapters. That wherein he tranſientl
treat

of the laws of the twelve tables is very much ned.

lus Gellius's ſtile does not want force, but is mixed with barbarous and improper words, render it hard and obſcure, and argues the e lived in, from which little purity and ele- is to be expected.

nongſt the particulars, which he tell us of his he obſerves, that whilſt he was very young, ; choſen by the prætors to adjudge ſome little s of private perſons, one was brought before n in which a man claimed a ſum of money, he pretended to have lent another. He proved nly by ſome circumſtances of no great cer- y, and had neither writing nor witneſs: but he man of unqueſtionable honour, irreproachable nd known integrity. His oppoſite, on the con- , who denied the debt, was notorious for his d avarice; and was proved to have been often icted of fraud and perfidy. Aulus Gellius, to lge this cauſe, had taken with him ſeveral of iends verſed in the buſineſs of the bar, but deſired nothing ſo much as diſpatch, having a deal of other affairs to attend. Hence they no difficulty to conlude, that a man could e obliged to pay a debt, when there was no fs thot he owed it.

Gell. l. 14. c. 2.

ulus Gellius could not reſolve to diſmiſs the in this manner, believing one of the parties capable of denying what he owed, and the incapable of demanding what was not his He therefore referred judgment to another and went to conſult Favorinus, who was then and at Rome: he was a philoſopher of great tation. Favorinus, upon his propoſing the to him, repeated a paſſage of Cato, which that on theſe occaſions, where proofs were wanting, the antient cuſtom of the Romans wa examine, which of the two were the honeſter m and, when they were equally ſo, or equally otherv to adjudge the cauſe in favour of the perſon ſı from whence Favorinus concluded, that with reg to two perſons, ſo different in their characters as parties in the cauſe, there was no difficulty to bel an honeſt man preferable to a knave. Whatever ſpect Aulus Gellius might have for this phil pher, he could not entirely give into his opini and, determining to do nothing againſt his c ſcience, he declined paſſing judgment in an af into which he could not ſufficiently penetrate. caſe would have no difficulty with us, becauſe pretended debtor would be put to his oath, and believed upon it.

ATHENÆUS.

Athenæus was of Naucratis, antiently a fam city of Egypt, upon an arm of the Nile that t its name from it. He lived in the reign of Emperor Commodus. He compoſed a work Greek, which he called *Dipnoſophiſta*, that is ſay, *the banquet of the learned*; which abounds w curious and learned enquiries, and gives abunda of light into the Grecian antiquities. We have o an abridgment or extracts of the firſt books of Dipnoſophiſta, made, as Caſaubon believes, at C ſtantinople, five or ſix hundred years ago.

Voſſ. hiſt. gr. l. 2. c. 15.

JULIUS POLLUX.

Julius Pollux was the countryman and cote porary of Athenæus. He inſcribed to Commod when only Cæſar, in the life-time of Marcus Au lius, the ten books which we have of his under title of *Onomaſticon*. It is a collection of the ſynor mous words by which the beſt Greek authors

pr

the ſame thing. He was apparently one of ræceptors of Commodus. He pleaſed that with his fine voice, who gave him the chair oſeſſor of eloquence, which had been founded ens. Philoſtratus, who places him amongſt phiſts, aſcribes to him a great knowledge of reek language, a taſte for what was well or ote, and genius enough for eloquence, but rt.

Philoſt. p. 589, 390.

SOLINUS.

Julius Solinus has left us a deſcription of the under the name of *Polyniſtor*. Voſſius re- nany opinions upon the time when this author and concludes, that all which can be ſaid of that he preceded St. Jerom, who cites him, ; to ſay, after the firſt century, and before d of the fourth. His work is only an extract ſeveral authors, particularly Pliny the Na- ſt, and is done with no great genius and judg-

Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. 3.

PHILOSTRATUS.

ere were many ſophiſts of this name. We ſpeak here only of him who wrote the life of onius Tyanæus. He was one of the learned that frequented the court of the empreſs Julia, ife of Severus. He profeſſed eloquence at ns, and afterwards at Rome, in the reign of us. The life of Apollonius, written by Damis, oſt zealous of his diſciples, which was pro- no more than memoirs very meanly compoſed, g fallen into Julia's hands, ſhe gave it to Phi- tus, who from thoſe memoirs, and what he extract from the works of Apollonius himſelf

Suidas.

Ant. J. C. 194.

ſelf, and other writings, compiled the hiſtory have of him.

Euſeb. in Hier.

Euſebius aſſerts, that it were eaſy to ſhew, a great part of his narration contradict themſel and breathe nothing but fable and romance. is he afraid to add, that his whole work abou with fictions and falſities. Photius, who briefly peats part of the facts of this hiſtory, treats m of them as impertinent fables. Suidas ſpeaks the ſame effect.

Phot. c. 44.

The latter, beſides the life of Apollonius, cribes many other writings to Philoſtratus, amongſt the reſt, four books of allegories and ſcriptions, which are ſtill extant, and have judged a work of great beauty, well ſuſtain and written with all the delicacy of the A tongue.

MACROBIUS.

This author, at the head of his works, is cal *Aurelius Theodoſius Ambroſius Macrobius.* To wh the epithet *Illuſtrious* is added, peculiar to thoſe vanced to the higheſt dignities of the empire. was of a country, where the Latin tongue was commonly ſpoke, that is to ſay, of Greece o the Eaſt, and lived in the reigns of Theodo and his children.

Though it is not certain that this author is Macrobius mentioned in the laws of Honorius Theodoſius, it is, however, ſcarce to be doubt but he lived about that time, as all the perſons introduces ſpeaking in his Saturnalia lived near it.

Saturn. l. 1. in Præfat.

He feigns this converſation, in order to coll all that he knew of antiquities, which he inten for the inſtruction of his ſon Euſtathius, to wh he addreſſes it. And as he aſſembles in it all

great

eſt and moſt learned perſons of Rome during acations of the *Saturnalia*, he gives that name is work. He profeſſes to relate things generin the expreſs words of the authors from whom tracts them, becauſe his view in it was not to ay his eloquence, but to inſtruct his ſon: bewhich, being a Greek, it was not entirely eaſy him to expreſs himſelf in Latin. Accordingly locution is ſaid to be neither pure nor elegant; that in the paſſages where he ſpeaks himſelf, a k ſeems talking broken Latin. As for the ers he treats, they have their beauty and erudi-

eſides the Saturnalia, there are two books of robius's upon the dream, aſcribed by Cicero cipio, done alſo for his ſon Euſtathius, to m he addreſſes them.

DONATUS.

onatus (*Ælius Donatus*) whoſe ſcholar St. me was, taught grammar with great reputa- at Rome, in the reign of the emperor Contius. Ant. J.C. 354.

Ve have the commentaries upon Virgil and ence, which are pretended to be the ſame, ibed by St. Jerom to his maſter Donatus. The judges believe, that there may be ſomething is in the comment upon Virgil, but that abunce is added to it unworthy ſo able an hand. As he comment upon Terence, it is attributed to nthius, otherwiſe called Eugraphius, who lived he ſame time. Neither is it belived, that the s of thoſe two poets are done by Donatus. We e ſome tracts upon grammar which bear his ne, and are eſteemed.

SERVIUS.

Servius *(Maurus Honeratus)* lived about the rei of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius. He known by the comment upon Virgil aſcribed him. It is the general opinion, that this piec only an abridgment extracted from the work of true Servius, the loſs of which theſe extracts h occaſioned.

STOBÆUS.

Johannes Stobæus, a Greek author, lived in t fifth century. What remains of his collection, h preſerved ſome curious monuments of the anti poets and philoſophers. It is believed, that amon theſe fragments many things have been added thoſe who came after him.

CHAPTER III.

F RHETORICIANS.

HOSE who made it their profeſſion to teach eloquence, and have wrote precepts upon it lled Rhetoricians.

quence is the art of ſpeaking well. One might e that for the attainment of it, it would ſuf- harken to and follow the voice of, nature. ems to dictate to us what it is neceſſary to nd often even the manner of ſaying it. Do t every day ſee a multitude of perſons, who ut art or ſtudy, and by the pure force of , can give order, perſpicuity, eloquence, above all, fine ſenſe to their diſcourſe? What is wanting.

s* true, that without the aid of nature, pre- are of no uſe: but it is as true, that they nuch ſupport and ſtrengthen her, in ſerving s a rule and guide. Precepts are no more obſervations, which have been made upon was either fine or defective in diſcourſe. For, Cicero very well obſerves, eloquence was not fſpring of art, but art of eloquence. Theſe ions, reduced to order, formed what is called oric. Now who doubts, but they may be of

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ıd in primis teſtandum eſt, nihil præcepta atque artes valere ıvante natura. *Quintil.* l. 1. *in Proœm.*

ın eſſe eloquentiam ex artificio, ſed artificium ex eloquentia 1. *De Orat.* n. 146.

ım dicendi dedit natura; initium artis obſervatio. *Quintil.* 2.

great ſervice for attaining and improving the t of ſpeaking.

Quintilian, in the third book of his *Inſtit Oratoriæ*, enumerates a conſiderable number c antient rhetoricians, as well Greek as Lati ſhall expatiate only upon thoſe, whoſe names hiſtories are beſt known, ſhall ſlightly paſs others, and even ſay nothing of many. Gibert, who has been profeſſor of rhetoric i college of Mazarine almoſt fifty years with reputation, and has ſeveral times filled, and al with the ſame ſucceſs, the honourable place of cipal in the univerſity of Paris, has compo work upon the ſubject I now treat, abounding erudition, of which, as an antient friend, he given me permiſſion to make all the uſe I ſ think fit.

ARTIC

ARTICLE I.

THE GREEK RHETORICIANS.

EMPEDOCLES. CORAX. TISIAS.

MPEDOCLES of Agrigentum, a cele-
brated philoſopher, is ſuppoſed to be the firſt
ad any knowledge of rhetoric ; and *Corax* and
, both Sicilians, are ſaid to be the firſt who
ed it to rules. They had many diſciples,
known under the name of Sophiſts, of whom
all ſpeak in the ſequel.

Quintil. l. 3. c. 1. Cic. in Brut. n. 46.

PLATO.

ough Plato ſeems to have undertaken to diſ-
rhetoric, he juſtly deſerves to be ranked in
umber of the moſt excellent rhetoricians, hav-
ly cenſured and ridiculed thoſe who diſho-
d this art by the abuſe of it, and the bad taſte
quence they endeavoured to introduce. The
nd judicious reflections, which we find in ſe-
of his dialogues, eſpecially in the Phædrus
orgias, may be conſidered as a good rhe-
and contains the moſt important principles
i

ARISTOTLE.

ſtotle is acknowledged, with reaſon, the chief
ince of rhetoricians. His rhetoric, divided
ree books, has always been conſidered by the
d as a maſterpiece, and the moſt conſummate
that ever appeared upon this ſubject. We

are indebted for this work to its author's jealou
or rather emulation. * Iſocrates, at that time ve
old, taught eloquence at Athens with extraordina
ſucceſs, and was followed by a great number o
luſtrious diſciples. I might for that reaſon ha
given him place amongſt the rhetoricians: but
refer ſpeaking of him to another title. So ſhini
a reputation alarmed Ariſtotle. By an happy
rody to a verſe of a Greek tragedy, he ſaid to hi
ſelf: *It is a ſhame for me to keep ſilence, and let I*
crates ſpeak.

Αἰχρον σιωϖᾶν, Ἰσωκράτην δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν.

Till then he had ſolely taught philoſophy; whi
he continued to do only in the mornings, and op
ed his ſchool in the afternoon, to teach pupils
precepts of rhetoric.

It appears that Ariſtotle compoſed ſeveral wo
De Invent. l. 2. n. 6. De Orat. l. 2. n. 160. upon rhetoric. Cicero ſpeaks in more than
place of a collection, in which this † philoſop
had inſerted all the precepts of that art which
appeared from Tiſias, whom he conſiders as
inventor of it, to his own times; and had trea
them with ſuch elegance, perſpicuity, and ord
that people no longer had recourſe to their
thors for them, but only to Ariſtotle.

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* Itaque ipſe Ariſtoteles, cùm florere Iſocratem nobilitate diſc
lorum videret—mutavit repente totam formam prope diſciplinæ
verſumque quemdam Philoctete paulo ſecus dixit. Ille enim ta
ait ſibi eſſe turpe cum barbaris; hic autem, cùm Iſocratem
retur dicere. *De Orat.* l. 3. n. 141.

Iſocratis præſtantiſſimi diſcipuli fuerunt in omni ſtudiorum gen
eoque jam ſeniore——pomeridianis ſcholis Ariſtoteles præciper
tem oratoriam cœpit. *Quint.* l. 3. c. 1.

† Nominatim cujuſque præcepta magnâ conquiſita curâ perſ
conſcripſit, atque enodata diligenter expoſuit; ac tantùm inve
ribus ipſis ſuavitate & brevitate dicendi præſtitit, ut nemo ill
præcepta ex ipſorum libris cognoſcat; ſed omnes, qui, quod
præcipiant, velint intelligere, ad hunc quaſi ad quemdam
commodiorem explicatorem convertantur. *De Invent.*

Immedia

Immediately after Ariſtotle's rhetoric, conſiſting three books, there is another intituled, *Rhetorica Alexandrum*, as addreſſed to Alexander, and comſed expreſly for him. But all the learned agree t it is not Ariſtotle's.

He had compoſed ſome books upon this ſubject the name of Theodectes. What Valerius Maxis relates on this head, would do honour to Ariſto- if it were true. He tells us, that to pleaſe Theotes, one of his diſciples, for whom he had a parular regard, he had made him a preſent of theſe ks, and given him leave to publiſh them in his n name : but that afterwards repenting his hav- inconſiderately transferred his glory to another, declared himſelf the author of them. Accord- Lib. 3. c. 9. p. 593. ly he cites them as in his rhetoric. It continued loubt to the time of Quintilian, whether this Quintil. l. 2. c. 15. k was wrote by Ariſtotle or Theodectes.

However it were, his rhetoric, which is come n to us, and which no-body diſputes being his, he moſt generally eſteemed of all his works, for wonderful order, the ſolidity of the reflections orporated with the precepts, and the profound owledge of the human heart, which appears parlarly in his treatiſe upon the manners and paſs. Maſters whoſe province it is to teach youth quence, cannot ſtudy ſo excellent a book too ch. The ſame may be ſaid of his Poetics.

ANAXIMENES.

naximenes of Lampſacus is generally taken the author of the rhetoric addreſſed to Alexan- It has its merit, but is very much inferior hat of Ariſtotle. He wrote upon many other ects.

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus is of the firſt rank mongſt the hiſtorians and rhetoricians. I con der him in this place only under the latter den mination.

Soon after Auguſtus had terminated the ci wars, about the 187th olympiad, and twenty-eig years before Jeſus Chriſt, Dionyſius of Halicarn ſeus came to ſettle at Rome, where he reſid twenty-eight years. It is believed, from ſome p ſages in his writings, that he taught rhetoric the either publicly or in private.

Vol. II. p. 21, 64.

All that he wrote upon this head is not co down to us. We have a treatiſe of this author up *the diſpoſition of words*, another upon *the Art*; third, which is not perfect, *of the characters of antient writers*, and eſpecially the orators. In t firſt part he ſpeaks of *Lyſias*, *Iſocrates*, and *Iſæ* in the ſecond he treated of *Demoſthenes*, *Hyperid* and *Æſchines*; nothing remains of it but what lates to Demoſthenes, nor is that fragment enti He adds alſo ſomething on Dinarchus. Two l ters follow: the one to Ammæus, wherein he ex mines *whether Demoſthenes formed himſelf upon Ariſ tle's rhetoric*; the other to one Pompeius, where *he gives an account of what he thinks vicious in Plat diction:* We have ſtill his *compariſons* of Herodot and Thucydides, Xenophon, Philiſtus, and The pompus. And, laſtly, we have his reflections up *what forms the peculiar character of Thucydides.* T end of theſe laſt works is to make known the ch racters of the authors of whom he ſpeaks, and ſhew wherein they are and are not imitable.

What we have of this author's is not theref a rhetoric in form, but fragments of rhetoric, certain points of that art, on which he thought to treat.

His inquiry into the moſt celebrated writers of
tiquity, and the judgment he paſſes on them, may
of great uſe in forming the taſte. It is true, we
ſhocked at firſt with the liberty he takes in
aigning certain articles of Plato and Thucydi-
s, for whom, in other reſpects, he profeſſes the
gheſt eſteem and regard. It would be very uſe-
f, and not diſagreeable to the reader, to enter
o the exact diſcuſſion of his judgments, and to
amine, without prejudice, and with attention,
ether they are or are not founded in reaſon and
th. Neither the plan of my work, nor the me-
ocrity of my talents, admit me to think of ſuch
undertaking. Our author declares in ſeveral Vol. II.
ſſages, that it is neither the deſire to exalt him- p. 120,
f, nor to depreciate others, that are his motive 137, 161.
d guide in his criticiſms, but the ſincere intent
being uſeful to his readers: which is an happy
poſition for forming right judgments.

A very ſhort fragment which remains of his, Vol. II.
ews us his motive for compoſing his treatiſes of p. 80, 81.
etoric: this was the deſire of contributing to the
abliſhment of good taſte in regard to eloquence.
om the death of Alexander the Great, king
Macedon, it had ſuffered great alterations in
eece, and by an imperceptible, but always in-
eaſing, decline, it was at laſt ſunk to ſuch an
b, that it could ſcarce be known for itſelf. We
all ſee in the ſequel, that this alteration and de-
y began by Demetrius Phalereus. Inſtead of that
nly and natural beauty, that noble and antient
mplicity, that air of dignity and grandeur, which
d acquired it univerſal reſpect and unlimited em-
e over the minds and paſſions of mankind; it's
al, I mean Falſe Eloquence, from the delightful
gions of Aſia, tacitly laboured to ſupplant it,
ade uſe of paint and glaring colours for that pur-
ſe, and aſſumed ſuch ornaments as were beſt

ſuited

ſuited to dazzle the eyes, and illude the mind. This laſt-comer, with no other merit than that of a ſplendid but vain attire, though a ſtranger, at length eſtabliſhed herſelf in all the cities of Greece, to the excluſion of the other, a native of the country, who ſaw herſelf expoſed to the oblivion, contempt, and even inſults of thoſe, who had formerly ſo long and ſo juſtly admired her. Our author, in this point, compares Greece to an houſe, wherein a concubine of art and addreſs, who by her charms and inſinuations has gained an entire aſcendant over the huſband, has introduced diſorder and depravity, and governors without controul; whilſt the lawful wife, become in ſome meaſure a ſlave, has the affliction to ſee herſelf deſpiſed and neglected, and is every day reduced to ſuffer the moſt ſenſible affronts and indignities. He obſerves with joy, that ſound eloquence has for ſome time reſumed her antient credit, and compelled her rival in her turn to give her place. All he ſays here regards Greece; and he aſcribes ſo happy a change to the good taſte which then prevailed at Rome, from whence it had already diffuſed itſelf, and daily would continue to do ſo more and more, into all the cities of Greece, that emulated each other in imitating the example of the reigning city. It was to contribute to this revival of eloquence in his country, that Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus compoſed all his books upon rhetoric: a laudable motive, and well worthy of a good and zealous citizen.

HERMOGENES.

Philoſtr. de vit. Sophiſt. l. 2. p. 575.

Hermogenes was a native of Tarſus in Cilicia, and lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. That prince, having had the curioſity to hear his lectures, was charmed with them, and made him great preſents. He began to profeſs rhetoric at ıe fifteenth year of his age; and was but eight- when he compoſed his book upon it, which is med a very good work by the learned. But, very ſingular event, at the age of four and ıty, he became ſtupid, and continued ſo during reſt of his life. He died in the beginning of third century.

APHTHONIUS.

phthonius lived about the end of the ſecond of the church, or the beginning of the third. ead of writing upon rhetoric, as others had e, only for thoſe who had made ſome progreſs ıe knowledge and uſe of that art, in order to ect them in it; Aphthonius wrote ſolely for dren, his precepts extending no farther than compoſitions he believed it neceſſary for them ıake, to prepare them for what was greateſt in uence.

LONGINUS.

ionyſius Longinus was a native of Athens, but deſcent of Syria. Though he excelled very ch in philoſophy, Plotinus ſays however, that was leſs a philoſopher than a man of letters: and ed it was by the latter that particularly he ac- red the greateſt reputation. He had abundance erudition, and the moſt refined, exact, and ſo- diſcernment in judging works of wit, and re- king their beauties and defects.

f all his works, time has left us only his trea- *of the Sublime*, which is one of the fineſt frag- nts of antiquity. We have Mr. Boileau's ex- ent tranſlation of it, which has more the air of original than a copy, has made all the world ges of it's merit, and has juſtified the general eſteem the learned always had for its author. C cilius, who lived in the time of Auguſtus, had b fore compoſed a treatiſe upon the Sublime: but had contented himſelf with explaining what it wa without laying down any rules for obtaining th ſublimity, which does not ſo much perſuade, raviſh and tranſport the mind of the reader. It the latter point Longinus undertakes to treat on his work.

Amongſt the examples which he gives of th ſhining and magnificent manner of ſtile, he ſpeal of Moſes in theſe terms: “ The legiſlator of tl “ Jews, who was no common perſon, having ex “ tremely well conceived the grandeur and pow “ of God, expreſſes them in all their dignity “ the beginning of his laws, in theſe words: *G* “ *ſaid, let there be light and there was light:* L “ the earth be, and the earth was.”*

Longinus taught Zenobia the Greek languag who eſpouſed the celebrated Odenatus, king Palmyra, and afterwards emperor of the Roman. Aurel. Vict. in Aurel. It is ſaid, that he adviſed that princeſs to wri the haughty letter ſhe ſent the emperor Aureliar during the ſiege of Palmyra; and that it was fc that reaſon Aurelian cauſed him to be put to deatl Zoſ. l. 1. He ſuffered that ſentence with great fortitude, con ſoling thoſe who expreſſed their grief for hi deſtiny.

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* *In the French the words are,* Que la lumiere ſe faſſe, & la lumiere ſe fit; Que la terre ſe fit, elle fut faite. *Mr. Rollin ſays, ther is more energy and ſublimity in the Hebrew, which has literally,* Qu la lumiere ſoit, & la lumiere fut: Let there be light, and there wa light; *exactly as in the Engliſh verſion. The word* faire, *continu he, ſeems to imply ſome effort, and a ſucceſſion of time; whereas th terms,* Que la lumiere ſoit, & la lumiere fut; Let there be ligh and there was light; *expreſs better a rapid obedience to the Lord Nature's command.*

DEME

DEMETRIUS.

here is a treatiſe in Greek *upon Elocution*, which, gh a very ſmall fragment of rhetoric, is how- of ſufficient value to do honour to its author, s aſcribed to a perſon whoſe name reflects no onour upon the work: this is the famous De- us Phalereus, ſo called from the Athenian Phalerus, where he was born. The critics ot however entirely agree that this work was ſome of whom attribute it to Demetrius andrinus, an author of much later date than ormer; and others believe it to have been en by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. Mr. Gibert es, by a very judicious examination of the itſelf, its ſtile and principles, that it was not oſed by Demetrius Phalereus.

ARTI

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN RHETORICIAN

IT was not without difficulty and oppoſition t
the Latin rhetoricians ſucceeded in eſtabliſh
themſelves at Rome. It is well known that t
city, ſolely intent in the firſt ages upon eſtabliſhi
its power, and extending its conqueſts, did not
ply itſelf at all to the ſtudy of the polite arts a
ſciences. Four or five hundred years elapſed, b
fore they were in any eſteem at Rome. Philoſop
was abſolutely unknown there, as well as all othe
eloquence, but that which proceeds from nat
and happineſs of genius, without the aid of art
precepts. The Grecian philoſophers and rhetori
ans, who went to Rome, carried thither with th
the taſte for the arts which they profeſſed.
An. Rom. have ſeen that Paulus Æmilius, in the tour
583. made into Greece after having conquered Perſe
Ant. J. C. the laſt king of Macedonia, demanded of t
167. Athenians, that they would chuſe him an excell
philoſopher to finiſh the education of his children

This cuſtom had taken place for ſome time b
An. Rom. fore at Rome, but was ſoon interrupted by
591. edict, paſſed in the conſulſhip of Strabo and Meſſa
Ant. J. C. by which it was decreed, that all philoſophers a
161. Sueton. de rhetoricians ſhould quit Rome; exerciſes in th
clar. rhet. way, unknown till then, giving offence to t
c. 1. ſtate.

Five or ſix years after this edict, ambaſſadors a
An. Rom. rived at Rome from Athens upon a particular affa
597. All the young Romans, who had any taſte f
Ant. J. C. ſtudy, went to viſit them, and were tranſport
155.

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* Primò quidem Romani, qui nullum artis præceptum eſſe a
trarentur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, c
ſequebantur. *Cic.* l. 1. *de Orat.* n. 14.

lmiration on hearing them diſcourſe. Car-
eſpecially, one of thoſe ambaſſadors, in
eloquence force united with abundance of
nd delicacy, acquired extraordinary reputa-
The whole city rang with his praiſe. It was
ally talked, that a Greek was arrived of ad-
talents; that his great knowledge made him
han man; and that his equally animated and
ful eloquence inſpired ſuch an ardour for ſtu-
outh, as induced them to renounce all other
es and avocations. The Romans ſaw with
atisfaction their children addict themſelves to
eek erudition, paſſionately attached to theſe
rful perſons. Cato only, as ſoon as this
learning began to gain ground in the city,
uch concerned at it; apprehending, that the
on and emulation of youth might be en-
l by it, and that in conſequence they might
the glory of ſpeaking, to that of acting well.
hen he ſaw that the diſcourſes of theſe philo-
s, tranſlated into Latin by one of the ſenators,
n great vogue throughout the city, and
ead with univerſal applauſe; he employed all
dit in the ſenate to terminate the affair which
rought the ambaſſadors to Rome, and to
their departure. "Let them return to their
ools, ſaid he, and teach there as long as they
aſe, the children of the Greeks: but let the
man youth hear nothing within theſe walls
ept the laws and the magiſtrates, as they did
ore their arrival." As if the ſtudy of philo-
and eloquence was incompatible with obe-
to the laws and magiſtrates.

Plut. in Cat. Cenſ. p. 349.

e * departure and abſence of theſe philoſophers
ot extinguiſh the ardour for ſtudy, which their

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uditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitiſque eorum literis, adhibitiſ-
ctoribus, incredibili quodam noſtri homines dicendi ſtudio
int. *Lib.* 1. *de Orat.* n. 4.

diſcouſres

diſcourſes had inſpired. The taſte for eloque became the univerſal paſſion of the Roman you and, far from abating the deſire of military gl as Cato had apprehended, it only ſerved to e its value and merit. We may judge of this fi what hiſtory tells us of Scipio Africanus, who li at that time. He was of ſo refined and delicat taſte in regard to polite learning, that, as well Lælius, he was ſuſpected of having ſome ſhar writing Terence's comedies, the moſt perfect w we have in that kind. He had always with perſons † of the firſt rank in learning, as Panæ and Polybius, who accompanied him even in field. The latter informs us, that Scipio, wh very young, and conſequently even at the time ſpeak of, had a very ſtrong inclination for ſciences, and that abundance of learned men every kind came daily from Greece to Rome. N was Scipio the worſe captain, for having bee man of letters?

From that time the ſtudy of eloquence, dur almoſt fifty years, was ſo highly eſteemed at Ro that it was regarded as one of the moſt effect methods for attaining the higheſt dignities in commonwealth. But it was taught only by Greek rhetoricians: whence all the exerciſes, which the youth were formed, were made in foreign language, and in the mean time that of country, that is to ſay, the Latin tongue, almoſt univerſally neglected. Who does not p ceive how much this cuſtom, if I may venture ſay ſo, was contrary to right reaſon and go ſenſe? For, after all, it was in Latin that th young perſons were one day to plead at

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† Scipio tam elegans liberalium ſtudiorum omniſque doctrin auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcelle ingenio viros, domi militiæque ſecum habuerit. *Vell. Paterc.* l c. 13.

b

o harangue the people, and give their opi-
in the ſenate: it was therefore in Latin
ought to have been taught to ſpeak and
ɔſe. I do not ſay, that it was neceſſary to
le compoſitions in Greek. As they could find
rfect models of eloquence but in the Greek
s, it was abſolutely proper for them to ſtudy
ınguage thoroughly, and to compoſe in Greek,
ler to form themſelves upon ſuch excellent
ls. Cicero uſed this cuſtom, even when more
ced in years, for which he gives this reaſon: De clar.
id this, ſays he, becauſe the Greek language, Orat. n.
plying more ornaments, accuſtomed me to 310.
npoſe in the ſame manner in Latin. Beſides,
dying under ſuch great maſters of eloquence,
o were all Greeks, it would not have been in
ir power to have inſtructed and corrected my
npoſitions, if I had not made them in Greek."
ıe tells us, that he united them alſo with
exerciſes, though leſs frequently.

ave ſaid that Cicero was at that time ſome-
advanced in life. For we ſhall ſoon ſee, that
mpoſed his firſt ſtudies only in Greek, the
rhetoricians not being yet eſtabliſhed at
, or having but very lately begun to teach
. This it is time to explain, with which I
introduce my account of the Latin rhetori-
, of whom I am to ſpeak in this article.

L. PLOTIUS GALLUS.

ıſtom has a kind of deſpotic ſway, and does
give place even to reaſon and experience with-
xceeding difficulty. Suetonius, upon the au-
ty of Cicero, in a letter which is loſt, informs De clar.
hat L. Plotius Gallus was the firſt who taught rhet. c. 2.
ric at Rome in the Latin tongue. This he An. Rom. 658.
did Ant. J. C. 94.

did with great ſucceſs, and had a great concour hearers.

Plut. in Cic. p. 861. Cicero, at that time very young, ſtudied rhet but under Greek maſters, who alone till then taught it at Rome. He had acquired ſo gre reputation amongſt his fellow pupils, that, ou particular diſtinction, and to do him honour, w they left the ſchools, they always placed him in midſt of them; and the fathers of thoſe children, every day heard them extol the pregnancy of wit, and the maturity of his judgment, went preſsly to the ſchools to be witneſſes of them perſon, not being able to believe all the great th related of him.

It was at this time * Plotius opened a rhet ſchool at Rome. All the Roman youth, that the leaſt taſte of eloquence, were paſſionately f of hearing him. Cicero, then but fourteen ye old, would gladly have followed that example, improved from the leſſons of this new maſter wh reputation was very great throughout the wh city; and was ſenſibly concerned on being deba that liberty. " I was prevented, ſays he, by " authority and advice of the moſt learned perſ " who were of opinion, that the exerciſes of rhe " ric in the Greek tongue were better adapted " forming the minds of youth."

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 2. It is not to be doubted, that Cicero me Craſſus in this place: he explains himſelf m clearly in another, where he ſays, that, whilſt was very young, he ſtudied with his couſins, ſons of Aculeo, under maſters choſen according the taſte and advice of Craſſus.

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* Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primùm Latinè do cœpiſſe Lucium Plotium quemdam : ad quem cùm fieret concu quòd ſtudioſiſſimus quiſque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam idem non licere. Continebar autem doctiſſimorum hominum au ritate, qui exiſtimabant Græcis exercitationibus ali meliùs ing poſſe. *Cic. apud Sueton. de clar. Rhet.* c. 2.

T

e Latin rhetoricians were in great eſteem at
e, and their ſchools much frequented : but a
ole ſtorm ſoon roſe up againſt them. The
rs, Domitius Ænobarbus and Licinius Craſſus,
d an edict in regard to them, the tenor of
h Suetonius has preſerved. “ We have been
formed, ſay thoſe cenſors, that there are per-
ns, who, under the name of Latin rhetoricians,
themſelves up for teachers of a new art, and
at youth aſſemble in their ſchools, where they
ſs whole days in idleneſs. Our anceſtors have
livered down to us, what they deſired their
ildren ſhould be taught, and to what ſchools
ey ſhould go. Theſe new eſtabliſhments, ſo
opoſite to the cuſtoms and uſages of our fore-
thers, are not pleaſing to us, and appear con-
ary to diſcipline and good order. Wherefore
e think it incumbent on us to notify this our
inion, as well to thoſe who have opened ſuch
hools, as to ſuch as frequent them, and to de-
are that ſuch innovation is not agreeable to
s.”

An. Rom. 660. Ant. J. C. 92.

Sueton. de clar. rhet. c. 1.

he Craſſus, of whom I have hitherto ſpoken, is
of the perſons, whom Cicero introduces in his
ks *de oratore*. That dialogue is ſuppoſed to have
d two years after the cenſorſhip of Craſſus.
makes an apology in it for his edict againſt the
in rhetoricians. “ I ſilenced * them, ſays he,
ot to oppoſe, as ſome have reproached me, the

An. Rom. 662. Ant. J. C. 90.

Etiam Latini, ſi diis placet, hoc biennio magiſtri dicendi ex-
nt; quos ego cenſor edicto meo ſuſtuleram : non quo (ut neſcio
dicere aiebant) acui ingenia adoleſcentium nollem ; ſed con-
ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Nam apud
cos, cuicuimodi eſſent, videbam tamen eſſe, præter hanc exer-
onem linguæ, doctrinam aliquam & humanitatem dignam ſcien-
Hos verò novos magiſtros nihil intelligebam poſſe docere, niſi
derent: quod, etiam cum bonis rebus conjunctum, per ſe ipſum
agnopere fugiendum. Hoc cum unum traderetur, & cum im-
ntiæ ludus eſſet, putavi eſſe cenſoris, ne longiùs id ſerperet,
idere. *Lib.* 3. *de Orat.* n. 24.

“ progreſs of youth in eloquence, but, on the co
“ trary, to prevent their minds from being co
“ rupted and ſtupified, and their contracting pr
“ ſumption and impudence. For indeed I obſer
“ ed that amongſt the Greek rhetoricians, how i
“ different ſoever their merit, beſides the exerci
“ of ſpeaking, in which their profeſſion properl
“ conſiſts, there always was a fund of ſolid an
“ eſtimable knowledge. But I did not conceiv
“ that our youth could acquire any thing und
“ theſe new maſters, unleſs it were boldneſs an
“ confidence, always blameable, even when unite
“ with other good qualities. As this therefor
“ was all they could learn of them, and the
“ ſchools, to ſpeak properly, were only ſchools o
“ impudence, I thought it my duty, as cenſor, t
“ put a ſtop to ſuch abuſes, and prevent their per
“ nicious conſequences.”

All I have hitherto ſaid proves how liable, i
point of erudition and ſcience, new methods an
eſtabliſhments are to obſtacles and contradictions
even from perſons of the greateſt merit, and o
the beſt intentions in other reſpects. But utilit
and truth at laſt prevail, and open themſelves a wa
through all the difficulties that oppoſe them. Whe
theſe ſtorms and troubles are blown over; whe
prejudices, frequently blind and precipitate, hav
given place to ſerious and calm reflection; an
things are examined with temper and in coo
blood; we are ſurpriſed that practices ſo uſeful i
themſelves ſhould have been capable of meeting
with ſuch oppoſition. This is the fate, though o
a different kind, the philoſophy of Deſcartes ex-
perienced amongſt us, which was at firſt attacked ſo
warmly, and is now almoſt univerſally approved.

The ſame happened at Rome in regard to the
Latin rhetoricians. They perceived at length how
conſiſtent it was with right reaſon and good ſenſe

to

orm and exerciſe youth for eloquence in the uage they were always to ſpeak; and after theſe ſhocks, the ſchools of the Latin rhetoricians eſtabliſhed in tranquillity, and did not a little ribute to the amazing progreſs of the ſtudy of uence in the ſucceeding years.

he Greek rhetoricians, however, were not ne- ed, and had a great ſhare in the improvement hich I have been ſpeaking. It is ſurpriſing to der the ardour and paſſion, with which the ian youth went to hear theſe maſters, and even of more advanced years. Cicero had begun De clar. pear at the bar in his twenty-ſixth year. His orat. n. lings for S. Roſcius Amerinus acquired him an 312. ordinary reputation. Molo, the celebrated k rhetorician, came to Rome about this time, deputy from the Rhodians. Cicero, highly ble as he already was, became his diſciple, and ght himſelf happy and honoured in receiving s from him. After having pleaded two years, Ibid. n. health, or perhaps reaſons of policy, having 315, 316. ged him to ſuſpend his application to buſineſs, to make a voyage into Greece and Aſia, be- the ſeveral maſters of eloquence, whom he d at Athens and elſewhere, he went expreſsly hodes, to put himſelf again under the diſci- e of Molo; in order that ſo excellent a maſter t take pains in reforming, and, in a manner, ew-moulding his ſtile: *Apollonio Moloni ſe* Quintil. *di rurſus formandum ac velut recoquendum dedit.* o* was a very excellent pleader, and compoſed very finely: but his principal happineſs l in diſcerning and exploding the defects in the ſt of thoſe who applied themſelves to him, and had a wonderful happineſs in correcting them, l the wiſe advice and ſolid inſtructions he gave the He endeavoured, for I dare not ſay he effected (ſays Cicero) to correct and reſtrain a vicious dundance in my ſtile, which too licentiouſly ov flowed its juſt bounds, and taught me not to aba don myſelf to the impetuoſity of my years, and t fire of an imagination that wanted maturity a experience. Cicero confeſſes, that from thenc forth, a great alteration enſued in his manner, well in regard to the tone of his voice, which exerted no longer with ſo much vehemence, as ſtile, which became more exact and correct.

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* uibus non contentus, Rhodum veni, meque ad eundem quem, e audiveram, Molonem applicavi: cum actorem in veris cauſis, oremque præſtantem, tum in notandis animadvertendiſque vi- in inſtituendo docendoque prudentiſſimum. Is dedit operam (ſi id conſequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos & ſuperfluentes ili quadam dicendi impunitate & licentia reprimeret, & quaſi ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me, biennio poſt, non exercitatior, ſed prope mutatus. Nam & contentio nimia vo- ſederat, & quaſi deferbuerat oratio. *De clar. orat.* n. 316.

Theſe young Romans muſt have had a ve warm deſire to improve themſelves in eloquen to take ſo much pains in going to hear the rhe ricians, and not to bluſh, though already in gr reputation, to become their diſciples again, and confeſs their ſtill having occaſion for their a But, on the other ſide, the merit of ſuch rhetc cians muſt have been very ſolid and well eſtabli ed, to have acquired ſo great a confidence in and to have ſupported the idea which ſuch perſ as Cicero conceived of it.

Plotius, the firſt of the Latin rhetoricians, w gave occaſion for what I have hitherto ſaid, h without doubt, colleagues and ſucceſſors, who quitted themſelves of the ſame function with l nour. Suetonius mentions ſeveral: but as they little known, I proceed directly to Cicero, who deed did not immediately teach eloquence as a n ſter, but has left us excellent precepts upon it.

CICERO.

Cicero, by his treatiſes upon rhetoric, has juſtly ited the honour of being placed at the head of Latin rhetorician, as he has by his orations of the firſt rank amongſt the orators.

His tracts upon rhetoric are: *Three books de Ora-*n; one book intitled ſimply *the Orator*; *A dia-*e, intitled *Brutus, upon the illuſtrious Orators*; books upon *Invention*; the *Partes Oratoriæ, the lete Orator*, and the *Topics*. In this enumera- of Cicero's works upon eloquence, I do not ow the order of time in which they were com-d.

The three firſt are abſolute maſter-pieces, in ch what was called the *Roman urbanity, Urba- Romana*, prevails in a ſupreme degree, which vers to the atticiſm of the Greeks, that is to whatever was fineſt, moſt delicate, moſt ani-ed, and, in a word, moſt conſummate as to ght, expreſſion, and tour of genius.

he three books *of the Orator* are, properly king, Cicero's rhetoric: not a dry rhetoric, ſtuck precepts, and deſtitute of grace and beauty, one that, with the ſolidity of principles and ctions, unites all the art, delicacy, and orna-nt, of which a ſubject of that nature is ſuſcep-le. He [*] compoſed this work at the requeſt of brother Q. Cicero, who deſired to have ſome-g more perfect of his than the books upon in-ntion, which were the firſt-fruits of his youth, by no means worthy the reputation he after-ds attained. To avoid the air and dryneſs of the

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Vis enim, quoniam quædam pueris aut adoleſcentulis nobis ex mentariolis noſtris inchoata atque rudia exciderunt, vix hac te digna & hoc uſu——aliquid iiſdem de rebus politius à nobis ectiuſque proferri. *De orat.* l. 1. n. 2.

ſchools, he treats on this ſubject in dialogues, wherei
he introduces, as ſpeakers, the greateſt and mo
famous perſons Rome had for wit, erudition, an
eloquence. The time, wherein theſe dialogues a
ſuppoſed to be held, is the 662d year from th
foundation of Rome, and ninety years before Jeſu
Chriſt, in the conſulſhip of L. Marcius Philippu
and Sextus Julius Cæſar.

This manner of writing, I mean dialogue, is e
tremely difficult: becauſe, without mentioning th
variety of characters, which muſt every-where b
equally ſuſtained without the leaſt deviation fro
them, two things that ſeem almoſt incompatib
muſt unite in them, the ſimple and natural air
familiar diſcourſe, with the elegant ſtile of the co
verſation of perſons of wit. Plato, of all the a
tient authors, is generally conceived to have ſu
ceeded beſt in dialogue. But we may indiſputab
give Cicero an equal rank with him, to ſay
more, eſpecially in the treatiſes of which we no
ſpeak. I do not know whether my eſteem and lo
for an orator, with whom I might ſay I have be
brought up from my earlieſt infancy, prejudice a
blind me in his favour; but, in my opinion there
in theſe converſations a taſte, a ſalt, a ſpirit,
grace, a native elegance, that can never be ſuffi
ently admired.

The third of the books I ſpeak of treats, amon
other ſubjects, of the choice and order of words,
dry and diſagreeable topic in itſelf, but of gre
uſe to the Roman eloquence, and which, more th
any thing, ſhews the profound genius and exte
of mind of this orator. When he came firſt to t
bar, he found the Roman eloquence abſolutely d
titute of an advantage, which infinitely exalt
that of the Greeks, to which he had devoted
whole application, and of which he knew all t
beauties, as well as if it had been his native tong

ſo familiar had he made it to him by cloſe and profound ſtudy. This advantage was the ſound, number, cadence, and harmony, of which the Greek is more ſuſceptible than any other language, and which give it an inconteſtable ſuperiority in this view to them all. Cicero, who was extremely zealous for the honour of his country, undertook to impart to it this advantage, of which, till then, the Greeks had been in ſole poſſeſſion.

He * perceived that words, like ſoft wax, have a flexibility wonderfully capable of receiving every kind of form, and in being adapted in whatever manner we pleaſe. The proof of which is, that for all the different ſpecies of verſe, which are very numerous; for all the diverſity of ſtiles, the ſimple, the florid, and the ſublime; for all the effects which ſpeech is capable of producing, to pleaſe, to convince, to move; wotds of a different nature are not employed; but, taken from one common heap, to uſe that expreſſion, and alike diſpoſed for every uſe, they lend themſelves, at the poet's and orator's diſcretion, to be applied in whatever manner they think fit.

Cicero, well convinced of this principle, of which the reading and ſtudy of the Greek authors had given him a ſenſible proof, or rather which he had extracted from nature itſelf, undertook to add this charm to the Latin language, of which, be-

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* Nihil eſt tam tenerum, neque tam flexibile, neque quod tam cile ſequatur quocumque ducas, quam oratio. Ex hac verſus, ex dem diſpares numeri conficiuntur: ex hac etiam ſoluta variis mos multorumque generum oratio. Non enim ſunt alia ſermonis, ia contentionis verba; neque ex alio genere ad uſum quotidianum, io ad ſcenam pompamque ſumuntur: ſed ea nos cum jacentia ſuſdlimus è medio, ſicut molliſſimam ceram ad noſtrum arbitrium rmamus & fingimus. Itaque tum graves ſumus, tum ſubtiles, m medium quiddam tenemus: ſic inſtitutam noſtram ſententiam quitur orationis genus, idque ad omnem rationem, & aurium voptatem, & animorum motum mutatur & flectitur. *De orat.* l. 3. 167, 177.

fore his time, it was entirely deſtitute. This h effected with ſuch ſucceſs and promptitude, tha in a few years it aſſumed a quite new form, and what has no example, attained almoſt inſtantly ſupreme perfection in this way. For every bod knows, that generally the progreſs of arts and ſciences is ſlow, and that they do not attain their fina maturity but by degrees.

This was not the caſe in the matter of which w are ſpeaking, that is to ſay, the number and harmony of ſpeech. Cicero ſeized almoſt immediatel the fine and the perfect, and introduced into hi language, by the happy arrangement of his words a ſweetneſs, grace, and majeſty, which almoſt equalled it with the Greek; and with which th ear, of all who have the leaſt ſenſibility for ſoun and harmony, is ſtill agreeably ſoothed. It is no ſurpriſing therefore, that this great orator, to ſecur to his language the advantage he had acquired it, and to perpetuate the uſe and poſſeſſion of it, ſhoul think it incumbent on him to treat on this ſubject in all it's extent. Accordingly he enters upon it with a vaſt enumeration of things, which cannot afford us any pleaſure now, to whom this is a foreign language, but which was extremely uſeful and important at the time he wrote it; and it is eaſy to perceive, that he has treated on it with particular attention, and has employed the whole extent of his learning and capacity, to diſplay it in all its brighteſt colours. Accordingly, Quintilian* obſerves, that of all his works of rhetoric, this piece is the moſt elaborate.

The ſame ſervice has been done the French language; and, if I miſtake not, Balzac was the firſt who diſcerned himſelf, and made others diſcern,

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* Cui (M. Tullio) neſcio an ulla pars hujus operis ſit magis elaborata. *Lib.* 9. c. 4.

how

hv ſuſceptible it is of the graces of number, har-
n ny, and cadence. Since his time, this part of
c npoſition has been very much improved: Mr.
B chier particularly, and all our good writers,
l ve us nothing to deſire in this point. It is highly
i portant to make youth attentive to it, and to
a uſtom their ears to a lively and inſtantaneous
d ernment of what is ſweet and agreeable, or
h ſh and diſſonant, in the diſpoſition of words.
T e treatiſe, lately publiſhed by the Abbé Olivat,
u on the proſody of the French tongue, may be of
g at uſe to this purpoſe.

I have already ſaid, that the three books *de Ora-*
t e may be conſidered as the rhetoric of Cicero.
A d indeed he has included in it almoſt all the
p cepts of that art, not in the common didactic
o ler of the ſchools, but in a more free manner,
a d one that ſeems leſs ſtudied; to which he has
a nexed reflections that infinitely exalt their value,
a d ſhew their juſt uſe.

II. The book, intitled *the Orator*, does not give
p ace to the former, either in beauty or ſolidity.
C cero ſtates in it the idea of a perfect orator, not
o one that ever was, but of ſuch an one as may
. He ſets a particular value upon this work, and
ems to think of it with great ſatisfaction and
c mplacency; and does not heſitate to own, that he
e nployed the whole extent of his wit, and all the
f rce of his judgment, in compoſing it; which is
ying a great deal. He explains himſelf to this
ect, in writing to a * friend, who had highly ap-

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* Oratorem meum tantoperè à te probari vehementer gaudeo.
ihi quidem ſuper ſuadeo, me, quicquid habuerim judicii, in illum
rum contuliſſe. Qui ſi eſt talis, qualem tibi videri ſcribis; ego
oque aliquid ſum. Sin aliter, non recuſo quin, quantum de illo
ro, tantundem de judicii mei fama detrahatur. Leptam noſtrum
pio delectari jam talibus ſcriptis. Etſi abeſt maturitas ætatis, jam
nen perſonare aures ejus hujuſmodi vocibus non eſt inutile.
iſt. 19. l. 6. *ad Famil.*

proved this work, and conſents that whatever juc ment the public formed of it, whether good bad, ſhall determine the author's reputation. adds, (which I mention for the ſake of our you that he ſhould be glad if young Lepta, who w his friend's ſon, begins ſo early to read works that kind with ſome pleaſure; becauſe, though years did not admit his making all the improv ments they were capable of affording, it was ſome conſequence to him to be early affected w. leſſons of that ſort.

III. The *Brutus* of Cicero is a dialogue concer ing the moſt famous Greek and Roman orat who had appeared to his time: for he mentio none who were then alive, except Cæſar and Ma cellus. This work was compoſed ſome time b fore the former. and perhaps the ſame year.

In the long enumeration contained in this boo wherein Cicero particularly remarks upon the ſt of a great number of orators, there is an admirab variety of portraits and characters, which all rela to the ſame ſubject, without however reſemblin each other in the leaſt. He interſperſes reflection and a kind of digreſſion, from time to time, whi add to the value of the piece, and may be of gre uſe in forming the orator.

IV. His treatiſe *upon the moſt perfect kind of Or tory* is very ſhort. Cicero maintains in it, th the Attick ſtile is far the moſt perfect, but that includes the three different kinds of eloquence, an that the orator makes uſe of them as his ſubject re quires. To convince thoſe of this who are of different opinion, he tranſlated the celebrated ora tions of Æſchines againſt Demoſthenes, and of De moſthenes againſt Æſchines. The work we no ſpeak of was only a kind of preface to that tran lation, of which we cannot ſufficiently regret th loſs.

. The topics of Cicero contain the method nding arguments by the means of certain terms, ch characteriſe them, and are called *common s of Rhetoric*, or *of Logic*. We are indebted, he invention or perfection of this art, to Ari- e. Cicero compoſed this treatiſe at the requeſt rebatus the lawyer, one of his friends, to ex- n that written by the philoſopher upon this ſub- There is one thing remarkable in this work, h ſhews the genius, memory, and facility of ro in compoſing; this was his not having philoſopher's book, when he undertook to ex- n him. He was upon a voyage and at ſea, as lls us himſelf in this book. He recalled to his embrance Ariſtotle's work, explained it, and what he had done to his friend. He muſt known it perfectly well, and have had it very gly in his mind, to have worked upon it only his memory.

Τόπος. *Locus.*

Topic. n. 5.

I. The *Partes Oratoriæ* are a very good rheto- diſpoſed in diviſions and ſubdiviſions of ſub- (from whence it takes its title). Its ſtile is very le, but clear, ſuccinct, and elegant, and well ted to the capacity of beginners; ſo that, with addition of examples, it might be uſed with ſuc- , though Cicero did not think proper to annex to it.

II. THE BOOKS OF RHETORIC, or *De Inven- Oratoria*, are certainly Cicero's. Only the two remain: the two others are loſt. I have already rved, that he compoſed them during his youth, that he afterwards thought them unworthy his tation.

De orat. l. 1. n. 5.

The rhetoric to Herennius.

is not eaſy to know who was the author of the books of rhetoric inſcribed to *Herennius*, which

we find in the front of Cicero's works. In
common editions the title ſays it was not know
but ſome of the learned aſcribe them to Cornifici
It is a rhetoric in form, of which the ſtile, thou
ſimple and familiar, is pure and Ciceronian; wh
has given ſome people reaſon to believe it a w
of Cicero's: but this opinion admits of great
ficulties.

Seneca the Rhetorician.

Seneca, of whom we ſpeak in this place,
born at Corduba in Spain, about the 700th year
the city of Rome, fifty-three years before Je
Chriſt. His ſirname was *Marcus*. He came
ſettle at Rome in the reign of Auguſtus, whitl
he brought with him his wife *Helvia*, and th
ſons. The firſt called *Mela*, was the father of
poet Lucan; the philoſopher's name was *Luci*
and the third ſon's *Novatus*: but this laſt bei
adopted into another family, he took the name
his father by adoption *Junius Gallio*. Mention
Acts xviii. 12. made of him in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*.

Seneca the father collected, from more than
hundred authors, as well Greeks as Romans, wh
ever was moſt remarkable, that they had either
or thought upon the different ſubjects they h
treated on in emulation of each other, by way
exerciſing their eloquence according to the cuſt
of thoſe times. Of the ten books of *Controverſies*
Diſputations, contained in this collection, ſca
five remain, and thoſe very defective. To t
books of controverſies, one of deliberations is p
fixed, though it is known, that Seneca did
publiſh it till after the former.

Theſe works of Seneca give Mr. Gibert occ
ſion to explain, with great order and evidence,
eſteem and uſe in which *Declaiming* was of old.

inſert in this place that little tract almoſt en-
; which will be of great ſervice for the un-
anding of what will be ſaid in the ſequel, upon
anner in which the rhetoricians formed young
ns for eloquence.

clamation is a word which occurs in * *Horace*,
ſtill more in † *Juvenal:* though it was ‡ not
n at Rome before Cicero and Calvus. The
oſitions were ſo called, by which eloquence
xerciſed, and of which the ſubjects, true or
ed, were ſometimes in the deliberative, ſome-
in the judiciary, and ſeldom in the demon-
ve kind. The diſcourſes made upon theſe ſub-
were an image of what paſſed in the public
cils and at the bar.

claiming was the method taken by ‖ Cicero
t young to become an orator, which at that
he practiſed in Greek. He continued to uſe
hen more advanced in years, but in Latin.
xerciſed himſelf in the ſame manner, even Cic. l. 7.
the troubles of the ſtate had obliged him to Epiſt. 33.
don the bar. At that time he repeated to ad Famil.
us and Dolabella, or others, the harangues of Id. de clar. Orat.
ind, which he had only compoſed by way of n. 310.
iſe. This was the common method of all who
ed at eloquence, or were willing to acquire
ction in it; that is to ſay, the principal per-
of the ſtate. They applied themſelves to it
r the direction of Cicero, and improved them-
s by his advice. § *Hirtius and Dolabella*, ſays

Trojani belli ſcriptorem ———
Dúm tu declamas Romæ, Præneſte relegi.
Hor. Ep. 1. lib. 2.

Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias.
Juven. Sat. 10.

pud nullum auctorem antiquum, ante ipſum Ciceronem &
m, inveniri poteſt. *Senec. Controv.* l. 1.

icero ad Præturam uſque græcè declamavit, latinè verò ſenior
e. *Sueton. de clar. Rhet.*

irtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi diſcipulos habeo, cœnandi
ros. Puto enim te audiſſe——illos apud me declamitare, me
llos cœnitare. *Epiſt.* 16. l. 9.

Cicero, *come often to declaim at my houſe, and* i
often go to ſup with them. They came to h
either to repeat or correct their diſcourſes; af
which he went home with them to ſupper, th
tables being better than his own.

Suet. de clar. Rhet.

Pompey the Great applied himſelf alſo v
cloſely to declamation a little before the civil wa
to inable himſelf to anſwer Curio, who had ſ
his talent to Cæſar's intereſts, and gave the op
ſite party great diſquiet. Mark Antony did
ſame to reply to Cicero; and Octavius, even
the ſiege of Modena, did not omit this exerc
We muſt remember, that at Rome, whether in
ſenate or before the people, eloquence generally
termined the moſt important affairs, and there
became abſolutely neceſſary to thoſe who aſpired
being powerful in them.

Epiſt. 21. l. 16. ad. Famil.

I omit Cicero's ſon Marcus, who exerciſed hi
ſelf alſo both in Greek and Latin, but not with
ſame ſucceſs.

Demetrius Phalereus is ſaid to have been the
ventor of declamation: and Plotius Gallus,
whom we have ſpoken above, was the firſt w
introduced the uſe of it in the Latin tongue.

Senec. in Præf. Controv.

It was, according to this idea of declamati
that all the lovers of eloquence, whether Gree
or Romans, aſſembled in the houſes of perſ
eminent in the ſame way, ſuch for inſtance
Seneca, where they pronounced diſcourſes up
ſubjects before agreed upon. Our author had
greateſt memory conceivable. He cites ſeveral
amples of a like nature. Cyneas, Pyrrhus's a
baſſador, having had audience of the ſenate up
his arrival, the next day ſaluted all the ſenat
and people who had been preſent at it in great nu
bers by their names. A certain perſon, havi
heard a poem repeated, to ſurpriſe the author of
pretended it was his work, and to prove it, repea

whole without heſitating, which the author
d not do himſelf. Hortenſius, in conſequence
challenge, ſtayed an whole day at a ſale of
s by auction, and at night repeated, in the
they were ſold, without the leaſt miſtake,
names of the ſeveral moveables, and of the
ons that bought them. Seneca's memory was
e leſs admirable. He ſays, that in his youth
epeated two thouſand words after having only
d them once over, and that too in the ſame
r they had been ſpoken. It was by this wonder-
alent, whatever was moſt curious, in all the de-
ations he had ever heard, was ſo ſtrongly im-
ed upon his mind, that long after, in a very
nced age, he was capable of recalling it to his
embrance, though conſiſting of ſo many de-
ed paſſages; and reduced them to writing for
uſe of his ſons, and to tranſmit them to po-
ty.

ſhall have occaſion, before I conclude this
le, to explain in what manner delamation con-
ed to occaſion the decay and corruption of the
for true eloquence.

logue upon the orators, or upon the cauſes of the corruption of eloquence.

he author of this work is unknown. Some
ibe it to Tacitus, others to Quintilian, but
hout much foundation. What we may be aſſured
is, that it is a proof of his wit and capacity who-
r he was, and deſerves a place amongſt the beſt
rks after the Auguſtan age, from the purity and
uty of which it muſt however be allowed to be
y remote. There are very fine paſſages in it.
hat he ſays by way of panegyric upon the profeſ-
n of pleaders, ſeems to me of this kind. It is
proper

proper to remind the reader, that it is an heath
who ſpeaks.

" * The pleaſure which ariſes from eloquen
" ſays he, is not rapid and momentary, but t
" growth of every day, and almoſt every hou
" And indeed, what can be more grateful to
" ingenuous mind, that has a taſte for exalted ſ
" tisfaction, than to ſee his houſe continual
" thronged by crowds of the moſt conſiderab
" perſons in a city? To be conſcious that it is n
" to his riches, office, or authority, but to his pe
" ſon that they come to pay this honour? Tl
" greateſt wealth, the moſt ſplendid dignities, hav
" they any thing ſo delightful and affecting, as th
" voluntary homage, which perſons, equally t
" be reſpected for their birth and age, come t
" render to the merit and knowledge of an advo
" cate, though often young, and ſometimes deſti
" tute of the goods of fortune, in imploring th

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* Ad voluptatem oratoriæ eloquentiæ tranſeo, cujus jucundit:
non uno aliove momento, ſed omnibus prope diebus, & prope om
nibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero & ingenuo anim
& ad voluptates honeſtas nato, quam videre plenam ſemper & fr
quentem domum concurſu ſplendidiſſimorum hominum? Idque ſci
non pecuniæ, non orbitati, neque officii alicujus adminiſtration
ſed ſibi ipſi dari! Illos quinimo orbos, & locupletes, & potentes, veni
plerumque ad juvenem & pauperem, ut aut ſua, aut amicorum di
crimina commendent. Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magn
potentiæ voluptas, quam ſpectare homines veteres, & ſenes, & to
tius urbis gratia ſubnixos, in ſumma rerum omnium abundanti
confitentes, id quod optimum ſit ſe non habere? Jam vero qui roga
torum comitatus & egreſſus! quæ in publico ſpecies! quæ in judicii
veneratio! quod gaudium conſurgendi aſſiſtendique inter tacente
in unum converſos! coire populum, & circumfundi coram, & ac
cipere affectum quemcumque orator induerit. Vulgata dicentiur
gaudia & imperitorum quoque oculis expoſita percenſeo. Illa ſe
cretiora, & tantùm ipſis orantibus nota, majora ſunt. Sive accura
tam meditatamque affert orationem, eſt quoddam, ſicut ipſius dic
tionis, ita gaudii pondus & conſtantia. Sive novam & recenten
curam non ſine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipſa ſolicitud
commendat eventum, & lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporali
audaciæ, atque ipſius temeritatis, vel præcipua jucunditas eſt. Nan
ingenio quoque, ſicut in agro, quanquam alia diu ſerantur atqu
elaborentur, gratiora tamen quæ ſua ſponte naſcuntur. *Cap.* 6.

" aic

of his eloquence, either for themſelves or
ir friends, and confeſſing, in the midſt of the
uence with which they are ſurrounded, that
y are ſtill in want of what is moſt valuable
d excellent? What ſhall I ſay of the officious
al of the citizens to attend him whenever he
es abroad, or returns to his houſe? Of the
merous audiences in which all eyes are fixed
him alone, whilſt a profound ſilence reigns
iverſally, with no other interruption but ſtarts
admiration and applauſes? In fine, of that
ſolute power which he has over mens minds,
inſpiring them with ſuch ſentiments as he
aſes? Nothing is more glorious and exalted
an what I have now ſaid. But there is ſtill
other pleaſure more intenſe and affecting, known
ly to the orator himſelf. If he pronounces a
courſe, that he has had time to ſtudy and
liſh at leiſure, his joy as well as diction has
mething more ſolid and more aſſured in it.
he has only ſome few moments reflection al-
wed him to prepare himſelf for his cauſe, the
ry anxiety he feels upon that account, makes
e ſucceſs more grateful to him, and exalts the
eaſure it gives him. But what ſtill ſoothes him
ore agreeably, is the ſucceſs of an unpreme-
tated diſcourſe, ventured extemporaneouſly.
or the productions of the mind are like thoſe
the earth. The fruits, which coſt no trouble,
nd grow ſpontaneouſly, are more grateful than
oſe we are obliged to purchaſe with abundance
f pains and cultivation."

e cannot, in my opinion, deny that there are
is deſcription a great many ingenious and ſolid
ghts, ſtrong and emphatical expreſſions, and
y and eloquent turns. Perhaps there is too
h wit and ſhining conceit in it: but that was
fault of the age.

I ſhall add here another very fine paſſage fr
the ſame author, in which he aſcribes the princi
cauſes of the corruption of eloquence to the b
education of children :

“ Who * does not know, that what has occaſi
“ ed eloquence and the other arts to degener
“ from their antient perfection, is not the want
“ genius, but the indolence into which youth
“ fallen, the negligence of parents in the edu
“ tion of their children, the ignorance of
“ maſters employed to inſtruct them, in fine,
“ oblivion and contempt of the taſte of the a
“ tients. Theſe evils, which had their riſe
“ Rome, have diſperſed themſelves from the c
“ into the country of Italy, and infected all t
“ provinces.——

“ Of old, in every houſe, it was a cuſtom fo
“ child, born of an ingenious mother, not to
“ ſent to the cottage of a nurſe bought amon
“ ſlaves, but to be nurtured and educated in t
“ boſom of her who bore him, whoſe merit a
“ praiſe it was to take care of her houſe and ch
“ dren. Some female relation in years, and

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* Quis ignorat & eloquentiam & ceteras artes deſciviſſe ab
vetere gloria, non inopia hominum, ſed deſidia juventutis, & neg
gentia parentum, & inſcientia præcipientium, & oblivione mo
antiqui? quæ mala primùm in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fuſa, j
in provincias manant——

Jam primùm ſuus cuique filius, ex caſta parente natus, non
cella emptæ nutricis, ſed gremio aut ſinu matris educabatur; cu
præcipua laus erat tueri domum, & inſervire liberis. Eligeba
autem aliqua major natu propinqua, cujus probatis ſpectatiſque m
ribus omnis cujuſpiam familiæ ſoboles committebatur: coram q
neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inho
eſtum factu videretur. Ac non ſtudia modo curaſque, ſed rem
ſiones etiam luſuſque puerorum, ſanctitate quadam ac verecun
temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, ſic Aureliam Cæſaris,
Attiam Auguſti matrem præfuiſſe educationibus, ac produxiſſe pri
cipes liberos accepimus. Quæ diſciplina ac ſeveritas eò pertineb
ut ſincera & integra & nullis pravitatibus decorata uniuſcujuſque n
tura, toto ſtatim pectore arriperet artes honeſtas: &, ſive ad r
militarem, ſive ad juris ſcientiam, ſive ad eloquentiæ ſtudium inc
naſſet, id ſolum ageret, id univerſum hauriret. *Cap.* 28.

“ know

nown virtue and probity, was choſen to have e care of all the children of the family, in hoſe preſence nothing contrary to decency and od manners was ſuffered to be ſpoken or done ith impunity. She found the means to unite t only their ſtudies and application, but even eir play and recreations, with a certain air of odeſty and reſerve, that tempered their ardour d vivacity. It is thus we find that Cornelia e mother of the Gracchi, Aurelia of Cæſar, d Attia of Auguſtus, governed their children, d made them capable of appearing in the orld with ſplendor. The view of this ſtrict d manly education was to prepare the minds children, by preſerving them in all their na- ral purity and integrity, and preventing their ing infected with any bad principle, to em- ace the ſtudy of arts and ſciences with ardour; d, whether they choſe the profeſſion of arms, applied themſelves to the laws or eloquence, at they might addict themſelves ſolely to their rofeſſion, and the attainment of a perfection that alone.

But, * in theſe days, no ſooner is a child born, t he is given to ſome Greek ſlave, with a ſer- ant or two more to attend her, of the meaneſt d moſt uſeleſs ſort in the family. At this ten-

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At nunc natus infans delegatur Græculæ alicui ancillæ, cui gitur unus aut alter ex omnibus ſervis plerumque viliſſimus, uiquam ſerio miniſterio accommodatus. Horum fabulis & bus teneri ſtatim & rudes animi imbuuntur. Nec quiſquam in lomo penſum habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat, aut : quando etiam ipſi parentes nec probitati neque modeſtiæ parvu- ſuefaciunt, ſed laſciviæ & libertati: per quæ paulatim impu- irrepit, & ſui alienique contemptus. Jam vero propria & iaria hujus urbis vitia pœne in utero matris concipi mihi viden- iſtrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque ſtudia. Quibus atus & obſeſſus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relin- quotumquemque inveneris qui domi quidquam aliud loqua- quos alios adoleſcentulorum ſermones excipimuſt, ſi quando oria intravimus? *Cap.* 29.

“ der age, ſuſceptible of all impreſſions, he hears
“ nothing but the frivolous, and often looſe and
“ abandoned, ſtories of the loweſt domeſtics
“ None of them have the leaſt regard for what
“ they ſay or do before their young maſter. And
“ indeed, what attention of that kind can be ex-
“ pected from them, whilſt the parents themſelves
“ accuſtom their children, not to modeſty and good
“ manners, but to every kind of freedom and
“ licentiouſneſs: from whence enſues by degrees
“ an air of declared impudence, void of regard
“ either for themſelves or others. There are, be-
“ ſides this, certain vices peculiar to this city,
“ which ſeem almoſt to have been conceived with
“ them in their mother's womb: ſuch are the taſte
“ for theatrical ſhews, gladiators, and chariot-
“ races. Are not theſe almoſt the only ſubjects of
“ converſation amongſt young people, and indeed
“ all companies? Is it probable, that a mind in-
“ tent upon, and in a manner beſieged by, theſe
“ trifling amuſements, ſhould be very capable of
“ applying to ſerious ſtudies?”

Theſe two paſſages ſuffice to give the reader ſome idea of this work, and to make him regret that it is not come down entire to us.

This dialogue may be divided into three parts. The firſt introduces an advocate and a poet contending upon the pre-eminence of their reſpective arts, and enlarging in praiſe of them, the one of eloquence, and the other of poetry. The ſecond part is a ſpeech of the ſame advocate, whom the author calls Aper, in favour of the orators of his times againſt the antients. He lived in the reign of Veſpaſian, and was at the head of the bar. The third part of the work is an inquiry into the cauſes of the fall or corruption of eloquence. The ſpeakers are Meſſala, Secundus, Maternus, and Aper. All that Secundus, and part of what Maternus,

us, ſaid, is loſt, which makes a great chaſm
he work, without mentioning ſeveral other de-
ive paſſages.

UINTILIAN: (*Marcus Fabius Quintilianus.*)

ſhall reduce what I have to ſay upon Quintilian
hree heads: Firſt, I ſhall relate what is known
his hiſtory: Secondly, I ſhall ſpeak of his work,
give the plan of it: And, laſtly, I ſhall explain
method of inſtructing youth and teaching rheto-
, as practiſed in his time.

I. *What is known of Quintilian's hiſtory.*

t appears that Quintilian was born in the ſecond
r of the emperor Claudius, which is the forty-
ond of Jeſus Chriſt. Mr. Dodwell conjectures
in his annals upon Quintilian, who is my guide
chronology as to what relates to the birth, life,
l employments of our rhetorician, which he has
oſed in a very clear and probable order.

The place of his birth is diſputed. Many ſay
t he was a native of Calagurris, a city of Spain,
on the Heber, now called *Calahorra*. Others
ieve, with ſufficient foundation, that he was born
Rome.

t is not certainly known whether he was the ſon
grandſon of the orator Fabius, mentioned by
neca the father, and placed by him in the num-
of thoſe orators, whoſe reputation dies with
m.

Senec. Controv. l. 5. in præf.

Quintilian, without doubt, frequented the ſchools
he rhetoricians at Rome, in which youth were
ght eloquence. He uſed another more effectual
thod for the attainment of it, which was to
ke himſelf the diſciple of the orators of the
ateſt reputation. Domitius Afer held at that

time the firſt rank amongſt them. Quintilian did not content himſelf with hearing him plead at the bar; he often viſited him; and that venerable old man, though the admiration of the age he lived in, did not diſdain to converſe with a youth, in whom he obſerved great and very promiſing talents. This important ſervice thoſe, who are grown old with glory in this illuſtrious profeſſion, have in their power to render their juniors, eſpecially when they have quitted the bar for the ſake of retirement. Their * houſes may then become a kind of public ſchools for the youth, who may addreſs themſelves to them, to be informed by what means they muſt ſucceed. Quintilian knew how to improve Afer's good-will to his own advantage; and it appears, by the queſtions he propoſed to him, that he had in view the forming of his taſte and judgment by theſe converſations. He † aſked him one day which of the poets he thought came neareſt Homer. *Virgil*, ſays Afer, *is the ſecond*, *but much nearer the* Quintil. l. 12. c. 11. *firſt than the third.* He had the grief to ſee this great man, who had ſo long done honour to the bar, ſurvive his own reputation, from not having known how to apply the wiſe advice of ‡ Horace, and from having choſen rather to ſink under the weight of his function than retire, as he is reproached; *malle eum deficere, quàm deſinere.* Domit-

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* Frequentabunt ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum, & veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabit, quaſi eloquentiæ parens. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 11.

† Utar verbis iiſdem quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi: qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero credere maximè accedere; Secundus, inquit, eſt Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

‡ Solve ſeneſcentem mature ſanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat.
Hor. Ep. 1. l. 1.

Prudent diſmiſs the courſer from the race,
Leſt age and broken wind his youth diſgrace.

ius Afer died in the 59th year of the Chriſtian Æra,
he ſame year that Juvenal was born.

Two years after, Nero ſent Galba governor in- An. J. C.
Hiſpania Tarraconenſis. It is believed that Quin- 61.
lian followed him thither, and that, after having
ught rhetoric, and exerciſed the profeſſion of an
dvocate during upwards of ſeven years, he return-
d to Rome with him.

It was about the end of this year that Galba was An. J. C.
eclared emperor, and Quintilian opened a ſchool 68.
f rhetoric at Rome. He was the firſt who taught
there by public authority, and with a ſalary from
e ſtate; for which he was indebted to Veſpaſian.
or, according to * Suetonius, that prince was the Sueton. in
rſt that aſſigned the rhetoricians, both Greeks and Veſp. c. 18.
omans, penſions out of the public treaſury, to
e amount of twelve thouſand five hundred livres. *About 600l.*
efore this eſtabliſhment there were maſters who *ſterling.*
ught it without being authoriſed by the public.
eſides the penſions received by theſe rhetoricians
om the ſtate, the fathers † paid a ſum for the
ſtruction of their children, which Juvenal thought
ery ſmall in compariſon with thoſe they expended
n trivial occaſions. For, according to him, no-
ing coſt a father leſs than his ſon, though he re-
retted every thing expended on his education:
es nulla minoris Conſtabit patri quam filius. This
m amounted to two hundred and fifty livres:
uo ſeſtercia. Quintilian was public profeſſor of
hetoric twenty years with univerſal applauſe.

He exerciſed, at the ſame time, and with the ſame
ccceſs, the function of an advocate, and acquired
lſo great reputation at the bar. When the diffe-

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* Primus è fiſco Latinis Græciſque rhetoribus annua centena conituit.

† Hos inter ſumptus ſeſtertia Quintiliano
Ut multum duo ſufficient. Res nulla minoris
Conſtabit patri quàm filius.
Juv. Sat. 7. l. 5.

rent

Quint. l. 4. c. 2. rent parts of a cauſe were diſtributed to different pleaders, as was the cuſtom of old, he was generally choſen to ſtate or open the matter of it, which Id. l. 6. c. 2. requires great method and perſpicuity. He excelled alſo in the art of moving the paſſions; and he* confeſſes, with that modeſt freedom natural to him, that he was often ſeen, in pleading, not only to ſhed tears, but to change countenance, turn pale, and expreſs all the ſigns of the moſt lively and ſincere affliction. He does not deny but it was to this talent that he owed his reputation at the bar. And indeed it is chiefly by this character, that an orator diſtinguiſhes himſelf, and conciliates all the ſuffrages in his favour.

We ſhall ſoon ſee how well qualified he was to inſtruct youth, and in what manner he acquired the love and eſteem of every body on that account. Amongſt the many illuſtrious diſciples that frequented his ſchool, Pliny the younger did him moſt honour, by the beauty of his genius, the elegance and ſolidity of his ſtile, the admirable ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, his liberality to men of learning, and his peculiar warmth of gratitude for his maſter, of which he afterwards gave him a moſt illuſtrious proof.

After having devoted entirely twenty years to the inſtruction of youth in the ſchool, and the defence of clients at the bar, he obtained the emperor Domitian's permiſſion to quit both thoſe equally uſeful and laborious employments. Quint. l. 12. c. 11. Inſtructed by the ſad example of his maſter Domitius Afer, he believed it proper to think of a retreat, before it became abſolutely neceſſary; and that he could not put a more graceful period to his labours, than by nouncing them, at a time when he ſhould be re-etted: *Honeſtiſſimum finem putabamus deſinere dum ſideraremur*; whereas Domitius choſe rather to ık under the weight of his profeſſion, than to y it down. It was upon this occaſion that he ves wiſe advice to his brethren the pleaders. * *The ator*, ſays he, *if he would take my opinion, would und a retreat, before he fell into the ſnares of age, ıd gain the port, whilſt his veſſel was ſound and in od condition.*

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* Hæc diſſimulanda mihi non fuerunt, quibus, ipſe, quantuſcumque ſum aut fui, (nam perveniſſe me ad aliquod nomen ingenii credo) frequenter motus ſum ut me non lacrymæ ſolùm deprehenderint, ſed pallor, & vero ſimilis dolor. *Quintil.*

An. J. C. 88.

Quintilian, however, at that time, was only ſix ſeven and forty years old, a florid and robuſt ne of life. Perhaps his long application had gun to impair his health. However that were, ıs was not a leiſure of indolence and ſloth, but activity and ardour, ſo that he became in ſome eaſure ſtill more uſeful to the public than he had er been by all his paſt labours. For indeed the tter were confined within the narrow bounds of certain number of perſons and years; whereas e works, which were the fruit of his retirement, ave inſtructed all ages: and we may ſay, that uintilian's ſchool has continued the ſchool of ıankind from his death, and ſtill continues to re-ound with the admirable precepts he has left us pon eloquence.

An. J. C. 89.

He began by compoſing a treatiſe *upon the cauſes f the corruption of eloquence*, the loſs of which can ever be ſufficiently regretted. It undoubtedly is ot the piece ſtill extant under the title of *a dialogue pon the orators.*

Quintil. in Procem. l. 6.

At the time when he began this work, he loſt e youngeſt of his two ſons only five years of age: nd ſome months after a ſudden death deprived im of his wife, who was only nineteen years old, nd even ſomething leſs.

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* Antequam in has ætatis veniat inſidias, receptui canet, & in ortum integra nave perveniet. *Quint.* l. 12. c. 11.

An. J. C. 90. Some time after, at the ſollicitation of his friend he began his great work, the *Inſtitutiones Oratoria* conſiſting of twelve books: of which I ſhall giv an account in the ſequel.

An. J. C. 91. Quintil. in Procem. l. 4. Sueton. in Domit. c. 15. He had finiſhed the firſt three books of it, whe the emperor Domitian committed the two youn princes, his great nephews, whom he deſigned fo his ſucceſſors, to his care. They were the grand ſons of his ſiſter Domitilla, whoſe daughter, name alſo Domitilla, had married Flavius Clemens, th emperor's couſin-german, by whom ſhe had thoſ two princes. This was a new motive to him fo redoubling his application to complete his work His own words deſerve repeating, the paſſage being remarkable. “ * Hitherto”, ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to Victorinus, to whom he dedicate this piece, “ I wrote only for you and me; an “ confining thoſe inſtructions to our own houſes, “ when the public did not think fit to approv “ them, I thought myſelf too happy that the “ might be uſeful to your ſon and mine; but ſinc “ the emperor has vouchſafed to charge me wit “ the education of his nephews, ſhould I eſteem “ as I ought the approbation of a God, and know

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* Adhuc velut ſtudia inter nos conferebamus; &, ſi parum noſtra inſtitutio probaretur à ceteris, contenti fore domeſtico uſu videbamur, ut tui meique filii diſciplinam formare ſatis putaremus. Cum verò mihi Domitianus Auguſtus ſororis ſuæ nepotum delegaverit curam, non ſatis honorem judiciorum cœleſtium intelligam, niſi ex hoc quoque oneris, magnitudinem metiar. Quis enim mihi aut mores excolendi ſit modus, ut eos non immeritò probaverit ſanctiſſimus Cenſor? aut ſtudia, ne fefelliſſe in his videar Principem, ut in omnibus, ita in eloquentia quoque eminentiſſimum? Quod ſi nemo miratur Poëtas maximos ſæpe feciſſe, ut non ſolum initiis operum ſuorum Muſas invocarent, ſed provecti quoque longiùs, cum ad aliquem graviorem locum veniſſent, repeterent vota, & velut nova precatione uterentur: mihi quoque profectò poterit ignoſci, ſi, quod initio, cum primum hanc materiam inchoavi, non fecerim, nunc omnes in auxilium deos, ipſumque imprimis, quo neque præſentius aliud, neque ſtudiis magis propitium numen eſt, invocem; ut, quantum nobis expectationis adjecit, tantum ingenii aſpiret, dexterque ac volens adſit, & me, qualem eſſe credidit, faciat.

“ the

ıe value of the honour he has conferred upon
ıe, if I did not meaſure the greatneſs of my
ndertaking by that idea. And indeed, in what-
ver manner I conſider it, whether in regard to
ıanners, or on the ſide of knowledge and art,
hat ought I not to do, to deſerve the eſteem
f ſo ſacred a cenſor; a prince, in whoſe perſon
ıpreme eloquence is united with ſupreme pow-
r? If then we are not ſurpriſed to ſee the moſt
xcellent poets, not only invoke the muſes at
ıe beginning of their works, but again implore
ıeir aſſiſtance, whenever in the courſe of it
me new important object ariſes to be treated
n; with how much greater reaſon ought I to be
ardoned, if what I did not at firſt I now do,
nd call all the gods to my aid, particularly
im, under whoſe auſpices I write from hence-
rth, and who, more than all the reſt, preſides
ver ſtudy and ſcience? May he then be propi-
ious to me; and proportioning his graces to the
igh idea he hath given of me, in a choice ſo
lorious and ſo difficult to ſuſtain, may he in-
pire my mind with the force and elevation it
ants, and render me ſuch as he hath believed
ne. *Et me, qualem eſſe credidit, faciat.*"

t muſt be confeſſed, that there is in this com-
ıent abundance of wit, loftineſs, and grandeur,
cially in the thought with which it concludes:
render me ſuch as he hath believed me. But is it
ible to carry flattery and impiety to a greater
ht, than to treat a prince as a God, who was
onſter of vice and cruelty. Nor am I even ſure
ther the laſt thought be ſo juſt as it is ſhining:
render me ſuch as he has believed me. He was not
ı then in reality: and how came this pretended
to believe he was? Again, if, inſtead of ex-
ing the regularity and purity of his manners, he
contented himſelf with enlarging upon his elo-
quence,

quence, and the other talents of the mind u
which he valued himſelf, the flattery had been
Lib. 10. c. 1. odious. He praiſes him in another place in
ſame manner, where he prefers him above
other poets; at which time it is very likely, t
the conſular ornaments were conferred upon Qu
tilian.

The care of the young princes education, w
which Quintilian was charged, did not hinder h
Quintil. in Proœm. l. 6. from working upon his book, the *Inſtitutiones O*
toriæ. His regard for his only ſurviving ſon, wh
happy genius and diſpoſition merited his whole te
derneſs and attention, was a powerful motive w
him for haſtening that work, which he conſider
as the moſt valuable part of the inheritance
ſhould leave him; in order, ſays he himſelf, th
if any unforeſeen accident ſhould deprive that de
child of his father, he might, even after his deat
ſerve him as a guide and præceptor.

An. J. C. 92. Continually filled therefore with the thought a
apprehenſion of his mortality, he laboured nig
and day upon his work; and had already finiſh
the fifth book of it, when an early death robb
him of that darling child, in whom his whole j
and conſolation was centered. This was to hi
after the loſs he had already ſuſtained of his youn
eſt ſon, a new ſtroke of thunder, that entirely ove
whelmed him with anguiſh and affliction. H
grief, or rather deſpair, vented itſelf in complain
and reproaches againſt the gods themſelves, who
he loudly accuſed of injuſtice and cruelty; decl
ring, that it was plain, after ſo cruel and unjuſt
treatment, which neither himſelf nor his childre
had deſerved, that there was no providence to ſu
perintend affairs below.

Diſcourſes of this kind ſhew, in a clear ligh
what even the moſt perfect probity of the Paga
was: for I do not know whether all antiquity ca
inſtanc

ice one man of a more humane, reaſonable,
and virtuous character than Quintilian, ac-
ng to the rules of Paganiſm. His books
nd with excellent maxims upon the education
ildren, upon the care which parents ought to
to preſerve them from the dangers and cor-
on of the world, upon the attention maſters
t to have that the precious depoſit of inno-
remain unblemiſhed in them, upon the gene-
diſintereſtedneſs incumbent upon perſons in
r, and, laſtly, upon the zeal and love for
e and the public good.

is grief had been very juſt, if attended with
eration : for never did a child deſerve more to
gretted than this. Beſides the graces of nature
exterior attributes, a charming tone of voice,
miable phyſiognomy, with a ſurpriſing facility
onouncing the Greek and Roman languages,
he had been born to excel equally in them
, he had the moſt happy diſpoſition that could
eſired for the ſciences, united with a taſte and
nation for ſtudy that aſtoniſhed his teachers.
the qualities of his heart were ſtill more ex-
rdinary than thoſe of his head. Quintilian,
had known abundance of youth, declares with
ath, that he had never ſeen ſo much probity
clination, goodneſs of ſoul, ſweetneſs of tem-
and elegance of mind, as in this dear child.
n illneſs of eight months continuance, he ſhew-
an evenneſs and conſtancy of mind, that his
ſicians could never ſufficiently admire, oppoſing
s and pains with ſurpriſing fortitude, and, upon
point of expiring, conſoling his father, and en-
vouring to prevent his tears. What a misfor-
e was it that ſo many fine qualities were loſt !
what a ſhame and reproach were it for Chriſtian
dren to be leſs virtuous !

After

An. J. C. 93. Epiſt. ad Tryph. bibliop.

After having abandoned his ſtudies for time, Quintilian, having recovered himſelf a l reſumed his work ; for which, he ſays, the pu ought to have the more favourable opinion of as from thenceforth he laboured no longer for h ſelf, his writings, as well as fortune, being to away to ſtrangers. He at length finiſhed his in twelve books. It coſt him little more than years: of which beſides he had employed a g part, not in actually compoſing, but in prepar and collecting all the matter of which it wa conſiſt, by the peruſal of abundance of auth who had treated on the ſame ſubject. And have ſeen how many afflictions and melancholy fairs he had upon his hands, during that time. is aſtoniſhing, and almoſt incredible, how ſo per a work could be compoſed in ſo ſhort a ſp His * deſign was to follow the advice of Hor who, in his art of poetry, recommends to auth the not being in too much haſte to publiſh th writings. Accordingly he kept his by him; in der to reviſe them at his leiſure with cooler thoug to give time to the firſt emotions of ſelf-love a the complacency people always have for their o productions to cool; and to examine them no long with the fond prepoſſeſſion of an author, but w the temper and impartiality of a reader. He cou not long reſiſt the eager deſire of the public to ha his works, and was in a manner reduced to aband them to it, contenting himſelf with wiſhing the ſucceſs, and recommending to his bookſeller take great care that they were exact and corre It muſt have been at leaſt a year before they cou be in a condition to appear. We are obliged

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* Uſus deinde Horatii conſilio, qui in arte poëtica ſuadet, ne pr cipitetur editio, *nonúmque prematur in annum*; dabam iis otium, refrigerato inventionis amore, diligentiùs repetitos tanquam lec perpenderem.

t

bbé Gedoyn for having inabled the public to
of the merit of this author, by the tranſla-
e has publiſhed of his works.

Dodwell believes, it was about this time An. J. C.
uintilian, being no longer employed in com- 94.
his great work, which he had lately finiſh-
hought of a ſecond * marriage, and accord-
eſpouſed the grand-daughter of Tutilius, as
the younger calls him. He had a daughter
about the end of this year.

nitian, notwithſtanding his pretended divinity, An. J. C.
illed in his palace by Stephanus, who had put 96.
f at the head of the conſpirators. That em-
had cauſed Flavius Clemens, then conſul, to be
death, and had baniſhed his niece Flavia Do-
ı, the wife of Clemens. He had alſo baniſhed
avia Domitilla, the daughter of one of the
conſul's ſiſters. All theſe perſons ſuffered for
ith in Jeſus Chriſt. The death of Clemens
ed that of Domitian, either through the hor-
d fear it gave every body, or becauſe it ani-
Stephanus againſt him, who was the freed-
ınd ſteward of Domitilla, the wife of Clemens,
oſe eſtate he was obliged to give an account,
vas accuſed of malverſation in that reſpect.
ı ſucceeded Domitian, and reigned only ſix- An. J. C.
months and ſome days. Trajan, whom he 98.
dopted, was his ſucceſſor, and reigned twenty

thing is known of Quintilian from the death
mitian, except the marriage of his daughter,
ting he had one. When ſhe was of age to
, he gave her to Nonius Celer. Pliny ſigna-
himſelf, on this occaſion, by a generoſity and
ude, which, in my opinion, do him more ho-
than his writings, excellent as they are. He
ſtudied eloquence under Quintilian. The

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is ſecond marriage is not certain, but ſeems very probable.

works he has left us ſufficiently prove, that he a diſciple worthy of ſo great a maſter: but the lowing fact no leſs denotes the goodneſs of his he and the remembrance he conſtantly retained of ſervices he had received from him. As ſoon as knew that Quintilian intended to marry his dau ter, he thought it incumbent on him to exp his gratitude to his maſter by a ſmall preſent. difficulty was to make him accept it. He wr him a letter upon that head, that can never be ficiently admired for its art and delicacy, of wh I ſhall inſert a tranſlation in this place.

Pliny's letter to Quintilian.

"* Though the moderation of your mind
" very great, and you have educated your daugh
" as becomes Quintilian's daughter, and the grar
" daughter of Tutilius: however, as ſhe is ab
" to marry Nonius Celer, a perſon of diſtincti
" whoſe employments in the ſtate impoſe a ki
" of neceſſity upon him of appearing with ſple
" dor, it is proper, that ſhe ſhould adapt
" dreſs and equipage to the rank of her huſban
" Theſe exterior things indeed add nothing to o
" dignity, they however expreſs and adorn it.
" know how very rich you are in the goods of t
" mind, and that you are much leſs ſo in thoſe
" fortune than you ought to be. Let me clai

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* Quamvis & ipſe ſis continentiſſimus, & filiam tuam ita inſti eris, ut decebat filiam tuam, Tutilii neptem: cum tamen ſit nu tura honeſtiſſimo viro Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civilium officioru neceſſitatem quandam nitoris imponit; debet, ſecundum conditio mariti, veſte, comitatu augeri: quibus non quidem augetur dig tas, ornatur tamen & inſtruitur. Te porro animo beatiſſimum, m dicum facultatibus ſcio. Itaque partem oneris tui mihi vendico, tanquam parens alter puellæ noſtræ, confero quinquaginta mil numinûm: plus collaturus, niſi à verecundia tua ſola medioc tate munuſculi impetrari poſſe conſiderem, ne recuſares. Va *Ep*. 32. l. 6.

" therefo

erefore a part in your obligations, and, as an-
her father, give our dear daughter fifty thou- *About*
nd ſeſtertia, (12,500 livres) to which I ſhould 600l.
ld, if I was not aſſured, that the mediocrity of *ſterling.*
e preſent is the ſole means to prevail upon
ur modeſty to accept it." *Adieu.*

his letter of Pliny's has one circumſtance in it
much for Quintilian's honour: that after
ig publicly employed twenty years with ſur-
ig reputation and ſucceſs, as well in inſtructing
as pleading at the bar; after having long
ed in the court with young princes, the educa-
of whom ought to have given him, and un-
tedly did give him, great credit with the em-
; he had made no great fortune, and had
s remained in a laudable mediocrity. A fine
iple, but unhappily very ſeldom imitated!
venal however intimates that Quintilian was Sat. 7. l. 3.
rich, and that he had a conſiderable number
reſts, from whence, no doubt, aroſe a very
t revenue:

Unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet ſaltus?

e riches muſt neceſſarily have been of later
than the time when Pliny made Quintilian the
nt we have mentioned. It is believed, that, if
they were the effect of the liberality of Adrian,
he attained the empire, for he declared him-
he protector of the learned. Quintilian was Ar. J. C.
ſeventy-ſix years old. It is not known whether 118.
ved long after, and hiſtory tells us nothing of
eath.

II. *The*

II. *The plan and character of Quintilian's rhetoric.*

The rhetoric of Quintilian, intitled *Inſtitution Oratoriæ*, is the moſt complete antiquity has left u His deſign in it is to form the perfect orator. H begins with him in his cradle and from his birt and goes on with him through all the ſtages of li to the grave. This rhetoric conſiſts of twel books. In the firſt he treats of the manner which children ſhould be educated from their earlie infancy; from whence he proceeds to gramma The ſecond lays down rules to be obſerved in tl ſchools of rhetoric, and ſolves ſeveral queſtions regard to the art itſelf, as whether it be a ſcienc whether uſeful, &c. The five following bool contain the rules of invention and diſpoſition. Tl eighth, ninth, and tenth books include all that r lates to elocution. The eleventh, after a fine chapt upon the manner of ſpeaking with propriety as orator, *de aptè dicendo*, treats of memory and pr nunciation. In the twelfth, which is perhaps tl fineſt of them all, Quintilian lays down the pe ſonal qualities and obligations of an advocate, ſuch, and with regard to his clients; when l ought to quit his profeſſion; and how employ h retirement.

One of the peculiar characters of Quintilian rhetoric is, its being written with all the art, el gance, and energy of ſtile it is poſſible to imagin He * knew, that precepts, when treated in a nake ſimple, and ſubtile manner, are only proper to d up the ſources of the mind, and, if I may uſe tl expreſſion, to make a diſcourſe lean and languid, b

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* Plerumque nudæ illæ artes, nimia ſubtilitatis affectatione, fra gunt atque concidunt quicquid eſt in oratione generoſius, & omne ſuccum ingenii bibunt, & oſſa detegunt: quæ, ut eſſe & aſtrin nervis ſuis debeant, ſic corpore operienda ſunt. *Quintil. in Proæ.* l. 1.

deprivin

riving it of all grace and beauty, and leaving othing but nerves and bones, more like a ſkele- than a healthy and natural body. * He there- e endeavoured to introduce into his Inſtitutions the ornament and elegance of which ſuch a k was ſuſceptible; not, as he ſays himſelf, h the view of diſplaying his wit, (for he could e choſen a far more fruitful ſubject for that poſe) but that youth, from the attraction of ſure, might apply themſelves with more ardour he reading and ſtudying of his precepts, which out grace and ornament, could not fail, in of- ding the delicacy of their ears, to diſguſt alſo r minds. Accordingly we find in his writings ichneſs of thoughts, expreſſions, images, and cially compariſons, which a lively imagination, rned with a profound knowledge of nature, tinually ſupplies, without ever exhauſting itſelf, falling into diſagreeable repetitions: compari- s, which throw ſuch a fulneſs of light and uty into precepts, often obſcure and diſguſting hemſelves, as give them a quite different ſpirit effect.

he † principal end of Quintilian, in his rheto- was to oppoſe the bad taſte of eloquence that vailed in his time, and revive a manner of king and judging more ſound and ſevere, and e conformable to the rules of the elegance of ure. Seneca had contributed more than any er author to vitiate and corrupt the judgment

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In ceteris admiſcere tentavimus aliquid nitoris, non jactandi in- gratia (namque in id eligi materia poterat uberior) ſed ut hoc illiceremus magis juventutem ad cognitionem eorum quæ ne- ia ſtudiis arbitrabamur, ſi, ducti jucunditate aliqua lectionis, li- ùs diſcerent ea, quorum ne jejuna atque arida traditio averte- imos, & aures (præſertim tam delicatas) raderet, verebamur. *til.* l. 3. c. 1.

Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum & omnibus vitiis fractum di genus revocare ad ſeveriora judicia contendo. *Quintil.* . c. 1.

of the Roman youth, and to ſubſtitute, in the pla
of that manly and ſolid eloquence which had pr
vailed till his time, the prettineſſes, if I may
allowed to call them ſo, of a ſtile ſurfeited wi
ornaments, glittering thoughts, quaint concei
antitheſes, and points. He perceived aright, th
his * works would never pleaſe thoſe who admir
the antients: for which reaſon he never ceaſed
ſpeak ill of, and diſcredit, them, even the autho
who were moſt eſteemed, as Cicero and Virgil.
conſequence of this conduct enſued an almoſt ur
verſal contempt for them; ſo that, when Quin
lian began to teach, he found no author but S
neca in the hands of youth. He did not ende
vour abſolutely to exclude him, but could n
ſuffer his being preferred to writers of incomparab
greater merit.

For the reſt we ought not to be ſurpriſed th
this bad taſte made ſo rapid a progreſs in ſo ſho
a time: which is indeed no more than what uſual
happens. There wants but a ſingle perſon of
certain character to vitiate all the reſt, and to co
rupt the language of a whole nation. Such w
Quintil. ibid. Seneca. I omit ſpeaking in this place of the oth
qualities, for which he was admired: an hap
and univerſal genius; a vaſt extent of knowledg
a profound erudition in philoſophy; and a mor
lity abounding with the juſteſt and moſt ſolid pri
ciples. To keep within the bounds of my ſubjec
he had an eaſy and exuberant wit, a fine and ri
imagination, a ſhining facility in his compoſitio
ſolid thoughts, expreſſions curious and full of ene
gy, with happy and ſprightly turns and concei

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* Tum autem ſolus hic ferè in manibus adoleſcentium fu
Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, ſed potioribus pr
ferri non ſinebam, quos ille non deſtiterat inceſſere, cum diverſi
conſcius generis, placere ſe in dicendo poſſe iis, quibus illi placere
diffideret. *Ibid.*

B

, as to his * ſtile, it was almoſt vicious in all its
s, and ſo much the more dangerous, as it was
ver luxuriant with charming faults and beau-
defects.

his florid ſtile, this taſte for point and quaint-
, the more dangerous as the more eaſy and af-
ng, and therefore the more conformable to the
acter of youth, ſoon ſeized the whole city It
me † neceſſary that every proof and every pe-
ſhould conclude with ſome glittering thought,
ngular and ſurpriſing turn, to ſtrike the ear,
ct particular attention, and in ſome meaſure
n applauſe.

uintilian believed himſelf obliged to attack this
taſte with the utmoſt vigour; which he does
oſt throughout his whole work, by laying down
the model of the antients, the principles of
and ſolid eloquence. It is not, as he often
ares, and as his ſtile ſufficiently ſhews, becauſe
vas an enemy to the beauties and graces of diſ-
ſe. ‡ He confeſſes, that Cicero himſelf, to de-
his clients, employed not only ſtrong but ſhin-
arms; and that in the cauſe of Cornelius Balbus,
hich he was often interrupted by the applauſes,
univerſal clapping of hands of his auditors,
mity, pomp, and glitter of eloquence occa-

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* ed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciofiſſima,
abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum ſuo ingenio dixiſſe,
judicio.

† Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis ſenſus in fine ſer-
feriat aurem. Turpe autem ac prope nefas ducunt reſpirare
oco qui acclamationem non petierit. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 5.

‡ Nec fortibus modo ſed etiam fulgentibus armis præliatus in
eſt Cicero Cornelii: qui non aſſecutus eſſet docendo Judicem
n, & utiliter demum ac latinè perſpicuéque dicendo, ut po-
Romanus admirationem ſuam, non acclamatione tantum, ſed
plauſu confiteretur. Sublimitas profectò, & magnificentia,
or, & auctoritas expreſſit illum fragorem——Sed ne cauſæ qui-
arum confert hic orationis ornatus. Nam qui libenter audi-
t magis attendunt, & faciliùs credunt, plerumque ipſa de-
one capiuntur, nonnunquam ipſa admiratione auferuntur.
il. l. 8. c. 3.

ſioned

ſioned thoſe loud acclamations. He adds to t
motive a very true and judicious reflection, whi
ſeems to regard only the orator's reputation : that
that the beauty of ſpeech conduces very much
the ſucceſs of a cauſe, becauſe thoſe who hear w
pleaſure are more attentive, and become more
clined to believe what they hear, won over as tl
are by the charms of diſcourſe, and ſometimes i
manner borne away by the general admiration.

Quintilian therefore does not reject ornamen
but he inſiſts that * eloquence, which is an ene
to paint, and all borrowed graces, admits no dr
but what is manly, noble, and majeſtic. He c
ſents, that it ſhould ſhine and be lovely, but fr
health, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, and t
it ſhould owe its beauty ſolely to its natural vig
and florid complexion. He carries this princi
ſo far as to ſay, † that, were he to chuſe, he ſho
prefer the rough, groſs force of the antients to
ſtudied and effeminate affectation of the moder
But, ſays he, there is in this point a certain m
that may be obſerved, in like manner as there
a neatneſs and elegance at preſent in our tables
furniture, which is ſo far from being reproveab
that we ought, to the utmoſt of our power, to ma
it become a virtue in the general acceptation.

We find, by the little I have related of Quin
lian, how greatly uſeful the ſtudy of ſuch a wo
may be to form the judgment of youth. It is
leſs ſo in reſpect to the manners. He has ſcatte
admirable maxims of that nature throughout

rheto

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* Sed hic ornatus, (repetam enim) virilis, fortis, & ſanctus
nec effeminatam levitatem, nec fuco eminentem colorem amet:
guine & viribus niteat. *Quintil.* ibid.

† Et, ſi neceſſe ſit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, q
iſtam novam licentiam. Sed patet media quædam via : ſicu
cultu victuque acceſſit aliquis citra reprehenſionem nitor, quem,
poſſumus, adjiciamus virtutibus. *Ibid.* c. 5.

oric. I have quoted part of them in my trea-
upon ſtudy.
ut this fund of probity, ſo worthy in itſelf of
higheſt praiſes, is much diſhonoured by our
orician's impious flatteries in regard to Domi-
and by his deſpair on the death of his chil-
, that roſe ſo high as to deny providence. This
nple, and many others of the like nature, in-
ct us how to think of theſe Pagan virtues which
ſolely founded in ſelf-love, and of a religion
afforded no reſource againſt the loſſes and evils
hich human life is continually expoſed.

Method of inſtructing youth in Quintilian's time.

efore I conclude this article upon Quintilian, I
l extract from his writings part of what relates
the manner of teaching, as uſed at Rome, in
time.
t appears to have been a very uſual cuſtom, at Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.
me, not to begin the inſtruction of children till
y were ſeven years old, becauſe it was believed,
t before that age they had neither ſufficient
ngth of body nor extent of mind for learning.
uintilian thinks otherwiſe, and prefers the opi-
n of Chryſippus, who had compoſed a treatiſe
conſiderable extent, and in great eſteem, upon
education of children. Though that philoſo-
r allowed three years to the nurſes, he was from
t age for having them induſtriouſly imbued
h good principles of morality, and formed in-
ſibly for virtue. Now, ſays Quintilian, if from
t early ſtate their manners may be cultivated,
at hinders but their minds may alſo be improv-
? What is a child to do from the time he begins
ſpeak? For undoubtedly he muſt do ſomething.
it proper to abandon him entirely to the diſ-
urſes of women and men ſervants? At that age

we know he is incapable either of pains or application. Therefore this muſt not be ſo much a ſtud as a play, whereby theſe firſt years of infancy, ti the ſeventh, which are generally loſt, may be uſefully applied in teaching him a thouſand agreeabl things within the reach of his capacity.

Quintil. l. 1. c. 1. They began with the ſtudy of the Greek language: but that of the Latin ſoon followed; fron which time they cultivated both languages witl equal application. This is not practiſed with ſufficient regularity amongſt the French, *or indeed th English*, who ſeldom or never know their nativ tongue by principles.

When children had learnt to read well, and tc write correctly, they were taught both the Latin anc Greek grammars.

They had for this end, private maſters who inſtructed them at home, and others who taught ir the public ſchools. Quintilian examines which ol theſe two methods of teaching is the moſt uſeful; and, after having attentively conſidered the reaſons on both ſides, he declares for the public ſchools. The chapter wherein he treats this queſtion, is one of the fineſt parts of this work.

Ibid.

L. 1. c. 4. Grammar was not conſidered in thoſe times as a frivolous employment of little importance. The Romans ſet an higher value upon it, and applied themſelves to it in a particular manner; convinced, that to propoſe making a progreſs in the ſciences, without the aſſiſtance of grammar, is like intending to erect a building without a foundation. They did not dwell upon minute things and ſubtleties, which ſerve only to cramp the genius, and make the mind dry and frigid; they ſtudied its principles, and examined its reaſons with care; for there is nothing hurtful in grammar, but what is uſeleſs.

Grammar,

rammar, that is to ſay, the art of writing and
king correctly, turns upon four principles,
on, antiquity, authority, and uſe. Quintilian
an admirable thing upon this laſt head. This
d * *uſe*, according to him, requires an expla-
on, and it is neceſſary to define preciſely what
nderſtand by it. For, if we take it, for what
ee done by the generality of people, the con-
ences would be dangerous, not only in regard
nguage, but, what is more important, in re-
t to manners. For, ſays he, can it be expected
ngſt men to ſee the generality follow or uſe
t is beſt, and according to rule? He repeats
ral cuſtoms very common in his time, which
ht not to be conſidered as uſes, but as abuſes,
igh generally practiſed by the whole city. We
l call uſe therefore, as it relates to language,
which is received by the conſent of ſuch as
k beſt; as, in regard to manners, that is
which has the approbation of the good and
thy.

Quintil. l. 1. c. 4.

he care of teaching children to read and write
rectly, and of learning them the principles of
Greek and Latin tongues, was the firſt but not
chief duty of grammarians. They added to
the reading and explication of the poets, which
of exceeding great extent, and required pro-
nd erudition. They did not content themſelves
h making children obſerve the propriety and

L. 1. c. 5.

Sed huic ipſi neceſſarium eſt judicium, conſtituendumque im-
is id ipſum quid ſit, quod conſuetudinem vocemus. Quæ, ſi ex
uod plures faciunt nomen accipiat, periculoſiſſimum dabit præ-
um, non orationi modo, ſed (quod majus eſt) vitæ. Unde enim
um boni, ut pluribus quæ recta ſunt placeant? Igitur ut velli,
omam in gradus frangere, & in balneis perpotare, quamlibet hæc
ſerint civitatem, non erit conſuetudo, quia nihil horum caret
ehenſione——ſic, in loquendo, non, ſi quid vitioſe multis in-
rit, pro regula ſermonis accipiendum erit——Ergo conſuetudi-
ſermonis vocabo conſenſum eruditorum; ſicut vivendi, con-
um bonorum. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

natural ſignification of words; the different feet in the conſtruction of verſes; the turns and expreſſions peculiar to poetry, with the tropes and figures. They applied themſelves principally in ſhewing* what it was neceſſary to remark in the œconomy or conduct of a piece, and the conſiſtency of its parts and characters; what was fine in the thoughts and diction; and wherefore the ſtile was ſometimes flowing and luxuriant, and ſometimes ſuccinct and conciſe. They made children alſo perfectly acquainted with whatever had any relation, in the poets, either to fable or hiſtory, without however charging their memories with any thing uſeleſs. At leaſt, theſe are the rules preſcribed by Quintilian. He reckons it a † perfection, in a grammarian to be ignorant of certain things, which indeed do not deſerve to be known.

Lib. 1. c. 6. The grammarians began alſo to form youth for compoſition, by making them write deſcriptions, L. 2. c. 1. fables, and more extenſive narrations. They ſometimes made excurſions, of which Quintilian complains, into the province of the rhetoric, and made their diſciples compoſe diſcourſes, not only in the demonſtrative kind, which ſeemed abandoned to them, but even in the deliberative.

L. 1. c. 7. &c. At the ſame time that youth learned grammar, they were alſo taught muſic, geometry, the manner of dancing that improves the perſon and mien, and the art of pronunciation, or of ſpeaking in public; all which were conſidered as eſſential to the future orator, and always preceded the ſtudy of rhetoric.

The age for entering upon this ſtudy was not and could not be fixed, becauſe it depended on the

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* Præcipuè vero illa infigat animis, quæ in œconomia virtus, quæ in decoro rerum; quid perſonæ cuique convenerit; quid in ſenſibus laudandum; quid in verbis; ubi copia probabilis, ubi modus.

† Ex quo mihi inter virtutes Grammatici habebitur aliqua neſcire.

greſs made in the previous ſtudies. What we
ainly know of it is, that young perſons de-
d ſeveral years to it: *Adulti ferè pueri ad hos* L. 2. c. 2.
eptores transferuntur, & apud eos juvenes etiam
perſeverant. We may conjecture, that they
rally began rhetoric at thirteen or fourteen
s of age, and continued at it till ſeventeen or
teen. The length of time employed in this
y ought not to ſurpriſe us, becauſe, at Rome as
as Athens, eloquence opening the door to the
eſt dignities of the republic, this art was the
cipal employment of the youth of both cities.
muſt not forget, that at Rome they ſtudied
oric under both Greek and Latin maſters.

he function of a rhetorician included two parts,
cepts and declamations.

uintilian, in ſeveral paſſages of his work, proves
utility and neceſſity of precepts: but he is far
n believing, that a ſcrupulous obſervance of
n is indiſpenſably neceſſary in compoſing. Rhe-
would certainly be very eaſy and attainable,
could be made to conſiſt in a ſmall number of
d and certain rules; but its rules change accord-
to time, occaſion, and neceſſity. For which
on * the principal requiſite in an orator is judg-
it, becauſe he is to determine differently his own
duct, according to the exigency of affairs.

he rhetorician dictated the precepts to his diſ-
es, which muſt have taken up abundance of
: for the rhetorics were generally very long,
e may conclude from that of Quintilian. It
n treated ſubjects of a very abſtracted, and very
roper nature, in my opinion, to inſpire a taſte
eloquence. Theſe are that kind of paſſages,
ch, in regard to youth, I have taken the liberty
etrench in my edition of this rhetorician. He

Atque adeo res in oratore præcipua conſilium, quia variè & ad
n momenta convertitur. *Lib.* 2. c. 14.

found this cuſtom eſtabliſhed, and could not wit prudence depart from it. But he makes his reader good amends, not only by the graces and beautie of ſtile diffuſed through all the paſſages ſuſceptib of them, but ſtill more by the ſolid reflections with which he unites moſt of his precepts. And when he explained them to his diſciples, what forc and clearneſs muſt his pronunciation have added t them!

Lib.2.c.4. To teach youth how to practiſe the precepts h had explained to them, the maſter formed then for compoſition. At firſt they made hiſtorical nar rations. They then roſe to praiſing of great men and blaming ſuch as had rendered themſelve odious by their criminal actions; and ſometime made parallels and compariſons between them. The exerciſed themſelves alſo in common places, upo avarice, ingratitude, and the other vices in general and in certain themes which ſupplied abundant mat ter for eloquence; for inſtance, whether the countr life is preferable to that of the town? whether mo glory be acquired in the field or at the bar?

Lib.2.c.8. Care was alſo taken to exerciſe the memory Quintilian for this end is for having youth learn b heart ſelect paſſages out of the orators, hiſtorians and other celebrated authors: the poets were lef wholly to the grammarians. * They will forn their taſte early by this means, ſays he; thei memory will conſtantly ſupply them with excellen models, which they will imitate even without think ing of it: expreſſions, tours of thoughts and figure will riſe up with no conſtraint under their pens and preſent themſelves as treaſures carefully reſerv ed againſt occaſion.

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* Sic aſſueſcent optimis, ſemperque habebunt intra ſe quod im tentur: etiam non ſentientes, formam illam, quam mente penit acceperint, exprimient. Abundabunt autem copiâ verborum opti morum, & compoſitione ac figuris jam non quæſitis, ſed ſponte ex repoſito velut theſauro ſe offerentibus.

By theſe different exerciſes, they were inſenſibly Lib. 2. c. 4.
e on to the compoſition of diſcourſes in form,
ed declamations, in which the principal buſi-
s of rhetoric conſiſted. Theſe were harangues
npoſed upon feigned and imaginary ſubjects, in
ntation of thoſe at the bar, and in the public de-
lrations. Demetrius Phalereus was the firſt who
oduced the uſe of them amongſt the Greeks.

Declamations were inſtituted to prepare youth for
h real affairs of the bar, of which they were pro-
y to be a faithful reſemblance: and as long as
h kept within theſe juſt bounds, and, perfectly
ated the form and ſtile of actual pleadings,
h were of great uſe. Accordingly this ſort of
npoſitions compriſed all the parts and beauties
f a coherent diſcourſe.

But this exerciſe, ſo uſeful in itſelf, degenerated
o much through the ignorance and bad taſte of
ters, that declamations were one of the princi-
l cauſes of the ruin of eloquence. They made
ice of fabulous ſubjects, entirely extraordinary
unnatural, which had no manner of relation to
h matters treated on at the bar. I ſhall cite a ſingle
mple of this kind, from which the reſt may be Senec. Declam. 4. l. 9.
wn. There was a law which decreed, that the
ds of him who ſtruck or uſed violence to his
ier ſhould be cut off: *Qui patrem pulſaverit,*
nus ei præcidantur. A tyrant having cauſed a
ier and his two ſons to be brought to him in the
del, ordered the ſons to beat the father. One
them, to avoid ſo horrid an impiety, threw
iſelf headlong from the works of the citadel:
other, compelled by neceſſity, obeyed the
mand, and ſtruck his father; he afterwards
ied the tyrant, who had made him his friend,
received the reward granted him by the laws
uch a caſe. He was however tried by the judges
having uſed violence to his father, and the pro-
tor demanded that his hands ſhould be cut off.
The

The father takes upon him his defence. Matter
of a much more extravagant nature were treated o
in declamations. The * ſtile was ſuitable to th
choice of the ſubjects, and conſiſted of nothin
but ſtiff, far-fetched expreſſions, glittering conceits
points, antitheſes, quibbles and jingle, exceſſiv
figures, frothy bombaſt, in a word, of all manne
of puerile ornaments, crowded together withou
judgment or choice.

Quintilian oppoſed this bad taſte with the utmoſ
zeal, and applied himſelf to reforming declama
tions, by reducing them to their original deſign
and making them conformable to the practice c
the bar. Believing it improper, however, to op
poſe the torrent of cuſtom in a direct manner, h
abated of his ardour in ſome reſpects, and gav
way to the ſtream in a certain degree. It will nc
be diſagreeable to ſee in what manner he juſtifie
this condeſcenſion himſelf.

" † What then, ſome may ſay, are youth neve
" to be ſuffered to treat on extraordinary ſub
" jects? To give a looſe to their genius, to aban
" don themſelves to the ſallies of a warm imagina
" tion, and ſwell a little in their ſtile and eloquence

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* Hæc tolerabilia eſſent, ſi ad eloquentiam ituris viam facerent
nunc & rerum tumore, & ſententiarum vaniſſimo ſtrepitu, hoc tan
tum proficiunt, ut, cum in forum venerint, putent ſe in alium ter
rarum orbem delatos. Et ideo ego adoleſcentulos exiſtimo in ſcholi
ſtultiſſimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in uſu habemus, aut audiunt
aut vident——ſed mellitos verborum globulos, & omnia dicta facta
que quaſi papavere & ſeſamo ſparſa. *Petron. in init.*

† Quid ergo? Nunquam hæc ſupra fidem, & poëtica (ut verè di
cam) themata juvenibus pertractare permittemus, ut expatientur,
gaudeant materia, & quaſi in corpus eant? Erat optimum. Sed cert
ſint grandia & tumida, non ſtulta etiam, & acrioribus oculis in
tuenti ridicula. Ac, ſi jam cedendum eſt, impleat ſe declamato
aliquando, dum ſciat, ut quadrupedes, cum viridi pabulo diſtent
ſunt, ſanguinis detractione curantur, & ſic ad cibos viribus conſer
vandis idoneos redeunt: ita ſibi quoque tenuandos adipes, & quic
quid humoris corrupti contraxerit emittendum, ſi eſſe ſanus ac ro
buſtus o'e . Alioqui, tumor ille inanis primo cujuſque veri oper
conatu deprehendetur. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 11.

" Tha

‘ That is undoubtedly right, ſays Quintilian. But then let them keep at leaſt to what is juſtly bold and ſwelling, and not give into what is ridiculous and extravagant to all who have any ſenſe or diſcernment. In fine, if we muſt have this indulgence for declaimers, let them ſwell as much as they pleaſe, provided they remember, that as certain animals are turned looſe into the fields to fatten upon the luxuriant herbage for a certain time, and afterwards are let blood, and return to their uſual meat for the preſervation of their vigour; ſo they ought to diſtruſt their fulneſs, and retrench its vicious ſuperfluities, if they would have their productions really ſound and vigorous. Otherwiſe, on their firſt attempts in public, they will find that imaginary fulneſs and abundance no more than empty ſwell and tumour.”

With ſuch wiſe precautions, declamations might of great uſe to young perſons. * Perfect diſ- urſes are not to be required or expected from em at firſt. A fruitful and abundant genius may known from a boldneſs and ſpirit in attempting, ough not always within the bounds of the juſt nd the true. It is good to have always ſome- ing to retrench at theſe years. When a young rſon had worked in private upon a ſubject given m to treat on, he brought his compoſition to the hool, and read it before his companions. The aſter ſometimes, to render them more attentive, nd to form their judgment, aſked them what they ought worthy of either praiſe or blame in the piece ad to them. He afterwards determined the man- r in which they were to judge of it, as well in

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* In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi, nec ſperari poteſt: melior tem eſt indoles læta, generoſique conatus, & vel plura juſto con- piens interim ſpiritus. Nec unquam me in his diſcentis annis fendat, ſi quid ſuperfuerit. *L.* 2. *c.* 4.

regard to the thoughts, as the expreſſion and tour he pointed out the paſſages that were either to b made more clear, or to be enlarged or abridged always ſoftening his criticiſm with an air of kindneſs and ſometimes even with praiſe, in order to its bein the better received. " For my part, ſays * Quintilian, when I obſerved young perſons either to " wanton and luxuriant in their ſtile, or more bol " than ſolid in their thoughts; I told them, fo " the preſent I would ſuffer it, but the time woul " come when I ſhould not permit the taking o " ſuch liberties. And thus they were pleaſed wit " their wit, without being deceived on the ſide o " their judgment."

When the youth, upon the advice of his maſter, had carefully retouched his piece, he prepared to pronounce it in public; and this was one of the greateſt advantages derived from the ſtudy of rhetoric, and at the ſame time one of the moſt laborious exerciſes for the maſter, as the ſatyriſt obſerves:

> Declamare doces, oh ferrea pectora, Vecti!
> *Juv.* Sat. 7.

With iron lungs who teaches to declaim.

The relations and friends of the ſpeakers aſſembled on theſe occaſions, and it was the height of joy to fathers to ſee their ſons ſucceed in theſe declamations, which prepared them for pleading, and inabled them to diſtinguiſh themſelves in time at the bar.

Amongſt the different exerciſes of rhetoric, there is reaſon to be ſurpriſed, that nothing is ſaid of the reading

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* Solebam ego dicere pueris aliquid auſis licentius aut lætius, laudare illud me adhuc; venturum tempus, quo idem non permitterem. Ita, & ingenio gaudebant, & judicio non fallebantur. *Ibid.*

ling and explaining good authors, which alone
pable of forming entirely the taſte of youth,
or teaching them to compoſe well. Quintilian L. 2. c. 5.
feſſes, that this was not practiſed at the time he
an to teach rhetoric. He was ſenſible of all its
antages from the firſt, and exerciſed ſome young
ons in it, whom he inſtructed in private, in
ſequence of their parents requeſt: but, having
nd the contrary cuſtom eſtabliſhed in the ſchools,
was afraid to depart from the antient method;
much force and dominion has cuſtom over the
d of man! Convinced of the vaſt importance
this practice with regard to youth, he recom-
nds it induſtriouſly in his oratorical inſtitutions:
, as the grammarian's buſineſs was to explain
poets to them, he is for having the rhetorician
the ſame in reſpect to the orators and hiſtorians,
eſpecially the former, in reading them with the
ils, and making them ſenſible of all their beau-
; and he prefers this exerciſe far before * all the
cepts of rhetoric, how excellent ſoever they may
examples being infinitely more improving in
opinion. For, ſays he, what the rhetorician
tents himſelf with teaching, the orator ſets be-
the eyes. The one points out the road youth
to take, the other in a manner leads them by
hand all the way: *Quæ doctor præcipit, orator* L. 10. c. 1.
ndit.

have perhaps enlarged a little too much upon
at relates to this excellent maſter of rhetoric,
m whom I have cited many paſſages, for which
ught to make ſome excuſe to the reader. I de-
him therefore to pardon my too manifeſt pre-
ice and paſſion for Quintilian, who is my fa-
rite author, and whoſe writings have been the

Hoc diligentiæ genus auſim dicere plus collaturum diſcentibus,
n omnes omnium artes.——Nam in omnibus ferè minus valent
cepta, quàm exempla. *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

ſubjects of my leſſons in the royal college more tha forty years. I confeſs, that I am charmed an tranſported whenever I read his books, which a ways ſeem new to me; and I ſet the higher val upon them, as I know no author more capable preſerving youth againſt the falſe taſte of eloquenc which ſeems in our days to aſpire at ſuperiority an dominion.

Several Saints have taught rhetoric, and ha done abundance of honour to this profeſſion b their profound knowledge, and ſtill more by the ſolid piety: St. Cyprian, St. Gregory Nazianze St. Auguſtin, &c. The laſt mentions a celebrate rhetorician, named Victorinus, to whom a ſtat was erected at Rome, where the learned inſtru tion he had given the children of the moſt illuſtrio ſenators had acquired him great reputation. Th affecting hiſtory of his converſion (for he ha courageouſly renounced Paganiſm for the Chriſtia religion) contributed very much to that of St. Au guſtin.

Confeſſ. l. 8. c. 2.

CHAP

CHAPTER IV.

OF SOPHISTS.

N the ſubject I am now to treat on, I have made great uſe of Mr. Hardion's work upon *the origin* *progreſs of rhetoric amongſt the Greeks*, of which a ſmall part has been publiſhed.

t is hard to give a juſt idea and exact definition ophiſts, becauſe their condition and reputation e undergone various changes. It was at firſt a honourable title. It afterwards became odious contemptible from the vices of the ſophiſts, the abuſe they made of their talents. At length ſame title, in a manner reſtored to its privi- s by the merit of thoſe who bore it, continued honour for a conſiderable ſucceſſion of ages, ch did not however prevent many of them, in thoſe times, from making an ill uſe of it.

he name of Sophiſt amongſt the antients was very great extent, and was given to all thoſe ſe minds were adorned with uſeful and polite ning, and who imparted their knowledge to ers, either by ſpeech or in writing, upon any nce or ſubject whatſoever. Hence we may judge hononourable this character was at firſt, and t reſpect it muſt have drawn upon thoſe who, nguiſhing themſelves by a ſuperior merit, made eir buſineſs to form mankind for virtue, ſcience, the government of ſtates. The greateſt proof ch can be given, ſays Iſocrates, of the ſingular nation the ſophiſts were in, is, that Solon, who the firſt Athenian called ſophiſt, was judged

Περὶ ἀντιδόσεως, p. 677.

worthy by our anceſtors of being placed at the head of the republic. Herodotus reckons him amongſt the ſophiſts, whom the opulence of Crœſus, and his love for the polite arts, had brought to his court.

L. 1. c. 29.

When, by the defeat of Crœſus, Aſia minor was ſubjected to the arms of the Perſians, moſt of the ſophiſts returned into Greece, and the city of Athens became, under the government of Piſiſtratus and his children, the darling aſylum and reſidence of the learned.

To underſtand aright the advantage they were of to Greece, we have only to remember the important ſervices they rendered Pericles, I mean in regard to policy and government.

Plato in Phædr. p. 269.

All arts, whoſe objects are great and conſiderable, require a genius for diſcuſſion, and a profound knowledge of nature. The mind is thereby accuſtomed to conceive lofty and ſublime thoughts, and inabled to attain its perfection. Pericles united with the moſt happy natural talents this habit of meditating and diſcuſſing. Having fallen into the hands of ANAXAGORAS, who followed this method in every thing, he learned from him to trace things to their principles, and applied himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of nature. Hiſtory tells us the uſe he made of it on the occaſion of an eclipſe of the ſun, which had thrown his whole fleet into a conſternation. Anaxagoras, who abounded in this kind of knowledge, made it the principal ſubject of his converſations with Pericles, who knew how to ſelect from them what was proper, to apply it to rhetoric.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 154.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 153, 154. Plut. in Lach. p. 180.

DAMON, who ſucceeded Anaxagoras with Pericles, called himſelf only a muſician, but concealed profound learning under that name and profeſſion. Pericles paſſed whole days with him, either to improve the knowledge he already had, or to acquire more.

ıore. Damon was the moſt amiable man in the orld, and never wanted abundant reſources upon hatever ſubject he was conſulted. He had ſtudied ature profoundly, and the effects of the different inds of muſic. He compoſed excellently him- lf, and all his works tended to inſpire horror of ice and love of virtue.

Whatever care this ſophiſt had taken to conceal is real profeſſion, his enemies, or rather thoſe of ericles, perceived at length that his lyre was only ſſumed to diſguiſe him from their ſight. From enceforth they uſed all means to diſcredit him ith the people. They painted him as an ambi- ous turbulent perſon, who favoured tyranny. he comic poets ſeconded them to the utmoſt of eir power, by the ridicule they vented againſt im. He was at length cited to anſwer for himſelf efore the judges, and baniſhed by the oſtraciſm. is merit and attachment to Pericles were his only imes.

That illuſtrious Athenian had alſo another teacher oth in eloquence and policy, whoſe name and pro- ſſion muſt give ſurpriſe: this was the famous ſPASIA of Miletus. That woman, ſo much cele- rated for her beauty, knowledge, and eloquence, as at the ſame time of two very different profeſ- ons, a courtezan and a ſophiſt. Her houſe was n aſſembly of the graveſt perſonages of Athens. he gave her leſſons of eloquence and policy with much politeneſs and modeſty, that the huſbands ere not afraid to carry their wives thither, where ey might be preſent without ſhame or danger.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 165 & 169. Athen. l. 13. p. 680. Heſych. in voce Θαργελία. Suid. ibid.

In her conduct and ſtudies ſhe followed the ex- mple of another famous courtezan of Miletus, amed THARGELIA, whoſe talents had acquired er the title of ſophiſt, and whoſe exceeding beauty ad raiſed her to the height of grandeur. When erxes meditated the conqueſt of Greece, he engaged her to employ the charms of her perſon and wit, to bring over ſeveral of the Grecian cities to his ſide, in which ſhe ſucceeded effectually. She at length ſettled in Theſſaly, where the ſovereign married her, and ſhe lived thirty years upon the throne.

Plut. in Menex. p. 236—249.

Aſpaſia with abundance of wit and beauty united a profound knowledge of rhetoric and policy. Socrates (a man of what wiſdom and reputation!) boaſted, that it was to her inſtructions he was indebted for all his eloquence, and aſcribed to her the merit of having formed all the great orators of his time. He intimates alſo in Plato, that Aſpaſia had the greateſt ſhare in compoſing the funeral oration, pronounced by Pericles in praiſe of the Athenians who fell in battle for their country, which appeared ſo admirable, that, when he had done ſpeaking, the mothers and wives of thoſe he had praiſed ran to embrace and crown him with wreaths and fillets, as a champion victorious in the games.

Pericles was in no good underſtanding with his wife, who conſented without any difficulty to be divorced from him. After he had married her to another, he took Aſpaſia in her ſtead, and lived with her in the moſt perfect union. She was a long time the mark of the poets ſatyric wit, who in their comedies drew her ſometimes under the name of Omphale, ſometimes of Dejanira, and ſometimes under that of Juno. It is not certain whether it was before or after her marriage that ſhe was accuſed before the judges for the crime of impiety. It is only ſaid, that Pericles ſaved her with great difficulty, and that he exerted all his credit and eloquence in her defence.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 169.

It is a pity that Aſpaſia, diſhonoured, by the irregularity of her manners, and her profeſſion of a courtezan, the many fine qualities, for which ſhe was is otherwiſe ſo eſtimable, and which, without that ot, would have made her an infinite honour to her x. But they prove, however, of what the ſex is pable, and how high they can carry the talents of e mind, and even the ſcience of government.

Beſides Anaxagoras, Damon, and Aſpaſia, who d principally inſtructed Pericles in eloquence and licy, he had alſo ſeveral other ſophiſts of great utation in his houſe. This conduct ſhews the lue, which the great men of antiquity ſet upon, d the uſe they made of, the ſciences, which they re very far from conſidering as a ſimple amuſeent, fit only at moſt to gratify the curioſity of a eculative mind with rare and abſtracted knowledge, but incapable of forming perſons for the vernment of ſtates.

The extraordinary honours, paid by all Greece to e ſophiſts, proves how highly they were eſteemed d conſidered. When they arrived at a city, they re met by the people in a body, and their entrance into it had ſomething of the air of a triumph. hey had their freedom conferred upon them, were anted all ſorts of immunities, and had ſtatues ected to their honour. Rome erected one to the phiſt Proæreſus, who went thither by the order the emperor Conſtans. Nothing can be imagined ore glorious nor more ſoothing than the inſcription of this ſtatue: REGINA RERUM ROMA REGI LOQUENTIÆ; that is, *Rome, the queen of the world, the king of eloquence.*

S. Chryſ. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ.

Eunapius.

The experience which moſt of the cities had made the advantage of the ſophiſts to thoſe in the adminiſtration of public affairs, and eſpecially in the ſtruction of youth, occaſioned their being treated with all theſe ſingular marks of eſteem and ſtinction. Beſides which, it cannot be denied, at many of them had abundance of wit, had acquired a great extent of knowledge by application, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner by their eloquence. The moſt celebrated were Gorgias, Tiſias, Protagoras, and Prodicus, who all appeared in the time of Socrates.

GEORGIAS is ſirnamed *the Leontine*, becauſe he was a native of Leontium, a city of Sicily. His citizens, who were at war with thoſe of Syracuſe, deputed him as the moſt excellent orator amongſt them, to implore aid of the Athenians, whom he charmed by his eloquence, and obtained from them all he demanded. As it was new to them, they were dazzled with the pomp of his words, thoughts, tour of genius, and figures; and with thoſe * artfully laboured, and in a manner wire-drawn periods, the members of which, by a ſtudied diſparity and reſemblance, anſwer each other with a nice exactneſs, and form a regular and harmonious cadence, that agreeably ſoothes the ear. This kind of *Prettineſſes*, for they cannot well be called by any other name, are pardonable when not too frequent, and are even graceful when uſed with the ſober temper Cicero employs them. But Gorgias abandoned himſelf to them without any reſerve. Every thing glittered in his ſtile, in which art ſeemed to pride itſelf in appearing every-where without a veil. He went to diſplay it upon a much larger theatre, that is to ſay, in the Olympic games, and afterwards in the Pythian; where he was equally admired by all Greece. They † loaded him univerſally with honours, which they carried ſo far, as to erect him a ſtatue of gold at Delphos, an honour never before conferred on any man.

Diod. l. 12. p. 106.

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* Paria paribus adjuncta, & ſimiliter definita; itemque contrariis relata contraria quæ ſua ſponte, etiamſi id non agas, cadunt plerumque numeroſè, Gorgias primus invenit, ſed his eſt uſus intemperanter. *Orat.* n. 175.

† Gorgiæ tantus honos habitus eſt à tota Græcia, ſoli ut ex omnibus, Delphis, non inaurata ſtatua ſed aurea ſtatueretur. 3. *De orat.* n. 127.

Gorgias was the firſt that ventured to boaſt in a umerous aſſembly, that he was ready to diſpute pon any ſubject that ſhould be propoſed: which came very common afterwards. Craſſus had rea- n to treat ſo ſenſeleſs a vanity, or rather, as he lls it himſelf, ſo ridiculous an impudence, with riſion.

1. De orat. n. 103.

He lived to an hundred and ſeven years old, thout ever quitting his ſtudies; and, upon being ked how he could ſupport ſo long a life, he re- ied, that age had never given him any reaſon to mplain.

De Seneƈt. n. 13.

Iſocrates, of all his diſciples, was the moſt illuſ- ious, and did him the greateſt honour.

Tisias was a native of the ſame city as Gorgias, d, according to ſome, was joined with him in e deputation to the Athenians. He alſo acquired eat eſtimation. Lyſias, a famous orator of whom ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, was one of his diſciples.

Pauſan. l. 6. p. 376.

Protagoras, of Abdera in Thrace, was con- mporary with Gorgias, and perhaps even a little rior to him. He was alſo of the ſame taſte, and d, like him, a very great reputation for elo- uence. He taught it during forty years, and ained by his profeſſion more conſiderable ſums an Phidias, or ten as excellent ſtatuaries as him, ould ever have been able to have acquired. So ocrates ſays in Plato.

Plut. in Menon. p. 91.

Aulus Gellius relates a very ſingular law-ſuit be- veen this Protagoras and one of his diſciples. The tter, whoſe name was Evalthus, paſſionately de- rous of making himſelf a celebrated advocate, ap- lies to Protagoras. The price was agreed on; r this kind of maſters always began with that; nd the rhetorician engaged to inſtruct Evalthus in he moſt ſecret myſteries of eloquence. The diſ- iple, on his ſide, pays down directly half the ſum greed on, and, according to articles, refers the

L. 5. c. 10.

payment of the other half, till after the carrying of the firſt cauſe he ſhould plead. Protagoras without loſs of time, diſplays all his precepts, and, after a great number of leſſons, pretends that he had made his ſcholar capable of ſhining at the bar and preſſes him to make an eſſay of his ability. Evalthus, whether out of timidity or ſome other reaſon, always defers it, and obſtinately declines exerciſing his new talent. The rhetorician, weary of his continued refuſal, has recourſe to the judges. Then, ſure of the victory, whatever ſentence they might paſs, he inſults the young man. For, ſays he, if the decree be in my favour, it will oblige you to pay me: if againſt me, you carry your firſt cauſe, and are my debtor according to our agreement. He believed the argument unanſwerable. Evalthus was in no concern, and replied immediately, I accept the alternative. If judgment goes for me, you loſe your cauſe: if for you, I am diſcharged by our articles; I loſe my firſt cauſe, and from thenceforth the obligation ceaſes. The judges were poſed by this captious alternative, and left the caſe undecided: in all probability, Protagoras repented his having inſtructed his diſciple ſo well.

Suidas. PRODICUS of the iſle of Cea, one of the Cyclades, the contemporary with Democritus and Gorgias, and diſciple of Protagoras, was one of the moſt celebrated ſophiſts of Greece. He flouriſhed in the 86th olympiad, and amongſt others had Euripides Socrates, Theramenes, and Iſocrates, for his diſciples.

He did not diſdain to teach in private at Athens, though he was there in the character of ambaſſador from his country, which had already conferred ſeveral other public employments upon him: and though the great approbation, which his harangue had obtained him from the Athenians upon the day of his public audience, ſeemed to oppoſe his deſciding to uſe his talent upon leſs occaſions. Plato innuates, that the deſire of gain induced Prodicus to keep a ſchool. He accordingly got conſiderably b that buſineſs. He went from city to city to diſply his eloquence, and, though he did it in a merceary manner, he, however, received great hono at Thebes, and ſtill greater at Lacedæmon.

His declamation *of fifty drachma's* is very much ſpken of, which was ſo called, as ſome of the ened tell us, from each auditor's being obliged to pay him that ſum, amounting to about five and twnty livres French. This was paying very dear fo hearing an harangue. Others underſtand it of a cture, and not an harangue. Socrates, in one o Plato's dialogues, complains, with his air of ridice, of not being able to diſcourſe well upon the nure of nouns, becauſe he had not heard the * leon of fifty drachma's, which, according to Produs, revealed the whole myſtery. And indeed this ſhiſt had diſcourſes of all prices from two oboli ifty drachma's. Could any thing be more ſordid?

About twenty-two ſhillings.

In Cratyl. p. 384.

Id. in Axioch. p. 366.

The fable of Prodicus, wherein he ſuppoſes that vtue and pleaſure, in the form of women, preſent tmſelves to Hercules, and endeavour, in emulan of each other, to allure him, has been juſtly eolled by many authors. Xenophon has exeined it with great extent and beauty; yet he ſs, that it was much longer and more adorned the piece of Prodicus upon Hercules. Lucian h imitated it ingeniouſly.

L. 2. Memorab. p. 737—740. Cic. offic. l. 1. n. 118.

The Athenians put our ſophiſt to death, as a crupter of youth. It is probable that he was acſed of teaching his diſciples irreligion.

Suid.

Theſe ſophiſts did not ſupport their reputation g. I have ſhewn, in the life of Socrates, in at manner that great man, who believed it incumbent on him, as a good citizen, to undecei the public in regard to them, ſucceeded in makir them known for what they were, by taking off tl maſk from their faults. He interrogated them i public converſations, with an air of ſimplicity ar almoſt ignorance, which concealed infinite art, one who deſired to be inſtructed and improved b their doctrine; and, leading them on from propoſition to propoſition, of which they foreſaw neith the concluſion nor conſequences, he made them fa into abſurdities, which ſhewed in the moſt ſenſib and diſtinct manner the falſity of all their reaſoning

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* Τὴν πεντηκοντάδραχμον ἐπίδειξιν.

Two things contributed principally to their loſing almoſt univerſally the opinion of the public They ſet themſelves up for perfect orators, wh alone poſſeſſed the talent of ſpeaking, and had carried eloquence to the utmoſt heights of which was capable. They valued themſelves upon ſpeaking extemporaneouſly, and without the leaſt preparation, upon any ſubject that could be propoſed t them. They boaſted their being capable of givin their auditors whatever impreſſions they pleaſed [*] of teaching how to make the worſt of cauſes good and of making [†] ſmall things ſeems great, and grea ſmall, by dint of eloquence. This Plato tells u of Gorgias and Tiſias. They were equally read to maintain either ſide of any ſubject whatſoever They held the True for nothing in their diſcourſes and made the tour of their eloquence ſubſervient not to demonſtrate Truth, and make it lovely, bu as a mere wit-ſkirmiſh, and to give the Falſe th colours of the True, and the True thoſe of the Falſe

The great theatre in which they endeavoured t ſhine, was the Olympic games. There, as I hav

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[*] Docere ſe profitebantur, arrogantibus ſanè verbis, quemadmodum cauſa inferior (ita enim loquebantur) dicendo fieri ſuperio poſſet. *In Brut.* n. 30.

[†] *Τὰ σμικρὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα σμικρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιεῦσ διὰ ῥώμην λόγου.* *In Phædro*, p. 267.

already

dy ſaid, in the preſence of an infinite number uditors aſſembled from all parts of Greece, affectedly diſplayed whatever is moſt pompous oquence. With little or no regard for the ſo- of things, they employed whatever is moſt ring and moſt capable of dazzling the mind, oſing no other ends to themſelves than to e the multitude, and obtain their ſuffrages. this did not fail to enſue, their diſcourſes be- attended with univerſal applauſe. I need not ve how far ſuch an affectation might carry , and how capable it was of ruining the taſte ood and ſolid eloquence.

his Socrates inceſſantly repreſented to the Athe- , as we find in ſeveral of Plato's dialogues, ein he introduces him ſpeaking upon this ſub- For we muſt not imagine, when he attacks condemns rhetoric, as he often does, that he s the true and ſound rhetoric. He valued it as ſerves, but could not ſuffer the infamous abuſe h the ſophiſts made of it, nor applaud, with gnorant multitude, diſcourſes that had neither ity, nor any real beauty in them. For, inſtead reſſing eloquence like a majeſtic queen, in the e and ſplendid ornaments that become her dig- , but have nothing affected or unnatural in n, the ſophiſts ſet her off in a foreign, ſoft, minate garb, like an harlot, who derives all her es from paint, has only borrowed beauties, at moſt knows only how to charm the ears the ſound of a ſweet harmonious voice. This e idea which Quintilian and St. Jerom, con- nably to Socrates, give us of the eloquence of ſophiſts, and I imagine the reader will not be nded if I repeat their own terms in this place: *propter eloquentiam, licet hanc (ut ſentio enim di-) libidinoſam reſupina voluptate auditoria probent, am eſſe exiſtimabo, quæ ne minimum quidem in ſe in- dicium*

Quintil. l. 5. c. 13.

dicium maſculini & incorrupti, ne dicam gravis ſancti viri, oſtendet—Quaſi ad Athenæum & ad aud toria convenitur, ut plauſus circumſtantium ſuſcitentu ut oratio Rhetoricæ artis ſucata mendacio, quaſi qu dam meretricula procedat in publicum, non tam erud tura populos, quam favorem populi quæſitura, & modum pſalterii & tibiæ dulce canentis ſenſus demulce audientium. Perſons of good ſenſe, from the remo ſtrances of Socrates, ſoon perceived the falſity this eloquence, and abated very much of the eſtee they had conceived for the ſophiſts.

S. Hieron. Præf. in l. 3. Comment. ad Galat.

A ſecond reaſon entirely loſt them the people' opinion: this was the defects and vices remarkabl in their conduct. They were proud, haughty, an arrogant, full of contempt for others, and of e teem for themſelves. They conceived themſelve the only perſons that underſtood, and were capabl of teaching youth, the principles of rhetoric an philoſophy in a proper manner. They promiſe parents, with an air of aſſurance, or rather impu dence, entirely to reform the corrupt manners their children, and to give them, in a ſhort ſpace o time, all the knowledge that was neceſſary for fil ling the moſt important offices of the ſtate.

They did not do all this for nothing, neither di they pique themſelves upon generoſity. Thei prevailing vice was avarice, and an inſatiable deſir of amaſſing riches. What was ſmartly ſaid of Apol lonius the Stoic * philoſopher, whom the empero Antoninus cauſed to come from the Eaſt, to b præceptor to Marcus Aurelius, whom he ha adopted, may be applied to them. He brough

Lucian.

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* *It was this Apollonius, who, when he arrived at Rome, refuſe to go to the palace, ſaying, it was the pupil's buſineſs to come to th maſter. Antoninus only laughed at this fooliſh pride and fantaſtic od dity of the Stoic's humour, who had been well ſatisfied to come fro the Eaſt to Rome, and, when at Rome, would not go from his houſe t the palace, and ſent Mar. Aurelius to hear him at home. That princ continued to go thither to receive his leſſons, even after he roſe to th imperial dignity.*

ſevera

al other philoſophers with him to Rome, *all*
nauts, ſaid a Cynic of thoſe times, *and well in-* Demonax.
! to go in queſt of the golden fleece. The ſophiſts
their inſtructions at a very great price, and, as
had found means to bait the parents with
ificent promiſes, and the world was infatuated
their knowledge and merit, they extorted bold-
om them, and made the moſt of the warm de-
hey expreſſed for the good education of their
ren. Protagoras * took of his diſciples, for
ing them rhetoric, an hundred minæ, or ten
ſand drachma's, that is to ſay, five thouſand *About*
s. Gorgias, according to Diodorus Siculus 240l. *ſterling.*
Suidas, had the ſame ſum. Demoſthenes Diod. l. 12.
as much for his inſtruction to the rhetorician Plut. in Iſæo.
s. p. 106.

e perfect diſintereſtedneſs of Socrates, who
neither inheritance nor income, expoſed ſtill
, by the contraſt, the ſordid avidity of the ſo-
s, and was a continual cenſure of their con-
, much ſtronger than the ſharpeſt reproaches
uld have made them.

otwithſtanding theſe faults, which were perſo-
o many of them, for ſome were not guilty of
, it muſt be confeſſed that the ſophiſts ren-
the public great ſervices in the advancement
arning and the ſciences, which were in a man-
epoſited with them for many ages.

any cities of Greece and Aſia, to which peo-
ent from different countries, to imbibe, as at
ſource, all the ſciences, have produced at all
ſophiſts of great reputation. To abridge and
lude this article, I ſhall ſpeak only of one of
ſophiſts, the celebrated Libanius.

ibanius was of a good family of Antioch. He Lib. in
ed at Athens, where he remained about four vit. ſua. An. J. C. 339.

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* Protagora decem millibus denariorum didiciſſe artem quam
Evalthus dicitur. *Quint.* l. 3. c. 1.

years. He was appointed by the proconſul to te
rhetoric there at the age of five and twenty ; l
this nomination did not take place. He was a v
zealous defender of Paganiſm, which afterwards
commended him to the particular conſideration
Julian the Apoſtate. He acquired great eſteem
his wit and eloquence.

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf principally at Conſt
S. Greg. tinople and Antioch. He was profeſſor in the fi
Naz. orat. of theſe cities for ſome years at different tim
20. p. 325. An. J. C. where he contracted a particular friendſhip with
351. Baſil. That ſaint, before he went to Athens, ca
to Conſtantinople ; and as that city abounded th
with excellent philoſophers and ſophiſts, the vi
city and vaſt extent of his genius ſoon made h
acquainted with whatever was beſt in their lea
Epiſt. Li- ing. Libanius, whoſe ſcholar he ſeems to ha
ban. made himſelf, had an high regard for him, you
as he was, upon account of the gravity of his ma
ners, worthy the wiſdom of old age ; which, ſa
he, I admired the more, as he lived in a city whe
the allurements of pleaſure were endleſs. Wh
he was informed that this ſaint, notwithſtandi
his great reputation, had retired from the world,
Pagan as he was, he could not but admire ſo gen
rous an action, which equalled all that was great
ever done by his philoſophers. In all St. Baſi
letters to him, we ſee the ſingular eſteem he had f
his works, and his affection for his perſon. H
directed all the youth of Cappadocia, who deſir
to improve themſelves in eloquence, to him, as t
moſt excellent maſter of rhetoric then in being; a
they were received by him with particular diſtin
tion. Libanius ſays a thing very much for his h
nour, in relation to one of theſe young men, who
circumſtances were very narrow : that is, that
did not conſider his pupils riches but their goo
will ; that if he found a young man poor, who pr

ſeſſ

d a great deſire to learn, he preferred him, with- heſitating, to the richeſt of his diſciples; and at he was very well pleaſed, when thoſe who nothing to give were earneſt to receive his in- ctions. He adds, that it had not been his good une to meet with ſuch maſters: And indeed tereſtedneſs was not the virtue of the ſophiſts. ſe whole profeſſion is to teach know that the moſt fruitful in merit is poverty.

ie writes to Themiſtius, a celebrated ſophiſt, m his talents and wiſdom had raiſed to the ieſt employments in the ſtate, in a manner that 's Libanius had noble ~~ſentiments~~, and the love ankind at heart. "I do not congratulate you, ys he, upon the government of the city's being onferred on you; but I congratulate the city pon having made choice of you for ſo impor- nt a truſt. You want no new dignities, but e city is in great want of ſuch a governor as ou."

were to be wiſhed, that Libanius had been as roachable in regard to his manners, as he was nable for his wit and eloquence. He is alſo oached with having been too full of eſteem for ſelf, and too great an admirer of his own works. s ought not to aſtoniſh us much. We might oſt ſay, that vanity was the virtue of Paganiſm. ibanius paſſed the laſt thirty-five years of his at Antioch, from the year 354 to about 390, profeſſed rhetoric there with great ſucceſs. iſtianity ſupplied him alſo with another illuſtri- diſciple in the perſon of St. Chryſoſtom. His her, who ſpared nothing for his education, ſent to Libanius's ſchool, the moſt excellent and moſt famous ſophiſt, who then taught at An- ch, in order to his forming himſelf under ſo

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Ἀρκεῖ τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ δοῦναι, τὸ βουληθῆναι λαβεῖν.

great a maſter. His works, from whence he h
been denominated *Golden Mouth*, ſhew the progr
he made there. At firſt he frequented the ba
pleaded ſome cauſes, and declaimed in public. H
ſent one of theſe diſcourſes in praiſe of the emp
rors to Libanius, who, in thanking him for
tells him, that himſelf and ſeveral other perſo
of learning, to whom he had ſhewed it, admir
it. An author aſſures us, that, ſome of his frien
aſking this ſophiſt when he was near death, who
he ſhould approve of to ſucceed him as profeſſ
he replied, that he ſhould have choſen our ſai
if the Chriſtians had not engroſſed him: but h
pupil had very different views.

Iſid. Peluſ. l. 2. Ep. 42.
Sozom. l. 8. c. 2.

If we may judge of the maſter by his ſchola
and of his merit by their reputation, the two diſc
ples of Libanius, whom I have now cited, mig
alone do him great honour. And indeed he paſſ
for a great orator, in the opinion of all the worl
Eunapius ſays, that all his terms are curious a
elegant, that whatever he writes has a peculi
ſweetneſs and inſinuating grace, with a ſprightl
neſs and gaiety, that ſerve him inſtead of the ſa
of the antients.

Eunap. c. 14.

Libanius has left us a multitude of writing
which conſiſt of panegyrics, declamations, and le
ters: Of all his works, his letters have ever bee
the moſt eſteemed.

TH

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ARTS and SCIENCES
OF THE
ANTIENTS, &c.

OF
OLITE LEARNING,
OR THE
BELLES LETTRES.

INTRODUCTION.

POETRY, Hiſtory, and Eloquence, include whatever is principally meant by Polite Learning, or the *Belles Lettres*. Of all the
ts of literature, this has the moſt charms, diſplays
moſt luſtre, and is in ſome ſenſe the moſt capable
doing a nation honour by works, which, if I may
allowed the expreſſion, are the flower, the brighteſt
wth, of the moſt refined and moſt exquiſite wit.
ould not hereby be thought to undervalue the
er ſciences in the leaſt, of which I ſhall ſpeak in
ſequel, and which cannot be too highly eſteemed.
nly obſerve, that thoſe we are to treat of, in this
ce, have ſomething more animated, more ſhin-
g, and conſequently more apt to ſtrike mankind,
d to excite their admiration; that they are acceſ-

ſible to a greater number of perſons, and enter mo univerſally than the reſt into the uſe and commer of men of wit. Poetry ſeaſons the ſolidity of her i ſtructions with attractive graces, and the pleaſir images, in which ſhe induſtriouſly conveys ther Hiſtory, in recounting the events of paſt ages in lively and agreeable manner, excites and gratifi our curioſity, and at the ſame time gives uſeful le ſons to kings, princes, and perſons of all condition under borrowed names, to avoid offending their d licacy. And laſtly eloquence, now ſhewing herſelf us with a ſimple and modeſt grace, and then with the pomp and majeſty of a potent queen, charr the ſoul, whilſt ſhe engages the heart, with a ſwee neſs and force, againſt which there is no reſiſtance

Athens and Rome, thoſe two great theatres of h man glory, have produced the greateſt men of t antient world as well for valour and military know ledge, as ability in the arts of government. B would thoſe great men have been known, and the names not been buried with them in oblivion, wit out the aid of the arts in queſtion, that have give them a kind of immortality, of which mankir are ſo jealous? Thoſe two cities themſelves, whi are ſtill univerſally conſidered as the primitive ſourc of good taſte in general, and which, in the midſt the ruins of ſo many empires, preſerved a taſte f polite learning, that never will expire; are they n indebted for that glory to the excellent works poetry, hiſtory, and eloquence, with which th have inriched the univerſe?

Rome ſeemed in ſome ſort to confine herſelf this taſte for the Belles Lettres; at leaſt ſhe excell in an eminent degree only in this kind of knowledg which ſhe conſidered as more uſeful and more gl rious than all others. Greece was richer as to t number of ſciences, and embraced them all witho diſtinction. Her illuſtrious perſons, her princes, a kings, extended their protection to ſcience in ger

l, of whatſoever kind and denomination. Not to
ention the many others who have rendered their
ames famous on this account, to what was Ptole-
y Philadelphus indebted for the reputation that
ſtinguiſhed him ſo much amongſt the kings of
gypt, but to his particular care in drawing learned
en of all kinds to his court, in loading them with
onours and rewards, and by their means in cauſing
l arts and ſciences to flouriſh in his dominions? The
mous library of Alexandria, inriched by his truly
yal magnificence with ſo conſiderable a number
books, and the celebrated Muſeum, where all
e learned aſſembled, have made his name more
uſtrious, and acquired him a more ſolid and laſting
ory, than the greateſt conqueſts could have done.

France does not give place to Egypt in this point,
ſay no more. The king's famous library, infinitely
gmented by the magnificence of Lewis XIV, is
t the leaſt illuſtrious circumſtance of his reign.
is ſucceſſor Lewis XV, who ſignaliſed the be-
nning of his own by the glorious eſtabliſhment of
ee inſtruction in the univerſity of Paris, to tread in
e ſteps of his illuſtrious great-grandfather, has alſo
qued himſelf upon making the augmentation and
coration of the royal library his peculiar care. In
few years he has inriched it with from fifteen to
ghteen thouſand printed volumes, and almoſt eight
ouſand manuſcripts, part of the library of Mr.
lbert, the moſt ſcarce and antient come down to
; without mentioning thoſe brought very lately
om Conſtantinople by the Abbé Sevin: ſo that
e king's library at preſent amounts to about ninety
ouſand printed volumes, and from thirty to thirty-
e thouſand manuſcripts. It only remained to de-
ſit ſo precious a treaſure in a manner that might
idence all its value, and anſwer the reputation and
ory of the kingdom. This Lewis XV. has alſo
ne, to fulfil the intentions of his great-grand-
ther, by cauſing a ſuperb edifice to be prepared

for his library, which is already the admiration
all ſtrangers, and, when finiſhed, will be the m
magnificent receptacle for books in Europe.

The Muſeum of Alexandria was much admire
but what was it in compariſon with our academies
architecture, ſculpture, painting; the * *Acade*
Françoiſe, that of Polite Learning or the *Belles L*
tres, and that of Sciences? Add to theſe the t
moſt antient foundations of the kingdom; the C
lege royal, where all the learned languages, and
moſt all the ſciences are taught; and the Univ
ſity of Paris, the mother and model of all the a
demies in the world, whoſe reputation ſo many a
have not impaired, and who, with her veneral
wrinkles, continually retains the air and bloom
youth. If the number of the learned, who fill
theſe places, are added to the account, and th
penſions eſtimated, it muſt be owned, that the r
of Europe has nothing comparable to France
theſe reſpects. For the honour of the preſent rei
and miniſtry, I cannot forbear obſerving, that duri
the war lately terminated ſo happily and gloriou
for us, the payment of all thoſe penſions of t
learned was neither ſuſpended nor delayed.

The reader will, I hope, pardon this ſmall
greſſion, which, however, is not entirely forei
to my ſubject, for the ſake of the warm love of
country, and the juſt ſenſe of gratitude that oc
ſioned it. Before I proceed to my ſubject, I thi
myſelf obliged to take notice, that I ſhall ma
great uſe of many of the diſſertations in the Memo
of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettr
eſpecially in what relates to poetry. Thoſe extra
will ſhew how capable that academy is of preſervi
the good taſte of the antients.

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* Academie Françoiſe, *eſtabliſhed in 1635, for the purity of*
French tongue.

* * *

CHAPTER I.

Of the Poets.

IT is evident, if we conſider poetry in the purity of its firſt inſtitution, that it was invented oriinally to render the public homage of adoration d gratitude to the Divine Majeſty, and to teach en the moſt important truths of religion. This t, which ſeems ſo profane in our days, had its birth the midſt of feſtivals, inſtituted in honour of the upreme Being. On thoſe ſolemn days, when the ebrews celebrated the remembrance of the wonders od had wrought in their favour, and when, at reſt om their labours, they gave themſelves up to an nocent and neceſſary joy, all places reſounded with nticles and ſacred ſongs, whoſe noble, ſublime, and ajeſtic ſtile ſuited the greatneſs of the God they raiſed. In thoſe divine canticles what throngs do e not ſee of the moſt lively and animated beauties! ivers rolling back to their ſources; ſeas opening nd flying with dread; hills that ſkip, and mounins that melt like wax and diſappear; heaven and rth trembling and liſtening with awe and ſilence; nd all nature in motion, and ſhaken before the face f its Author.

But, as the human voice alone failed in the utterance f ſuch amazing wonders, and ſeemed too weak to e people to expreſs the lively ſenſe of gratitude and doration with which they were animated, to exreſs them with greater force, they called in to their id the loud voices of thundering drums, trumpets, nd all other inſtruments of muſic. In a kind of tranſort and religious enthuſiaſm this did not ſuffice; nd the body was alſo made to have a part in the oly joy of the ſoul by impetuous but concerted motions, in order that every thing in man might render homage to the Divinity. Such were the beginnings of muſic, dancing, and poetry.

What man of good taſte, who, though not full of reſpect for the Sacred books, ſhould read the ſongs of Moſes with the ſame eyes he reads the odes of Pindar, but would be obliged to own that this Moſes, whom we know as the firſt hiſtorian and legiſlator of the world, is at the ſame time the firſt and moſt ſublime of poets? In his writings, poetry, even at the firſt inſtant of its birth, appears perfect, becauſe God himſelf inſpires it, and the neceſſity of arriving by degrees at perfection is a condition annexed only to arts of human invention. The prophets and the pſalms preſent us alſo with the like models. In them ſhines out that true poetry in all her majeſty of light, which excites none but happy paſſions, which moves the heart without depraving it, which pleaſes without ſoothing our frailties, which engages our attention without amuſing us with trivial and ridiculous tales, which inſtructs us without diſguſt, which makes us know God without repreſenting him under images unworthy of the Divine nature, and which always ſurpriſes without leading us aſtray thro' fantaſtic regions and chimerical wonders. Always agreeable, always uſeful; noble by bold expreſſions, glowing figures, and ſtill more by the truths ſhe denounces, it is ſhe alone that deſerves the name of Divine language.

When men had transferred to creatures the homage due only to the Creator, poetry followed the fortune of religion, always preſerving however traces of her firſt origin. She was employed at firſt to thank the falſe divinities for their ſuppoſed favours, and to demand new ones. She was ſoon indeed applied to other uſes: but in all times care was taken to bring her back to her original deſtination. Heſiod has written the genealogy of the gods in verſe: a very antient poet compoſed the hymns uſually aſcribed to Homer; of which kind of poem Callimachus afterwards wrote others. Even the works, that turned

upon

on different ſubjects, conducted and decided the
nts they related by the intervention and miniſtra-
n of divinities. They taught mankind to conſi-
the gods as the authors of whatever happens in
ure. Homer, and the other poets, every-where
reſent them as the ſole arbiters of our deſtinies.
is by them our courage is either exalted or depreſ-
; they give or deprive us of prudence; diſpenſe
ceſs and victory; and occaſion repulſe and defeat.
thing great or heroic is executed without the ſe-
t or viſible aſſiſtance of ſome divinity. And, of
the truths they inculcate, they preſent none more
quently to our view, and eſtabliſh none with
re care, than that valour and wiſdom are of no
ail without the aid of Providence.

One of the principal views of poetry, and which
as a kind of natural conſequence of the firſt, was
o to form the manners. To be convinced of this,
have only to conſider the particular end of the
veral ſpecies of poetry, and to obſerve the general
actice of the moſt illuſtrious poets. The Epic poem
opoſed from the firſt to give us inſtructions diſ-
uiſed under the allegory of an important and heroic
tion. The Ode, to celebrate the exploits of great
en, in order to excite the general imitation of others.
ragedy, to inſpire us with horror for guilt, by the
tal effects that ſucceed it; and with veneration for
irtue, by the juſt praiſes and rewards which attend
. Comedy and ſatire, to correct whilſt they divert
s, and to make implacable war with vice and folly.
legy, to ſhed tears upon the tombs of perſons who
eſerve to be lamented. And, laſtly the Paſtoral
oem, to ſing the innocence and pleaſures of rural
fe. If any of theſe kinds of poetry have in ſuc-
eeding times been employed to different purpoſes,
is certain, that they were made to deviate from
heir natural inſtitution, and that in the beginning
hey all tended to the ſame end, which was to ren-
er man better.

I ſhall purſue this ſubject no farther, which wou carry me beyond my bounds. I confine myſelf ſpeaking of the poets to thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in each kind of poetry, and ſha begin with the Greeks. I ſhall then proceed to tl Romans, partly uniting them however ſometime eſpecially when it may ſeem neceſſary to compa them with each other.

As I have occaſionally treated on part of what relat to theſe illuſtrious writers elſewhere, to avoid uſele and tedious repetitions, the reader will permit m to refer him thither, when the ſame matter recurs.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Greek poets.

EVERY body knows, that poetry was brougl into Italy from Greece, and that Rome is indebted to her for all the reputation and glory ſh acquired of this kind.

SECT. I.

Of the Greek poets who excelled in epic poetry.

I Do not rank either the Sibyls, or Orpheus, and Muſæus, in the number of the poets. All the learned agree, that the poems aſcribed to them are ſuppoſititious.

HOMER.

Herod. l. 2. c. 53. A. M. 3120. Ant. J. C. 884. The period of time when Homer was born is not very certain. Herodotus places it 400 years before himſelf, and Uſher fixes the birth of Herodotus in the year of the world 3520. According to which Homer muſt have been born in the year 3120, that is to ſay, 340 years after the taking of Troy.

We have no better aſſurances concerning the place of his nativity, for which honour ſeven cities contended. Smyrna ſeems to have carried it againſt the reſt.

I have ſpoken of epic poetry and Homer towards
end of the ſecond volume of this hiſtory, and
h much greater extent in the firſt of my treatiſes
on the ſtudy of the Belles Lettres, where I have
leavoured to give the reader a taſte of the beau-
; of this poet.

Virgil, if we may judge of his views by his work,
ms to have propoſed no leſs to himſelf than to diſ-
te the ſuperiority of epic poetry with Greece, and
rowed arms from his rival himſelf for that pur-
e. He juſtly diſcerned, that, as he was to bring
hero of his poem from the banks of the Scaman-
, it would be neceſſary for him to imitate the
yſſey, which contains a great ſeries of voyages
l narratives; and, as he was to make him fight
his ſettlement in Italy, that it would be as ne-
ſary to have the Iliad perpetually before his eyes,
ich abounds with action, battles, and all that in-
vention of the gods, which heroic poetry requires.
neas makes voyages like Ulyſſes, and fights like
hilles. Virgil has interwoven the forty-eight
oks of Homer in the twelve of the Æneid. In the
firſt we diſcover the Odyſſey almoſt univerſally,
we do the Iliad in the ſix laſt.

The Greek poet has a great advantage, and no
; pretence of ſuperiority, from having been the
ginal, which the other copied; and what * Quin-
an ſays of Demoſthenes, in regard to Cicero, may
h equal juſtice be applied to him, that, however
at Virgil may be, Homer in a great meaſure
de him what he is. This advantage does not
wever fully decide their merit, and to which of
m the preference ought to be given will always
a matter of diſpute.

We may in this point abide by the judgment of
intilian, who, whilſt he leaves the queſtion unde-
ed in a few words, perfectly ſpecifies the charac-

Cedendum vero in hoc quidem, quod & ille (Demoſthenes) prior
, & ex magna parte Ciceronem, quantus eſt, fecit. *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

ters that diſtinguiſh thoſe two excellent poets. He tells us there is more genius and force of nature in the one, and more art and application in the other and that what is wanting in Virgil on the ſide of the ſublime, in which the Greek poet is indiſputably ſuperior, is perhaps compenſated by the juſtneſs and equality that prevail univerſally throughout the Æneid: *Et hercle, ut illi naturæ cœleſti atque immortali ceſſerimus, ita curæ & diligentiæ vel ideo in hoc plus eſt, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: & quantum eminentioribus vincimur, fortaſſe æqualitate penſamus.* It is very hard to characteriſe theſe two poets better. The Iliad and Odyſſey are two great paintings, of which the Æneid is an abridgment or miniature. The latte requires a nearer view: every thing in it therefore muſt be perfectly finiſhed. But great pictures are ſeen at a diſtance: it is not neceſſary, that they ſhould be ſo exact and regular in all their ſtrokes: two ſcrupulous a niceneſs is even a fault in ſuch paintings.

HESIOD.

Hesiod is ſaid to have been born at Cumæ, a city of Æolia, but brought up from his infancy at Aſcra, a ſmall town of Bœotia, which from thence paſſed for his country: Virgil alſo calls him the old man of Aſcra. Authors differ much concerning the time in which he lived. The moſt general opinion is, that he was Homer's cotemporary. Of all his poems only three have come down to us: theſe are *The Works and Days*; *The Theogonia*, or the genealogy of the gods; and *The Shield of Hercules*; of which I have ſpoken elſewhere.

Aſcræumque ſenem. *Eclog.* 6.

Quintilian gives us his character in theſe words*: "Heſiod ſeldom riſes upon himſelf, and the greateſt "part of his works conſiſts almoſt entirely of proper "names. He has however uſeful ſentences for the

Vol. II. *of Antient Hiſtory.*

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* Raro aſſurgit Heſiodus, magnaque pars ejus in nominibus eſt occupata: tamen utiles circa præcepta ſententiæ, lenitaſque verborum & compoſitionis probabilis: daturque ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere. *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

"cononduct of life, with ſufficient ſweetneſs of words, nd no unhappineſs of ſtile. He is allowed to ave ſucceeded beſt in the middle way of writing."

POETS *leſs known.*

TERPANDER. He was very famous both for etry and muſic.

TYRTÆUS. He is believed to have been an henian. This poet made a great figure in the ſend war of Meſſene. He excelled in celebrating miry exploits. The Spartans had been ſeveral times eated to their great diſcouragement. The oracle Delphos bade them aſk a man of the Athenians able of aſſiſting them with his counſel and abies. Tyrtæus was ſent them. The conſequence at t did not anſwer the expectations of the Spartans. ey were again defeated three times ſucceſſively, l were upon the point of returning to Sparta in pair. Tyrtæus re-animated them by his verſes, ich breathed nothing but the love of one's country d contempt of death. Having reſumed courage, y attacked the Meſſenians with fury, and the vicy they obtained, upon this occaſion, terminated a r they could ſupport no longer to their advantage. ey conferred the freedom of their city upon Tyrus, a privilege they were by no means too profuſe at Lacedæmon, which made it exceedingly hourable. The little that remains of his writings ews that his ſtile was very vigorous and noble. e ſeems tranſported himſelf with the ardour he deavours to give his hearers:

A. M. 3356. A. M. 3364. Pauſan. l. 4. p. 244, &c.

Tyrtæuſque mares animos in Martia bella
Verſibus exacuit. *Horat. in Art. Poet.*

By verſe the warrior's fire Tyrtæus feeds,
And urges manly minds to glorious deeds.

DRACO, a celebrated Athenian legiſlator. He mpoſed a poem of three thouſand lines, intitled

A. M. 3368.

Ὑποθῆκαι, in which he laid down excellent precept for the conduct of life.

A. M. 3368. Suidas. Herod. l. 4. c. 36. ABARIS, a Scythian by nation, according t Suidas, ſurnamed by others the Hyperborean. H compoſed ſeveral pieces of poetry. Stories of tl laſt abſurdity are told of him, which even Herodotı himſelf does not ſeem to believe. He contents hin ſelf with ſaying that Barbarian had carried an a row throughout the whole world, and that he a nothing. Jambl. in vit. Pyth. Jamblicus goes farther, and pretends th Abaris was carried by his arrow through the air, an paſſed rivers, ſeas, and the moſt inacceſſible plac in that manner, without being ſtopp'd by any obſtacl It is ſaid, that, upon account of a great plague th raged in the country of the Hyperboreans, he w deputed to Athens by thoſe people.

A. M. 3676. CHÆRILUS. There were ſeveral poets of th name. I ſpeak of him* in this place, who, notwitl ſtanding the badneſs of his verſes, in which there w neither taſte nor beauty, was however much eſteem and favoured by Alexander the Great, from who he received as great a reward as if he had been a excellent poet. Horace obſerves that liberality a gued little taſte in that prince, who had been ſo d licate in reſpect to painting and ſculpture, as to pro hibit by an edict all painters, except Apelles, to dra his picture, and all ſtatuaries, but Lyſippus, to mal his ſtatue in braſs. Sylla, amongſt the Romans, ac ed as liberally, but with more prudence than Ale ander, in regard to a poet who had preſented hi with ſome wretched verſes: † He ordered a rewar to be given him, upon condition that he would never w te more: very hard terms to a bad poet, however re ſonable in themſelves.

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* Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Chærilus, incultis qui verſibus & male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos.

Idem rex ille, poema
Qui tam ridiculum tam carè prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit ne quis ſe, præter Apellem,
Pingeret, aut alius Lyſippo duceret æra
Fortis Alexandri vultum ſimulantia. *Hor. Ep.* 1. *l.*

† Juſſit ei præmium tribui, ſub ea conditione ne quid poſtea ſcr beret. *Cic. pro Arch. poet. n.* 25.

ARATUS was of Soloe, a city of Cilicia. He * co npoſed a poem upon aſtronomy, which was very m ch eſteemed by the learned, according to Cicero. Q intilian ſpeaks leſs favourably of it. He ſays, † that the ſubject of Aratus was very dry and una cting, from having neither variety, paſſions, char ter, nor harangue in it: but that however he had d ne as much with it as his matter would admit, and h d made choice of it as ſuiting his capacity. Cic o, at ſeventeen years of age, had tranſlated the p em of Aratus into Latin verſe, of which many f gments are come down to us in his treatiſe *De N tura Deorum.* A. M. 3732.

APOLLONIUS of Rhodes compoſed a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts: *Argonautica.* A. M. 3756.

He was a native of Alexandria, and had ſucceeded E atoſthenes as keeper of the famous library there in the reign of Ptolomæus Evergetes. Upon ſeeing h nſelf ill treated by the other poets of that place, who loaded him with calumnies, he retired to Rhodes, where he paſſed the reſt of his days. This occaſioned h being ſurnamed *the Rhodian.*

EUPHORION of Chalcis. Antiochus the Great i truſted him with the care of his library. ‡ Virgil m ntions him in his Bucolics. A. M. 3756. Eclog. 10. v. 50.

NICANDER of Colophon in Ionia, or, according t others, of Ætolia. He flouriſhed in the time of ttalus, the laſt king of Pergamus. He compoſed ſ me poems upon medicine; Θηριακὰ and Ἀλεξιφάρμακα. A. M. 3852.

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* Conſtat inter doctos hominem ignarum Aſtrologiæ, ornatiſſimis que optimis verſibus Aratum de cœlo ſtelliſque dixiſſe.

† Arati materia motu caret, ut in qua nulla varietas, nullus af- tus, nulla perſona, nulla cujuſquam ſit oratio. Sufficit tamen eri, cui ſe parem credidit. *Lib.* 10. *c.* 1.

‡ Quid? Euphorionem tranſibimus? Quem niſi probaſſet Virgi- s, idem nunquam certè conditorum Chalcidico verſu carminum iſſet in Bucolicis mentionem. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

and others upon agriculture, which * Virgil im tated in his Georgics.

A. M. 3856. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 194. Val. Max. l. 1. c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 51.

ANTIPATER of Sidon. Cicero informs us, th he had ſo great a talent for poetry, and ſuch a fac lity in making verſes, that he could expreſs himſe extemporaneouſly in hexameters, or any other kin of verſe, upon any ſubject. Valerius Maximus an Pliny ſay, that he had a fever regularly once ever year upon the ſame day, which was the day of h birth and death.

A. M. 3858.

A. Licinius ARCHIAS, for whom Cicero's ora tion is extant. He wrote a poem upon the war wit the Cimbri, and began another upon Cicero's conſu ſhip. We have ſtill ſome of his epigrams in th *Anthologia*.

Macrob. l. 5. c. 17.

PARTHENIUS lived at the ſame time. He ha been taken priſoner in the war with Mithridate and was Virgil's maſter in Greek poetry.

A. D. 362.

APOLLINARIUS, biſhop of Laodicæa in Syri I do not conſider him here as a biſhop, but as poet, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf very much by Chri ſtian poetry. Julian the Apoſtate had forbade a maſters, by a public edict, to teach the children c Chriſtians the profane authors. The pretext for thi edict was, that it was not conſiſtent to explain then to youth as illuſtrious writers, and at the ſame time t condemn their religion. But the true motives for tha prohibition were the great advantages the Chriſtian found in the profane books againſt paganiſm. Thi edict induced the two Apollinarii to compoſe ſevera works of uſe to religion.

The father, of whom we ſpeak, and who was a grammarian, wrote in heroic verſe, and in imitatior of Homer, the Sacred hiſtory in four and twenty books down to the reign of Saul, denominating eacl book with a letter of the Greek alphabet. He imitated Menander in comedies, Euripides in tragedies,

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* Quid? Nicandrum fruſtra ſecuti Macer atque Virgilius? *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

and

d Pindar in odes; taking his ſubjects from the Holy ripture, and obſerving the character and ſtile of the eral kinds of poetry in which he wrote, in order at the Chriſtians might diſpenſe with the want of e profane authors in learning the Belles Lettres.

His ſon, who was a ſophiſt, that is to ſay, a rhe- ician and philoſopher, compoſed dialogues after e manner of Plato, to explain the goſpels and the ctrine of the Apoſtles.

Julian's perſecution was of ſo ſhort a continuance, at the works of the Apollinarii became uſeleſs, and e profane authors were again read. Hence of all eir poems none are come down to us, except the alms paraphraſed by Apollinarius the elder, who d the misfortune to give into heterodox opinions ncerning Jeſus Chriſt.

St. Gregory of Nazianzum, cotemporary with A. D.
pollinarius, compoſed alſo a great number of verſes 350.
all kinds: Suidas makes them amount to thirty ouſand, of which only a part have been preſerved. oſt of them were the employment and fruit of his tirement. Though he was very much advanced in ars at the time he wrote them, we find in them all e fire and vigour that could be deſired in the works a young man.

In compoſing his poems, which ſerved him for nuſement in his ſolitude, and for conſolation in his odily infirmities, he had young perſons, and thoſe ho love polite learning, in view. To withdraw em from dangerous ſongs and poems, he was for pplying them not only with an innocent but uſeful verſion, and at the ſame time for rendering the uth agreeable to them. There is alſo reaſon to be- eve, that one of his views was to oppoſe poems, which every thing was ſtrictly orthodox, to thoſe f Apollinarius, that contained abundance of opi- ions repugnant to the Chriſtian faith.

In making poetry ſubſervient in this manner to re- gion, he recalled it to its primitive inſtitution. He treated on nothing in his verſes but ſuch ſubjects o piety, as might animate, purify, inſtruct, or elevat the ſoul to God. In propoſing ſound doctrine t Chriſtians in them, he baniſhes from them all the filt and folly of fable, and would have thought it profaning his pen to have employed it in reviving th heathen divinities, that Chriſt had come to aboliſh

Such are the models we ought to follow. I ſpeak here of a ſaint, who had all the beauty, vivacity, and ſolidity of wit, it is poſſible to imagine. He had been inſtructed in the Belles Lettres by the moſt able maſters at that time of the pagan world. He had read with extreme application all the antient poets, of which we often find traces even in his proſe writings. He contented himſelf with having acquired a refined taſte of poetry from them, and with having thoroughly ſtudied and comprehended all their beauties and delicacy; but never introduced any of the profane divinities into his own pieces, which were not re-admitted by the poets till many ages after. Ought what thoſe glorious ages of the church condemned and forbade to be allowed now? I have treated on this* ſubject elſewhere with ſome extent.

A. D. 420. For the honour of poetry and the poets, I ought not to omit mentioning EUDOCIA, the daughter of the ſophiſt Leontius the Athenian, who, before ſhe was a Chriſtian, and had married the emperor Theodoſius the younger, was called *Athenais*. Her father had given her an excellent education, and made her extremely learned and judicious. The ſurpriſing beauty of her aſpect was however inferior to that of her wit. She wrote an heroic poem upon her huſband's victory over the Perſians, and compoſed many other pieces upon pious ſubjects, of which we ought very much to regret the loſs.

SYNESIUS, biſhop of Ptolemais, lived at the ſame time. Only ten hymns of his are come down to us.

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* *Method of ſtudying the Belles Lettres*, Vol. I.

I paſs over in ſilence many other poets mentioned authors but little known to us, and am afraid ıt I have already been only too long upon thoſe this kind.

I proceed now to the Tragic and Comic poets. t, as I have treated both with ſufficient extent in fifth volume of this hiſtory, I ſhall do little re in this place than mention their names, and times when they lived.

SECT. II.

Of the Tragic Poets.

HESPIS[*] is conſidered as the inventor of A. M.
tragedy. It is eaſy to judge how groſs an im- 3480.
fect it was in its beginning. He ſmeared the faces his actors with lees of wine, and carried them n village to village in a cart, from which they reſented their pieces. He lived in the time of So- Plut. in Solon. p. 95.
. That wiſe legiſlator, being preſent one day at of theſe repreſentations, cried out, ſtriking the und with his ſtick, *I am very much afraid, that e poetical fictions, and ingenious fancies, will ſoon e a ſhare in our public and private affairs.*

ESCHYLUS[†] was the firſt that improved tragedy, A. M. 3508.
placed it in honour. He gave his actors maſks, re decent dreſſes, the high-heel'd boot or buſkin ed *Cothurnus*, and built them a little theatre. Iis manner of writing is noble, and even ſublime; elocution lofty, and ſoaring often to bombaſt. n a public diſpute of the tragic poets, inſtituted Plut. in Cimon. p. 483.
n account of the bones of Theſeus which Cimon

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[*] Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camœnæ
Dicitur & plauſtris vexiſſe poëmata Theſpis,
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.
Horat. in Art. Poet.

[†] Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ
Æſchylus, & modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique Cothurno. *Hor.* ibid.

Tragœdias primus in lucem Æſchylus protulit, ſublimis, gravis, randiloquus, ſæpe uſque ad vitium. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

had brought to Athens, the prize was adjudged tc
Sophocles. The grief of Æſchylus was ſo grea
upon ſeeing himſelf deprived by a young poet of the
glory he had ſo long poſſeſſed, of being the moſt ex·
cellent in the theatre, that he could not bear to ſtay ii
Athens any longer. He left it, and retired to Sicil
to the court of king Hiero, where he died in a ver
Suid. ſingular manner. As he lay aſleep in the countr
with his bald head uncovered, an eagle, taking it fo
a ſtone, let fall a heavy tortoiſe upon it, which kille
him. Of fourſcore and ten tragedies which he com
poſed, ſome ſay only twenty-eight, and others n
more than thirteen, carried the prize.

A. M. 3532. Sophocles and Euripides. Theſe two [*] poe
appeared at the ſame time, and rendered the Athe
nian ſtage very illuſtrious by tragedies equally adm
rable, though very different in their ſtile. The fir
was great, lofty, and ſublime: the other tender, pa
thetic, and abounding with excellent maxims for th
manners and conduct of human life. The judgmen
of the public was divided in reſpect to them; as w
are at this day in regard to [†] two poets, who hav
done ſo much honour to the French ſtage, and made
capable of diſputing pre-eminence with that of Athen

SECT. III.

Of the Comic Poets.

A. M. 3564. EUpolis, Cratinus, and Aristophane
made the comedy, called *antient comedy*, ver
famous. This ſerved the Greeks inſtead of ſatir
The higheſt perfection of what is called *Attici*
was peculiar to it, that is to ſay, whatever is fine
moſt elegant, and moſt delicate in ſtile, to whic
no other poetry could come near. I have ſpoken
it elſewhere.

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[*] Longe clarius illuſtraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euri
des: quorum in diſpari dicendi vi uter ſit poeta melior, inter plu
mos quæritur. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

[†] Corneille and Racine.

Menander. He invented and excelled all o- ers in the *New comedy*. Plutarch prefers him infi- tely to Ariſtophanes. He admires an agreeable, fined, delicate, lively ſpirit of humour, a vein of eaſantry in him, that never departs in the leaſt om the ſtricteſt rules of probity and good manners: hereas the bitter and mercileſs raillery of Ariſtopha- s is exceſſive abuſe, is murder in jeſt, that without e leaſt reſerve tears the reputation of the moſt wor- y to pieces, and violates all the laws of modeſty d decency with an impudence that knows no unds. * Quintilian is not afraid to declare, that e brightneſs of Menander's merit had entirely eclip- d and obliterated the reputation of all the writers in e ſame way. But the greateſt praiſe which can be ven this poet is to ſay, that Terence, who ſcarce d any thing beſides copying his plays, is allowed by od judges to have fallen very ſhort of his original.

A. M. 3580.
Plut. in Moral. p. 853.

Aulus Gellius has preſerved ſome paſſages of Me- nder, which had been imitated by Cæcilius, an an- nt Latin comic poet. At the firſt reading, he ought the verſes of the latter very fine. But he af- ms, that as ſoon as he compared them with thoſe the Greek poet, their beauty entirely diſappeared, d they ſeemed wretched and contemptible.

Lib. 2. c. 23.

Menander was not treated with all the juſtice he ſerved during his life. Of more than an hundred medies which he brought upon the ſtage, only ght carried the prize. Whether through intrigue combination againſt him, or the bad taſte of the dges, Philemon †, who undoubtedly deſerved ly the ſecond place, was always preferred before m.

In the fifth volume we have explained all that re- tes to the Antient, Middle, and New Comedy.

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* Atque ille quidem omnibus ejuſdem operis auctoribus abſtulit men, & fulgore quodam ſuæ claritatis tenebras obduxit. *Quintil.* 10. c. 1.

† Philemon, ut pravis ſui temporis judiciis Menandro ſæpe præ- us eſt, ita conſenſu omnium meruit credi ſecundus. *Quintil.* ibid.

SECT. IV.

Of the Iambic Poets.

A. M. 3280.

ARCHILOCUS, a native of Pharos, the inventor of Iambic verſes, lived in the reign of Candaules king of Lydia. See what we have ſaid of him towards the end of the ſecond volume.

A. M. 3460. Suidas.

HIPPONAX was a native of Epheſus. Upon being expelled from thence by the tyrants that governed there, he went and ſettled at Clazomenæ. He was ugly, ſhort, and thin: but his uglineſs occaſioned his being immortaliſed; for he is hardly known by any thing except the ſatyrical verſes he compoſed againſt the brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, two ſculptors who had made his figure in the moſt ridiculous manner in their power. He diſcharged ſuch a number of keen and virulent verſes againſt them, that, according to ſome authors, they hanged themſelves through vexation. But Pliny obſerves, that ſtatues of theirs were in being, made after that time. The invention of the verſe called Scazon, *Limping*, is aſcribed to Hipponax, in the laſt foot of which there is always a ſpondee inſtead of an Iambus.

SECT. V.

Of the Lyric Poets.

THE poetry which was made to be ſung to the lyre, or the like inſtruments, was called *Lyric Poetry.* Compoſitions of this kind were named odes, that is to ſay, ſongs, and were divided into ſtrophe's or ſtanza's.

The end of poetry is to pleaſe the imagination. But, if the different kinds of poetry, as the paſtoral, elegiac, and epic, attain that end by different means, the ode attains it more certainly, becauſe it includes them

em all; and, as the famous painter of old united
one picture all that he had obſerved of moſt grace-
ul and conſummate in many of the fair ſex, ſo the
de unites in itſelf all the different beauties of which
e different ſpecies of poetry are ſuſceptible. But it
as ſtill ſomething elſe peculiar to itſelf, which con-
itutes its true character. This is enthuſiaſm; in
hich view the poets believe they may alſo compare
er to that Juno of Homer, who borrows the girdle
Venus to exalt the graces of her form, but who
ſtill the ſame queen of the gods, diſtinguiſhed by
e air of majeſty peculiar to her, and even by the
ry and violence of her character.

This enthuſiaſm is more eaſy to conceive, than
oſſible to define. When a writer is ſeized with it,
is genius glows ardent, his imagination catches fire,
d all the faculties of his ſoul awake, and concur to
e perfection of his work Now noble thoughts
d the moſt ſhining ſtrokes of wit, and then the
oſt tender and beautiful images, crowd upon him.
he warmth alſo of his enthuſiaſm often tranſports
im in ſuch a manner, that he can contain himſelf
o longer; he then abandons himſelf to that living
npetuoſity, that beautiful diſorder, which infinite-
tranſcend the regularity of the moſt ſtudious art.

Theſe different impreſſions produce different ef-
cts: deſcriptions ſometimes ſimple but exquiſitely
eautiful, and at other times rich, noble, and ſublime;
ompariſons juſt and lively; ſhining ſtrokes of mo-
ality; alluſions happily borrowed from hiſtory or
ble; and digreſſions a thouſand times more beau-
ful than the chain of the ſubject itſelf. Harmony,
he ſoul of verſe, at this moment, coſts the poet no
rouble. Noble expreſſions and happy numbers
pontaneouſly riſe up, and diſpoſe themſelves in due
rder, like ſtones to the lyre of Amphion; and no-
hing ſeems the effect of ſtudy or pains. The poems
f enthuſiaſm have ſuch a peculiar beauty, that they
an neither be read or heard without imparting the

ſame fire that produced themſelves; and the effect of the moſt exquiſite muſic is neither ſo certain nor ſo great, as that of verſes borne in this poetic fury, this diviner flame of the mind.

This little paſſage, which I have extracted from the ſhort but eloquent diſſertation of the Abbé Fraguier upon Pindar, ſuffices to give the reader a juſt idea of lyric poetry, and at the ſame time of Pindar, who holds the firſt rank amongſt the nine Greek poets that excelled in this way of writing, of whom it remains for me to ſay a few words.

A. M. 3135. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 41.

Plutarch ſpeaks of * Thales, whom Lycurgu perſuaded to go and ſettle at Sparta. He was a lyric poet (not one of the nine mentioned juſt before but under the appearance of compoſing only ſongs he in effect did all that the graveſt legiſlators coul have been capable of doing. For all his poetica pieces were ſo many diſcourſes to incline men to obedience and concord, by the means of certain number ſo harmonious, ſo elegant, ſtrong, and ſweet, tha they inſenſibly rendered the manners of thoſe tha heard them leſs rude and ſavage, and induced a lov of order and probity, by baniſhing the animoſitie and diviſions that prevailed amongſt them. Thus b the charming impreſſions of a melodious kind c poetry, he prepared the way for Lycurgus to inſtruct and amend his citizens.

A. M. 3324. Plut. de exil. p. 599.

Alcman was a native of Sardis in Lydia. Th Lacedæmonians adopted him on account of his merit, and granted him the freedom of their city, upon which he congratulates himſelf in his poems as ſingular honour to him. He flouriſhed in the tim of Ardys, ſon of Gyges, king of Lydia.

A. M. 3398. Pauſan Lacon. 220.

Stesichorus was of Himera, a city of Sicil Pauſanias relates, that this poet having loſt his sig as a puniſhment for verſes which he had made in di

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* *Plutarch ſeems to confound this Thales with Thales of Milet one of the ſeven ſages, who lived about two hundred and fifty yea after him.*

prai

praiſe of Hellen, did not recover it, till he had recanted his invectives by a new piece, the reverſe of the former, which was afterwards called *Palinodia.* Quintilian * tells us, that he ſung of great wars, and the moſt illuſtrious heroes, and that he ſuſtained the pomp and ſublimity of epic poetry on the lyre. Horace gives him the ſame character in a ſingle epithet, *Steſichorique graves Camœnæ*, Steſichorus's *lofty* muſe.

Alcæus. He was born at Mitylene, a city of A. M.
Leſbos: it is from him the Alcaic verſe took its name. 3400.
He was a declared enemy to the tyrants of Leſbos, Herod.
and in particular to Pittacus, whom he perpetually l. 5. c. 95.
aſhed in his poems. He is ſaid to have been ſeized with ſuch terror in a battle, where he happened to be, that he threw down his arms, and fled. † Horace relates a like adventure of himſelf. Poets pique themſelves leſs upon their valour than their wit. ‡ Quintilian ſays, that the ſtile of Alcæus is cloſe, lofty, correct, and, what crowns his praiſe, that he very much reſembles Homer.

Sappho. She was of the ſame place, and lived at the ſame time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verſe is ſo called from her. She had three brothers, Larychus, Eurygius, and Charaxus. She celebrated the firſt extremely in her poems, and on the contrary is as ſevere againſt Charaxus, for being deſperately in love with the courtezan Rhodope, the ſame that built one of the pyramids of Egypt.

Sappho compoſed a conſiderable number of poems, of which only two are come down to us, but theſe ſuffice to prove, that the praiſes given her by all ages for the beauty, paſſion, numbers, harmony, and infinite delicacies of her verſe, are not without foundation. Hence ſhe was called the *Tenth Muſ* and the people of Mitylene cauſed her image to b ſtamped on their coin.

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* Steſichorum, quam ſit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque oſtendunt, maxima bella & clariſſimos canentem duces, & Epici carminis onera lyra ſuſtinentem. *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

† Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senſi, relicta non bene parmula.

‡ In eloquendo brevis, & magnificus, & diligens, plerumque Homero ſimilis, *l.* 10. *c.* 1.

It were to be wiſhed that the purity of her manners had equalled the beauty of her genius, and tha ſhe had not diſhonoured her ſex and poetry by he vices and licentiouſneſs.

It is ſaid, that frantic with deſpair thro' the obſtinate reſiſtance to her deſires of Phaon, a youn man of Leſbos, ſhe threw herſelf into the ſea fron the top of the promontory of Leucadia in Acarnania a remedy frequently uſed in Greece by thoſe wh were unfortunate in this paſſion.

A. M. 3512. Her. l. 3. p. 121.

ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city o Ionia. He paſſed much of his time at the cour of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, famous for the uninterrupted proſperity of his life and tragical end and was not only of all his parties of pleaſure, bu of his council. Plato informs us, that Hipparchus one of the ſons of Piſiſtratus, ſent a galley of fift oars to Anacreon, and wrote to him, in the moſ obliging terms, to prevail upon him to come t Athens, where his fine works would be eſteemed an taſted according to their merit. Joy and pleaſur are ſaid to have been his ſole ſtudy, as indeed w may well believe from what remains of his poems. They every-where ſhew, that his hand wrote wha his heart felt, and are of a delicacy more eaſy to conceive than expreſs. Nothing would be more eſtimabl than his compoſitions, had their object been better.

In Hipparch. p. 228—229.

A. M. 3444.

SIMONIDES. He was of the iſland of Cea, one of the Cyclades in the Ægean ſea. He wrote the famous naval battle of Salamis in the Doric dialect. * His ſtile was delicate, natural, and agreeable. He was pathetic, and excelled in exciting compaſſion,

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* Simonides tenuis, alioqui ſermone proprio & jucunditate quadam commendari poteſt. Præcipua tamen ejus in commovenda miſeratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus ejuſdem operis auctoribus præferant. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

which

hich was his peculiar talent, and that by which e antients have characteriſed him:

> Paulum quidlibet allocutionis
> Mœſtius lachrymis Simonideis. *Catull.*
> *Something ſadder to my ears*
> *Than Simonides in tears.*

orace ſays of him to the ſame effect:

> Sed ne, relictis, muſa procax, jocis,
> Ceæ retractes munera næniæ.
>
> *But whither, wanton muſe, away,*
> *Wherefore ceaſe we to be gay,*
> *Things of woe why thus prolong,*
> *Things that fit the Cean's ſong?*

Ibycus. Nothing is known of him, beſides his A. M.
ame, and a few fragments come down to us. 3464.

Bacchylides. He was of the iſland of Cea A. M.
nd the ſon of a brother of Simonides. Hiero pre- 3552.
rred his poems to thoſe of Pindar in the Pythian ames. Ammianus Marcellinus ſays, that Julian e Apoſtate delighted much in reading this poet.

Pindar. Quintilian places him at the head of A. M.
e nine lyric poets. His peculiar merit and pre- 3528.
ailing character are that majeſty, grandeur, and blimity, which often exalt him above the rules f art, to which it were wrong to expect, that the roductions of a great genius ſhould be ſervilely conned. We find in his odes a ſenſible effect of the nthuſiaſm I have ſpoken of in the beginning of his ſection. It might appear a little too bold, if not oftened with a mixture of leſs ardent and more greeable beauties. The poet diſcerned this himſelf; which made him ſtrew flowers abundantly from ime to time. His celebrated rival Corynna reroached him with exceſs in this point.

Horace indeed praiſes him only in reſpect to ſublinity. He calls him a ſwan, borne by the impetuoſity of his flight, and the aid of the winds, above th clouds; a torrent, that, ſwelled by rains, bears dow all before it in the rapidity of its courſe. But to con ſider it in other lights, it is a ſmooth ſtream, rol ing its clear pure waves over golden ſands, throug flowery banks and verdant plains; a bee, collectin whatever is moſt precious from the flowers, for th compoſition of its fragrant nectar.

His ſtile is always ſuited to his manner of think ing, cloſe, conciſe, without too many expreſs con nections, or tranſitionary terms: thoſe imply them ſelves ſufficiently in the chain of his matter, an their abſence exalts the vigour of his verſes. Atten tion to tranſitions would have abated the poet's fir in giving his enthuſiaſm time to cool.

In ſpeaking thus of Pindar, I do not pretend t propoſe him as an author without faults. I own h has ſome, which it is not eaſy to excuſe: but at th ſame time, the number and greatneſs of the beautie with which they are attended, ought to cover an almoſt make them diſappear. Horace, who is a goo judge of every thing, and eſpecially of our preſen ſubject, muſt have had a very high idea of his me rit, as he is not afraid to ſay, that to emulate hin is manifeſt temerity: *Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet æmu lari, &c.*

Ælian. l. 13. c. 25. Pindar had a dangerous rival in the perſon o CORYNNA, who excelled in the ſame kind of poetry and five times carried the prize againſt him in th public diſputes. She was ſurnamed *the Lyric Muſe.*

Plut. in Alex. p. 672. Alexander the Great, when he ruined the city o Thebes, the country of our illuſtrious poet, long after his death, paid a juſt and glorious homage to his merit in the perſons of his deſcendants, whom he diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the inhabitants o that unfortunate place, by ordering particular car to be taken of them.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of ſome of Pindar's works, in the hiſtory of Hiero: the reader may conſult the paſſage, Vol. III.

SECT. VI.

Of the Elegiac Poets.

ELEGY, according to Didymus, is derived from ἒ, ἒ λέγειν, *to ſay, ah! ah! or alas!* And cording to others, from ἐλεὸν λέγειν, *to ſay moving ings.* The Greeks, and after them the Romans, ompoſed their plaintive poems, their elegies, in xameter and pentameter verſes. From whence ery thing written in thoſe verſes has been called egy, whether the ſubject be gay or ſad.

> Verſibus impariter junctis querimonia primum,
> Mox etiam incluſa eſt voti ſententia compos.
> *Horat. in Art. Poet.*
>
> *Grief did at firſt ſoft elegy employ,*
> *That now oft dries her tears, to ſing of joy.*

No Greek elegy of the firſt ſort is come down to s, except that inſerted by Euripides in his Andronache, which conſiſts only of fourteen lines. The nventor of this kind of poetry is not known.

> Quis tamen exiguos elegos emiſerit auctor,
> Grammatici certant, & adhùc ſub judice lis eſt.
> *Ibid.*
>
> *Yet, who firſt ſigh'd in elegiac ſtrain,*
> *The learn'd ſtill doubt, and ſtill conteſt in vain.*

As it was intended at its inſtitution for tears and lamentations, it was employed at firſt only in grief and misfortune. It expreſſed no other ſentiments, it breathed no other accents but thoſe of ſorrow. With the negligence natural to affliction and diſtreſs, it ſought leſs to pleaſe than to move, and aimed at exciting pity, not admiration. It was afterwards uſed on all ſorts of ſubjects, and eſpecially the paſſion of love. It however always retained the character peculiar to it, and did not loſe ſight of its original invention.

vention. Its thoughts were always natural and fa from the affectation of wit; its ſentiments tender an delicate, its expreſſion ſimple and eaſy, always retaining that alternate inequality of meaſure, whic Ovid makes ſo great a merit in it (*In pedibus vitiu cauſa decoris erat)* and which gives the elegiac poetr of the antients ſo much the advantage over ours.

Periander, Pittacus, Solon, Chilo, and Hippia wrote their precepts of religion, morality, and policy in elegiac verſe, in which Theognis of Megara, an Phocylides, imitated them. Many of the Poets alſo of whom I have ſpoken before, compoſed elegies: bu I ſhall ſay nothing here of any but thoſe who applie themſelves particularly to this kind of poetry, an ſhall make choice only of a ſmall number of them.

A. M. 3230. CALLINUS. He was of Epheſus, and is one of th moſt antient of the elegiac poets. It is believed tha he flouriſhed about the beginning of the Olympiads

A. M. 3408. MIMNERMUS, of Colophon, or Smyrna, was cotemporary with Solon. Some make him the inventor of elegiac verſe. He at leaſt gave it its perfection, and was perhaps the firſt, who transferred it from funerals to love. The fragments of his, which are come down to us, breathe nothing but pleaſure, whence Horace ſays of him,

> Si, Mimnermus uti cenſet, ſine amore jociſque
> Nil eſt jucundum, vivas in amore jociſque.
> *Horat. l.* 1. *Epiſt.* 6.

> *As Mimnermus thinks,*
> *If without love and pleaſure nought is joy,*
> *In love and pleaſure life's ſwift hours employ.*

A. M. 3444. SIMONIDES, whoſe verſes were ſo pathetic, might be ranked amongſt the elegiac poets: but I have given him a place elſewhere.

A. M. 3724. PHILETAS of Cos, and CALLIMACHUS of Cyrene, lived both in the court of Ptolomy Philadelphus, whoſe preceptor Philetas certainly was, and Callimachus is believed to have been his librarian. The er is conſidered as the principal author of elegiac try, and as the perſon who ſucceeded beſt in it: *us (elegiæ) princeps Callimachus*; and Philetas as next to him: *Secundas, confeſſione plurimorum, iletas occupavit.*

Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

This is Quintilian's opinion: but Horace ſeems rank Mimnermus above Callimachus:

——————— Si plus adpoſcere viſus,
Fit Mimnermus, & optivo cognomine creſcit.
Epiſt. 2. *l.* 2.

Call him Callimachus? If more his claim,
Mimnermus he ſhall be, his wiſh'd ſurname.

Callimachus had applied himſelf to every kind of erature.

SECT. VII.

Of the Epigrammatical Poets.

THE epigram is a ſhort kind of poem, ſuſceptible of all ſubjects, which ought to conclude ith an happy, ſprightly, juſt thought. The word Greek ſignifies *Inſcription.* Thoſe which the anents placed upon tombs, ſtatues, temples, and trimphal arches, were ſometimes in verſe, but verſe of e greateſt ſimplicity of ſtile. That name has ſince een confined to the ſpecies of poetry, of which I eak. The epigram generally conſiſts of only a nall number of lines: more extent however is ſomemes given it.

I have ſaid that this kind of poem is ſuſceptible of l kinds of ſubjects. This is true, provided care be ken to exclude all calumny and obſcenity from it.

The * liberty, which the comic poets gave themelves at Athens, of attacking the moſt conſiderable and

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* In vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi: lex eſt accepta, chorusque
Turpiter obticuit. *Horat. in Art. Poet.*

Next

and moſt worthy of the citizens without reſerve made way for a law to prohibit the mangling of an body's reputation in verſe. At Rome, amongſt the laws of the twelve tables, which very rarely condemned to death, there was one that made it capita for any body to defame a citizen in verſe. Cicero' reaſon is no leſs juſt than remarkable. "This law "ſays he, was wiſely inſtituted. There are tribu-"nals, to which we may be cited to anſwer for our "conduct before the magiſtrates: our reputation "therefore ought not to be abandoned to the mali-"cious wit of the poets, nor ſcandalous accuſations "ſuffered to be formed againſt us, without its being "in our power to anſwer them, and defend ourſelves "before the judges." *Præclarè. Judiciis enim ac magiſtratuum diſceptationibus legitimis propoſitam vitam, non poetarum ingeniis, habere debemus; nec probrum audire, niſi ea conditione, ut reſpondere liceat, & judicio defendere.*

The ſecond exception, which regards purity of manners, is neither leſs important, nor leſs founded in reaſon. Our propenſity to evil and vice is already but too natural and headſtrong, and does not want any incentives from the charms and inſinuations of delicate verſes, the poiſon of which, concealed under the flowers of pleaſing poetry, to borrow the terms which † Martial applies to the Sirens, gives us a cruel joy, and, by its inchanting ſweetneſs, conveys diſeaſe and bane into the ſoul. The wiſeſt legiſlators

Next comedy appear'd with great applauſe,
Till her licentious and abuſive tongue
Waken'd the magiſtrate's coercive power,
And forc'd it to ſuppreſs her inſolence. Roſcommon.

* Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus eſt
Judiciumque.

Noſtræ contra XII. tabellæ, cum perpaucas res capite ſanxiſſent, in his hanc quoque ſanciendam putaverunt, ſi quis actitaviſſet, ſive carmen condidiſſet quod infamiam afferret, flagitiumve alteri. *Cic. de Rep. l. 4. apud S. Auguſt. l. 1 .c. 9. de Civit.*

† Sirenes, hilarem navigantium pœnam,
Blandaſque mortes, gaudiumque crudele.

of

o antiquity always conſidered thoſe who abuſe the t of poetry to ſuch purpoſes, as the peſts of ſociety, the enemies and corrupters of mankind, that ight to be abhorred, and kept under with the gheſt marks of infamy and diſgrace. Such wiſe ws had not the good effect to be hoped from them, pecially in reſpect to the epigram, which of all the ecies of poetry has abandoned itſelf moſt to obenity.

In obſerving the two rules I have now laid down, pigrams would not have been dangerous, in reſpect manners, and might have been uſeful as to ſtile, y throwing into it occaſionally and with diſcretion ioſe agreeable, lively, quaint thoughts, which we nd at the end of good epigrams. But what in its rigin was beauty, delicacy, and vivacity of wit, which is properly what the Romans underſtand by the ords, *acutus*, *acumen*) ſoon degenerated into a viious affectation that extended even to proſe, of hich it became the faſhion ſtudiouſly to conclude lmoſt all the phraſes and periods with a glittering hought, in the nature of a point. We ſhall have ccaſion to expatiate farther upon that head.

F. Vavaſeur the jeſuit has treated the ſubject we re upon more at large, in the no leſs learned than legant preface to the three books of epigrams, which e has given the public. There are alſo uſeful reflecions upon the ſame ſubject in the book, called *Epirammatum Delectus*.

We have a collection of Greek epigrams called *Anthologia*.

Meleager, a native of Gadara, a city of Syria, who lived in the reign of Seleucus, the laſt king of that realm, made the firſt collection of Greek epigrams, which he called *Anthologia*, becauſe as he had choſen the brighteſt and moſt florid epigrams of forty-ſix antient poets, he conſidered his collection as a noſegay, and denominated each of thoſe poets after ſome flower, Anytus *the lilly*, Sappho *the roſe*, &c.

After him **Philip** of Theſſalonica made a ſecond collection, in the time of the emperor Auguſtus, out of only fourteen poets. **Agathias** made a third about five hundred years after, in the reign of the emperor Juſtinian. **Planudes**, a monk of Conſtantinople, who lived in the year 1380, made the fourth and laſt, which he divided into ſeven books, in each of which the epigrams are diſpoſed in an alphabetical order according to their ſubjects. This is the *Anthologia* come down to us. He retrenched abundance of obſcene epigrams, for which ſome of the learned are not a little angry with him.

There are a great many epigrams in this collection that abound with wit and ſenſe, but more of a different character.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Latin Poets.

POETRY, as well as the other polite arts, did not find acceſs till very late amongſt the Romans, ſolely engroſſed as they were during more than five hundred years by military views and expeditions, and void of taſte for every thing called literature. By a new kind of victory, Greece, when conquered and reduced, ſubdued the victors in her turn, and exerciſed over them a power the more glorious, as it was the reſult of their will, and was founded upon a ſuperiority of knowledge and ſcience, no ſooner known than homaged. That learned and polite nation, which was under the neceſſity of a ſtrict commerce with the Romans, by degrees made them loſe that air of rudeneſs and ruſticity they ſtill retained from their antient origin, and inſpired them with a taſte for the arts that humaniſe, improve, and adorn ſociety.

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit [*] agreſti Latio. Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, & grave virus
Munditiæ pepulêre. *Horat. Epiſt.* 1. *l.* 2.

Greece conquer'd won her martial victors hearts,
And poliſh'd ruſtic Latium with her arts:
The rude hoarſe ſtrain expir'd of Saturn's days,
And the muſe ſoften'd and refin'd our lays.

This happy change began by poetry, whoſe prin- pal view is to pleaſe, and whoſe charms, full of eetneſs and delight, impart a taſte for themſelves oneſt and with moſt eaſe. It was however very oſs and unpoliſhed in its beginning at Rome; d had its birth in the theatre, or at leaſt began ere to aſſume a more graceful and elegant air. It ade its firſt eſſays in comedy, tragedy, and ſatyr, hich it carried ſlowly and by inſenſible acquiſi- ons to a great degree of perfection.

When the Romans had been almoſt four hundred ars without any dramatic games, chance and de- uch introduced the [†] Feſcennine verſes into one their feaſts, which ſerved them inſtead of thea- ical pieces near an hundred and twenty years. heſe verſes were rude and almoſt void of num- ers, as they were extemporaneous, and made by ruſtic illiterate people, who knew no other maſters ut mirth and wine. They conſiſted of groſs raillery, tended with poſtures and dances:

Feſcennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Verſibus alternis opprobria ruſtica fudit.
Horat. Epiſt. 1. *l.* 2.

Feſcennia's licenſe thus found out, the ſwains
Vented their taunts in rude alternate ſtrains.

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[*] *Horace here gives us the time when poetry began to improve a- ong the Latins; for it was known in Italy very early,* numerus Sa- rnius; *and, as Horace tells us again in the ſame epiſtle, at Rome the time of Numa:* Saliare Numæ carmen.

[†] *Theſe verſes were ſo called from Feſcennia, a city of Etruria, om whence they were brought to Rome.*

Liv. l. 7. n. 2. To theſe looſer and irregular verſes ſoon ſucceeded a chaſter kind of poetry, which, though it alſo abounded with pleaſant ridicule, had nothing viciouſly indecent in it. This poem appeared under the name of Satyr, *(Satura)* from its variety, and had regular meaſures, that is to ſay, regular muſic and dances: but obſcene poſtures were baniſhed from it. Theſe ſatyrs were innocent farces, in which the ſpectators and actors were indifferently made the objects of mirth.

Liv. ibid. Livius Andronicus found things in this ſtate, when he conceived the deſign of making comedies and tragedies in imitation of the Greeks. Other poets followed his example, copying after the ſame originals: of theſe were Nævius, Ennius, Cæcilius, Pacuvius, Accius, and Plautus. Theſe ſeven poets, of whom I am going to ſpeak, lived almoſt all of them at the ſame time in the ſpace of ſixty years.

In what I propoſe to ſay here of the Latin poets, I ſhall not follow the order of the ſubject, as I have done in ſpeaking of the Greek poets; but the order of time, which ſeemed to me the moſt proper for ſhewing the birth, progreſs, perfection, and decline of the Latin poetry.

I ſhall divide the whole time into three different ages. The firſt will conſiſt of about two hundred years, during which Latin poetry had its birth, was improved, and gradually acquired ſtrength. Its ſecond age will conſiſt of about an hundred years, from Julius Cæſar to the middle of Tiberius's reign, in which it attained its higheſt degree of perfection. The third age will contain the ſubſequent years, wherein, by a ſufficiently rapid decline, it fell from that flouriſhing ſtate, and at length entirely degenerated from its antient reputation.

SECT.

SECT. I.

Firſt age of Latin poetry.

LIVIUS ANDRONICUS.

THE poet Andronicus took the prænomen of
Livius, becauſe he had been ſet at liberty by
. Livius Salinator, whoſe daughters he had in-
ucted.

Euſeb. in Chron.

He repreſented his firſt tragedy a year before
: birth of Ennius, the firſt year after the firſt
nic war, and the 514th of Rome, in the conſul-
p of C. Claudius Cento and M. Sempronius Tu-
anus; about an hundred and ſixty years after the
ith of Sophocles and Euripides, fifty after that
Menander, and two hundred and twenty before
it of Virgil.

A. M. 3764. Cic. in Brut. n. 72. Aul. Gell. l. 17. c. 21.

CN. NÆVIUS.

Nævius, according to Varro, had ſerved in the
t Punic war. Encouraged by the example of
ndronicus, he trod in his ſteps, and, five years af-
him, began to give the public theatrical pieces:
ſe were comedies. He drew upon himſelf the
tred of the nobility, and eſpecially of one Metel-
; which obliged him to quit Rome. He retired
Utica, where he died. He had compoſed the
tory of the firſt Punic war in verſe.

A. M. 3769. Aul. Gell. ibid.

Euſeb. in Chron.

Q. ENNIUS.

He was born the 514th or 515th year of Rome,
Rudiæ a city of Calabria, and lived to the age of
ty in Sardinia. It was there he came acquainted
th Cato the Cenſor, who learnt the Greek lan-
age of him at a very advanced age, and after-
rds carried him to Rome, as M. Fulvius Nobi-
r afterwards did to Ætolia. The ſon of this No-
ior cauſed the freedom of Rome to be granted

A. M. 3764. Aurel. Vic. de Vir. Illuſt. c. 47. 1 Tuſc. n. 3.

him, which in thoſe times was a very conſiderable honour. He had compoſed the annals of Rome in heroic verſe, and was at the twelfth book of that work in his ſixty-ſeventh year. He had alſo celebrated the victories of the firſt Scipio Africanus, with whom he had contracted a * particular friendſhip, and who always treated him with the higheſt marks of eſteem and conſideration. Some even believe that he gave his image a place in the tomb of the Scipio's. He died in the ſeventieth year of his age. Aul. Gel. l. 17. c. 21.

Scipio was well aſſured, that the memory of his great actions would ſubſiſt as long as Rome, and as Africa continued in ſubjection to Italy: † but he alſo believed, that the writings of Ennius were highly capable of augmenting their ſplendor, and perpetuating their remembrance: a perſon, whoſe glorious victories merited rather an Homer to celebrate them, than a poet, whoſe ſtile did but ill ſuit the grandeur of his actions!

It is eaſy to conceive that the Latin poetry, in its infancy, and weak at the time we are ſpeaking of, could not have much beauty and ornament. It ſometimes ſhewed force and genius, but without elegance and grace, and with great inequality. This Quintilian, where he draws Ennius's character, expreſſes by an admirable compariſon: *Ennium ſicut ſacros vetuſtate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantam habent ſpeciem, quantam religionem.* " Let us reverence Ennius, ſays he, as we do thoſe groves which time hath conſecrated and made venerable, and of which the great and antient oaks do not ſtrike us ſo much with their beauty, as with a kind of religious veneration."

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* Carus fuit Africano ſuperiori noſter Ennius. Itaque etiam in ſepulcro Scipionum putatur is eſſe conſtitutus. *Cic. pro Arch. poet.* n. 22.

† Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ
Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides. *Hor. Od.* 8. *l.* 4.

Not impious Carthage burnt does more,
Than the Calabrian muſe, proclaim
The hero's glory, who of yore
From conquer'd Afric took his name.

Cicero, in his treatiſe upon old age, relates a fact which ought to do Ennius's memory abundance of honour. He ſays, * "that poet, at the age of ſeventy, carried the two loads, which are commonly thought the hardeſt to bear, poverty and old age, not only with ſuch conſtancy but gaiety, that it might almoſt be ſaid he took delight in them."

CÆCILIUS. PACUVIUS.

Theſe two poets lived in the time of Ennius, both however younger than him. The firſt, according to ſome, was a native of Milan, a comic poet, and at firſt lived with Ennius. Pacuvius, Ennius's nephew, was of Brunduſium. He profeſſed both poetry and painting, which have always been deemed ſiſter-arts; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in tragic poetry. Though † they lived in the time of Lælius and Scipio, that is to ſay at a time to which the purity of language, as well as manners, ſeem ſingularly attached, their diction carries no air of ſo happy an age.

Euſeb. in Chron.

Lælius, however, one of the perſons whom Cicero introduces in his dialogue upon friendſhip ‡, in ſpeaking of Pacuvius as of his particular friend,

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* Annos ſeptuaginta natus, (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo, quæ maxima putantur onera, paupertatem & ſenectutem, ut eis penè delectari videretur. *De Senect.* n. 14.

† Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem. Ætatis illius iſta fuit laus, tanquam innocentiæ, ſic Latine loquendi. Non omnium tamen: nam illorum æquales Cæcilium & Pacuvium male locutos videmus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 258.

‡ Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hoſpitis mei & amici M. Pacuvii nova fabula, cum ignorante rege, uter eſſet Oreſtes, Pylades Oreſtem ſe eſſe diceret, ut pro illo necaretur; Oreſtes autem, ita ut erat, Oreſtem ſe eſſe perſeveraret. Stantes plaudebant in re ficta: quid arbitremur in vera facturos fuiſſe? *De amicit.* n. 24.

ſays, that the people received one of his plays called *Oreſtes* with uncommon applauſe, eſpecially the ſcene where Pylades declares himſelf to be Oreſtes to the king, in order to ſave his friend's life; and the latter affirms himſelf to be the true Oreſtes. It is not impoſſible but that the beauty and ſpirit of the ſentiments might on this occaſion make the audience forget the want of juſtneſs and delicacy of expreſſions.

ATTIUS.

A. M. 3864. Euſeb. in Chron. Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 1. L. *Attius* or *Accius*, for his name is written both ways, was the ſon of a freedman. He exhibited ſome tragedies in the time of Pacuvius, though almoſt fifty years younger than him. We are told that ſome of them were performed in the edileſhip of the celebrated P. Licinius Craſſus Mucianus, in whoſe perſon five of the greateſt advantages that could be poſſeſſed, are ſaid to have been united: * great riches, illuſtrious birth, ſupreme eloquence, profound knowledge of the law, with the office of great pontiff: [*Pontifex maximus.*]

Val. Max. l. 8. c. 14. This poet lived in great friendſhip with D. Junius Brutus, who firſt carried the Roman arms in Spain as far as the ocean. Accius compoſed verſes in honour of him, with which that general adorned the porch of a temple that he built with the ſpoils taken from the enemy.

PLAUTUS.

Aul. Gell. l. 3. c. 3. Plautus *(M. Accius)* was of Salinæ, a city of Umbria in Italy (in Romagnia.) He acquired great reputation at Rome by his comedies, at the ſame time with the three laſt poets mentioned above.

Aulus Gellius tells us, after Varro, that Plautus applied himſelf to merchandiſe, and that, having loſt all he had in it, he was obliged, for the means

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* Ditiſſimus, nobiliſſimus, eloquentiſſimus, juris-conſultiſſimus, Pontifex maximus.

of

life to ſerve a baker, in whoſe houſe he turned a rn-mill.

Of all the poets who appeared before him, only me fragments remain. Plautus has been more rtunate, nineteen of whoſe comedie have eſcaped e injuries of time, and come down almoſt entire us. It is very probable, that his works preſerved emſelves better than others, becauſe, as they were ore agreeable to the public, the demand for them as greater and more permanent. They were not nly acted in the time of Auguſtus, but from a aſſage in Arnobius it appears, that they continued Arnob. l. 7. be played in the reign of Diocleſian, three hun- red years after the birth of JESUS CARIST.

Various judgments have been paſſed on this poet. His elocution ſeems to be generally approved, without doubt in regard to the purity, propriety, energy, abundance, and even elegance of his ſtile. Varro ſays, that, if the muſes were to ſpeak Latin, they would borrow the language of Plautus: *Licet* Quintil. l. 10. c. 1. *Varro dicat muſas—Plautino ſermone locturas fuiſſe, ſi Latinè loqui vellent.* Such a praiſe makes no exceptions, and leaves us nothing to deſire. Aulus Gel- Aul. Gell. l. 7. c. 17. lius ſpeaks of him no leſs to his advantage: *Plautus, homo linguæ atque elegantiæ in verbis Latinæ princeps.*

Horace, who was undoubtedly a good judge in this point, does not ſeem ſo favourable to Plautus. The whole paſſage is as follows:

At noſtri proavi Plautinos & numeros, &
Laudavere ſales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam ſtultè, mirati; ſi modo ego & vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido ſeponere dicto,
Legitimumque ſonum digito callemus & aure.
Horat. in Art. Poet.

“ Our anceſtors, ſaid he to the Piſo's, practiſed “ and admired the verſes and raillery of Plautus “ with too much indulgence, not to call it ſtupidity; “ if it be true, that either you or I know how to "diſtinguiſh delicate from groſs raillery, and "have ears to judge aright of the numbers and "harmony of verſe." This criticiſm ſeems the more againſt Plautus, as it argues, that Horace was not alone in his opinion, and that the court of Auguſtus had no greater taſte than him, either for the verſification or pleaſantries of that poet.

Horace's cenſure falls upon two articles; the numbers and harmony of his verſes, *numeros*; and his raillery, *ſales*. For my part, I believe it indiſpenſably right to adopt his judgment in a great meaſure. But it is not impoſſible that Horace, offended at the unjuſt preference given by his age to the antient Latin poets againſt thoſe of their own times, may have been a little too exceſſive in his criticiſms upon ſome occaſions, and on this in particular.

It is certain that Plautus was not exact in his verſes, which for that reaſon he calls *numeros innumeros*, numbers without number, in the epitaph he made for himſelf. He did not confine himſelf to obſerving the ſame meaſure, and has jumbled ſo many different kinds of verſe together, that the moſt learned find it difficult to diſtinguiſh them. It is no leſs certain that he has flat, low, and often extravagant pleaſantries; but at the ſame time he has ſuch as are fine and delicate. Cicero * for this reaſon, who was no bad judge of what the antients called *Urbanity*, propoſes him as a model for raillery.

Theſe faults of Plautus therefore do not hinder his being an excellent comic poet. They are very happily atoned for by many fine qualities, which may not only make him equal, but perhaps ſuperior to Terence. This is Madam † Dacier's judgnent, (then Mademoiſelle Le Fevre) in her compariſon of theſe two poets.

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* Duplex omnino eſt jocandi genus: unum illiberale, petulans, flagitioſum, obſcœnum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingenioſum, facetum; quo genere non modò Plautus noſter, & Atticorum antiqua comœdia, ſed etiam philoſophorum Socraticorum libri ſunt referti. *Lib.* 1. *de Offic.* n. 104.

† *Preface to the tranſlation of three comedies of Plautus.*

“ Terence, ſays ſhe, has undoubtedly moſt art,
“ but the other moſt wit: Terence makes more be
“ ſaid than done, Plautus more done than ſaid;
“ which latter is the true character of comedy,
“ that conſiſts much more in action than diſcourſe.
“ This buſy vivacity ſeems to include a farther
“ conſiderable advantage on the ſide of Plautus:
“ that is, his intrigues are always adapted to the
“ character of his actor, whilſt his incidents are
“ well varied, and are never without ſomething that
“ ſurpriſes agreeably; whereas the ſtage ſeems
“ ſometimes to ſtand ſtill in Terence, in whom the
“ vivacity of the action, and the incidents and in-
“ trigues that form the plot, are manifeſtly defec-
“ tive.” This is Cæſar's reproach of him in ſome verſes, which I ſhall repeat, when I come to ſpeak of Terence.

To give the reader ſome idea of the ſtile, latinity, and antiquated language of Plautus, I ſhall tranſcribe in this place the beginning of the prologue of Amphitryon, one of his fineſt plays. It is ſpoken by Mercury:

Ut vos in voſtris voltis mercimoniis
Emundis vendundiſque me lætum lucris
Afficere, atque adjuvare in rebus omnibus:
Et ut res rationeſque veſtrorum omnium
Bene expedire voltis peregreque & domi,
Bonoque atque amplo auctare perpetuo lucro
Quaſque incœpiſtis res, quaſque incœptabitis:
Et uti bonis vos voſtroſque omnes nuntiis
Me afficere voltis; ea afferam, eaque ut nuntiem,
Quæ maximè in rem voſtram communem ſient:
(Nam vos quidem id jam ſcitis conceſſum & datum
Mi eſſe ab diis aliis, nuntiis præſim & lucro:)
Hæc ut me vultis approbare, annitier
Lucrum ut perenne vobis ſemper ſuppetat:

Ita huic facietis fabulæ ſilentium,
Itáque æqui & juſti hic eritis omnes arbitri.

To underſtand theſe verſes, we muſt remember, that Mercury was the god of merchants, and the meſſenger of the gods.

" As you deſire me to be propitious to you in " your bargains and ſales; as you deſire to proſper " in your affairs at home and abroad, and to ſee " a conſiderable profit continually augment your " preſent and future fortunes and undertakings; " as you deſire that I ſhould be the bearer of good " news to youſelves and your families, and bring " you ſuch advices as are moſt for the benefit of " your commonwealth, (for you know that by the " conſent of the other gods I preſide over news " and gain;) as you deſire that I ſhould grant you " all theſe things, and that your gains may be as " laſting as your occaſions; ſo you will now afford " this play your favourable attention, and ſhew your- " ſelves juſt and equitable in your judgment of it."

We often meet with fine maxims in Plautus for the conduct of life, and regulation of manners; of which I ſhall give one example from the play juſt cited. It is a ſpeech of Alcmena's to her huſband Amphitryon, which in a few lines includes all the duties of a wiſe and virtuous wife:

Non ego illam mihi dotem duco eſſe quæ dos dicitur:
Sed pudicitiam, & pudorem, & ſedatam cupidinem,
Deûm metum, parentum amorem, & cognatûm concordiam:
Tibi morigera, atque ut munifica ſim bonis, proſim probis.
Act 2. ſcene 2.

" I do not eſteem that a dowry, which is com- " monly called ſo; but honour, modeſty, deſires " ſubjected to reaſon, the fear of the gods, the love " of our parents, unity with our relations, obedience to you, munificence to the deſerving, and to be uſeful to the juſt."

But for ſome paſſages of this kind, how many is he that are contrary to decency and purity of anners! It is great pity that this reproach ſhould tend almoſt generally to the beſt poets of the pa-n world. What Quintilian ſays of certain dan- L. 1. c. 8. rous poems, may be well applied on this occaſion: hat youth ſhould, if poſſible, be kept entirely norant of them, or at leaſt that they ſhould be erved for riper years, and a time of life leſs liable corruption: *Amoveantur, ſi fieri poteſt; ſi minùs, te ad firmius ætatis robur reſerventur—cum mores in o fuerint.*

TERENCE.

TERENCE was born at Carthage after the ſecond A. M. 3818. Suet. in vit. Terent. inic war, in the 516th year of Rome. He was a ve to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman ſenator, who, on account of his wit, not only cauſed him to be ucated with great care, but gave him his liberty nilſt very young. It was this ſenator from whom r poet took the name of Terence; ſuch as were ade free uſually aſſuming the names of the maſters at ſet them at liberty.

He was much beloved and eſteemed by the prin-pal perſons of Rome, and lived in particular in-nacy with Lælius and Scipio Africanus, who took d demoliſhed Numantia. The latter was eleven ars younger than him.

Six of Terence's comedies are come down to us. hen he ſold the firſt to the ediles, it was thought oper that he ſhould read it beforehand to Cæcilius, comic poet as well as himſelf, and in great eſteem Rome, when Terence firſt appeared there. Accord-gly he went to his houſe, and found him at table. e was brought in, and, as he was very ill dreſſed, a ol was given him near Cæcilius's bed, where he down and began to read. He had no ſooner read ſome few verſes, than Cæcilius invited him to ſupper, and placed him at table near himſelf. Judgments are not always to be formed of men by their outſides. A bad dreſs may often cover the moſt excellent talents.

The Eunuch, one of the ſix comedies of Terence, was received with ſuch applauſe, that it was acted twice the ſame day, morning and evening, which perhaps had never happened to any play before; and a much better price was given for it than had ever been paid for any comedy till then: for Terence had eight thouſand ſeſterces, that is to ſay, about fifty pounds.

It was publicly enough reported, that Scipio and Lælius aſſiſted him in the compoſition of his plays, which rumour he augmented himſelf by denying it but faintly, as he does in the prologue to *the Adelphi*, the laſt of his comedies: *As to what thoſe envious perſons ſay, that he is aſſiſted in compoſing his works by ſome illuſtrious perſons, he is ſo far from taking that as the offence they intended it, that he conceives it the higheſt praiſe which could be given him, as it is a proof, that he has the honour to pleaſe thoſe who pleaſe this audience and the whole Roman people; and who in peace, in war, and on all occaſions, have rendered the commonwealth in general, and every one in particular, the higheſt and moſt important ſervices, without being either more diſtant or more haughty upon that account.*

We may believe, however, that he only denied this aſſiſtance ſo negligently, to make his court to Lælius and Scipio, to whom he knew ſuch a conduct would not be diſagreeable. That report notwithſtanding, ſays Suetonius in the life of Terence aſcribed to him, augmented continually, and is come down to our times.

The poet Valgius, who was Horace's cotemporary, ſays poſitively in ſpeaking of Terence's comedies:

Hæ quæ vocantur fabulæ; cujus ſunt?
Non has, qui jura populis[*] *recenſens dabat,*
Honore ſummo affectus fecit fabulas?

"And pray, whoſe are theſe ſame comedies? Are they not his, who, after having acquired the higheſt glory, gave laws, and governed the people with power and authority?"

Whether Terence was for putting an end to the eproach of publiſhing the works of others as his wn, or had formed the deſign of going to learn he cuſtoms and manners of the Greeks perfectly, n order to repreſent them the better in his plays; fter having compoſed the ſix comedies ſtill extant, nd before he was thirty-five years old, he quitted Rome, where he was never ſeen more.

Some ſay that he died at ſea in his return from Greece, from whence he brought with him an hundred and eight plays, which he had tranſlated from Menander. Others aſſure us, that he died at the city of Stymphalus in Arcadia, in the conſulſhip of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, of a diſeaſe occaſioned by his grief for having loſt the comedies he had tranſlated, and thoſe he had made himſelf.

Terence had only one daughter, who, after his death, was married to a Roman knight, and to whom he left an houſe and garden of twenty acres upon the Appian way.

Cicero, in a copy of verſes intitled Λειμὼν, which ſignifies *a meadow*, ſays of Terence:

Tu quoque, qui ſolus lecto ſermone, Terenti,
Converſum expreſſumque Latina voce Menandrum
In medio populi ſedatis vocibus effers,
Quidquid come loquens, atque omnia dulcia linquens.

That is, *And you, Terence, who alone tranſlate Menander with ſo much eloquence, and make him ſpeak the*

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[*] *I don't know what this word means here, and believe it ſome error crept into the paſſage.*

language of the Romans ſo happily in your judicious choice of whatever is ſweeteſt and moſt delicate in it. This teſtimony is for the honour of Terence; but the verſes that expreſs it not much for Cicero's.

I now proceed to thoſe of Cæſar, which I mentioned before. That great man, who wrote with ſo much force and accuracy, and had himſelf compoſed a Greek tragedy, called Œdipus, ſays, addreſſing himſelf to Terence:

Tu quoque, tu in ſummis, ô dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, & meritò, puri ſermonis amator.
Lenibus atque utinam ſcriptis adjuncta foret vis
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum Græcis, neque in hac deſpectus parte jaceres:
Unum hoc maceror, & doleo tibi deeſſe, Terenti.

"Thou alſo, Menander's half, art ranked in the "number of the greateſt poets, and deſervedly, for "the purity of thy ſtile. And I wiſh thy ſweet "writings had in them the comic force and ſpirit, "that thy merit might have ranked thee with the "Greeks, and that thou wer't not ſo much below "them in that point! But this, Terence, is un-"happily what you want, and I much regret."

Terence's great talent conſiſts in the inimitable art of expreſſing the manners, and copying nature with ſo genuine and unſtudied a ſimplicity, that every body believes himſelf capable of writing in the ſame manner; and at the ſame time with ſuch elegance and ingenuity, as no-body has ever been able to come up to. Hence it is from this talent, that is to ſay, this wonderful art diffuſed throughout the comedies of Terence, which charms and tranſports without notice, or any glitter of ornaments, that Horace characteriſes this poet:

Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte
[*Dicitur.*] Ep. 1. l. 2.

Terence, with an extreme purity of ſpeech and a nple and natural ſtile, unites all the graces and licacy of which his language was ſuſceptible; id of all the Latin authors has come the neareſt Atticiſm, that is to ſay whatever is fineſt, moſt quiſite, and moſt perfect amongſt the Greeks. Quintilian, in ſpeaking of Terence, of whom he ily ſays, that his writings were highly elegant, ſerves, that the Roman language rendered but ry imperfectly that refinement of taſte, that initable grace, peculiar to the Greeks, and even to found only in the Attic dialect: *Vix levem con-quimur umbram, adeo ut mihi ſermo ipſe Romanus non cipere videatur illam ſolis conceſſam Atticis venerem, ando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obti-erint.* It is pity that the ſubject of his comedies akes them dangerous to youth; upon which I ve treated at large in my books upon ſtudying lite learning.

LUCILIUS.

Lucilius, *(Caius Lucilius)* a Roman knight, as born at Sueſſa, a town of Campania, in the 58th olympiad, and the 605th year of Rome, when acuvius the tragic poet flouriſhed. He is ſaid to ve carried arms under the ſecond Scipio Africanus the ſiege of Numantia: but, as he was then but teen years old, this circumſtance is dubious.

A. M. 3856. Euſeb. in Chron. Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 9.

He had a great ſhare in that famous general's iendſhip, as well as in that of Lælius. He was eir companion in the innocent ſports and amuſe-ents, to which they did not diſdain to deſcend, d in which thoſe great men, at their hours of iſure, endeavoured to unbend themſelves after their rious and important occupations: An admirable nplicity in perſons of their rank and gravity!

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* Terentii ſcripta ſunt in hoc genere elegantiſſima.

Quin ubi ſe à vulgo & ſcena in ſecreta remôrant
Virtus Scipiadæ, & mitis ſapientia Lælî,
Nugari cum illo, & diſcincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, ſoliti. *Horat. Sat.* 1. *l.* 2.

With him, retir'd from crowds and ſtate at home,
Wiſe gentle Lælius, and the pride of Rome,
Scipio, 'twixt play and trifle, liv'd in jeſt,
Till herbs, the frugal meal, and roots were dreſt.

Lucilius paſſes for the inventor of ſatire, becauſe he gave it its laſt form, the ſame in which Horace, Perſius, and Juvenal have followed him. Ennius however had ſet him the example before, as Horace himſelf confeſſes by theſe verſes, in which he compares Lucilius to Ennius:

——————— *Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,*
Comis & urbanus; fuerit limatior idem,
Quam rudis & Græcis intacti carminis auctor.

But the [*] ſatires of Ennius, tho' like thoſe of Lucilius and Horace in other reſpects, differed from them in form, as they conſiſted of ſeveral different kinds of verſe.

The new form which Lucilius gave ſatire, as I have ſaid before, made [†] Horace and Quintilian conſider him as the inventor of that poem; to which title he has a juſt claim.

There was another [‡] kind of ſatire, which derived itſelf alſo from the antient. It is called the *Varronian* or *Menippean* ſatire; becauſe Varro, the moſt

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[*] Olim carmen, quod ex variis poematibus conſtabat, SATIRA dicebatur, quale ſcripſerunt Pacuvius & Ennius. *Diomed. Grammat.*
Satira, cibi genus, ex variis rebus conditum. *Feſtus.*

[†] ——————— Quid cum eſt Lucilius auſus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.
Sat. 1. *l.* 2.

Satyra quidem tota noſtra eſt, in qua primus inſignem laudem adeptus eſt Lucilius. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

[‡] Alterum illud eſt & prius Satyræ genus, quod non ſola carminum varietate condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditiſſimus. *Quint. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

learned

arned of the Romans was its author, imitating in
at work the Cynic philoſopher Menippus of Ga-
ara. This ſpecies of ſatire was not only compoſed
f ſeveral kinds of verſes, but Varro introduced
roſe into it, in which there was beſides a mixture
f Greek and Latin. The work of Petronius, that
f Seneca upon the death of Claudius, and of Boe-
us upon the conſolation of philoſophy, are all
tires of the ſame kind with this of Varro. But
return to my ſubject.

Lucilius compoſed thirty books of ſatires, in
hich he cenſured many perſons of bad lives by
ame and in a very offenſive manner, as Horace in-
rms us, regarding only virtue, and the lovers of
irtue:

Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis.
Sat. 1. l. 2.

His pen made the conſcious Bad tremble, as if
e had purſued them ſword in hand:

Enſe velut ſtricto, quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens eſt
Criminibus, tacita ſudant præcordia culpa.
Juven. Sat. 1.

Lucilius * uſed to ſay that he deſired his readers
ight neither be very ignorant nor very learned.
he one ſaw too little, and the other too much.
he one did not know what was good, and conſe-
uently no juſtice was to be expected from them;
nd what was imperfect could not be concealed
om the penetration of the others.

It is not probable that he died at forty-ſix years
f age, as ſome aſſure us. Horace calls him old

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* Caius Lucilius, homo doctus & perurbanus, dicere ſolebat, ea
uæ ſcriberet neque ab indoctiſſimis, neque ab doctiſſimis legi velle:
uod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortaſſe quam de ſe ipſe.
e Orat. l. 2. n. 25.

man, where he ſays Lucilius confided all his ſecrets, and whatever had happened to him in life, to his books, as to faithful friends:

Ille velut fidis arcana ſodalibus olim
Credebat libris: neque, ſi malè geſſerat uſquam,
Decurrens aliò, neque ſi bene. Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti deſcripta tabella
Vita ſenis. Sat. 1. l. 2.

Pompey was grandſon, or rather grand-nephew, to Lucilius, by the mother's ſide.

Of all his works, only ſome fragments of his ſatires are come down to us.

The reputation of this poet was very great during his life, and ſubſiſted long after his death to ſuch an height, that, in * Quintilian's time, he continued to have admirers ſo zealous for it, as to prefer him not only to all who had written in the ſame way, but to all the poets of antiquity in general.

Sat. 4. l. 1. Horace judged very differently of him. He repreſents him to us indeed as a poet of a fine taſte, and delicate in his raillery, *facetus, emunctæ naris:* but hard and ſtiff in his compoſitions; not being able to take the pains neceſſary in writing, that is to ſay, in writing well; for to write much was his great fault. He was highly ſatisfied with himſelf, and believed he had done wonders, when he had dictated two hundred verſes in leſs time than one could throw them together on paper. In a word, Horace compares him to a river that with a great deal of mud carries however a precious ſand along with it in its current.

Sat. 10. l. 1. The judgment Horace paſſed upon Lucilius, occaſioned great clamour at Rome. The admirers of the latter, inraged at his having preſumed to treat their hero in that manner, gave out, that Horace had only diſpraiſed Lucilius out of envy, and with the view of ſetting himſelf above him. We ought not to be angry with them on account of thoſe complaints, how unjuſt ſoever they might be: for they acquired us an excellent ſatire, wherein Horace, in rendering Lucilius all the juſtice he deſerved, ſuſtains and confirms the judgment he had paſſed on him by the moſt ſolid proofs.

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* Lucilius quoſdam ita deditos ſibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non ejuſdem modo operis auctoribus, ſed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent. *Quintil. l.* 10. c. 1.

For Quintilian's honour, I am ſorry that a critic of his profound judgment and juſt taſte ſhould differ in opinion with Horace in this point. He cannot forgive him for having compared the writings of Lucilius to muddy waters, from whence however ſomething valuable might be extracted: * *For my part*, ſays he, *I find ſurpriſing erudition and a noble iberty in him, which gave his works poignancy with abundance of ſalt.* Horace allows him the laſt qualiies, which did not prevent Lucilius from having abundance of vicious paſſages in him that ought either to have been amended, or retrenched. As o *erudition*, Quintilian differs directly in that repect from Cicero's opinion. For ſays the latter, peaking of Lucilius: † *His works are light and rothy, and with exceeding pleaſantry have no great rudition.* To conclude, we can form at preſent no proper judgment of a poet, of whoſe works almoſt nothing is come down to us.

SECT. II.

Second age of Latin poetry.

THE interval, of which I am now to ſpeak, continued from the time of Julius Cæſar to he middle of Tiberius's reign, and included about n hundred years. It was always conſidered as the golden age of polite learning, during which crowd of fine geniuſſes of every kind, poets, hiſtorians and orators, carried Rome's glory to it greateſt height. Literature had before made grea efforts, and one may alſo ſay great progreſs: bu it had not yet attained that degree of maturit which conſtitutes perfection in arts. Writings di not want good ſenſe, judgment, ſolidity, and force but they had little art, leſs ornament, and no delicacy. A ſmall number of perſons of great talents riſing up together in a ſpace of time of no grea duration, on a ſudden and as if inſpried, by addin to the excellent qualities of their predeceſſors other which they had wanted, eſtabliſhed good taſte o every kind irrevocably and for evermore; ſo that a ſoon as the world began to loſe ſight of thoſe perfect models, every thing immediately began to decline and degenerate.

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* Nam & eruditio in eo mira, & libertas, atque inde acerbitas, & abundè ſalis. *Lib.* 10. *c.* 1.

† Et ſunt ſcripta illius [Lucilii] leviora, ut urbanitas ſumma appareat, doctrina mediocris. *Cic. de Fin. l.* 1. *c.* 7.

The happy beginnings, which we have related prepared the way for the wonders that ſucceede them; and as Rome derived her firſt notions of polit learning from Greece, ſo it was by her induſtrious perſeverance in ſtudying the Greek writers that th Romans attained perfection, The firſt poets, an eſpecially the Tragic and Comic, contented themſelves with tranſlating the works of the Greeks:

Tentavit quoque, rem ſi dignè vertere poſſet,
Et placuit ſibi. *Horat. Epiſt. 1. l. 2.*

Eſſay'd to make it ſpeak our tongue with grace,
And pleas'd themſelves.

They afterwards took a farther ſtep. They ventured to ſoar with their own wings, and compoſe originals entirely Roman:

Nil intentatum noſtri liquere poëtæ,
Nec minimum meruere decus, veſtigia Græca

Auſ

Auſi deſerere, & celebrare domeſtica facta;
Vel qui Prætextas, vel qui docuere Togatas.
Id. de Art. Poet.

Our authors have attempted every way,
And well deſerve our praiſe, whoſe daring muſe
Diſdain'd to be beholden to the Greeks,
And found fit ſubjects for her verſe at home.
Roſcommon.

Though the dramatic poets did not entirely ſuc- :ed in theſe attempts, Horace did in lyric poetry. Rome, animated with a noble emulation, which ofe from reading the Greek authors, and the eſteem e had conceived for them, propoſed to herſelf to qual, and even, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs them : a very udable and uſeful diſpute between nations, and qually for their honour!

Add to this firſt motive the admirable character f the perſons at that time in ſupreme authority at ome; the eſteem for men of letters; the marks f diſtinction with which they were honoured; the lid rewards conferred on them; and the general ſpect paid to perſons of ſingular merit of every ind; a reſpect which almoſt roſe ſo high as to equal em with the greateſt and moſt powerful of the commonwealth. It has been the ſaying of all times, nd cannot be too often repeated: * Emulation ouriſhes wit. The view of merit in others, united ith a juſt admiration for their excellent works, and ſecret regret from the ſenſe of our own inferiority, nſpire an ardor for glory, to which nothing is im- oſſible. And it is from theſe generous efforts, ex- ited and ſuſtained by the hopes of ſucceſs, that rts attain their final perfection.

This is what happened, eſpecially in the time of uguſtus, in reſpect to poetry, hiſtory, and eloquence.

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* Alit æmulatio ingenia, & nunc invidia, nunc admiratio, inci- tionem accendit; naturaque, quod ſummo ſtudio petitum eſt, aſ- endit in ſummum. *Vell. Paterc. l.* 1. *c.* 7.

But poetry is our ſubject in this place. I ſhall relate in few words the hiſtory of the poets, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt during this glorious age of Rome. Terence, of whom I have ſpoken above, may in my opinion be included in this claſs, who, though he preceded them in time, does not give place to them in merit. He is the firſt of the Latin poets who ſeems in ſome meaſure to have ſet up the ſtandard of perfection, and to have inſpired others by his example with the deſire and hope of attaining it.

AFRANIUS: *(L. Afranius Quintianus.)*

Afranius was much eſteemed by the antients. * He excelled in the comedies called *Togatæ* and † *Atellanæ*. Horace ſeems to compare him with Menander:

> *Dicitur Afranî toga conveniſſe Menandro.*
> In Art. Poet.

He was cotemporary with Terence, but much younger than him, and did not begin to grow in reputation till after his death. He ranked him above all other poets, and could not bear that any ſhould be compared with him, of thoſe evidently who had written in the ſame way:

Terentio non ſimilem dices quempiam. Fragm. Afran.

Quintil. ibid. He was highly conſidered for his poetical works, and no leſs condemned for the depravity of his manners.

LUCRETIUS.

A. M. 3908. Lucretius, *(Titus Lucretius Carus)* was born according to the chronicle of Euſebius, in the ſecond year of the 171ſt olympiad, twelve years after Cicero, in the conſulſhip of L. Licinius Craſſus and Q. Mutius Scævola, in the 658th year of Rome. A philtre, or love-potion, had been given him that made him mad. He had ſome lucid intervals from his phrenſy, during which he compoſed his ſix books *De rerum natura*, wherein he explains at large the doctrine of Epicurus, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its place. He inſcribed his poem to C. Memmius, who had the ſame maſter, and without doubt the ſame ſentiments, as himſelf.

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* Togatis excellit Afranius. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

† *Theſe comedies were called* Atellanæ, *from Atella, a city of Campania, from whence they were brought to Rome*; *and* Togatæ, *becauſe they repreſented only Roman actions and perſons, implied by* Toga, *their peculiar habit.*

The ſame chronicle of Euſebius informs us, that this work was corrected by Cicero after its author's death. Cicero ſpeaks of Lucretius only once, tho' he had often occaſion to mention him; and the paſſage were he does ſo, beſides being very obſcure, is variouſly read: *Lucretii poemata, ut ſcribis, ita ſunt* (others read *non ita ſunt*) *multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis.*

Cic. ad Quint. Fr. Ep. 11. l. 2.

No man ever denied Providence more boldly, or treated the Divinity with more inſolence and preſumption, than this poet. He introduces his ſubject with this preface, in praiſe of Epicurus: "Whilſt "mankind, ſays he, groaned in ſhameful ſubjec-"tion to the oppreſſive yoke of imperious religion, "which declared itſelf deſcended from heaven, and "made the whole earth tremble at the frowns and "horrors of its aſpect; a mortal native of Greece "firſt boldly ventured to expoſe its falſhood to the "eyes of men, and to declare againſt it, without "the fame of the gods, the fear of thunders, or "the rumbling noiſe of threatening ſkies, being "able to awe and divert him. All thoſe objects, "on the contrary, only ſerve to exalt his courage, "and confirm him in the deſign of being the firſt "to force the barriers of nature, and to penetrate "into her moſt myſterious ſecrets.

Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret
In terris oppreſſa gravi ſub relligione;
Quæ caput à cœli regionibus oſtendebat,
Horribili ſuper aſpectu mortalibus inſtans:
Primùm Graius homo mortales tollere contrà
Eſt oculos auſus, primuſque obſiſtere contrà.
Quem nec fama deûm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compreſſit cœlum: ſed eo magis acrem
Incitat virtutem animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum clauſtra cupiret.

Lucretius, throughout his whole work, lays down as a principle, that the gods neither regard nor interfere in any thing; and takes it upon him to explain the effects of nature, and the formation and conſervation of the world, by the ſole motion of atoms, and to refute thoſe, who acknowledge the power and wiſdom of a Divinity as the firſt cauſe of all things. The reader will be better acquainted with his opinions, when I come to explain thoſe of his maſter Epicurus.

This poet has abundance of genius, force, and ſublimity: but his verſes are ſo very remote from the ſweetneſs and harmony of Virgil's, that one would believe he had lived ages before him.

CATULLUS.

A. M. 3916. CATULLUS (*Caius* or *Quintus Valerius Catullus*) was born at Verona in the 666th year of Rome. The delicacy of his verſes acquired him the friendſhip and eſteem of the men of learning and wit, of whom there were then great numbers at Rome.

He wrote two ſatirical epigrams againſt Cæſar, in one of which * he ſpeaks of him with an air of haughtineſs and contempt, that Quintilian juſtly treats as extravagance;

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* Negat ſe magni facere aliquis poetarum *utrum Cæſar ater an albus homo ſit*: inſania. *Quintil. l.* 11. *c.* 1.

Nil nimium, Cæſar, ſtudeo tibi velle placere;
Nec ſcire utrum ſis ater an albus homo.

To pleaſe you, Cæſar, is not much my care;
Nor to know whether you are black or fair.

Theſe verſes, as diſreſpectful as they were, only erved the perſon offended, as an occaſion of diſinguiſhing his moderation. Cæſar did not diſemble his diſpleaſure, but contented himſelf with bliging the poet to aſk his pardon, and invited im to ſupper the ſame evening.

An elegant ſimplicity, and natural graces, form he character of Catullus. Happy, if he had not ften diſgraced that amiable delicacy by his Cynic mmodeſty.

LABERIUS: *(Decimus.)*

Laberius, a Roman knight, ſucceeded admiraly in compoſing mimes or farces. At Rome, a man f birth did not diſgrace himſelf by writing poetic ieces for the ſtage, but could not act them withut degrading himſelf. Notwithſtanding this had ong been an eſtabliſhed opinion, Julius Cæſar reſſed Laberius very earneſtly to act one of his ieces upon the ſtage, and, to induce him to comly, gave him a conſiderable ſum of money. The oet refuſed it a great while, but was at laſt obliged o yield. The * deſire of a prince, upon ſuch an ccaſion, is a command. In the prologue to this arce, Laberius vents his grief moſt reſpectfully vith regard to Cæſar, but at the ſame time in ery pathetic terms. It is one of the fineſt fragments f antiquity, and I have inſerted it at length, with he tranſlation, in the firſt volume of the ſecond dition of my treatiſe upon ſtudy. Macrobius has pre-

A. M. 3952.

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* Poteſtas, non ſolum ſi invitet, ſed &, ſi ſupplicet, cogit. *Macrob.*

Quod eſt potentiſſimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poerat. *Auſon.*

preſerved it with ſome other fragments of the ſame piece of poetry.

He informs us alſo that this Roman knight, out of his great regret to ſee his age diſhonoured in that manner, and to avenge himſelf by the only means in his power, maliciouſly inſerted, in the farce we ſpeak of, ſeveral home ſtrokes againſt Cæſar. A ſervant beaten by his maſter cried out: *Help, Romans, we loſe our liborty.*

Porro, Quirites! Libertatem perdimus.

And a little after he added: *He muſt neceſſarily fear many, whom many fear.*

Neceſſe eſt multos timeri, quem multi timent.

The whole people knew Cæſar in thoſe ſtrokes, and caſt their eyes upon him. When the performance was over, Cæſar, as if to reinſtate him in the dignity of a Roman knight, from which he had departed through complaiſance for him, rewarded him with a ring, which might be conſidered as a new patent of nobility. Laberius went afterwards to take his place amongſt the knights; but they preſſed together in ſuch a manner, that there was no room for him.

SYRUS.

P. Syrus was a Syrian by nation, whence he took his ſurname of Syrus. From a ſlave at Rome, whither he was brought in his infancy, he became a freedman very ſoon, and was inſtructed with great diſtinction. He excelled in mimic poetry, in which he was Laberius's rival, and even ſurpaſſed him, in the judgment of Cæſar. But the preference he gave him was thought to be intended only to mortify Laberius, for his having thrown ſome malicious ſtrokes againſt him into his farce.

We have a work of Syrus's, which conſiſts of ſentences in Iambic verſe, diſpoſed alphabetically. Seneca the Elder repeats the opinion of Caſſius Severus, who preferred theſe ſentences before whatever is beſt in the tragic and comic poets. This is ſaying a great deal. Seneca the Younger conſidered them alſo as an excellent model.

Not long ſince a tranſlation of theſe ſentences, and a poem of Cornelius Severus, intitled* *Ætna*, which had never appeared before in French, have been publiſhed. We are much obliged to authors who endeavour to inrich our language with antient works, unknown and therefore new to it. † This tranſlator obſerves, that La Bruyere has ſcattered almoſt all the ſentences of P. Syrus throughout his characters, of which he gives us ſeveral examples like the following:

Fortuna uſu dat multa, mancipio nihil.
Levis eſt fortuna: cito repoſcit, quod dedit.

“ Fortune gives nothing, and only lends for a
“ time. To-morrow the fickle goddeſs reſumes,
“ from her favourites, what now ſhe ſeems to give
“ them for ever.

Mortem timere crudelius eſt, quam mori.

“ Death comes but once, though it puts us in mind
“ of it at every moment of our lives. It is much
“ more grievous to apprehend, than to ſuffer it.

Eſt vita miſero longa, felici brevis.

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* *This poem is written in hexameters, and is the ſecond in the Opuſcula aſcribed to Virgil, in the folio edition of Criſpinus,* Lugduni 1539, *which perhaps Mr. Rollin never ſaw. Domitius Calderinus the commentator tells us in the argument:* Hoc Virgilianum eſſe opus plerique ex authoribus teſtantur: & Seneca in epiſt. adeo ut Naſonem non ob aliam cauſam opus de Ætna dimiſiſſe affirmet, niſi propter Virgilium, quem jam ſcripſiſſe compertum habebat. Cornelius Severus etiam ob eandem cauſam deterritus traditur.

† M. Accarias *of* Serionne.

" Life is ſhort to thoſe who poſſeſs it in pleaſures
" and enjoyments: it ſeems long only to ſuch as
" languiſh in affliction."

POLLIO.

Pollio (*C. Aſinius Pollio*) a perſon of conſular dignity, and a celebrated orator, had alſo compoſed tragedies in Latin, which were much eſteemed in his time. Horace ſpeaks of him more than once:

Paulum ſeveræ Muſa Tragœdiæ
Deſit theatris.——— Ode 1. l. 2.
———————*Pollio regum*
Facta canit pede ter percuſſo. Sat. 10. l. 2.

Virgil alſo mentions him with praiſe,

Pollio & ipſe facit nova carmina. Eclog. 3.

* He was the firſt who opened a library at Rome for the uſe of the public.

Auguſtus preſſing him to eſpouſe his party againſt Antony, he repreſented to him that the ſervices he had done and received from that competitor would not admit his entering into engagements againſt him: that therefore he was determined to continue neuter, well aſſured that he ſhould become the victor's prey.

The ſame prince, having, on another occaſion, wrote Feſcennine verſes againſt him, † *I ſhall take great care*, ſaid he, *not to anſwer. For it is not eaſy to ſcribble againſt a man who can proſcribe.*

VIRGIL.

A. M. 3934. An. U. C. 634.

Virgil (*Publius Virgilius Maro*) was born in a village called Andes near Mantua, of very obſcure parents, in the conſulſhip of Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Craſſus. Vit. Virg. incert. Auct.

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* Aſinii Pollionis hoc Romæ inventum, qui primus, Bibliothecam dicando, ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 1.

† At ego taceo. Non eſt enim facile in eum ſcribere, qui poteſt proſcribere.

He paſſed the firſt years of his life at Cremona, and at ſeventeen put on the *toga virilis* (the habit of manhood) on the ſame day that the poet Lucretius died.

After having made ſome ſtay at Milan, he removed to Naples, where he ſtudied the Greek and Roman literature with extreme application, and afterwards the mathematics and phyſic.

Several little poems are aſcribed to Virgil's youth, which ſeem unworthy of him.

Having been driven out of his houſe and a ſmall piece of land, which was his whole eſtate, by the diſtribution of the territory of Mantua and Cremona amongſt the veteran ſoldiers of Auguſtus, he came for the firſt time to Rome, and, by the favour of Pollio and Mæcenas, both patrons of learning and learned men, recovered his eſtate, and was again put into poſſeſſion of it. A. M. 3963. An. U. C. 713.

This occaſioned his firſt eclogue, and made him known to Auguſtus, of whom he had inſerted a fine praiſe in that poem, a precious monument of his gratitude. Thus his diſtreſs became in the conſequence the ſource of his good fortune. He finiſhed his Bucolics in three years: a work of extreme delicacy, and a ſpecimen of what was to be expected from a hand that knew ſo well how to unite the graces of nature with correctneſs and purity of ſtile. Horace gives us the character of theſe paſtorals in two words:

————————Molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.

The ſoft and eaſy grace of rural ſtrains
The muſes, that delight in woods and plains,
Have giv'n to Virgil.

* Every body knows that in good latinity the word *facetus* is not only applicable to raillery and pleaſantry, but to every diſcourſe and work of wit, in which fine genius, delicacy and elegance are the prevailing characters.

Mæcenas, who had a great taſte for poetry, and had diſcerned all Virgil's merit in the proof he had lately given of it, would not ſuffer him to reſt till he had engaged him to undertake a new work more conſiderable than the former. It is making a noble uſe of one's influence, and rendering great ſervice to the public, to animate perſons of learning in this manner, who often, for want of ſuch inducements, remain inactive, and leave the greateſt talents unemployed and uſeleſs. It was therefore by the advice of Mæcenas that Virgil began the Georgics, to which he applied himſelf ſeven years. A. M. 3967. An. U. C. 717. To enable himſelf to devote his whole attention to it, and to avoid every thing that might divert his thoughts, he retired to Naples. He tells us this circumſtance himſelf, at the end of the fourth book of the Georgics, and alſo gives us the date of the time when he finiſhed them, which was in the Dio. Caſſ. l. 51. 724th year of Rome, when Auguſtus, on his return from Egypt, having advanced towards the Euphrates, by the terror of his arms, and the fame of the victories he had lately obtained, put the country into a conſternation, and obliged Tiridates and Phraates, who diſputed the Parthian empire with each other, to conclude a kind of accommodation:

Hæc ſuper arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam,
Et ſuper arboribus: Cæſar dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympi.
Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, ſtudiis florentem ignobilis oti.

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* *Facetum* non tantùm circa ridicula opinor conſiſtere——Decoris hanc magis, & excultæ cujuſdam elegantiæ appellationem puto. *Quintil.* l. 6. c. 3.

The leiſure he enjoyed at that time at Naples was far from *ignoble* and obſcure, as he thought fit to call it in this place. His Georgics, which were the fruits of it, in reſpect to the diction, are the moſt finiſhed of all the works he has left us, and even of all the poems that were ever compoſed in Latin. This proceeded from his having ſufficient time to poliſh and put the laſt hand to them.

He retouched his works with an attention and accuracy not eaſily to be conceived. When the firſt fire of compoſing, in which every thing pleaſes, was over, he reviſed his productions, not with the complaiſance of an author and parent, but the inexorable ſeverity of a rigid critic, and almoſt an enemy. In the morning he compoſed a conſiderable number of verſes; and, returning to the examination of them, employed the reſt of the day in correcting and reducing them to a very ſmall number.

He uſed to compare himſelf to the Bear, who from groſs and unformed lumps, as her young ones are at their birth, gives them ſhape and proportion, by the pains ſhe takes in licking them. Thus excellent works are formed. It was by this diligence in correcting Virgil became the ſtandard of good poetry amongſt the Latins, and ſet the example of accurate, ſweet, and harmonious verſification. If we compare his verſes not only with thoſe of Cicero, but of Lucretius and Catullus, the latter will appear rough, unpoliſhed, harſh, antique, and, as I have ſaid before, we ſhall be tempted to believe them the verſes of ſome ages before Virgil.

We are told that Auguſtus, at his return from his military expeditions, believed he could not unbend himſelf better after his fatigues, than by hearing this admirable poem read, to which he devoted four days ſucceſſively. Virgil read him one book each day. He had a wonderful talent in making the beauty of his verſes ſenſible by a ſweet, articulate, and harmonious pronunciation. As ſoon as he ſeemed a little out of breath, Mæcenas took his place, and went on. Days paſſed in this manner are highly agreeable to a prince of fine taſte and wit: a pleaſure infinitely ſuperior to thoſe inſipid and frivolous diverſions, which almoſt engroſs the generality of men. But at the ſame time how admirable is the goodneſs of this Lord of the world, who thus familiariſes himſelf with a man of letters, who treats him almoſt as his equal, who carefully ſpares him his voice and his ſpirits, and conſiders his health as a public good!

I do not know, however, whether it was ſparing Virgil to treat him with ſuch affecting marks of friendſhip and eſteem; for an author, after ſuch favours, ſpares himſelf no longer, and ſooner or later conſumes himſelf by his tenacious attachment to his ſtudies.

Virgil immediately after began his Æneid, to which he applied himſelf twelve years. Auguſtus, when employed in the war againſt the Cantabri, preſſed him earneſtly, by ſeveral letters which he wrote him, to ſend him ſome part of the Æneid: but Virgil always excuſed himſelf. He * repreſented to him, that, if he had thought his Æneas worthy of that honour, he ſhould willingly have ſent him to Cæſar; but that he had found the work far more difficult than he imagined it, and that he began to fear, that it was raſhneſs and a kind of madneſs in him to undertake it.

A. M. 3976. An. U. C. 731.

On the return of that prince, Virgil could no longer refuſe to ſatisfy his juſt impatience, and accordingly read him the ſecond, fourth, and ſixth books of the Æneid, in the preſence of his ſiſter Octavia. She had ſome time before loſt her ſon M. Claudius Marcellus, a prince of infinite merit, whom Auguſtus intended for his ſucceſſor in the

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* De Ænea quidem meo, ſi mehercule jam dignum auribus haberem tuis, libenter mitterem. Sed tanta inchoata res eſt, ut penè vitio mentis tantam opus ingreſſus mihi videar. *Macrob.* l. 1. c. ult.

empire. Virgil had given the praiſe of young Marcellus a place in the ſixth book of the Æneid with ſo much addreſs, that it is impoſſible to read it without being exceedingly moved. When he came to this paſſage, the rehearſal of the verſes, which are twenty-ſix in number, made the emperor and Octavia weep immoderately. It is even ſaid, that Octavia ſwooned away at theſe words, *Tu Marcellus eris.* She ordered *(dena ſeſtertia)* ten great ſeſterces to be paid the poet for each of thoſe verſes, which amounted to about ſeventeen hundred pounds ſterling.

Virgil, after having finiſhed the Æneid, deſigned to retire for three years in order to reviſe and poliſh it. He ſet out with this view for Greece. At Athens he met Auguſtus, on his return from the Eaſt, and thought proper to change his purpoſe, and to attend that prince to Rome. He was taken ſick upon the way, and ſtaid behind at Brunduſium. Finding his illneſs increaſe, he earneſtly deſired his manuſcripts to be brought him, in order to throw the Æneid into the fire. Becauſe nobody had complaiſance enough to comply with that requeſt, he ordered that poem, by his will, to be burnt, as an imperfect work. Tucca and Varius, who were with him, repreſented, that Auguſtus would never ſuffer it, and upon that remonſtrance Virgil left his writings to them, upon condition that they would add nothing to them, and leave the hemiſticks as they found them.

Virgil died at Brunduſium, in the 735th year of Rome, aged fifty-two. His bones were carried to Naples, and buried two miles from that city, with this inſcription on his tomb, which he made himſelf, and which in two lines includes the place of his birth, death and burial, with the number of his works: A. M. 3985.

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope, cecini paſcua, rura, duces.

The Epic poem muſt be a work of extreme difficulty, as, during ſo many ages, Greece and Rome ſcarce produced two geniuſſes ſufficiently ſublime to ſuſtain it in all its ſpirit and dignity. And, ſince them, has the world, in any language whatſoever, * poems of this kind that can juſtly be compared with thoſe of Homer and Virgil?

I have obſerved, in ſpeaking of the former, in what manner Virgil had formed the deſign and plan of the Æneid upon the Iliad and Odyſſey of Homer, which gives the original a great advantage over the copy. Paſt ages however have not yet decided to which of the two the preference ought to be given. Till judgment can be paſſed in this point, which in all probability will never happen, we may adhere to Quintilian's opinion, cited before in the article of Homer. † There is, ſays he, more genius and force of nature in Homer; and more art and labour, becauſe more of both was neceſſary, in Virgil. The firſt is indiſputably ſuperior in the grand and the ſublime: the other perhaps makes us amends for what he wants in thoſe points, by the harmony of parts, and the exact equality he ſupports throughout his work. To this we may add, that Virgil did not live to put the laſt hand to his poem, which, without doubt, would have made it much more perfect than it is, though, as we have it, it is of ineſtimable value.

Sueton. in Calig. c. 34.

We may moſt certainly aſcribe to Caligula's madneſs the contempt and hatred he expreſſed for Virgil, whoſe writings and portraits he induſtriouſly endeavoured to have baniſhed out of all libraries.

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* *It is certain that our* MILTON *was not inferior to either of them in many of the characters of Epic poetry; and that he was in ſome ſuperior to them both, as in the grandeur of his matter, his learning, characters, and the machinery of his work.* See Addiſon on Milton.

† Et hercle, ut illi naturæ cœleſti atque immortali ceſſerimus, ita curæ & diligentiæ vel ideo in hoc plus eſt, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: & quantum eminentioribus vincimur, fortaſſe æqualitate penſamus. *Quintil. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

He had the extravagance to ſay that poet had neither wit nor learning: *nullius ingenî, minimæque doctrinæ.* The emperor Alexander Severus judged very differently of him. He called him the Plato of the poets, and placed his picture, with that of Cicero, in the chapel, where had placed Achilles and other great men. It is highly for the honour of learning to ſee an emperor give poets, orators, and conquerors the ſame rank. Lamprid. Alex. Sever.

In the life of Horace, I ſhall relate a circumſtance in that of Virgil, which in my judgment does him as much or even more honour, than his genius for poetry.

HORACE.

HORACE *(Quintus Horatius Flaccus)* was of Venuſium, and, as he ſays himſelf, the ſon of a freedman. He was born in the 688th year of Rome. A. M. 3940.

His father, though only a freedman, and of a very moderate fortune, took particular care of his education. Perſons of fortune, and rich officers of the army, contented themſelves with ſending their children to a maſter who taught them to read, write, and caſt accounts. But Horace's father, who had diſcovered in his ſon a fund of genius capable of the greateſt things, had the courage to carry him to Rome, in order to give him ſuch an education as knights and ſenators gave their children. To ſee the manner in which young Horace was dreſſed, and the ſlaves that followed him, one might have taken him, ſays he of himſelf, for the rich heir of a long train of opulent anceſtors; whilſt his father, however, had only a ſmall piece of land for his whole eſtate. He was perhaps exceſſive in this point: but who would venture to condemn him? He was not afraid of ruining either himſelf or his ſon by employing his whole income for his inſtruction, judging a good education the beſt patrimony he could leave him. He did more; Hor. Sat. 6, l. 1.

he took upon himſelf the care of him, ſerved him inſtead of a governor, and went with him to all his maſters :

Ipſe mihi cuſtos incorruptiſſimus omnes
Circum Doctores aderat.

We are charmed with the reſpect and warm gratitude which Horace, during his whole life, expreſſes for ſuch a father. " By his care, ſays he, " he preſerved me free, not only from all acts of " impurity, which is the higheſt praiſe of virtue, " but from all reproach or ſuſpicion of that kind." Let young perſons conſider well theſe words, and remember that it is an Heathen that thinks and ſpeaks in this manner :

Quid multa? Pudicum
Qui primus virtutis honos, ſervavit ab omni
Non ſolum facto, verùm opprobrio quoque turpi.

Horace's father, though a man of no letters or erudition, was of no leſs uſe to his ſon, than the moſt able maſters he could hear. He took pains himſelf to form him, inſtructed him familiarly, and made it his buſineſs to inſpire him with an abhorrence for vice, by pointing it out to him under ſenſible examples. If he would have him avoid ſome criminal action : Could you doubt, ſaid he, to him, whether the action I would have you ſhun be contrary to virtue and your true intereſt, when ſuch an one, who had committed it, is univerſally condemned and deſpiſed for it ? That ſuch an one, by his debauched life, has ruined his health and fortune : (and it was here the ſtrokes of ſatyr came in.) On the contrary, if he deſired to recommend ſome good action to his imitation, he cited ſomebody who had done it with ſucceſs ; and always choſe his examples out of the principal perſons of the ſenate, and thoſe of the greateſt worth.

This manner of inſtructing youth has its great utility, provided it does not degenerate into detraction and ſatire *. For examples make much more impreſſion upon the mind, than any diſcourſes, or precepts of morality. It is in the ſame manner Demea inſtructs his ſon in Terence's Adelphi:

Nihil prætermitto, conſuefacio. Denique
Inſpicere tanquam in ſpeculum in vitas omnium
Jubeo, atque ex aliis ſumere exemplum ſibi.
Hoc facito & hoc fugito, &c. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

" I omit nothing, and gradually accuſtom him
" to virtue. In fine, I oblige him to look into
" the lives of others, as into a glaſs, and to learn
" from their example to imitate the good, and fly
" the bad."

If we may believe Horace, it is to theſe paternal inſtructions, received with attention and docility, that he was indebted for being exempt from great failings:

Ex hoc ego ſanus ab illis
Perniciem quæcumque ferunt, mediocribus, & queis
Ignoſcas, vitiis teneor.

But it is alſo to the ſame leſſons he aſcribes, whether out of pleaſantry or otherwiſe, the taſte for ſatire which he retained during his whole life.

He is never weary of expreſſing himſelf upon his good fortune in having ſuch a father, and ſpeaks of him with a gratitude that we cannot ſufficiently eſteem: " As long as I am capable of thinking " with reaſon, I ſhall never be aſhamed of ſo good " a father. I ſhall never imitate the generality, Satyr. 6. l. 1.

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* Longum iter eſt per præcepta, breve & efficax per exempla. *Senec. Epiſt.* 6. *l.* 1.

“ who, to excuſe the meanneſs of their extraction,
“ take care to obſerve, that, if they do not deſcend
“ from illuſtrious anceſtors, it is no fault of theirs.
“ I think and ſpeak quite differently. For, did
“ nature permit us to begin our lives again after a
“ certain number of years, and would give us the
“ liberty of chuſing ſuch parents as we thought
“ fit, others might chuſe theirs by their vanity;
“ but, for my part, contented with my own, I
“ would not ſeek for noble ones, diſtinguiſhed by
“ rods and axes, and curule chairs.”

Nil me pœniteat ſanum patris hujus; eoque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat eſſe ſuo pars,
Quod non ingenuos habeat claroſque parentes,
Sic me defendam. Longè mea diſcrepat iſtis
Et vox & ratio. Nam ſi natura juberet
A certis annis ævum remeare peractum,
Atque alios legere; ad faſtum quoſcumque parentes
Optaret ſibi quiſque: meis contentus, honeſtos
Faſcibus & ſellis nollem mihi ſumere.——

It muſt be confeſſed that there is great meanneſs of ſpirit in bluſhing at meanneſs of birth. The reader no doubt has obſerved, that moſt of the illuſtrious writers hitherto mentioned were of obſcure condition, and that many of them were even ſlaves. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any man of ſenſe to eſteem them the leſs upon that account? Nobility, riches, office, can they be brought into competition with the talents of the mind, and are they always proofs of merit?

A. M. 3559. When Horace had attained to about nineteen years of age, his father ſent him to ſtudy at Athens, for he would not let him go; and kept him always under his eye, till he was of years to take care of himſelf, and to avoid the corruption of manners which then prevailed. He had ſtudied polite learning at Rome, and had formed his taſte principally by reading Homer. He proceeded to more exalted ſcience in Greece, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy. That ſtudy ſeems to have pleaſed him exceedingly, and he extremely regretted leaving ſo agreeable a reſidence ſooner than he deſired. Brutus, paſſing by the way of Athens into Macedonia, carried ſeveral young perſons from thence along with him, of which number was Horace. He made him a tribune of the ſoldiers. Horace had then been four or five years at Athens.

Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuiſſet Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ,
Scilicet ut poſſem curvo dignoſcere rectum,
Atque inter ſylvas Academi quærere verum.
Dura ſed emovere loco me tempora grato,
Civiliſque rudem belli tulit æſtus in arma,
Cæſaris Auguſti non reſponſura lacertis.
Epiſt. 2. l. 2.

A year after the battle of Philippi was fought, in which our poet, who was not born for arms, accordingly gave no proofs of his bravery, having taken to flight, and abandoned his buckler, as he confeſſes himſelf:

Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senſi, relicta non bene parmula. Od. 7. l. 2.

Horace, on his return, was not long before he became known to Mæcenas. It was the excellent Virgil, for ſo he calls him, *optimus Virgilius*, who firſt ſpoke of this dawning merit to his patron. Varius afterwards confirmed what he had ſaid, and ſeconded him. Horace was introduced. When he appeared before Mæcenas, reſpect for a perſon of his grandeur, and his natural timidity, confounded him ſo much, that he ſpoke very little, and with great heſitation. Mæcenas anſwered him in few words, according to the cuſtom of the great, after which Horace withdrew. Nine months paſſed without Horace's hearing any farther, or taking any pains to do ſo on his ſide. It might have been thought, that Mæcenas, little pleaſed with his firſt viſit, which did not ſeem to argue a man of great parts, had no farther thoughts of Horace. At the expiration of that term, he ſent for him, and admitted him into the number of his friends; (theſe are Horace's own words) and from thenceforth they lived in the greateſt intimacy:

Nulla etenim mihi te ſors obtulit. Optimus olim
Virgilius, poſt hunc Varius, dixere quid eſſem.
Ut veni coram, ſingultim pauca locutus,
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)
Non ego me, &c.
Sed quod eram, narro. Reſpondes, ut tuus eſt mos,
Pauca. Abeo: & revocas nono poſt menſe, jubeſque
Eſſe in amicorum numero. Satyr. 6. l. 1.

Cuſtom with us [*in France*] does not allow a man of learning, ſcarce known as ſuch, to ſtile himſelf the friend of ſo great a lord as Mæcenas. The antients had more ſimplicity, but at the ſame time a more noble freedom of manners and greatneſs of ſoul. The Roman language, which was born in the boſom of liberty, had nothing of mean and ſervile in it, and did not admit any of thoſe frivolous compliments with which ours is over-run: *Jubes eſſe in amicorum numero.*

But what I admire here is the generous behaviour of Virgil. He knew the young poet's merit, and perceived in him a genius formed for ſucceſs in courts; and the event demonſtrated he was not miſtaken. He might have apprehended ſetting himſelf up in his perſon a dangerous rival, who from ſharing at firſt in the favour of their common patron, might afterwards ſupplant him entirely. Virgil had none of theſe thoughts, which ſuit only a mean and ſordid ſpirit, and which he would with reaſon have judged injurious to his friend, and ſtill more ſo to Mæcenas. For the houſe of that favourite was not like thoſe of moſt great lords and miniſters, where every body regards ſolely their own intereſt; where the merit of others gives umbrage, and every thing is carried on by cabal and ſecret colluſion; where fidelity and honour are little known, and where the blackeſt deſigns are often covered under the ſpecious outſides of great friendſhip and affection. "It is not in this manner," ſays Horace to one who promiſed, if he would procure him ever ſo little acceſs to the perſon of Mæcenas, to put him ſoon into a condition of ſupplanting all others in his favour, "it is not thus we live at Mæcenas's. " There never was an houſe of greater integrity, " nor more remote from all intrigue and cabal " than his. A richer, or more learned perſon there, " gives me no manner of pain or umbrage. Every " one there has his due place, and is contented " with it."

——— *Non iſto vivimus illic*
Quo tu rere modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla eſt,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mî officit unquam
Ditior hic, aut eſt quia doctior. Eſt locus uni
Cuique ſuus. Satyr. 9. l. 1.

Mæcenas, from the firſt, did Horace good offices with the prince, againſt whom he had borne arms on the ſide of Brutus. He obtained his pardon, with the reſtitution of his eſtate. From thenceforth Horace began to be very familiar with Mæcenas, and to ſhare in his confidence and pleaſures. He accompanied him in his journey to Brunduſium, as appears from the fifth ſatire of the firſt book.

Horace's credit and reputation increaſed every day by the poems he publiſhed, as well upon the victories of Auguſtus, as other events and various ſubjects, whether odes, ſatires, or epiſtles.

The poet Quintilius Varus, Virgil's relation, being dead, Horace endeavours to conſole his friend upon that occaſion by the xxivth Ode of Book I.

Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus ſopor
Urget? cui pudor, & juſtitiæ ſoror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?
Multis ille quidem flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.
Tu fruſtra pius, heu, non ita creditum
Poſcis Quinctilium deos.

When Virgil himſelf ſet out for Greece with deſign to employ the leiſure he went thither to find in reviſing, and putting the laſt hand to the Æneid, Horace, upon occaſion of that voyage, compoſed an ode full of vows, which unfortunately were not heard. It is the third of the firſt book:

Sic te diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida ſidera,
Ventorumque regat pater,
Obſtrictis aliis, præter Iapyga,
Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Debes Virgilium; finibus Atticis
Reddas incolumem, precor,
Et ſerves animæ dimidium meæ.

So may th' auſpicious queen of love,
And the twin ſtars, the ſeed of Jove,
And he, who rules the raging wind,
To thee, oh ſacred ſhip, be kind,
And gentle breezes fill thy ſails,
Supplying ſoft Elyſian gales;
As thou to whom the muſe commends
The beſt of poets, and of friends,

Doſt thy committed pledge reſtore,
And land him ſafely on the ſhore,
And ſave the better part of me
From periſhing with him at ſea.
Dryden to Lord Roſcom.

We may judge of Mæcenas's tender friendſhip or Horace by the few words he wrote to Auguſtus n his will: *I conjure you to have the ſame regard or Horace as myſelf.* Auguſtus offered him the mployment of ſecretary to himſelf, and wrote for hat purpoſe to Mæcenas in theſe terms: *Hitherto I have had no occaſion for any body to write my letters; ut at preſent the multiplicity of affairs, and infirmity, nake me deſire you to bring our Horace with you. Let him then ceaſe to be a * paraſite at your table, and ome to mine to aſſiſt me in writing my letters.* Horace, who was very fond of his liberty, did not think proper to accept ſo honourable an offer, which would have laid him under too great a reſtraint; and xcuſed himſelf upon account of his real or pre-ended infirmities. The prince was not in the leaſt offended by Horace's refuſal of that office, and re-tained the ſame friendſhip for him as before. Some ime after he wrote to him to this effect: † *Believe you have ſome right to be free with me, and pray uſe it, as if we lived together: in doing which, you only act as you may with the juſteſt pretence; for you know it was my deſire, that we ſhould have been upon thoſe terms, if your health would have admitted it.*

With how many reflections does this little cir-cumſtance ſupply us in reſpect to the goodneſs of Auguſtus, the frankneſs of Horace, the eaſy ſimplicity and unconſtraint of the commerce of the world in thoſe days, and the difference between ours and the manners of the antients? A privy ſecretary at table with an Emperor! A poet refuſes that honour, without the Emperor's taking offence!

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* Veniet igitur ab iſta paraſitica menſa ad hanc regiam. *The pleaſantry of Auguſtus turns upon Horace's not being of Mæcenas's family, and conſequently having no right to eat at his table.*

† Sume tibi aliquid juris apud me, tanquam ſi convictor mihi fueris. Rectè enim & non temerè feceris, quoniam id uſûs mihi tecum eſſe volui, ſi per valetudinem tuam fieri poſſet. *Suet. in vit. Virg.*

Horace's pleaſures were confined to his houſes either in the country of the Sabines, or at Tibur, where, free from care and diſquiet, he enjoyed in an agreeable retreat all the ſweets of leiſure and repoſe, the ſole objects of his wiſhes:

O rus, quando ego te aſpiciam, quandoque licebit
Nunc veterum libris, nunc ſomno & inertibus horis,
Ducere ſollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?

The court, which is ſo pleaſing to the ambitious, was to him only baniſhment and a priſon. He thought he only lived and reſpired when he returned to his dear country abode, where he found himſelf more happy than all the monarchs of the earth:

—— Vivo & regno, ſimul iſta reliqui,
Quæ vos ad cælum effertis clamore ſecundo.

A. M. 3997. Ant. J. C. 7. He died in the conſulſhip of C. Marcius Cenſorinus and C. Aſinius Gallus, at the age of fifty-ſeven, after having nominated Auguſtus his heir before witneſſes, the violence of his illneſs not allowing him time to ſign his will. He was interred at the extremity of the Eſquiline hill in a tomb joining to that of Mæcenas, who died a little before him the ſame year. He had always deſired, and even ſeemed to have bound himſelf by oath, not to ſurvive him:

Ah te meæ ſi partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus æquè, nec ſuperſtes
Integer? Ille dies utramque

Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi ſacramentum. Ibimus, ibimus,
Utcumque præcedes, ſupremum
Carpere iter comites parati.
Od. 17. l. 2.

The works of Horace conſiſt only of his Odes, Satires, and Epiſtles, with the Art of Poetry.

I have ſpoken of his Odes, and given their character, in comparing them with thoſe of Pindar.

His Satires and Epiſtles are, in my opinion, of ineſtimable value. They are void of all ſhew and glitter. Their ſtile is generally a kind of proſe in verſe, that has neither the pomp nor even the ſweetneſs and harmony of poetical meaſures. This does not proceed from the incapacity of Horace to make fine verſes. Does not the paſſage by which he excuſes his want of ſufficient talents for celebrating the actions of Auguſtus, demonſtrate how capable he was of it?

————*Cupidum, pater optime, vires*
Deficiunt. Neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina, nec fracta pereuntes cuſpide Gallos,
Aut labentis equo deſcribat vulnera Parthi.
Sat. 1. l. 2.

Is there in any poet a deſcription of greater elegance, expreſſion, and energy, or one that paints a fact in livelier colours, than that of the country mouſe's entertainment of the city mouſe?

———————————— *Olim*
Ruſticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepiſſe cavo, veterem vetus hoſpes amicum:
Aſper, & attentus quæſitis; ut tamen arctum
Solveret hoſpitiis animum. Quid multa? Neq; illi
Sepoſiti ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ:
Aridum & ore ferens acinum, ſemeſaque lardi

Fruſta dedit, cupiens variâ faſtidia cœnâ
Vincere tangentis malè ſingula dente ſuperbo.
Sat. 6. l. 2.

The reſt of the fable is in the ſame taſte.

This elegance, this grace and ſpirit of language and images are not (generally ſpeaking) to be found either in the ſatires or epiſtles. What is it then that affects us ſo agreeably in reading them? It is the delicacy, urbanity, fine raillery, and eaſy manner, which prevail in them: it is a certain air and vigour of nature, ſimplicity, and truth: it is even that affected negligence in the meaſure of the verſes, which ſtill adds a more native air to the ſenſe, an effect the * Marotic ſtile has in our language: it is a fund of reaſon, good ſenſe, and judgment, that ſhews itſelf every-where; with a wonderful art in painting the characters of men, and placing their faults and ridicule in full light. Only great and peculiar beauty and force of genius can make ſuch lively impreſſions as theſe on the mind, without the help of poetical graces, numbers, and harmony.

Quintilian contents himſelf, after having ſpoken of Lucilius, with ſaying, "that † Horace has abundantly more elegance and purity of ſtile, and "that he excels in criticiſing the manners and vices "of men."

The art of poetry, with ſome of the ſatires and epiſtles that turn upon the ſame ſubject, include whatever is moſt eſſential in regard to the rules of poetry. This little eſſay may be conſidered as an excellent abridgment of rhetoric, and highly proper to form the taſte.

I ſay nothing of the manners of Horace. To judge of him only by certain paſſages in his works, one would take him for the moſt virtuous man in the world, and even an auſtere philoſopher. If we may believe him, "he finds all time long and "tedious, but that which he employs in the ſole "object worthy of our cares, which is equally uſe- "ful to rich and poor, and when neglected is alike "pernicious to youth and age."

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* *The ſtile of C. Marot, a French poet, in which Fontaine followed and excelled him. Its characters are the natural, ſimple, humorous, and antique, of which laſt it affects the terms.*

† Multo eſt terſior ac purus magis Horatius, & ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus. *Lib.* 10. *c.* 1.

Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quæ ſpem
Conſiliumque morantur agendi gnaviter id quod
Æquè pauperibus prodeſt, locupletibus æquè,
Æquè neglectum ſenibus puerisque nocebit.

At bottom he is a true Epicurean, ſolely intent upon his pleaſures, and ſo looſe in his ſentiments and expreſſions, that, as Quintilian ſays of him, a man of breeding or morality would not willingly explain certain paſſages in his works: *Horatium in quibuſdam nolim interpretari.* This does not prevent his having excellent maxims of morality. It is with Horace as with the reſt of the Heathen authors. When it does not claſh with their darling paſſion, and the queſtion is to lay down fine principles, not to put them in practice, they not only ſpeak the moſt refined truths and the moſt elegant reaſon, but often even religion, in the moſt beautiful and juſt terms. This we ought to conſider as the precious remains of the eſteem for beauty and perfection implanted in the heart of man by the Author of nature, and which his corruption could not entirely extinguiſh.

OVID.

Ovid *(Publius Ovidius Naſo)* of the Equeſtrian order, was born in the conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa, as well as Tibullus, in the 709th year of Rome. A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43.

He ſtudied eloquence under Arellius Fuſcus, and declaimed in his ſchool with great ſucceſs. Senec. Contr. 10. l. 2.

He had by nature ſo ſtrong an inclination for verſifying, that to indulge it, he renounced all care of his fortune. But if this propenſity to verſe entirely extinguiſhed in him the flame of ambition, on the contrary it nouriſhed and augmented that of love, a moſt pernicious paſſion to thoſe who abandon themſelves wholly to it.

His father ſaw him quit the uſual courſe of the Roman youth with pain; and abſolutely renounce the hopes of honours and offices, to purſue an unhappy taſte that tended to nothing, and of which no doubt he foreſaw all the bad effects. He ſpoke to him in the ſtrongeſt terms, made uſe of remonſtrances and intreaties, aſking him what advantage he could propoſe to himſelf from that frivolous ſtudy, and whether he imagined he ſhould excel Homer either in reputation or fortune, who died poor? The lively reproaches of his father made an impreſſion upon him. In deference to his advice, he determined to make no more verſes, to write in proſe, and to qualify himſelf for the employments that ſuited young men of his rank. Whatever efforts he made, or pretended to make, nature ſtill prevailed. Ovid was a poet in ſpite of himſelf: the feet and numbers roſe of themſelves under his pen, and every thing he attempted to write, was verſe.

Sæpe pater dixit: ſtudium quid inutile tentas?
Mæonides nullas ipſe reliquit opes.
Motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto
Scribere conabar verba ſoluta modis.
Sponte ſua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos;
Et, quod tentabam ſcribere, verſus erat.

He compoſed with wonderful facility, and could not give himſelf the trouble to retouch his verſes; all fire in compoſing, and all ice in correcting, as he tells us himſelf.

The negligence of his ſtile might be forgiven, if it was not attended with unbounded licentiouſneſs in point of manners, and if he had not filled his poems with filth and obſcenity. Auguſtus made them the pretext for baniſhing him: a very laudable motive, if the real one, for that conduct. Such poets are poiſon and contagion to the public, with whom all commerce ought to be prohibited, and their poems to be abhorred as the bane of mankind. But this was only pretext. A ſecret cauſe of diſcontent, of which Ovid often ſpeaks in his verſes, but in general terms and without explaining it, that has always remained unknown, was the cauſe of his misfortune.

He was baniſhed to Tomos, a city of Pontus in Europe upon the Euxine ſea, near the mouths of the Danube. The emperor neither confiſcated his eſtate, nor cauſed him to be condemned by a decree of the ſenate, and made uſe of the term *relegare*, which, in the Roman law, is of more gentle conſtruction than *to baniſh*.

He was in the fifty-firſt year of his age, when he ſet out from Rome to Tomos, and had compoſed his Metamorphoſes before his diſgrace. On his condemnation to quit Rome he threw it into the fire, either out of indignation, or becauſe he had not put the laſt hand to, and entirely finiſhed it:

Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,
Infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus:
Hæc ego diſcedens, ſicut bona multa meorum,
Ipſe mea poſui mæſtus in igne manu.

Triſt. l. 1. Eleg. 6. & l. 3. Eleg. 14.

Some copies, which had before been taken of that work, prevented its being loſt.

The place to which he was ſent was a real place of puniſhment to him: he gives us terrible deſcriptions of it in ſeveral parts of his poems. What

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diſtreſſed him moſt there was his being expoſed to the ſevere coldneſs of the climate, in the neighbourhood of a barbarous and warlike people, who were always in arms, and giving him perpetual apprehenſions: a melancholy ſituation for a delicate Italian, who had paſſed his life in a mild and agreeable climate, and had always enjoyed eaſe and tranquillity!

Though he could not obtain either to be recalled, or to have the place of his baniſhment changed, he never failed in his reſpect for the emperor, and perſiſted unalterably in praiſing him with an exceſs next to idolatry. He may even be ſaid to have literally and actually idoliſed him, when he was informed of his death. He not only wrote a poem in his praiſe in the Getic language, to make him known and reſpected by thoſe barbarous nations; but invoked him alſo, and conſecrated a chapel to him, where he went every morning to offer incenſe, and adore him:

Nec pietas ignota mea eſt: videt hoſpita terra
In noſtra ſacrum Cæſaris eſſe domo.
Hîc ego do toties cum thure precantia verba,
Eco quoties ſurgit ab orbe dies.

De Ponto, l. 4. Epiſt. 19.

The ſucceſſor and family of that prince had a great ſhare in all this worſhip, and were evidently the real objects of it. Ovid, however, did not find it a remedy for his misfortunes. The court was as inexorable under Tiberius as before. He died in his baniſhment the fourth year of that emperor's reign, and the 771ſt of Rome, at about ſixty years of age, after having been nine or ten years in Pontus.

He had deſired, in caſe he died in the country of the Getæ, that his aſhes might be carried to Rome, in order that he might not continue an exile after his death, and that the following epitaph might be inſcribed on his tomb:

Hic ego qui jaceo tenerorum luſor amorum,
   Ingenio perii Naſo poëta meo.
At tibi, qui tranſis, ne ſit grave, quiſquis amâſti,
   Dicere: Naſonis molliter oſſa cubent.

Here Naſo lies, who ſung of ſoft deſire,
Victim of too much wit, and too much fire.
Say, who have lov'd, whene'er you paſs theſe ſtones,
Light lie the earth on hapleſs Naſo's bones.

Ovid apprehended the immortality of the ſoul, (with more reaſon than he thought) and deſired that it might periſh with the body, for he did not care that his ſhade ſhould wander amongſt thoſe of the Sauromatæ. Hence he deſired that his bones might at leaſt have a grave at Rome:

Atque utinam pereant animæ cum corpore noſtræ,
   Effugiatque avidos pars mea nulla rogos.
Nam ſi morte carens vacuas volat altus in auras
   Spiritus, & Samii ſunt rata dicta ſenis;
Inter Sarmaticas Romana vagabitur umbras,
   Perque feros manes hoſpita ſemper erit.
Oſſa tamen facito parva referantur in urna:
   Sic ego non etiam mortuus exul ero.

He had compoſed both before and after his baniſhment a great number of verſes, of which many are loſt; and it were to be wiſhed that ſtill leſs had come down to us. His Medea is extolled for a perfect tragedy, which ſhews, ſays Quintilian, in whoſe time it was extant, of what that poet was capable, if, inſtead of abandoning himſelf to the luxuriance of his too eaſy and fertile genius, he had choſen rather to check, than indulge, its rapidity: *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi oſtendere quantum vir ille præſtare potuerit, ſi ingenio ſuo temperare quam indulgere maluiſſet.* Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

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The ſame Quintilian paſſes his judgment upon this poet's works in few, but very juſt and expreſſive, words, and which, in my opinion, perfectly characteriſe them: *Laſcivus quidem in Heroicis quoque Ovidius, & nimium amator ingenii ſui: laudandus tamen in partibus.* And, indeed, Ovid's great fault is redundance, which occaſions his being too looſe and diffuſed, and proceeded from the warmth and abundance of his genius, and his affecting wit at the expence of greatneſs and ſolidity; *laſcivus.* Every thing he threw upon paper pleaſed him. He had for all his productions a more than paternal indulgence, which would not permit him to retrench, or ſo much as alter, any thing. *Nimium amator ingenii ſui.* It muſt however be confeſſed, that he is admirable in parts: *laudandus tamen in partibus.* Thus in his Metamorphoſes, which is indiſputably the fineſt of his works, there are a great number of paſſages of exquiſite beauty and taſte. And this was the work he valued moſt himſelf, and from which he principally expected the immortality of his name:

Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.
Metam. lib. 15. in fine.

TIBULLUS and PROPERTIUS.

Theſe two poets, who flouriſhed at very near the ſame time, and excelled in the ſame kind of poetry, are judged to have wrote with great purity of ſtile and delicacy. Tibullus is preferred to Propertius.

PHÆDRUS.

PHÆDRUS, a native of Thrace, Auguſtus's freedman, wrote in the time of Tiberius. We have five books of Fables, compoſed by this author in Iambic verſe, which himſelf called Æſop's fables, becauſe he made that inventor of them his model; from whom he has alſo often borrowed the ſubject of his fables:

Æſopus auctor quam materiam repperit,
Hanc ego polivi verſibus ſenariis. Prolog. l. 1.

He declares, from the beginning of his work, that this little book has two advantages; which are to amuſe and divert the reader, and at the ſame time to ſupply him with wiſe counſels for the conduct of life:

Duplex libelli dos eſt, quòd riſum movet,
Et quòd prudenti vitam conſilio monet. Ibid.

And indeed, beſides that the ſubjects of this work, in which beaſts, and even trees, are introduced ſpeaking with wit, are diverting in themſelves, the manner in which they were treated has all the beauty and elegance it is poſſible to throw into it; ſo that Phædrus may be ſaid to have uſed in his fables the language of nature herſelf, ſo plain and ſimple is his ſtile, and at the ſame time ſo full of wit and delicacy.

They are no leſs valuable in reſpect to the wiſe counſels and ſolid morals they contain. I have obſerved elſewhere, in ſpeaking of Æſop, how much this manner of inſtructing was in honour and uſe amongſt the antients, and the value the moſt learned men ſet upon it. Were we only to conſider theſe fables by the advantage to be made of them in the education of children, to whom, under the appearance of agreeable ſtories, they begin ſo early to propoſe principles of probity and wiſdom, we could not but conceive highly of their merit. Phædrus has carried his views ſtill farther: there is no age, nor condition, but may find excellent maxims in them for the conduct of life. As virtue is everywhere

where treated with honour and crowned with glory in them; ſo they repreſent the Vices, as injuſtice, calumny, violence, in lively but frightful colours, which make them the contempt, hatred, and deteſtation of every body. And this undoubtedly was what exaſperated Sejanus againſt him, and expoſed him to extreme danger under a miniſter, who was the irreconcileable enemy of all merit and virtue. Phædrus mentions neither the cauſe, any particular circumſtance, nor the event of this animoſity. He only complains that all the forms of juſtice are violated in regard to him, having his declared enemy Sejanus himſelf for his accuſer, witneſs, and judge:

Qòd ſi accuſator alius Sejano foret,
Si teſtis alius, judex alius denique,
Dignum faterer eſſe me tantis malis.
In Prolog. l. 3.

It is very probable, that unworthy favourite, who inſolently abuſed his maſter's confidence, had taken offence at ſome ſtrokes in thoſe fables, which might be applied to him. But, as there was no name to them, his making that application was confeſſing, or at leaſt knowing, himſelf guilty; Phædrus having no other view than to laſh the vices of mankind in general, as he expreſly declares:

Suſpicioni ſi quis errabit ſua,
Et rapiet ad ſe quod erit commune omnium;
Stultè nudabit animi conſcientiam.
Huic excuſatum me velim nihilominus.
Neque enim notare ſingulos mens eſt mihi,
Verùm ipſam vitam & mores hominum oſtendere.
Ibid.

Neither the time, place, nor any other circumſtance of his death are known. He is believed to have ſurvived Sejanus, who died in the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

Phædrus has given a very honourable teſtimony of himſelf, in declaring that he had baniſhed all deſire of riches from his heart:

Quamvis in ipſa natus penè ſim ſchola,
Curamque habendi penitus corde eraſerim. Ibid.

He does not ſeem either ſo indifferent or diſintereſted with regard to praiſe, and is very apt to ſpeak of his own merit. It was indeed ſo great, that we have nothing more excellent than his fables come down to us from the antient world, I mean in the ſimple and natural kind.

It is ſurpriſing that with all this merit Phædrus ſhould be ſo little known and celebrated by antient authors. Only two ſpeak of him, Martial and Avienus; and it is ſtill doubted, whether the verſes of the firſt, that mention Phædrus, mean our author. So learned a man as Caſaubon did not know that there was ſuch a book as Phædrus in the world, till the edition publiſhed at Troyes, by Peter Pithou, in 1596. The latter ſent one of them to F. Sirmond, who was then at Rome. That jeſuit ſhewed it to the Learned there, who at firſt judged it ſpurious. But upon a nearer examination they changed their opinion, and believed that they ſaw ſome characters of the Auguſtan age in it. Father Vavaſſeur relates this little circumſtance with his uſual elegance.

Epig. 20. l. 3.

In Tract. de Ludicra dict.

Fontaine, who carrried this kind of writing to its higheſt perfection in the French language, by treading in the ſteps of Phædrus, has, however, differed greatly from his original. Whether he thought the French language not ſuſceptible of that happy ſimplicity, which charms and tranſports all perſons of taſte in the Latin authors; or found that manner of writing did not ſuit his genius; he formed a ſtile entirely peculiar to himſelf, of which perhaps the Latin tongue itſelf is incapable, and which, without being leſs elegantly plain and natural, is more humorous, more various, eaſy, and full of graces, but graces which have nothing of pomp, ſwell, and affectation, and which only ſerve to render the ſenſe and circumſtances more gay and amuſing.

The ſame, in my opinion, may be ſaid in reſpect to Terence and Moliére. They both excel in their way, and have carried comedy to the higheſt perfection to which perhaps it is capable of attaining. But their way of writing is different. Terence excels Moliére in purity, delicacy, and elegance of language. But then the French poet is infinitely above Terence in the conduct and plan of his plays, which form one of the principal beauties of dramatic poems; and eſpecially in the juſtneſs and variety of his characters. He has perfectly obſerved the precept Horace gives poets who would ſucceed in this way of writing, that is, to copy nature in the manners and inclinations of men, which age and condition vary exceedingly:

Ætatis cujuſque notandi ſunt tibi mores,
Mobilibuſque decor naturis dandus & annis.
Horat. in Art. Poet.

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THE

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ANTIENTS,

Under the following HEADS:

POETRY and POETS, HISTORY and HISTORIANS, ELOQUENCE and ORATORS, PHILOSOPHY and PHILOSOPHERS, CIVIL LAW, METAPHYSICS and PHYSICS, PHYSIC and PHYSICIANS, BOTANY, CHYMISTRY, ANATOMY, MATHEMATICS and MATHEMATICIANS, GEOMETRY, ASTRONOMY and ASTRONOMERS, ARITHMETIC, &c. GEOGRAPHY and GEOGRAPHERS, and NAVIGATION.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

VOL. III.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for J. and F. RIVINGTON; R. BALDWIN; HAWES, CLARKE and COLLINS; R. HORSFIELD; W. JOHNSTON; W. OWEN; T. CASLON; S. CROWDER; B. LAW; Z. STUART; ROBINSON and ROBERTS; and, NEWBERY and CARNAN.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS, &c.

OF POLITE LEARNING, OR THE BELLES LETTRES.

OF POETRY.

CHAPTER I.

SECT. III.

Third age of the Latin poetry.

I HAVE already ſaid, that this third age of Latin poetry began about the middle of Tiberius's reign. Some of the poets, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak, might be ranked amongſt thoſe of the beſt age, to which they are very near both in time and merit. It is however believed, that there is ſome difference diſcernible in them.

SENECA.

Of the ten Latin tragedies that have been collected and publiſhed together under the name of Seneca, it is generally enough agreed, that the fineſt were written by the celebrated philoſopher, who was Nero's preceptor. The Medea is believed to be undoubtedly his, becauſe Quintilian quotes a paſſage from it, to which he adds his name. Lib.9.c.2. There are ſome particular reaſons alſo for aſcribing the Œdipus to him. Mr. Le Fevre finds too much of the declamation and the ſchools in the Agamemnon, Troas, and Hercules. Others however believe, that the Troas and Hippolytus are really his: but that the Agamemnon, Hercules *furens*, Thyeſtes, and Hercules Œtæus, are either Seneca the father's, or ſome other unknown author's. As to the Thebais and Octavia, they are thought entirely unworthy of Seneca's genius and eloquence. And it is certain that the latter was not writ till after the death of Seneca, and even of Nero.

PERSIUS.

Persius, *(Aulus Perſius Flaccus)* a ſatyric poet in the reign of Nero, was born at Volaterræ, a city of Tuſcany. He was of the Equeſtrian order, and related and allied to perſons of the firſt rank. He ſtudied till twelve years old at Volaterræ, and afterwards at Rome under the grammarian Palæmon, the rhetorician Virginius, and a Stoic philoſopher named Cornutus, who conceived a particular friendſhip for him, and with whom he always lived in the greateſt intimacy.

This poet was of a very gentle and humane diſpoſition, very friendly and obliging to his relations and acquaintance, and extremely regular in his manners and conduct. In his ſatires he often cen-ſures the faults of the orators and poets of his time, without ſparing Nero himſelf:

Auriculas aſini quis non habet?*

We read there alſo theſe four verſes, which are believed Nero's, and which he cites as an example of the tumid or bombaſtic ſtile:

Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura ſuperbo
Baſſaris, & lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis
Evion ingeminat: reparabilis adſonat Echo.

Boileau juſtifies himſelf by this example: "Let "us examine Perſius, ſays he, who wrote in the "reign of Nero. He does not confine himſelf to "ridiculing the works of the poets of his time; he "attacks the works of Nero himſelf. For every "body knows, and Nero's court knew, that the "four verſes *Torva Mimalloneis*, &c. which Perſius "rallies ſo ſeverely in his firſt ſatire, were Nero's. "However, we do not find that Nero, all Nero "as he was, inflicted any puniſhment upon Per-"ſius: that tyrant, the enemy of reaſon, and ina-"moured, as all know, of his own works, was "however ſo much a gallant man, as to under-"ſtand raillery in reſpect to his verſes, and did "not believe the emperor, on this occaſion, ought "to take upon himſelf what concerned the poet."

The work of Perſius, in which refined morality and a wonderful fund of ſenſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves every-where, though of no great extent, has acquired him great glory, and a glory of the moſt ſolid kind, ſays Quintilian: *Multum, & veræ gloriæ, quamvis uno libro, meruit Perſius.* It muſt however be owned, that the obſcurity which prevails in his ſatires, exceedingly diminiſhes their merit. This made a certain perſon ſay, that ſince Perſius would not be underſtood, he would not underſtand him. *Si non vis intelligi, nec ego volo te intelligere.*

---

* *It is ſaid he wrote, at firſt,* Auriculas aſini Mida rex habet.

He died at only twenty-eight years of age, in the 62d year of our Lord, which was the 8th year of Nero's reign. In gratitude to his maſter and friend Cornutus, he left him his library, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred volumes, a very conſiderable one in thoſe days, with a great ſum of money. Cornutus accepted the books, but gave the money to the heirs of Perſius, who were his ſiſters.

JUVENAL.

I antedate the time of Juvenal here, in order to join thoſe two Satiric poets together.

Juvenal (*Decimus*, or *Decius Junius Juvenalis*) was of Aquinum in the kingdom of Naples. He lived at Rome about the end of Domitian's reign, and even in Nerva's and Trajan's. He acquired great reputation by his ſatires, of which ſixteen are come down to us. He paſſed the greateſt part of his life in the exerciſes of the ſchools, where he was famous for being a vehement declaimer:

Juvenal, élevé dans le cris de l'Ecole,
Pouſſa juſqu'à l' excès ſa mordante hyperbole.
Boileau.

He, bred in bawling ſchools debate to wage,
Puſh'd to exceſs his hyperbolic rage.

Julius Scaaliger, who is always ſingular in his ſentiments, prefers the force of Juvenal to Horace's ſimplicity. But all people of good taſte agree, that the declamatory and bitter genius of Juvenal is much inferior to the natural, delicate, and refined ſimplicity of Horace's ſatire.

Vet. Juven. vit. In his ſeventh ſatire he had ventured to attack the comedian Paris, whoſe power was enormous at court, and who beſtowed all offices both civil and military:

Ille & militiæ multis largitur honorem,
Semeſtri vatum digitos circumligat auro,
Quod non dant proceres, dabit hiſtrio.

The proud comedian did not ſuffer ſo offenſive an attempt without reſenting it. He cauſed Juvenal to be baniſhed into Egypt, by ſending him thither to command a body of troops incamped at the extremity of that country. After Domitian's death he returned to Rome, where he remained, as is judged from ſome of his ſatires, till the reign of Adrian.

It is believed that Quintilian, who made it his rule not to name any living author, means Juvenal, when he ſays, that there are ſatiric poets of his time well worthy of eſteem, and who will one day be very famous: *Sunt clari hodieque & qui olim nominabuntur.* Lib. 10. c. 1.

It were to be wiſhed, that, in reproving the manners of others with too much ſeverity, he had not ſhewn, that he himſelf was void of modeſty; and that he had not combated vices, in a manner that rather teaches the practice, than inſpires the horror, of them.

LUCAN.

Lucan *(M. Annæus Lucanus)* was Seneca's nephew. The moſt celebrated of his works is his *Pharſalia*, in which he relates the war of Cæſar and Pompey. He abounds with fine thoughts, and there is great ſpirit and vivacity in his ſtile: but Quintilian thinks him rather to be reckoned amongſt the orators than the poets: *Lucanus ardens, & concitatus, & ſententiis clariſſimus; &, ut dicam quod ſentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus.* Quint. l. 10. c. 1. To equal Lucan with Virgil, as ſome are willing to do, is not exalting Lucan, but ſhewing little diſcernment. We may however ſay of him, that, if years had ripened Lucan's genius, who perhaps was not twenty-ſix when he died, and added Virgil's judgment to his fire and ſublimity, he might have been a conſummate poet. Many of his poems are loſt.

The life of Lucan, aſcribed to Suetonius, accuſes him of a light intemperate tongue, and particularly of having ſpoken of Neró, who loved him, in a manner capable of exaſperating even a mild and rational prince.

He was one of the * firſt that entered into Piſo's conſpiracy, out of reſentment to Nero, who, through mean jealouſy, ſuppreſſed the reputation of his poems, and prevented him from publiſhing them. That prince ordered Lucan to be put to death, and his veins were opened. When he perceived the warmth abandon the extremities of his body, remembering that he had formerly deſcribed a ſoldier expiring in that manner, he repeated the verſes that expreſſed his death, which were his laſt words: a frivolous conſolation for a dying man, but worthy an Heathen poet. He died in the 65th year of the Chriſtian Æra, and in the twelfth of Nero.

PETRONIUS.

Petronius *(Petronius Arbiter)* was of Provence, in the country near Marſeilles, as Sidonius Apollinarius informs us; and lived, according to the more received opinion, in the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

We have of this author's works the remains of a ſatire, or rather of ſeveral ſatirical books (Satyricῶn) which he compoſed both in verſe and proſe. This is a kind of romance in the ſame form as the ſatires, which Varro, as I have ſaid before, had invented by mingling verſe and proſe, the ſerious with the gay, agreeably; and which he called *Menippeæ*, from Menippus the Cynic, who before him had treated grave ſubjects in a ſtile of pleaſantry and ridicule.

Theſe fragments are only an indigeſted collection of detached parts, taken from the papers of ſomebody who had extracted what he liked beſt from Petronius without any order. The learned find in them extreme refinement and delicacy of taſte, and a wonderful happineſs in painting the different characters of thoſe he introduces ſpeaking. They obſerve, however, though Petronius ſeems to have been a great critic, and a writer of a moſt exquiſite taſte, that his ſtile does not entirely come up to the delicacy of his judgment; that it is not without ſome affectation; is too florid and elaborate; and that it degenerates even ſo early as his time from the natural and majeſtic ſimplicity of the golden age of Auguſtus. But, were his ſtile much more perfect, he would be ſtill the more dangerous to his readers, from the obſcenities with which he has filled his work.

---

* Lucanum propriæ cauſæ accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero, prohibueratque oſtentare, vanus adſimulatione. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 15. c. 49.

It is doubted, whether this Petronius be the ſame mentioned by Tacitus. That hiſtorian gives us the following picture of Petronius Turpilianus, which ſufficiently agrees with the idea the reading of the work in queſtion gives us of its author: "He was "a * voluptuous man, who paſſed the day in ſleep, "and the night in pleaſures or buſineſs. As others "acquire reputation by induſtry, he had made "himſelf famous for his idleneſs. He did not paſs "however for a prodigal and a debauchee, like "thoſe who ruin themſelves by exceſſes, void of "ſenſe and taſte, but for a man of a refined and "learned luxury. All his words and actions were "the more pleaſing, as they carried with them,

---

* Illi dies per ſomnum, nox officiis & oblectamentis vitæ tranſigebantur. Utque alios induſtria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo & profligator, ut plerique ſua haurientium, ſed erudito luxu. Ac dicta factaque ejus, quanto ſolutiora, & quandam ſui negligentiam præferentia, tanto gratius in ſpeciem ſimplicitatis accipiebantur. Proconſul tamen Bithyniæ, & mox Conſul, vigentem ſe ac parem negotiis oſtendit: deinde revolutus ad vitia, ſeu vitiorum imitationem, inter paucos familiarium Neroni adſumptus eſt, elegantiæ arbiter, dum nihil amœnum & molle, niſi quod ei Petronius approbaviſſet. Unde invidia Tigellini, quaſi adverſus æmulum, & ſcientia voluptatum potiorem. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 16. c. 18.

“even when looſeſt, a certain of air of negligence peculiar to him, which, as it ſeemed nature itſelf, had all the charms of ſimplicity. Notwithſtanding, when he was proconſul of Bithynia, and afterwards when conſul, he diſcovered a capacity for the greateſt employments. Returning after to a voluptuous life, either out of inclination or policy, becauſe the prince loved debauch, he became one of his principal confidents. It was he that regulated every thing in Nero's parties of pleaſure, who thought nothing agreeable nor in taſte, which Petronius had not approved. This excited the envy of Tigellinus againſt him, as a dangerous rival, that excelled himſelf in the knowledge of pleaſures, and the ſcience of voluptuouſneſs.” Petronius killed himſelf, to avoid the death to which the emperor had condemned him upon a falſe accuſation.

If this Petronius be not the writer intended here, ſo admirable a picture will at leaſt ſerve to give us an idea of the ſtile of Tacitus, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

SILIUS ITALICUS.

C. Silius Italicus rendered himſelf famous by his poem on the ſecond Punic war.

He was not born * a poet, and ſtudy did not entirely ſupply what he wanted on the ſide of nature. Beſides which he did not apply himſelf to poetry, Martial. Ep. 63. l. 7. till after he had long exerciſed the function of an advocate at the bar, and had been conſul, that is to ſay, in a very advanced and languid period of life.

Whatever † praiſes Martial beſtows on him, he is not much eſteemed as a poet: he is however deemed to excel all the writers of his time in purity of language. He follows the truth of hiſtory exactly enough,

---

* Scribebat carmina majore cura quam ingenio. *Plin.* Ep. 7. l. 3.

† Perpetui nunquam moritura volumina Silî
Qui legis, & Latia carmina digna toga. *Ep.* 63. *l.* 7.

enough, and lights may be found in his poem, though not his principal deſign, into things which paſſed in the times of which he writes; there being facts in him not to be found elſewhere.

What he ſays of Domitian ſufficiently ſhews, that he wrote in the reign of that prince, after the war with the Sarmatæ, in which that with the Daci may be included.

He is believed to have died in the time of Trajan, in the year 100. He ſtarved himſelf to death, not being able to bear the pain of an ulcer, which the phyſicians could not cure. Pliny obſerves, that Silius, having retired into Campania upon account of his old age, did not quit his retreat to come to Rome, in order to congratulate Trajan upon his acceſſion to the empire. * That prince was highly praiſed for not being offended at ſuch a liberty; and he for venturing to take it. Plin. Ep. 7. l. 3.

If our poet could not attain to a perfect imitation of Virgil, at leaſt it was impoſſible to carry reſpect for him higher than he did. When he had got poſſeſſion of the place where Virgil's tomb ſtood †, it became ſacred, and a kind of temple to him. He celebrated that poet's birth-day every year with greater joy and ſolemnity than his own. He could not ſuffer ſo venerable a monument to remain neglected in the hands of a poor peaſant, and purchaſed it:

Jam propè deſertos cineres, & ſancta Maronis
   Nomina qui coleret, pauper & unus erat.
Silius optatæ ſuccurrere cenſuit umbræ:
   Silius & vatem, non minor ipſe, colit.
Martial. Epig. 50. l. 11.

Silius's work had lain buried for many ages in the duſt of the library of St. Gal. Poggius found it there during the council of Conſtance, with many other manuſcripts, as I have already obſerved elſewhere.

---

* Magna Cæſaris laus, ſub quo hoc liberum fuit: magna illius, qui hac libertate auſus uti. *Plin.* Ep. 7. l. 3.

† Cujus(Virgilii) natalem religoſiùs quam ſuum celebrabat; Neapoli maximè, ubi monumentum ejns adire ut templum ſolebat. *Plin.* ibid.

STATIUS.

Statius (*P. Statius Papinius*) lived in the reign of Domitian. Martial never mentions him, though they were cotemporaries at Rome; which is believed to proceed from jealouſy, becauſe the extreme facility of Statius in making extemporary verſes made him highly agreeable to Domitian.

We have two heroic poems of Statius: the *Thebaid* in twelve books, and the *Achilleid* in only rwo, becauſe he was prevented by death from making an end of it.

His poems were highly eſteemed at Rome in his time. Juvenal mentions the extraordinary crowding to hear them, and the applauſes they received:

> *Curritur ad vocem jucundam, & carmen amicæ*
> *Thebaïdos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,*
> *Promiſitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos*
> *Adficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi*
> *Auditur.* Satyr. 6. l. 3.

If we are to take the verſes that follow theſe literally, and if they are not one of the hyperbole's ſo common to Juvenal, they tell us that Statius was poor, and after having acquired great reputation by his Thebaid, was obliged to compoſe dramatic poems, and to ſell them to the actors for the means of life:

> ——— *Sed cum fregit ſubſellia verſu,*
> *Eſurit, intactam Paridi niſi vendat Agaven.*

Julius Scaliger affirms that no author, either antient or modern, comes ſo near Virgil as Statius, and makes no difficulty to give him the preference to all the heroic poets, Greek or Latin, maintaining at the ſame time that his verſes are better even than

Homer's. Such a judgment ſhews that illuſtrious critic not to have had ſo much juſtneſs of taſte as erudition. The one often hurts the other.

Statius, as well as Lucan and Silius, has treated his ſubject rather like an hiſtorian than a poet, without confining himſelf to what conſtitutes the eſſence of a true Epic poem. As to his diction and verſification, in too much endeavouring to riſe and appear great, he gives into bombaſt, and becomes tumid.

VALERIUS FLACCUS.

As the reign of Auguſtus produced the moſt excellent of the Latin poets, that of Domitian has alſo given us the moſt conſiderable poets of the ſecond claſs.

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus. This poet was born at Setia, a town of Campania; but had fixed his abode at Padua.

His heroic poem upon the voyage of the Argonauts in eight books is come down to us. It was begun in the reign of Veſpaſian, to whom it is inſcribed; but the author was prevented from finiſhing it by a ſudden death. The beſt judges have but an indifferent opinion of this work, becauſe there are ſeveral things in it contrary to the rules of art, no grace and beauty, with a ſtile which, from affecting a greatneſs it wants nerves to ſuſtain, becomes cold and languid. Quintilian ſays, however, that the Latin poetry had loſt much by his death, which happened in the latter part of Domitian's reign: *Multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amiſimus.* Lib. 10. c. 1.

Martial writes to him as to his friend, and adviſes him to renounce poetry for the bar, and apply himſelf to ſomething by which more is to be got than by courting the muſes, from whom he has nothing to expect but unavailing wreaths and barren praiſe, attended with want and miſery:

Pierios differ cantuſque choroſque Sororum:
Æs dabit ex illis nulla Puella tibi—
Præter aquas Helicon, & ſerta, lyraſque dearum,
Nil habet, & magnum ſed perinane ſophos.
Ep. 76. l. 1.

MARTIAL.

MARTIAL *(M. Valerius Martialis)* ſucceeded in the epigram. He was a Spaniard of the city of Bilbilis, which is ſaid to have been not far from that of Calcaïnda in Arragon. He was born in the time of Claudius, and at the age of twenty came to Rome in Nero's reign, where he ſtaid thirty years, beloved by the emperors, and in particular by Domitian, who conferred many favours upon him. It is believed, that his not being ſo well treated, after the emperor's death, induced him to retire into his own country. He had full time there to grow weary of it, for want of good company, and ſuch as had a taſte for polite learning; which made him often think of his reſidence at Rome with regret. For inſtead of his verſes being exceedingly admired and applauded, as they were in that learned city, at Bilbilis they only excited envy and ſlander againſt him; a treatment very hard to bear every day with patience: *Accedit his municipalium rubigo dentium, & judicii loco livor——adverſus quod difficile eſt habere quotidie bonum ſtomachum.* He died in the reign of Trajan, about the year of Chriſt 100. Martial. in Præf. l. 12.

Fourteen books of Epigrams and one upon Shews remain of his writings. Voſſius believes the latter a collection of Martial's verſes, and thoſe of ſome other poets of his time upon the ſhews exhibited by Titus in the year of Chriſt 80.

Plin. Ep. 11. l. 3. Pliny, in honour of whom he had compoſed an epigram, (the 19th of the 10th book) gave him a ſum of money, when he retired from Rome: for he had made but ſmall acquiſitions in reſpect to the goods of fortune. Pliny on this occaſion obſerves, that it was antiently the cuſtom to confer rewards either of profit or honour upon thoſe who had celebrated the glory of cities, or certain illuſtrious perſons. At preſent, ſays he, that faſhion is expired, with others no leſs great and noble. When we left off doing actions worthy of praiſe, we began to deſpiſe it: (if not with juſtice, at leaſt with reaſon; for it reproached our want of merit.) *Poſtquam deſiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.*

He lamented the death of Martial, when he was informed of it, and loved and eſteemed his genius: but it were to be wiſhed that his verſes had always been as chaſte and modeſt, as they are ſometimes witty.

He is reproached for too much bitterneſs and ill-nature, his ſhameful flattery of Domitian, and his unworthy treatment of him after his death.

The love of ſubtleties or witticiſm, and the affectation of points in diſcourſe, had, from the time of Tiberius and Caligula, taken place of the fine taſte that prevailed in the reign of Auguſtus. Thoſe defects increaſed perpetually, which occaſioned Martial's pleaſing ſo much. All his epigrams are far from having the ſame force and ſpirit; to which this verſe of his own has been juſtly applied:

Sunt bona, ſunt quædam mediocria, ſunt mala plura.
Some good, ſome tolerable, but more bad.

And indeed moſt of them are bad; he has however ſome that are excellent: of which I ſhall give the reader the following examples.

Upon an excellent piece of ſculpture.

Artis Phidiacæ toreuma clarum
Piſces adſpicis: adde aquam, natabunt. *Ep.* 35. *l.* 3.

Upon the ſlowneſs of a barber.

Eutrapelus tonſor dum circuit ora Luperci,
  Expingitque genas, altera barba ſubit.
Ep. 83. *l.* 7.

Advice to a perſon not to go to law.

Et judex petit, & petit patronus:
Solvas cenſeo, Sexte, creditori. *Ep.* 13. *l.* 2.

A judge, you ſay,—and patron you muſt get?
Take my advice, good Sextus; pay the debt.

Upon the ſudden death of one who had often been victorious in the races of the Circus.

Ille ego ſum Scorpus, clamoſi gloria Circi;
  Plauſus, Roma, tui, deliciæque breves:
Invida quem Lacheſis raptum trieteride nona,
  Dum numerat palmas, credidit eſſe ſenem.
Ep. 51. *l.* 10.

Upon the bold action of Mucius Scævola.

Dum peteret Regem decepta ſatellite dextra,
  Injecit ſacris ſe peritura focis.
Sed tam ſæva pius miracula non tulit hoſtis,
  Et raptum flammis juſſit abire virum.
Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,
  Hanc ſpectare manum Porſena non potuit.
Major deceptæ fama eſt & gloria dextræ:
  Si non erraſſet, fecerat illa minus.
Ep. 22. *l.* 1.

Againſt the inhumanity of a covetous rich man.

Tu ſpectas hiemem ſuccincti lentus amici,
  (Prô ſcelus!) & lateris frigora trita mei.
Quantum erat, infelix, pannis fraudare duobus,
  (Quid renuis?) non te, Nævole, ſed tineas?
Ep. 46. *l.* 2.

No riches are in reality ſaved but thoſe we give away.

Callidus effracta nummos fur auferet arca:
  Proſternet patrios impia flamma lares ——
Extra fortunam eſt quicquid donatur amicis:
  Quas dederis, ſolas ſemper habebis opes.
Ep. 42. *l.* 8.

Praiſe and deſcription of a little bitch. It is ſomewhat long, but of exceeding delicacy; and I could wiſh, for the ſake of the ladies, that ſome able hand would tranſlate it into our language in verſe:

Iſſa eſt paſſere nequior Catulli:
Iſſa eſt purior oſculo columbæ:
Iſſa eſt blandior omnibus puellis:
Iſſa eſt carior Indicis lapillis:
Iſſa eſt deliciæ catella Publî.
Hanc tu, ſi queritur, loqui putabis.
Sentit triſtitiamque gaudiumque.
Collo nixa cubat, capitque ſomnos,
Ut ſuſpiria nulla ſentiantur:
Et deſiderio coacta ventris,
Gutta pallia non fefellit ulla;
Sed blando pede ſuſcitat, toroque
Deponi monet, & rogat levari.
Caſtæ tantus ineſt pudor catellæ!
Ignorat Venerem, nec invenimus
Dignum tam tenera virum puella.
Hanc ne lux rapiat ſuprema totam,
Picta Publius exprimit tabella.
In qua tam ſimilem videbis Iſſam,
Ut ſit tam ſimilis ſibi nec Iſſa.
Iſſam denique pone cum tabella,
Aut utramque putabis eſſe veram,
Aut utramque putabis eſſe pictam.
Ep. 109. *l.* 4.

For the ſake of the ladies, *as Mr. Rollin recommends it, the Tranſlator has attempted, or rather imitated*

tated this little poem in Engliſh meaſure, how unequally the compariſon will beſt explain :

Pretty Iſſa, which can be
Of pretty things compar'd to thee !
Leſbia's ſparrow in its play
Was not half ſo arch and gay :
Iſſa's kiſſes ſweeter far
Than the billing turtle's are :
Iſſa, fonder than the dove :
Iſſa, kind as maids in love :
India's gems with her compare,
Gems and gold are not ſo rare :
Cheap are thoſe in Publius' ſight ;
Iſſa is his ſole delight.
Iſſa has the art to trace
Joy and ſadneſs in a face ;
And ſuch notice ſeems to take,
Iſſa, one would think, could ſpeak.
Whilſt ſhe ſleeps, her neck ſuſtaining,
Not a breath her life explaining,
Should a call of nature take her,
No diſtreſſes rude can make her ;
But, ſoft-riſing from her place,
Not a drop to her diſgrace,
Set me down, *ſhe tells you plain,*
And now, take me up again.
And ſo chaſte's the little creature,
One would think her not of nature :
Never Venus and her ſon
To her ſpotleſs breaſt were known ;
Nor a ſpouſe could we provide
Worthy of the tender bride.
Leſt death ſnatch her whole away,
Grief to think ! at her laſt day,
Publius does her picture take,
Long to keep for Iſſa's ſake :
Iſſa there as like you ſee,
As Iſſa can to Iſſa be :

Iſſa by her picture place,
Iſſa's two with ev'ry grace!
Both painted ſeem, and both ſeem true;
They puzzle me, and ſo would you!

SULPITIA.

Sulpitia, a Roman lady, was the wife of Calenus. She wrote a poem upon the expulſion of the philoſophers, wherein ſhe highly laſhes Domitian, and menaces him with death. It is the only one, of a great number of poems compoſed by her, that is come down to us, and is uſually printed at the end of Juvenal's ſatires. We have reaſon to regret the loſs of the verſes ſhe inſcribed to her huſband upon conjugal love, and the chaſtity and fidelity to be obſerved in the married ſtate. Martial gives her great praiſe in one of his epigrams, of which I ſhall repeat only ſome verſes:

Omnes Sulpitiam legant puellæ,
Uni quæ cupiunt viro placere.
Omnes Sulpitiam legant mariti,
Uni qui cupiunt placere nuptæ——
Hac condiſcipula, vel hac magiſtra,
Eſſes doctior & pudica Sappho.——
Epiſt. 35. *l.* 10.

Imitated.

You tender brides, whom virtuous love inſpires,
Refine by wiſe Sulpitia your deſires:
She can the uſeful ſcience well impart
To keep one happy married lover's heart:
And you, whoe'er deſire one bride to charm,
Yourſelves with bright Sulpitia's dictates arm——
With her converſant, by her leſſons taught,
Her lovely pupils riſe, enlarg'd in thought;
Chaſte and more learned Sappho's they become,
Their ſex's glory, and the pride of Rome.

NEMESIANUS and CALPURNIUS.

We have ſome eclogues and part of a poem upon hunting written by *M. Aurelius Olympius Nemeſianus*, who was very famous in his time for his poetical works. We are told that he was a native of Carthage. He inſcribes his poem upon hunting to Carinus and Numerianus, after their father's death, that is to ſay, in the year 284.

Titus Capurnius, of Sicily, lived in the reigns of Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus. He compoſed ſeven eclogues, which he inſcribed to Nemeſianus, a paſtoral poet as well as himſelf. The verſes of both theſe poets have the character of the age in which they were written.

PRUDENTIUS.

Prudentius, *(Aurelius Prudentius Clemens)* a Chriſtian poet, and officer in the court of the emperor Honórius, was born at Saragoſa in Spain in the year 348, and died about 412.

He did not begin his poems upon religion till the fifty-ſeventh year of his age. He had been firſt an advocate, then a judge, afterwards a ſoldier, and at laſt a retainer to the court in an honourable employment. He informs us himſelf of theſe circumſtances in the prologue of his works:

Per quinquennia jam decem,
Ni fallor, fuimus: ſeptimus inſuper
Annum cardo rotat, dum fruimur ſole volubili.

After having ſpoken of his youth he mentions his different employments:

Exin jurgia turbidos
Armarunt animos, & male pertinax
Vincendi ſtudium ſubjacuit caſibus aſperis.
Bis legum moderamine
Frænos nobilium reximus urbium:
Jus civile bonis reddidimus, terruimus reos.

Tandem militiæ gradu
Evectum pietas principis extulit,
Adſumptum propius ſtare jubens ordine proximo.

The poems of Prudentius, come down to us, abound more with zeal for religion than ornaments of art. They are full of falſe quantities; beſides which he is not always orthodox in his notions. We muſt however confeſs, that there is abundance of taſte and delicacy in many paſſages of his works: his hymns upon the Innocents are ſufficient proofs of this, from which I ſhall repeat ſome ſtrophe's:

Salvete *flores martyrum,*
Quos, lucis ipſo in limine,
Chriſti inſecutor ſuſtulit,
Ceu turbo naſcentes roſas.
Vos *prima Chriſti victima,*
Grex immolatorum tener,
Aram ſub ipſam ſimplices
Palma & coronis luditis ——
Audit *tyrannus anxius*
Adeſſe regum principem,
Qui nomen Iſrael regat,
Teneatque David regiam.
Exclamat *amens nuntio:*
Succeſſor inſtat, pellimur.
Satelles i, ferrum rape,
Perfunde cunas ſanguine.
Transfigit *ergo carnifex*
Mucrone diſtricto furens
Effuſa nuper corpora,
Animaſque rimatur novas.

The Auguſtan age has nothing more animated, nor more delicate, than theſe ſtrophe's.

CLAUDIAN.

Claudian, *(Claudius)* a Latin poet and a Pagan, was a native of Egypt. He lived in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, who cauſed a ſtatue to be erected in honour of him. He died ſoon after Arcadius.

He merits the firſt rank amongſt the heroic poets who appeared after the Auguſtan age. Of all thoſe who have endeavoured to follow and imitate Virgil, none come ſo near the majeſty of that poet, and retain leſs of the corruption of the age he lived in, than him. He every-where ſhews abundance of genius, and that he was born a poet. He was full of that fire which produces enthuſiaſm. His ſtile is correct, ſweet, elegant, and at the ſame time noble and ſublime. He has however too many flights and ſallies of youth, and ſwells too much. He has wit and imagination, but is far from that delicacy of numbers, that natural and exquiſite harmony of verſe, which the learned admire in Virgil. He rings perpetually the ſame round of meaſures, the ſame cadence, on account of which one can ſcarce read him without being tired.

Of the ſeveral poems of Claudian, his invectives againſt Rufinus and Eutropius have been highly eſteemed.

AUSONIUS.

AUSONIUS (*Decius* or rather *Decimus Magnus Auſonius*) was born at Bourdeaux.

At the age of thirty he was choſen profeſſor of grammar, and afterwards of rhetoric. He acquired ſo great a reputation in the latter employment, that he was ſent for to the Imperial court, and made præceptor to Gratian, the ſon of the emperor Valentinian I. He accompanied his pupil in that young prince's journey with his father into Germany. An. 367.

This employment acquired him the higheſt dignities of the empire. He was made Quæſtor by Valentinian. After the death of that prince, Gratian made him *Præfectus Prætorio*; which office he had twice, firſt for Italy and Africa, and afterwards for the Gauls. He was at length declared conſul, An. 379. at which time Juvenal's maxim was again verified, That, when fortune pleaſes, ſhe makes a conſul of a rhetorician.

Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore conſul.

The emperor, in conferring that dignity upon him, forgot nothing that could exalt the favour, by the obliging and generous manner of doing it. To know how to improve gifts and graces thus is a ſcience worthy of a prince. He immediately diſpatched a courier to Auſonius with advice of his being nominated conſul, and wrote to him in theſe terms: "When I conſidered ſome time ago about "the creation of conſuls for this year, I implored "the aſſiſtance of God, as you know it is my "cuſtom to do in whatever I undertake, and as I "know it is your deſire that I ſhould. I believed "it incumbent on me to nominate you Firſt con"ſul, and that God required that acknowledgment "from me of the good inſtructions I have received "from you. I therefore pay you what I owe you, "and, as I am ſenſible that we can never ſufficiently "diſcharge our obligations to our parents and "maſters, I confeſs myſelf ſtill no leſs in your "debt than I was before."

Auſon. in Grat. act.

That nothing might be wanting to the favour he did him, he accompanied this letter with the preſent of a very rich robe, in which the figure of the emperor Conſtantius his father-in-law was embroidered in gold. Auſonius, on his ſide, employed the whole force and delicacy of his genius in praiſing his auguſt benefactor both in verſe and proſe. His oration of thanks to the emperor is ſtill extant, and has been highly eſteemed. There is a great deal of wit in it, perhaps too much; with fine and ſolid thoughts, and ſprightly turns, but often far fetched and too much ſtudied. The Latinity of it is hard, and ſpeaks the age in which the author lived. That the reader may have ſome idea of his ſtile, I ſhall repeat here the

beginning

beginning of this ſpeech, which he pronounced before the emperor:

Ago tibi gratias, Imperator Auguſte: ſi poſſem, etiam referrem. Sed nec tua fortuna deſiderat remunerandi vices, nec noſtra ſuggerit reſtituendi facultatem. Privatorum iſta copia eſt inter ſe eſſe munificos. Tua beneficia, ut majeſtate præcellunt, ita mutuum non repoſcunt. Quod ſolum igitur noſtræ opis eſt, gratias ago, verum ita, ut apud Deum fieri ſolet, ſentiendo copioſiùs, quam loquendo; atque non in ſacrario modò Imperialis oraculi, qui locus horrore tranquillo & pavore venerabili raro eundem animum præſtat & vultum: Sed uſquequaque gratias ago, tum tacens, tum loquens; tum in cœtu hominum, tum ipſe mecum; & cùm voce potui & cùm meditatione ſeceſſi; omni loco, actu, habitu, & tempore. Nec mirum, ſi ego terminum non ſtatuo tam grata profitendi cùm tu finem facere neſcias honorandi. Qui enim locus eſt, aut dies, qui non me hujus aut ſimilis gratulationis admoneat! Admoneat autem! O inertiam ſignificationis ignavæ! Quis, inquam, locus eſt, qui non beneficiis tuis agitet, inflammet?

There is an extreme inequality in the works of Auſonius. His ſtile is ſtiff and hard, as I have already obſerved; but that ſtiffneſs, that roughneſs, is the leaſt fault of his poems. The obſcenities with which they abound forbid the reading of them to every body that has not renounced all ſhame.

ST. PAULINUS.

St. PAULINUS, Biſhop of Nola, was born at Bourdeaux about the year 353. The celebrated Auſonius, of whom I ſpoke laſt, was his maſter in profane learning. St. Paulinus declares more than once that he was indebted for every thing to Auſonius, whom he calls his patron, maſter, father, and to whom he acknowledges himſelf indebted for the progreſs he had made in learning, and his elevation to offices and dignities:

Tibi diſciplinas, dignitatem, litteras,
Linguæ, & togæ, & famæ decus,
Provectus, altus, inſtitutus debeo,
Patrone, præceptor, parens. Carm. 10.

He made a great progreſs under ſuch a maſter. Auſonius congratulates him upon it in ſeveral of his poems, and owns, which is no ſmall thing for a poet to allow, that his diſciple carries the bays by his verſes againſt him:

Cedimus ingenio, quantum præcedimus ævo.
Aſſurgit Muſæ noſtra Camœna tuæ.
Auſon. Epiſt. 20.

The retirement of St. Paulinus, who went into Spain to hide himſelf in ſolitude, drew upon him violent reproaches from Auſonius. That worldly man wrote him many letters to complain of his injurious ſtate of oblivion, in which he flies out aginſt his Tanaquil; by which odious name he means his wife Thereſia, to whom he imputes that change. He accuſed his diſciple of having loſt his former good-nature, and of being become moroſe and an hater of mankind. He aſcribes to him, in terms ſufficiently expreſs, a mind perverted by ſpleen and melancholy, that induced him to fly the ſociety and commerce of men: the reproach uſually made by perſons of the world to thoſe who quit it. Id. Epiſt. 24 and 25.

Divine Providence prevented him from receiving any of theſe letters, till he was ſtrong enough to reſiſt the ſnares which the devil laid for him by the hand of a late eſteemed and much beloved maſter. At the end of four years, he received three of them, which he anſwered by ſeveral on his ſide.

After having explained the reaſon of his long ſilence, he excuſes himſelf from reſuming the ſtudy of profane poetry, which did not ſuit a perſon like him, who had devoted his thoughts ſolely to God:

Quid abdicatas, in meam curam, pater,
Redire Muſas præcipis?
Negant Camœnis, nec patent Apollini
Dicata Chriſto pectora.

He ſays that he is now no longer to invoke Apollo and the muſes, divinities impotent and deaf; that a God more powerful has taken poſſeſſion of his mind, and requires other ſentiments and a different language from him:

Nunc alia mentem vis agit, major Deus,
Alioſque more poſtulat.

He afterwards deſcribes the wonderful change operated by grace in the heart of man, when it has ſeized it by right of conqueſt, and has entirely ſubjected it to itſelf, in making it by a chaſte and pure joy loſe all taſte for its former pleaſures and worldly delights; in extinguiſhing all the pains and diſquiet of the preſent life by a lively faith and hope of future happineſs, and in leaving it no other care, than to employ itſelf with its God; in contemplating his wonderful works, in ſtudying his holy will, and endeavouring with all the powers of the ſoul to render him an homage worthy of him by an undivided love that knows no bounds:

Hic ergo noſtra ut ſuum præcordiis
Vibraverit cœlo jubar,
Abſtergit ægrum corporis pigri ſitum
Habitumque mentis innovat.
Exhaurit omne quod juvabat antea,
Caſtæ voluptatis vice.
Totoque noſtra jure domini vindicat
Et corda, & ora, & tempora.
Se cogitari, intelligi, credi, legi,
Se vult timeri & diligi.
Æſtus inanes, quos movet vitæ labor
Præſentis ævi tramite,
Abolet futuræ cum Deo vitæ fides, &c.

To all this he adds a ſtrong proteſtation never to be wanting to what his obligations to Auſonius required of him.

The praiſes, which Auſonius gives St. Paulinus in many places, ſeem rather to regard the poems he compoſed before his renouncing the profane muſes, than thoſe he wrote after. For, after ſo uncommon and generous an abdication, he ſtudied to extinguiſh the greateſt part of his fire; and, having ſtifled in himſelf all deſire of worldly reputation, he checked and neglected his wit and ſtile, and confined himſelf within the bounds of a ſimplicity averſe to all pride, and ſuch as the Chriſtian modeſty requires. He carried this departure from the poet ſo far, as to diſregard even the rules of proſody. But with all the air of negligence, that appears no leſs in his verſification than even in the ſtile in general of his poems, we always find certain natural charms and beauties, which make us love the author and his works.

St. PROSPER.

St. Prosper was of Aquitaine. He was married and a layman, and Secretary of the Briefs to St. Leo the Pope.

Beſides ſeveral other little pieces, which are dubious, we have a conſiderable poem of St. Proſper's againſt the ungrateful, that is to ſay againſt the enemies of the grace of Jeſus Chriſt; wherein, as a profound theologiſt, he explains the doctrine of the Church againſt the Pelagians and Semipelagians.

Mr. Godeau, after many other authors, judges this work an abridgement of all St. Auguſtin's books upon this ſubject, and particularly of thoſe which he wrote againſt Julian. He adds, that the expreſſions are wonderful, and that, in many places, there is reaſon to be amazed how it was poſſible for this Saint to unite the beauty of verſification with the ſeverity of his ſubject. What is beſides ſurpriſing, in this poem, is to ſee the exact regularity with which the maxims of the faith are obſerved in it, notwithſtanding the conſtraint of verſe, and the freedom of the poetic ſpirit; and that the truths of religion are neither altered nor weakened by the ornaments of poetry. This poem has been tranſlated into French verſe. I ſhall give the preface of it a place here, which will ſhew both the ſubject of this excellent work, and the ſtile of its author:

PRÆFATIO.

Unde voluntatis ſanctæ ſubſiſtat origo,
  Unde animis pietas inſit, & unde fides:
Adversùm ingratos, falſa & virtute ſuperbos,
  Centenis decies verſibus excolui.
Quos ſi tranquilla ſtudeas cognoſcere cura,
  Tutus ab adverſo turbine, Lector, eris.
Nec libertate arbitrii rapiere rebellis,
  Ulla nec audebis dona negare Dei.
Sed bona quæ tibi ſunt, operante fatebere Chriſto,
  Non eſſe ex merito ſumpta, ſed ad meritum.

French Tranſlation.

Ma plume en mille Vers combattant pour la Grace,
    A pour Dieu combattu,
Attaquant ces Ingrats pleins de la vaine audace
    D'une fauſſe vertu.
J'ai fait voir d'où nos cœurs conçoivent la racine
    D'un céleſte deſſein,
D'où la foi naît dans nous, d'où la vertu divine
    Germe dans notre ſein.
Si donc ton eſprit calme, en liſant cet ouvrage,
    N'y cherche que du fruit,
Ces Vers te ſauveront du funeſte naufrage
    Où l'erreur nous conduit.
Tu n'eleveras point contre ton Roi ſupréme
    Ta fiére liberté,
Et tu ne croiras point mériter par toi-même
    Les dons de ſa bonté.

Mais tu reconnoitras que tu dois toute choſe
Au Dieu qui t'eſt ſi doux ;
Et que notre mérite eſt l'effet, non la cauſe
De ſa Grace dans nous.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Whence *holineſs of will* derives its birth,
Whence *piety and faith* illumine earth,
'Gainſt men Ungrateful, of *falſe virtue* vain,
I ſing : a thouſand verſes form the ſtrain.
If, reader, to ſuch knowledge you aſpire,
Search here, and gratify thy good deſire.
From *frantic error* ſafe, the growth of pride,
Theſe, if you ſtudy well, will be your guide:
Nor wilt thou dare againſt the *God of Grace*
Rebellious *human liberty* to place:
Nor wilt thou any of his *gifts* diſown;
Nor think you *merit*, *but by Him alone:*
Whate'er is good in thee thou here wilt trace,
Not as *the cauſe*, but *the effect*, *of Grace.*

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS.

C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius was born at Lyons. His father was *præfectus prætorio*, and ſon-in-law of the emperor Avitus.

We have twenty-four of his poems, which are uſually printed with the nine books of his epiſtles. The age in which he lived is an excuſe for the hardneſs and obſcurity of his ſtile, and the falſe quantities of his verſes.

He renounced poetry with ſecular things, and compoſed no verſes after he was made biſhop of Clermont in Auvergne, which happened in the year 472.

AVIENUS.

Rufus Festus Avienus lived in the reign of Theodoſius the elder. This author tranſlated the *Phæno-*

Phænomena of Aratus, and the Περιήγησις of Dionyſius, that is to ſay, his deſcription of the earth, into Latin verſe He had alſo turned all Livy into Iambics: a work uſeleſs enough, and of which the loſs is only to be regretted, *as it contained the ſubſtance of that excellent hiſtorian's matter not come down to us*. There are fables of his extant, which he made into elegiac verſe from Æſop, and dedicated to Theodoſius, who is in reality Macrobius: they are infinitely remote from the purity, beauty, and elegance of Phædrus.

BOETIUS.

Boetius (*Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius*) was ſole conſul in the year 510.

What verſes this great man made are inſerted in his five books *De conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, which he compoſed in the priſon, where Theodoric king of the Goths, whoſe prime miniſter he was, confined him. His proſe, which is not the moſt excellent, ſeemed to have contributed, like ſhades in painting, to exalt the beauties of his poetry, that abounds with grave ſentences and fine thoughts.

FORTUNATUS.

Fortunatus was born in the marquiſate of Treviſano. He was made biſhop of Poitiers, and died about the beginning of the ſeventh century.

He is one of the moſt conſiderable of the antient Chriſtian poets. We have eleven books of his miſcellaneous poems in Lyric and Elegiac verſe, and four of the life of St. Martin in Hexameters. The merit of his verſes is to be judged from the age in which he lived.

CHAPTER II.

OF HISTORIANS.

HISTORY has with reaſon been called the evidence of time, the light of truth, the ſchool of virtue, the depoſitory of events, and, if the expreſſion may be allowed, the faithful meſſenger of antiquity. And indeed it opens to our view the vaſt ſeries of all paſt ages, and brings them in a manner down to our own times. It makes conquerors, heroes, princes, and all other great perſonages, appear before us; but without the pompous train which attended them during their lives, and reduced to their own perſons, in order to render an account of their actions at the tribunal of poſterity, and ſubmit to a judgment in which flattery has no longer any part, becauſe they have no longer any power.

Hiſtory has alſo the privilege of approaching the thrones of the princes that reign, and is almoſt the only counſellor, who either can or dare impart truth to them, and even ſhew them their faults, if they have any, but under foreign names, to ſpare their delicacy, and to render its advice uſeful by avoiding to give them offence. It is no leſs intent upon the inſtruction of private perſons. It ſets before all in general, of whatſoever age or condition they be, both the models of virtue they are to follow, and the examples they ought to ſhun.

It is eaſy to conceive, that hiſtory, whilſt artleſs and rude in its infancy, was not capable of rendering theſe important ſervices to mankind. It contented itſelf at firſt with preſerving the remembrance of events by carving them upon ſtone and braſs, in fixing them by inſcriptions, by inſerting them into public regiſters, and by conſecrating them in ſome meaſure in hymns and ſongs of religion. It roſe by degrees, till at length it attained that height of perfection to which the Greek and Latin writers carried it.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the hiſtory of the people of God compoſed by Moſes, the moſt antient and venerable of all hiſtories: neither ſhall I ſpeak of ſeveral hiſtorians, whoſe names only, or at moſt ſome ſmall fragments of their writings, have come down to us. I ſhall confine myſelf here to the Greek and Latin hiſtorians, whoſe works, either in the whole or in part, are ſtill extant. As I have taken care to quote them exactly in my Antient Hiſtory, and they are my authorities for what I advance there, it ſeemed neceſſary, that ſuch of my readers as have not been converſant with them, ſhould have ſome ſmall knowledge of them, and know at leaſt the times in which they lived, the principal circumſtances of their lives, the works they compoſed, and the judgment paſſed on them by the Learned.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Greek Hiſtorians.

SECT. I.

HERODOTUS.

A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Suidas.

HERODOTUS was of Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria. He was born the ſame year Artemiſia queen of Caria died, and four years before the deſcent of Xerxes upon Greece. Seeing his country oppreſſed by the tyranny of Lygdamis, Artemiſia's grandſon, he quitted it, and retired into the iſle of Samos, where he learnt the Ionic dialect perfectly.

It was in this dialect he compoſed his hiſtory in nine books. He begins it at Cyrus, according to

him, firſt king of Perſia, and continues it to the battle of Mycale, fought in the eighth year of Xerxes, which includes an hundred and twenty years under four kings of Perſia, Cyrus, Cambyſes, Darius, and Xerxes, from the year of the world 3405 to 3524. Beſides the hiſtory of the Greeks and Perſians, which are his principal ſubjects, he treats that of ſeveral other nations, as the Egyptians, which takes up his ſecond book. In the work of his which we have, he Lib. 1.
cites his hiſtories of the Aſſyrians and Arabians; but c. 184.
nothing of them is come down to us, and it is even doubted whether he finiſhed them, becauſe they are not mentioned by any author. The life of Homer, aſcribed to Herodotus, is not believed to be his.

Herodotus, in order to make himſelf known to Suidas.
all Greece at one and the ſame time, choſe to make his appearance when it was aſſembled at the Olympic games, and read his hiſtory there, which was received with exceeding applauſes. The ſtile in which it is written ſeemed ſo ſweet and flowing, that the audience thought they heard the muſes themſelves; and that from thenceforth occaſioned the names of the muſes to be given to the nine books of which it conſiſts.

It appears, that he gave a particular reading of his work to the city of Athens, which well deſerved that diſtinction: this was at the celebrated feaſt of the *Panathenæa*. It is eaſy to judge how highly an hiſtory, compoſed with ſo much art and eloquence, muſt have pleaſed ſuch refined and delicate ears, and wits ſo curious, and of ſo exquiſite a taſte, as thoſe of the Athenians.

It is believed to have been rather at this aſſem- Marcellin.
bly, than the Olympic games, that Thucydides, de vit.
then very young, perhaps about fifteen, was ſo Thucyd. Suidas.
much affected with the beauty of this hiſtory, that he was ſeized with a kind of tranſport and enthuſiaſm, and ſhed tears of joy in abundance. Herodotus perceived it, and complimented Olorus, the father

father of the youth, upon that occaſion; exhorting him in the ſtrongeſt terms to take particular care of his ſon, who already ſhewed ſo extraordinary a taſte for polite learning, and who might one day be the honour of Greece. Great perſons cannot be too attentive in encouraging young men by juſt praiſes, in whom they obſerve fine talents and generous inclinations. It is perhaps to theſe few words of Herodotus that the world is indebted for the admirable hiſtory of Thucydides.

I have ſaid, that Thucydides might be about fifteen, when he was preſent at the reading of Herodotus's hiſtory at Athens. Suidas ſays, that he was then only a child, or rather very young, ἔτι παῖς. As he was born but thirteen years after Herodotus, the latter himſelf in conſequence could not at that time be above twenty-eight, which highly adds to the merit of that author, who at that age had compoſed ſo valuable a work.

Herodotus, crowned with glory, thought of returning into his own country, whither the heart always recals us. When he arrived there, he exhorted the people to expel the tyrant that oppreſſed them, and to reinſtate themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their liberty, dearer to the Greeks than life itſelf. His remonſtrances had all the ſucceſs that could be expected, but met with no other reward than ingratitude, through the envy ſo glorious and ſucceſsful an enterpriſe drew upon him. He was obliged to quit an ungrateful country, and thought proper to take the advantage of an opportunity that offered itſelf very favourably. The Athenians were at this time ſending a colony to Thurium, in that part of Italy called Græcia major, to inhabit and re-people that city. He joined this colony, and went with it to ſettle at Thurium, where he ended his days. Thurium was the antient Sybaris, or at leaſt that city was built in the neighbourhood of Sybaris, and the remaining people of that antient place, ruined by the Crotoniatæ, were ſettled there.

I defer ſpeaking of the judgment to be paſſed on Herodotus, till I have gone through the article of Thucydides, in order to compare them with each other.

SECT. II.

THUCYDIDES.

THE birth of Thucydides is dated in the 77th Olympiad, thirteen years after that of Herodotus. A. M. 3553. Ant. J. C. 471.

His father was Olorus (ſo called from a king of Thrace) and his mother Hegeſipyle. One of his anceſtors was the antient Miltiades, the ſon of Cypſelus, the founder of the kingdom of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, who having retired into Thrace by the conſent of Piſiſtratus, there married Hegeſipyle the daughter of Olorus king of Thrace, whoſe daughter of the ſame name was very probably the mother of our hiſtorian. Marcellin. de vit. Thucyd. Suidas.

He ſtudied rhetoric under Antiphon, and philoſophy under Anaxagoras. He ſpeaks of the firſt in his eighth book, and ſays that he was for aboliſhing the popular government, and eſtabliſhing that of the Four Hundred at Athens. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 592.

We have already ſaid, that at the age of fifteen he had heard Herodotus's hiſtory read with extreme pleaſure, either at Olympia, or Athens. A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456.

As he had a violent inclination for ſtudy, he had no thoughts of concerning himſelf in the adminiſtration of the public affairs, and only took care to form himſelf in the military exerciſes that ſuited a young man of his birth. He was employed in the army, and made ſome campaigns.

At twenty-ſeven he was joined in commiſſion for conducting and ſettling a new colony of Athenians at A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444.

at Thurium. He paſſed three or four years in that employment, after which he returned to Athens.

He then married a very rich wife of Thrace, who had a great number of mines in that country. By this marriage his circumſtances were very eaſy, and ſupplied him with the means of expending conſiderable ſums. We ſhall ſoon ſee the good uſe he made of this advantage.

A. M. 3573. Ant. J. C. 431. Thucyd. l. 5. p. 561.

In the mean time the Peloponneſian war broke out, and occaſioned great revolutions and troubles in Greece. Thucydides, who foreſaw that it would be of long duration, and attended with important events, formed from the firſt the deſign of writing the hiſtory of is. It was neceſſary for this purpoſe to have the moſt faithful and certain accounts, and to be informed to the moſt minute circumſtances of all that paſſed on both ſides in every expedition and campaign. And this he effected in an admirable manner that has few examples.

A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424. Thucyd. l. 4. p. 321.

As he ſerved in rhe troops of Athens, he was an eye-witneſs of what paſſed in the army of the Athenians, till the eighth year of that war, that is to ſay, till the time of his baniſhment, of which this was the occaſion: He had been commanded to go to the relief of Amphipolis upon the frontiers of Thrace, a place of great importance to both parties. Braſidas, general of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither firſt, and took the place. Thucydides on his ſide took Eione upon the river Strymon. This advantage, which was inconſiderable to Athens in compariſon with the loſs of Amphipolis, was looked upon as nothing. His having failed of relieving Amphipolis, through want of expedition, was made a crime, and the people, at the inſtigation of Cleon, puniſhed his pretended fault by a ſentence of baniſhment.

Thucydides made his diſgrace conduce to the preparation and execution of the great deſign he had formed of compoſing the hiſtory of this war. He employed the whole time of his baniſhment, which continued twenty years, in collecting his materials with more diligence than ever. His reſiding from thenceforth ſometimes in the country of Sparta, and ſometimes in that of Athens, extremely facilitated the inquiries he had to make. He ſpared no expence for that purpoſe, and made great preſents to the officers on both ſides, in order to his being informed of all that paſſed in the two armies. He had taken the ſame method whilſt in the ſervice.

A. M. 3601. Ant. J. C. 403.

The Athenians, after the expulſion of the thirty tyrants by Thraſybulus, permitted all the exiles to return, except the Piſiſtratides. Thucydides took the benefit of this decree, and returned to Athens, after a baniſhment of twenty years, at the age of ſixty-eight. It was not till then, according to Mr. Dodwell, that Thucydides actually applied himſelf to the compoſition of his hiſtory, of which he had hitherto been collecting and diſpoſing the materials with incredible care. His ſubject, as I have already obſerved, was the famous Peloponneſian war, which continued twenty-ſeven years. He carried it down no farther than the twenty-firſt incluſively. The ſix years which remained were ſupplied by Theopompus and Xenophon. He uſed the Attic dialect in his hiſtory, as the pureſt and moſt elegant, and at the ſame time the moſt nervous and emphatical: beſides which it was the idiom of Athens, his country. He tells us himſelf, that, in writing it, his view was not to pleaſe, but to inſtruct his readers. For which reaſon he does not call his hiſtory a work compoſed for oſtentation, ἀγώνισμα; but a monument to endure for ever, κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. He divides it regularly by years and campaigns. There is a French tranſlation of this excellent hiſtorian by Mr. D.Ablancourt.

Thucyd. l. 1. p. 15. and 16.

Thucydides is believed to have lived thirteen years after his return from baniſhment, and the end of the Peloponneſian war. He died at the age of four-

A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 391. ſcore and upwards, at Athens according to ſome, and in Thrace according to others, from whence his bones were brought to Athens. Plutarch ſays, In vit. Cim. p. 480. that the tomb of Thucydides was ſhewn in his time within the monument of Cimon's family.

Compariſon of Herodotus and Thucydides.

DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS, an excellent hiſtorian and critic, in a letter to Pompey the Great, compares Herodotus and Thucydides, the two moſt eſteemed of the Greek hiſtorians, and expreſſes his judgment of them, as well in reſpect to hiſtory itſelf, as the ſtile they uſe. I ſhall repeat in this place the principal ſtrokes of this ſhort diſſertation: but we muſt remember that our critic is of Halicarnaſſus as well as Herodotus, which may perhaps give room to ſuſpect him of ſome partiality to his countryman.

1. *Matter of Hiſtory conſidered.*

The firſt duty of an author, who intends to compoſe an hiſtory, and to tranſmit the knowledge and remembrance of paſt actions to poſterity, is, in my opinion, to make choice of a ſubject great, noble, and affecting; which, by the variety and importance of facts, may render the reader attentive, and keep him always in a kind of buſy ſuſpence; and laſtly, engroſs and pleaſe him by the nature itſelf of the events, and the good ſucceſs that terminates them.

Herodotus may indiſputably in this point be ſaid to take place of Thucydides. Nothing could be more agreeable and affecting than the ſubject choſen by the former. It is all Greece, jealous to the degree every body knows ſhe was of her liberty, attacked by the moſt formidable power of the univerſe, which, with innumerable forces by ſea and land, undertakes to cruſh and reduce her into ſlavery. It is nothing but victories upon victories, as well by ſea as land, gained over the Perſians by the Greeks, who, without mentioning the moral virtues carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, ſhew all the valour, prudence, and military abilities, that can be expected from the greateſt of captains. In fine, this war, ſo long and terrible, in which all Aſia, departing out of herſelf and overflowing like a deluge, ſeems to make the total deſtruction of the little country of Greece inevitable, terminates with the ſhameful flight of Xerxes, the moſt powerful king of the earth, who is reduced to eſcape in a little boat, and with a ſucceſs that extinguiſhes for ever in the Perſians all thoughts and deſires of attacking Greece again with open force.

We ſee nothing of this kind in the choice Thucydides has made of his ſubject. He confines himſelf to a ſingle war, which is neither juſt in its principle, very various in its events, nor glorious to the Athenians in its ſucceſs. It is Greece become frantic and poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of diſcord, that imbrues her hands in her own blood, arming Greeks againſt Greeks, allies againſt allies. Thucydides himſelf, from the beginning of his hiſtory, declares and gives his reader a view of all the evils with which that unfortunate war would be attended; ſlaughter of men, plundering of cities, earthquakes, droughts, famine, diſeaſes, plagues, peſtilence, in a word, the moſt dreadful calamities. What a beginning, what a proſpect, is this! Is there any thing more capable of diſguſting and ſhocking the reader?

Such is the firſt reflection of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, which, in my opinion, does not at all affect the merit of the writer. The choice of the matter, and the glorious ſucceſs of a war, do not depend upon an author cotemporary with his ſubject, who is not maſter of his events, and who neither can nor ought to write any thing but what happens. He is unfortunate in being the witneſs of none but deplorable facts, but not the leſs excellent for that reaſon; which is at moſt a reproach that will lie only againſt a Tragic or Epic poet, who diſpoſes his matter at his own diſcretion. But, as to an author, who writes the hiſtory of his own times, we have no right to require any thing of him, but that he ſhould be true, judicious, and impartial. Is the ſole end of hiſtory to delight the reader? Ought it not rather to inſtruct him, and are not the great calamities, which are the neceſſary effects of bad paſſions and injuſtice, highly uſeful for teaching mankind to avoid them?

In the ſecond place, it is very important for a writer to make a good choice of his point of view, in order to know where he is to begin, and how far carry on, his hiſtory. And in this Herodotus has ſucceeded wonderfully. He begins with relating the cauſe of the war declared by the Perſians againſt Greece, which is the deſire to revenge an injury * received above two hundred years before; and he concludes the relation of it with the exemplary puniſhment of the Barbarians. The taking of Troy could at moſt be only the pretext of this war, and what a pretext was it! The real cauſe was undoubtedly the ambition of the kings of Perſia, and the deſire of avenging themſelves upon the Greeks for the aid they gave the Ionians. As for Thucydides, he begins his hiſtory with deſcribing the unhappy ſituation of the affairs of the Greeks at that time; a firſt proſpect little agreeable and affecting. He expreſsly imputes the cauſe of this war to the city of Athens, though he might have aſcribed it to the envy of Sparta, its rival from the time of the glorious exploits by which the Athenians had ſo highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war with the Perſians.

This ſecond reflection of our critic ſeems ſtill worſe founded than the firſt. Thucydides might have advanced this pretext, but I don't know whether he could have done it with truth and juſtice: or rather one may poſitively affirm, that he could

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* *The deſtruction of Troy by the Greeks, which city was in alliance with Perſia.*

not advance it with any face of reaſon whatſoever. It is certain, if we may believe Plutarch, that the cauſe of the war ought to be imputed to the unbounded ambition of the Athenians, who affected univerſal dominion. It is noble in Thucydides to have ſacrificed the glory of his country to the love of truth: a quality in which the moſt eſſential merit and higheſt praiſe of an hiſtorian conſiſt.

Thirdly, Herodotus, who knew that a long relation of the ſame matter, how agreeable ſoever it might be, would diſguſt and become tedious to the reader, has varied his work, after the manner of Homer, by epiſodes and digreſſions, which add much to its beauty, and the reader's pleaſure. Thucydides, on the contrary, is always uniform and in the ſame tone, and purſues his ſubject without giving himſelf time to take breath; heaping up battles upon battles, preparations upon preparations, harangues upon harangues; parcelling out, to uſe that expreſſion, actions by campaigns, which might have been ſhewn in all their extent with more grace and perſpicuity.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſeems here not to have had ſufficient attention to the laws of hiſtory, and to have almoſt believed, that an hiſtorian might be judged of in the ſame manner as a poet. Many people blame Herodotus for his long and frequent digreſſions, as a conſiderable defect in point of hiſtory. I am far from agreeing with this opinion. They muſt have been very agreeable to the Greeks, at a time when the hiſtory of thoſe different nations, of which they treat, was entirely unknown to them. But I am ſtill farther from blaming the plan and conduct of Thucydides, who hardly ever loſes ſight of his ſubject: for this is one of the principal rules of hiſtory, from which a writer ought never to depart, without the juſteſt reaſons.

Fourthly, Thucydides is religiouſly attached to truth, which ought to be the foundation of hiſtory;

and,

and, which is certainly the firſt and moſt eſſential quality of an hiſtorian, inſerts nothing of fabulous in his work, has no regard to embelliſhing and enlivening it by relating facts and events of the marvellous kind, and does not, upon every occaſion, introduce the gods and goddeſſes, acting by dreams, oracles, and prodigies. In this he is indiſputably ſuperior to Herodotus, who is little delicate and cautious in reſpect to many facts which he advances, and is generally credulous even to weakneſs and ſuperſtition.

Fifthly, If we may believe Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, there is in the writings of Thucydides a gloomineſs of character, and a natural roughneſs of humour, which his baniſhment had ſharpened and exaſperated. He is moſt exact in noting all the faults and wrong meaſures of the generals; and, if he ſometimes remarks their good qualities and ſucceſſes, for he often paſſes them over in ſilence, he ſeems to do it with regret and againſt his will.

I do not know whether this cenſure be well founded; but my reading of Thucydides gave me no ſuch idea of him. I perceived indeed that his matter was ſad and gloomy, but not the hiſtorian. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus diſcerns a quite different temper in Herodotus, that is to ſay, a character of kindneſs and good-nature always equal to itſelf, with an extreme ſenſibility for the good and bad fortune of his country.

2. *Elocution conſidered.*

Several things may be conſidered in reſpect to elocution:

Purity, propriety, and elegance of language. Theſe qualities are common to both our hiſtorians, who equally excelled in them, but always in adhering to the noble ſimplicity of nature. * It is remarkable, ſays Cicero, that theſe two authors, who were cotemporary with the ſophiſts, that had introduced a florid, trim, formal, artificial ſtile, and whom Socrates for that reaſon called λογοδαιδάλȣς, never gave into thoſe minute or rather frivolous ornaments.

Diffuſion or brevity of ſtile. Theſe particularly diſtinguiſh and characteriſe them. The ſtile of Herodotus is ſweet, flowing, and more diffuſe; that of Thucydides lively, conciſe, and vehement. "The one, to uſe Cicero's words, is like a calm "ſtream, whoſe waves flow with Majeſty; the o-"ther like an impetuous torrent; and, when he "ſpeaks of war, we ſeem to hear the trumpet ſound. *Alter ſine ullis ſalebris quaſi ſedatus amnis fluit: alter* Orat. *incitatior fertur, & de bellicis rebus canit etiam quo-* n. 39. *dammodo bellicum.* "Thucydides is ſo full of things, "that with him the thoughts are almoſt equal in "number to the words; and at the ſame time he "is ſo juſt and cloſe in his expreſſions, that one "cannot tell whether it be the words that adorn the "the thoughts, or the thoughts the words." *Qui* Lib. 2. de *(Thucydides) ita creber eſt rerum frequentia, ut verbo-* Orat. *rum propè numerum ſententiarum numero conſequatur:* n. 56. *ita porro verbis aptus & preſſus, ut neſcias utrum res oratione, an verba ſententiis illuſtrentur.* This cloſe, and in a manner abrupt, ſtile is wonderfully proper for giving ſtrength and energy to diſcourſe, but is generally attended with abundance of obſcurity. And this is what has happened to Thucydides, eſpecially in his harangues, which in many places are almoſt unintelligible: *Ipſæ illæ conciones ita multas* Orat. *habent obſcuras abditaſque ſententias, vix ut intelligan-* n. 30. *tur:* So that the reading of this author requires an uninterrupted attention, and becomes a ſerious ſtudy. For the reſt, it is not ſurpriſing that Thucydides, as he alludes in his harangues to many circumſtances well known in his time, and forgotten afterwards, ſhould have obſcurities in the ſenſe of readers ſo many ages removed from thoſe events. But that is not the principal cauſe of them.

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* Sophiſtas λογοδαιδάλȣς appellat in Phædro Socrates——quorum ſatis arguta multa, ſed minuta quædam——nimiumque depicta. Quo magis ſunt Herodotus Thucydideſque mirabiles: quorum ætas cùm in eorum tempora, quos nominamus, incidiſſet, longiſſime tamen ipſi à talibus deliciis, vel potiùs ineptiis, abfuerunt. *Cic. in Orat. n.* 39.

What has been ſaid ſhews what we are to think of our two hiſtorians in reſpect to the paſſions, which as, every body knows prevail in, and conſtitute the principal merit of, Eloquence. Herodotus ſucceeds in thoſe which require ſweetneſs and inſinuation, and Thucydides in the ſtrong and vehement paſſions.

Both have harangues, but they are leſs frequent and ſhorter in the firſt. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus finds a defect in thoſe of Thucydides, which is, that they are always in one and the ſame form and tone, and that the characters of the ſpeakers are ill ſuſtained in them; whereas Herodotus is much happier in thoſe reſpects. Some perſons blame harangues in hiſtory in general, and eſpecially the direct. I have anſwered this objection elſewhere. Vol. XI.

I ſhall conclude this article, which is become longer than I intended, with the elegant and judicious character Quintilian has drawn of our two authors, in which he includes part of what has hitherto been ſaid: *Hiſtoriam multi ſcripſere, ſed nemo dubitat duos longe ceteris præferendos, quorum diverſa virtus laudem pene eſt parem conſecuta. Denſus, & brevis, & ſemper inſtans ſibi Thucydides: dulcis, & candidus, & fuſus Herodotus. Ille concitatis, hic remiſſis affectibus melior: ille concionibus, hic ſermonibus: ille vi, hic voluptate.* "Greece has produced many "famous hiſtorians; but all agree in giving the "preference greatly to two of them, who by diffe- "rent qualities have acquired almoſt equal glory. Quintil., l. 10. c. 1.

" Thucydides is cloſe, conciſe, and always * haſtening on to the point in view: Herodotus is ſweet, " perſpicuous, and more diffuſed. The one is beſt " for the vehement paſſions, the other for the ſoft " and agreeable. The one ſucceeds in harangues, " the other in common diſcourſe. Force ſtrikes us " in the one, and pleaſure charms us in the other." What, in my opinion, highly exalts the merit of Herodotus and Thucydides is, that both of them, with few models they could follow, carried hiſtory to its perfection by a different method.

The general eſteem of the antients for theſe two authors is a circumſtance highly in their favour, So many great men could hardly be miſtaken in their judgment of them.

SECT. III.

XENOPHON.

I Have elſewhere treated with ſufficient extent on all that relates to the life and works of Xenophon. I ſhall only ſay ſome few words of them here, to recal the reader's remembrance of them, and their dates.

Xenophon, the ſon of Gryllus, was born at Athens in the third year of the 82d Olympiad. He was ſomething more than twenty years younger than Thucydides, and was a great philoſopher, hiſtorian, and general. A. M. 3554. Ant. J. C. 450.

He engaged himſelf in the troops of young Cyrus, who marched againſt his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Perſia, in order to dethrone him. This occaſioned his baniſhment, the Athenians being at that time in amity with Artaxerxes. The retreat of the Ten Thouſand under the conduct of Xenophon is known to every body, and has immortaliſed his fame. A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401.

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* Inſtans ſibi *is hard to render: it means always preſſing forward, haſtening on to the end, tending perpetually to it, without either loſing ſight of it, deviating, or amuſing himſelf in the leaſt.*

After his return, he was employed in the troops of Sparta, at firſt in Thrace, and afterwards in Aſia, till Ageſilaus was recalled, whom he accompanied as far as Bœotia. He then retired to Scyllonta, where the Lacedæmonians had given him lands, ſituated at no great diſtance from the city of Elis.

He was not idle in his retirement. He took advantage of the leiſure it afforded him to compoſe his hiſtories. He began with the Cyropædia, which is the hiſtory of Cyrus the Great in eight books. It was followed with that of Cyrus the younger, which includes the famous expedition of the Ten Thouſand, in ſeven books. He then wrote the Grecian hiſtory in ſeven books alſo, that begins where Thucydides left off. It contains the ſpace of almoſt forty-eight years, from the return of Alcibiades into Attica, to the battle of Mantinæa. He alſo compoſed ſeveral particular tracts upon hiſtorical ſubjects.

His ſtile, under an air of ſimplicity and natural ſweetneſs, conceals inimitable graces, that perſons of little delicacy of taſte perceive and admire leſs, but which did not eſcape Cicero, and which made him ſay, “ That the muſes ſeemed to ſpeak by the Orat. n.62. “ mouth of Xenophon:” *Xenophontis voce muſas quaſi locutas ferunt.*

Quintilian, in the praiſe he has left us of this author, has done little more than paraphraſe that Lib. 10. c. 1. thought: *Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis jucunditatem illam inaffectatam, ſed quam nulla poſſit affectatio conſequi? ut ipſæ finxiſſe ſermonem Gratiæ videantur: &, quod de Pericle veteris Comœdiæ teſtimonium eſt, in hunc transferri juſtiſſimè poſſit, in labris ejus ſediſſe quandam perſuadendi deam.* “ What praiſes does “ not the charming ſweetneſs of Xenophon deſerve? “ ſo ſimple, ſo remote from all affectation, but which “ no affectation can ever attain. The Graces them- “ ſelves ſeem to have compoſed his diſcourſe; and “ what the antient comedy ſaid of Pericles may

“ moſt juſtly be applied to him, that the goddeſs of
“ perſuaſion dwelt upon his lips.”

SECT. IV.

CTESIAS.

CTESIAS of Cnidos was Xenophon’s cotemporary. He was taken priſoner after the battle of young Cyrus with his brother Artaxerxes. Having cured the king of the wound he received in it, he practiſed phyſic in the court of Perſia with great ſucceſs, and continued near the perſon of that prince ſeventeen years.

He wrote the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians and Perſians in twenty-three books. Photius. One of the fragments preſerved by Photius (for we have nothing of Cteſias but fragments) informs us, that his ſix firſt books treated of the hiſtory of Aſſyria, and of all that had happened there before the foundation of the Perſian empire: and that from the ſeventh to the thirteenth incluſively, he related at large the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyſes, Magus, Darius, and Xerxes. He continued the hiſtory of the Perſians down to the Diod. l. 14. third year of the 95th Olympiad, at which time p. 273. Dionyſius the elder, tyrant of Syracuſe, was making great preparations of war againſt the Carthaginians.

He contradicts Herodous almoſt in every thing, Photius. and is particlarly induſtrious to falſify him. But his attempt has fallen upon himſelf, and he is regarded by all the learned as a writer full of lyes and οὐκ ἀξιόπιστος. unworthy of belief, as Ariſtotle calls him. He alſo differed very often with Xenophon in his accounts. It is ſurpriſing, that Diodorus Siculus, Trogus Pompeius, and ſome others, have choſen to follow Cteſias rather than Herodotus, and even than Xenophon. They were no doubt deceived by the aſſurance with which he affirms, that he advanced nothing in his writings, of which he was not either an eye-witneſs himſelf, had been informed by the Perſians concerned, or had extracted out of their archives.

SECT. V.

POLYBIUS.

I Have already ſpoken of this celebrated hiſtorian in ſeveral parts of my hiſtory, which I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, and ſhall only add in this place what ſeems moſt neceſſary for giving the reader ſome idea of the character, actions, and works of this great man. His life, of ſufficient extent and very well written, may be found in the front of the Chevalier Folard's tranſlation of Polybius, of which I ſhall make great uſe, but not without abridging it conſiderably.

A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204.

Polybius was of Megalopolis, a city of Peloponneſus in Arcadia. He came into the world about th 548th year from the foundation of Rome. His father's name was Lycortas, famous for his conſtancy in ſupporting the intereſts of the Achæan league, whilſt under his government.

He was educated, like all the children of his nation, in the higheſt veneration for the Divinity: a pious opinion, in which the Arcadians placed their principal glory, and in which he perſevered with ſo much conſtancy during his whole life, that few profane authors have thought more religiouſly, or ſpoke with more dignity, of the Godhead than him.

Lycortas his father, a profound ſtateſman, was his maſter in politics; as Philopæmen, one of the greateſt and moſt intrepid captains of the antient world, was in war. He reduced to practice the excellent leſſons they had taught him, in the different negotiations and affairs wherein he was employed either jointly with his father or alone, eſpecially during the war of the Romans with Perſeus the laſt king of Macedonia, as I have obſerved in its place.

The Romans, after the defeat of that prince, in order to humble and puniſh ſuch of the Achæans as had been moſt warm in ſupporting the Achæan league, and had ſeemed moſt averſe to their views and intereſts, carried away a thouſand of them to Rome: of which number was Polybius.

A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167.

During his ſtay there, whether his reputation had reached thither before him, or his birth and merit had made the greateſt perſons of Rome deſire his acquaintance, he ſoon acquired the friendſhip of Q. Fabius, and of Scipio the younger, both ſons of Paulus Æmilius, the one adopted by Q. Fabius, and the other by P. Cornelius Scipio, the ſon of the firſt Scipio Africanus. He either lent them his own, or borrowed books for them of others, and converſed with them upon the ſubjects of which they treated. Charmed equally with his great qualities, they prevailed with the prætor, that he ſhould not leave Rome with the reſt of the Achæans. What paſſed at that time between young Scipio, who was but eighteen, and Polybius, and which made way for the great intimacy they afterwards contracted, is, in my opinion, a moſt affecting piece of hiſtory, and may be of great inſtruction to young nobility. I have related this circumſtance at the end of the hiſtory of the Carthaginians.

It is evident that Polybius compoſed the greateſt part of his hiſtory, or at leaſt collected his materials for it, at Rome. For where could he be better informed of the events which had paſſed, either during the whole courſe of the ſecond Punic war, than in the houſe of the Scipio's; or during the campaigns againſt Perſeus, than in that of Paulus Æmilius? The ſame may be ſaid in reſpect to all the foreign affairs, which occurred either whilſt he was at Rome, or accompanied Scipio. As he was upon the ſpot either to ſee with his own eyes, or to receive news from the beſt hand, he could not fail of being exactly informed of every thing moſt memorable that happened.

A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150. The Achæans, after many fruitleſs applications to the ſenate, at length obtained the return of their exiles: their number was then reduced to three hundred. Polybius did not uſe this permiſſion to go home to Megalopolis, or, if he did, it was not long before he rejoined Scipio, as he was with him three years after at the ſiege of Carthage. After this expedition, he made ſome voyages upon account of the hiſtory he had always in view. But how great was his grief, when in returning into Peloponneſus he ſaw Corinth burnt and demoliſhed, his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and obliged to ſubmit to the laws of a foreign magiſtrate to be ſent thither every year from Rome. If any thing could conſole him in ſo mounful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity his credit with the Romans gave him of obtaining ſome mitigations of the miſfortunes of his country, and the occaſion he had of defending the memory of Philopæmen, his maſter in the art of war, whoſe ſtatues ſome were for pulling down. I have related this fact. Vol. IX.

After having rendered his country many ſervices, he returned to Scipio at Rome, from whence he followed him to Numantia, at the ſiege of which he was preſent. When Scipio died, he retired into Greece; (for what ſecurity could there be for Polybius at Rome, after Scipio had been put to death by the faction of the Gracchi?) and, having enjoyed during ſix years, in the boſom of his country, the eſteem, gratitude, and affection of his dear citizens, he died at the age of fourſcore and two, of a wound he received by a fall from his horſe.

A. M. 3877. Ant. J. C. 127. Lucian. in Macrob. p. 642. A. M. 3883. Ant. J. C. 121.

His principal works are, the life of Philopæmen; a treatiſe upon the Tactics, or the art of drawing up armies in battle; the hiſtory of the Numantian war, of which Cicero ſpeaks in his letter to Lucceius; and his univerſal hiſtory. Of all theſe works only the laſt remains, and that very imperfect. Polybius himſelf calls it *Univerſal Hiſtory*, not in reſpect of times, but of places, becauſe it contained not only the wars of the Romans, but all that paſſed in the known world during the ſpace of fifty-three years, that is to ſay, from the beginning of the ſecond Punic war to the reduction of the kingdom of Macedonia into a province of the Roman empire.

No hiſtory preſents us, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, with ſo great a diverſity of events, all of them deciſive and of the laſt importance: The ſecond Punic war between the two moſt powerful and warlike people of the earth, which at firſt brought Rome to the very brink of deſtruction, and then, by a very ſurpriſing reverſe of fortune, reduced the power of Carthage, and prepared the way for its final ruin: The war with Philip, whom the antient glory of the Macedonian kings, and the name of Alexander the Great, ſtill dreadful in ſome ſenſe, rendered formidable: The war with Antiochus, the moſt opulent king of Aſia, who drew after him great armies both by ſea and land; and that with the Ætolians, his allies, a warlike people, who pretended to give place to no nation in valour and bravery: And laſtly, the laſt Macedonian war with Perſeus, which gave the fatal blow to that empire once ſo terrible, and for which the whole earth was two narrow. All theſe events within the ſpace of little more than fifty years, gave the wondering world a ſenſe of the Roman greatneſs, and ſhewed it that Rome was deſtined to command all the nations of the Univerſe. Could Polybius deſire a greater, more magnificent, or more affecting ſubject of hiſtory?

All the facts which happened in this ſpace of time, compoſed thirty-eight books, in the front of which he had placed two, by way of introduction to the others, and of continuation to the hiſtory of Timæus. His own conſiſted therefore of forty books, of which we have only the five firſt as Polybius left them, and fragments, ſometimes conſiderable enough, of the twelve that follow, with the *embaſſies* and *examples of virtue and vice*, which the Emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, in the twelfth century, cauſed to be extracted from Polybius's hiſtory, and to be inſerted in his *Political Pandects*; a great collection, in which all that had been written by the antient hiſtorians, upon certain matters, were diſpoſed under their ſeveral heads, and in which the reader might ſee what had been done in the various caſes wherein he might happen to be himſelf, without the trouble of reading thoſe hiſtorians.

And this is the true uſe and great advantage of hiſtory, which, properly ſpeaking, is the ſcience of kings, generals, miniſters of ſtate, and of all who are employed in, or have any relation to, government. For men are always the ſame, they act in all ages upon the ſame principles, and the ſame ſprings almoſt always ſet ſtates in motion, and occaſion the various revolutions that happen in them. That prince was therefore very wiſe to conceive the deſign of eſtabliſhing in his empire a kind of perpetual council, compoſed of the moſt prudent, the moſt experienced, and moſt profound perſons of every kind, that the antient world had produced. This deſign, ſo laudable in itſelf, proved however the great misfortune of all ſucceeding ages. As ſoon as it became the habit to conſult only theſe abridgments, (to which our natural indolence and ſloth ſoon lead us) the originals were conſidered as uſeleſs, and no farther pains were taken to copy them. The loſs of many important works are aſcribed to this cauſe, though other circumſtances no doubt contributed alſo to it. The abridgments themſelves, of which I am ſpeaking, are a proof of this. Of fifty heads, which they contained at firſt, only two are come down to us. If they had been preſerved entire, they might in ſome manner have conſoled us for the loſs of the originals. But all has undergone

gone the common fate of human things, and leaves us only matter of regret.

What a misfortune is it, that ſuch an hiſtory as Polybius's is loſt! Who ever was ſo attentive and exact in aſſuring himſelf of the truth of facts as he? That he might not err in the deſcription of places, a circumſtance highly important in relating military affairs, as an attack, a ſiege, a battle, or a march, he went to them himſelf, and made a great number of voyages, with that ſole view. Truth was his only view. It is from him we have this celebrated maxim, that truth is to hiſtory what eyes are to animals: that, as the latter are of no uſe without ſight, ſo hiſtory without truth is only amuſing and unprofitable narration. Polyb. l. 3. p. 13.

But the facts may here be ſaid to be the leaſt we have to regret. What an irreparable loſs are the excellent maxims of policy, and the ſolid reflections of a man, who, with a natural paſſion for public good, had made it his whole ſtudy; who during ſo many years had been preſent in the greateſt affairs; who had governed himſelf, and whoſe government had given ſuch general ſatisfaction! In theſe the principal merit of Polybius conſiſts, which is what a reader of taſte ought principally to look for in him. For we muſt allow, that the reflections (I mean thoſe of ſo wiſe a man as Polybius) are the ſoul of hiſtory.

His digreſſions are condemned. They are long and frequent, I confeſs; but they abound with ſuch curious facts, and uſeful inſtructions, that we ought not only to pardon him that fault, if it be one, but think ourſelves obliged to him for it. Beſides which, we ſhould remember, that Polybius undertook the univerſal hiſtory of his own times, as he intitles his work; which ought to ſuffice in vindication of his digreſſions.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, a critic of great reputation in the antient world, has paſſed a judgment

ment upon our hiſtorian, which gives great reaſon to ſuſpect himſelf, in point of criticiſm. Without any circumlocution he flatly tells us, that no patience is of ſufficient proof to endure the reading of Polybius; and his reaſon for it is, becauſe that author knows nothing of the diſpoſition of words: that is to ſay, his hiſtory had not ſuch round, flowing, numerous periods, as he uſes himſelf, which is an eſſential fault, in point of hiſtory. A military, ſimple, negligent ſtile is to be pardoned in ſuch a writer as ours, who is more attentive to things, than turns of phraſe and diction. I ſhall make no ſcruple therefore to prefer the judgment of Brutus to that of this rhetorician, who far from finding it tedious to read Polybius, was continually peruſing him, and made extracts from him at his leiſure hours. We find him employed in this manner, the evening before the battle of Pharſalia.

Plut. in Brut. p. 985.

SECT. VI.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

DIODORUS was of Agyrium a city of Sicily, from whence he was called *Diodorus Siculus*, to diſtinguiſh him from ſeveral other authors of the ſame name. He lived in the time of Julius and Auguſtus Cæſar.

The title of his work is *The Hiſtorical Library.* It contains the hiſtory of almoſt all the nations of the world, whom he in a manner paſſes in review before his reader: Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Medes, Peſians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, and ſeveral more. It conſiſted of forty books, of which he gives us the plan and ſeries in his preface. The ſix firſt, ſays he, contain what paſſed before the Trojan war, that is to ſay all the fabulous times; in the firſt three are the antiquities of the Barbarians, in the other three thoſe of the Greeks. The eleven that follow contain the hiſtory of all nations from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander the Great incluſively. In the other twenty-three this general hiſtory is continued down to the beginning of the war with the Gauls, in which Julius Cæſar, after having ſubjected many very warlike nations of Gaul, extended the limits of the Roman empire to the Britiſh iſles.

Of theſe forty books, only fifteen remain, with ſome fragments, moſt of them preſerved by Photius, and the extracts of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus. The five firſt follow each other in their order.

In the firſt, Diodorus treats of the origin of the world, and of what relates to Egypt.

In the ſecond, of the firſt kings of Aſia, from Ninus to Sardanapalus: of the Medes, Indi as, Scythians, and Arabians.

In the third, of the Æthiopians and Libyans.

In the fourth, of the fabulous hiſtory of the Greeks.

In the fifth, of the fabulous hiſtory of Sicily and the other iſlands.

The ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books are loſt.

The following ſeven, from the eleventh to the ſeventh incluſively, contain the hiſtory of ninety years, from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece to the death of Alexander the Great.

The three following, the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, treat of the diſputes and wars of Alexander's ſucceſſors down to the diſpoſition of the two armies for the battle of Ipſus; and there ends what remains of the hiſtory of Diodorus Siculus, in a very important part of it, and at the moment a battle is going to be fought, which decides the fate of Alexander's ſucceſſors.

In theſe laſt ten books, which properly include the continued hiſtory of the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, Diodorus introduces alſo the hiſtory of other nations, and in particular that of the Romans, according as its events concur with his principal ſubject.

Diodorus tells us himſelf in his preface, that he employed thirty years in compoſing his hiſtory, in which his long reſidence at Rome was of great uſe to him. Beſides this he ran over, not without frequent dangers, many provinces of Europe and Aſia, to inform himſelf fully in the ſituation of the cities and other places of which he was to treat: which is no indifferent circumſtance in reſpect to the perfection of hiſtory.

His ſtile is neither elegant nor florid, but ſimple, clear, and intelligible: that ſimplicity has however nothing low and creeping in it.

Diod. l. 20. p. 749. Though he does not approve interrupting the thread of hiſtory with frequent and long harangues, he does not entirely reject the uſe of them, and believes they may be employed with great propriety, when the importance of the ſubject requires it. Diod. l. 13. p. 149—163. After the defeat of Nicias, the Syracuſans deliberated in their aſſembly upon the treatment it was proper to give the Athenian priſoners. Diodorus repeats the harangues of two orators, which are long and very fine, eſpecially the firſt.

Neither his chronology, nor the names either of the archons of Athens, or of the conſuls and military tribunes of Rome, into which many errors have crept, are to be relied on.

Very ſolid and judicious reflections occur from time to time in this hiſtory. He takes particular care not to aſcribe the ſucceſs of wars, and other enterpriſes, to chance or blind fortune with many other hiſtorians, but to a Wiſdom and Providence which preſides over all events.

Every thing well weighed and conſidered, we ought to ſet a great value upon the works of Diodorus come down to us, and very much to regret the

the loſs of the reſt, which would have afforded great light into every part of antient hiſtory.

DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS.

The hiſtorian of whom we now ſpeak, appriſes us himſelf, in the preface of his work, that there is little known of his perſon and hiſtory. He was a native of Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria in Aſia Minor, the country of the great Herodotus. His father's name was Alexander, of whom nothing more is known.

He arrived in Italy about the middle of the CLXXXVIIth Olympiad, at the time Auguſtus Cæſar terminated the civil war with Antony. He remained twenty-two years at Rome, which he employed in attaining the Latin tongue with great exactneſs, in ſtudying the literature and writings of the Romans, and eſpecially in carefully collecting materials for the work he had in view: for that ſeems to have been the motive of his voyage.

In order to ſucceed the better in it, he contracted a great intimacy with all the moſt learned perſons of Rome, with whom he frequently converſed. To their informations by word of mouth, which were of great uſe to him, he added a cloſe application to the ſtudy of the Roman hiſtorians in greateſt eſteem, as Cato, Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and Licinius Macer, who are often quoted by Livy.

When he believed himſelf ſufficiently informed in all that was neceſſary to the execution of his deſign, he applied himſelf to it. The title of his work is *The Roman Antiquities*, which he called it, becauſe, in writing the Roman hiſtory, he traces it back to its moſt antient origin. He continued his hiſtory down to the firſt Punic war, at which period he ſtopped, perhaps becauſe his plan was to clear up that part of the Roman hiſtory which was leaſt known. For, from the firſt Punic war, that hiſtory had been written by cotemporary authors in every body's hands.

Of the twenty books, which compoſe his Roman Antiquities, we have now only the firſt eleven, that come down no lower than the 312th year from the foundation of Rome. The nine laſt, which contained all that happened to the 488th according to Cato, and the 490th according to Varro, have periſhed through the injuries of time. Almoſt as often as we ſpeak of any antient author, we are obliged to deplore the loſs of part of his works, eſpecially when they are excellent, as were thoſe of the writer in queſtion.

We have alſo ſome fragments of his upon the ſubject of embaſſiet, which are only detached and very imperfect pieces. The two heads of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus which remain, have alſo preſerved ſeveral fragments of this author.

Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, ſpeaks of the twenty books of antiquities, as of a perfect work which he had read. He cites beſides an abridgment, which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis made of his hiſtory in five books. He praiſes it for its purity, elegance, and exactneſs; and makes no ſcruple to ſay, that this hiſtorian in his epitome has excelled himſelf.

We have two tranſlations ſufficiently recent of the hiſtory of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, which have each their merit, but of a different kind. It does not belong to me to compare them, or to give one the preference to the other. I leave that to the public, which has a right to paſs judgment upon the works abandoned to it. I only propoſe to make great uſe of them in compoſing the Roman hiſtory.

Father Jay the Jeſuit, in the preface to his tranſlation of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, gives us an idea and character of this author, to which it is hard to add any thing. I ſhall almoſt do no more than copy him, except it be in abridging him in ſome places.

All the writers, antient and modern, who have ſpoken with any judgment of his hiſtory, diſcover in him facility of genius, profound erudition, exact diſcernment, and judicious criticiſm. He was verſed in all the liberal arts and ſciences, a good Philoſopher, a wiſe Politician, and an excellent Rhetorician. He has drawn himſelf in his work without deſigning it. We ſee him there a friend of truth, remote from all prejudice, temperate, zealous for religion, and a declared enemy of the impiety which denies Providence.

He does not content himſelf with relating the wars abroad; but deſcribes with the ſame care the tranſactions of peace, that conduce to good order at home, and to the ſupport of union and tranquillity amongſt the citizens. He does not tire the reader with tedious narrations. If he deviates into digreſſions, it is always to inſtruct him in ſomething new, and agreeable. He mingles his accounts with moral and political reflections, which are the ſoul of hiſtory, and the principal advantage to be attained from the ſtudy of it. He treats his matter with far more abundance and extent than Livy; and what the latter includes in his three firſt books the Greek author makes the ſubject of eleven.

It is certain that, without what remains of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, we ſhould be ignorant of many things, of which Livy and other Latin hiſtorians have either neglected to inform us, or ſpeak of very ſuperficially. He is the only writer that has given us a perfect knowledge of the Romans, and has left poſterity a circumſtantial account of their ceremonies, worſhip, ſacrifices, manners, cuſtoms, diſcipline, triumphs, *Comitia* or aſſemblies, *Cenſus* or the numbering, aſſeſſing, and diſtribution of the people into tribes and claſſes. We are indebted to him for the laws of Romulus, Numa, and Servius Tullius, and for many things of the like nature. As he wrote his hiſtory, only to inform the

Greeks, his countrymen, in the actions and manners of the Romans, which were unknown to them, he thought himſelf obliged to be more attentive and expreſs upon thoſe heads than the Latin hiſtorians, who were not in the ſame caſe with him.

As to the ſtile which the Greek and Latin hiſtorians have uſed in their works, F. Jay contents himſelf with the judgment Henry Stephens paſſes upon it: "That the Roman hiſtory could not be better "written than Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus has done "it in Greek, and Livy in Latin."

For my part, I am far from ſubſcribing to this opinion, which gives Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus a kind of equality with Livy, and ſeems to make them equal in point of ſtile. I find an infinite difference between them in this reſpect. In the Latin author, the deſcriptions, images, and harangues, are full of beauty, force, vivacity, ſublimity, and majeſty: in the Greek, every thing is weak, prolix, and languid, in compariſon with the other. I could wiſh that the limits of my work would admit me to inſert here one of the fineſt facts in the hiſtory of antient Rome; that is the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii; and to compare the two paſſages together. In Livy, the reader believes himſelf actually preſent whilſt they engage. At the firſt ſight of their naked ſwords, the noiſe and claſh of their arms, and the blood ſtreaming from their wounds, he finds himſelf ſtruck with horror. He ſhares with the Romans and Albans their different emotions of fear, hope, grief, and joy, which on both ſides alternately ſucceed each other. He is continually in ſuſpence, and anxiouſly waits the ſucceſs, which is to decide the fate of the two people. The narration of Dionyſius, which is much longer, gives the reader ſcarce any of theſe emotions. He runs it over in cold blood, without quitting his natural tranquillity and indifference; and is not in a manner tranſported out of himſelf by the violent agitations he feels from Livy, on every change that happens in the fortune of the combatants. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus may have ſeveral advantages of Livy in other reſpects, but, in my opinion, is by no means comparable to him in reſpect to ſtile.

PHILO. APION.

Philo was Jew of Alexandria, of the ſacerdotal race, and deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious families of the whole city. He had ſtudied the Sacred Writings, which are the ſcience of the Jews, with great care. He acquired much reputation alſo by human learning and philoſophy, eſpecially that of Plato. He was deputed by the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caligula, to vindicate the right they pretended to have to the freedom of that city.

Beſides many other works, according to Euſebius, he wrote the ſufferings of the Jews under Caligula in five books. Only the two firſt have been preſerved, of which the one has for its title, *Embaſſy to Caius*. The three others are loſt. It is ſaid that Philo, in the reign of Claudius, having read, in the full ſenate, his writings againſt the impiety of Caligula, they were ſo well approved, that they were ordered to be placed in the public library. Euſeb. l. 2. c. 5. Ibid. c. 18.

Apion, or Appion, was an Egyptian, born at Oaſis, in the moſt remote part of Egypt. But, having obtained the freedom of Alexandria, he called himſelf a native of that place. He was a grammarian by profeſſion, as thoſe who excelled in human learning and the knowledge of antiquity were termed in thoſe times. He was placed at the head of the deputies ſent by the people of Alexandria to Caligula againſt the Jews of that city.

He had been the pupil of Didymus, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria. He was a man of great learning, and perfectly verſed in the Grecian hiſtory, but very full of himſelf, and paſſionately inamoured of his own merit. Suid. Aul. Gell. l. 5. c. 14.

His hiſtory of Egypt is cited by authors, and contained almoſt whatever was moſt memorable in that famous country. He ſpoke very ill of the Jews in it, and ſtill worſe in another work, in which he had induſtriouſly collected all kinds of calumny againſt them.

Aul. Gell. Ibid. The ſtory of a ſlave called Androcles, who was provided with food during three years by a lion he had cured of a wound, and afterwards known by the ſame lion, in the ſight of the whole city of Rome, when he was expoſed to fight with wild beaſts, muſt have happened about the time we ſpeak of, becauſe Apion, from whom Aulus Gellius quotes it, declared that he was an eye-witneſs of it. The ſlave in conſequence was rewarded with his life and liberty, beſides the lion. This fact is deſcribed at large in Aulus Gellius, and is worth reading.

JOSEPHUS.

A. D. 37. Joſeph. in vita ſua. Josephus was of Jeruſalem, and of the ſacerdotal race. He was born in the firſt year of Caligula. He was ſo well inſtructed, that at the age of fourteen the Pontiffs themſelves conſulted him concerning the Law. After having carefully examined the three ſects into which the Jews were then divided, he choſe that of the Phariſees.

A. D. 56. At the age of nineteen he began to have a ſhare in the public affairs.

He ſuſtained with incredible valour the ſiege of A. D. 67. Jotaphat for almoſt ſeven weeks. That city was taken in the thirteenth year of Nero, and coſt the Romans very dear. Veſpaſian was wounded in it. Forty thouſand Jews were killed there; and Joſephus, who had hid himſelf in a cave, was at laſt reduced to ſurrender himſelf to Veſpaſian.

I ſhall not relate all that paſſed from that time to the ſiege and taking of Jeruſalem: he does it himſelf at large, to whom I refer the reader. I ſhall only obſerve that, during the whole war, and even whilſt he continued captive, Veſpaſian and Titus always kept him near their perſons; ſo that nothing happened of which he was not perfectly informed. For he ſaw with his own eyes all that was done on the ſide of the Romans, and ſet it down exactly; and was told by deſerters, who all applied to him, what paſſed in the city, which no doubt he did not fail to note alſo.

It is more than probable that he learnt the Greek tongue, after the taking of Jotaphat, and when he ſaw himſelf obliged to live with the Romans. He owns that he never could pronounce it well, becauſe he did not learn it whilſt young; the Jews ſetting little value upon the knowledge of languages. Photius judges his ſtile pure. Antiq. l. 20. c. 9. Phot. c. 47.

After the war, Titus went to Rome, and took him thither along with him. Veſpaſian cauſed him to be lodged in the houſe he lived in before he was emperor, made him a citizen of Rome, gave him a penſion with lands in Judæa, and expreſſed abundance of affection for him as long as he lived. It was undoubtedly Veſpaſian who gave him the name of Flavius, which was that of his family, when he made him a Roman citizen. A. D. 71.

In the leiſure Joſephus enjoyed at Rome, he employed himſelf in writing the hiſtory of the war with the Jews from the materials he had prepared before. He compoſed it firſt in his own language, which was almoſt the ſame as the Syriac. He afterwards tranſlated it into Greek for the nations of the empire, tracing it back to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees.

Joſephus makes profeſſion of relating with entire veracity all that paſſed on both ſides, reſerving of his affection for his country, only the right of deploring its misfortunes ſometimes, and of deteſting the crimes of the ſeditious, who had occaſioned its final deſtruction.

As ſoon as he had finiſhed his hiſtory in the Greek, he preſented it to Veſpaſian and Titus, who were extremely pleaſed with it. The latter afterwards was not contented with ordering it to be publiſhed, and placing it in a library open to every body; but ſigned the copy depoſited there with his own hand, to ſhew that he deſired it ſhould be from him alone all the world was informed of what paſſed during the ſiege, and at the taking of Jeruſalem.

Beſides the veracity and importance of this hiſtory, wherein we find the entire and literal accompliſhment of the predictions of JESUS CHRIST againſt Jeruſalem, and the terrible vengeance taken by God of that unfortunate nation for the death they had made his Son ſuffer, the work in itſelf is highly eſteemed for its beauty. Photius's judgment of this hiſtory is, that it is agreeable, and full of elevation and majeſty, without ſwelling into exceſs or bombaſt; that it is lively and animated, abounding with that kind of eloquence which either excites or ſoothes the paſſions of the ſoul at pleaſure; that it has a multitude of excellent maxims of morality; that the ſpeeches in it are fine and perſuaſive; and that, when it is neceſſary to ſupport the opinions of the oppoſite parties, it is ſurpriſingly fruitful of ingenious and plauſible reaſonings on both ſides. St. Jerom gives Joſephus ſtill higher praiſes in a ſingle word, which perfectly expreſſes his character, by calling him the *Livy* of the Greeks. Phot. c. 47. Hieron. Ep. 22.

After Joſephus had written the hiſtory of the deſtruction of the Jews, he undertook the general hiſtory of that nation, beginning at the creation of the world, in order to make known to the whole earth the wonderful works of God that occur in it. This he executed in twenty books, to which he gives the title of Antiquities, though he continues them down to the twelfth year of Nero, when the Jews revolted. It appears that he inſcribed this work to Epaphroditus, a curious and learned man, who is believed to be the celebrated freedman of Nero that Domitian put to death in the year 95. Joſephus finiſhed this work in the 56th year of his age, which A. D. 93. was the 13th of Domitian's reign.

He declares in it that he neither adds to, nor di- In præfat. miniſhes any thing of what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, from which he has extracted what he relates, till after the return of the Jews from the Babyloniſh captivity. But he has not kept his word ſo religiouſly as might be deſired. He inſerts ſome facts which are not in the Scripture, retrenches many others, and diſguiſes ſome, in a manner that renders them merely human, and makes them loſe that divine air, that majeſty, which the ſimplicity of the Scripture gives them. Beſides which, after having related the greateſt of God's miracles, he is inexcuſable for often weakening their authority by leaving every body at liberty to believe of them as they pleaſe.

Joſephus was willing to annex the hiſtory of his own life to his Antiquities, whilſt there were many perſons ſtill in being who could have contradicted him, if he had departed from the truth. Accord- A. D. 96. ingly it appears that he wrote it preſently after them; and it is taken as part of the 20th book of his Antiquities. He employs almoſt all of it in relating what he did, when governor of Galilee, before the arrival of Veſpaſian.

As many perſons declared they doubted what he ſaid of the Jews in his Antiquities, and objected, that, if that nation were ſo antient as he made it, other hiſtorians would have ſpoken of it; he undertook a work not only to prove, that many hiſtorians had ſpoken of the Jews, but to refute all the calumnies vented againſt them by different authors, and particularly Apion, of whom we have ſpoken; which occaſions the whole work's being uſually called *Againſt Apion.*

No writings were ever more generally eſteemed than thoſe of Joſephus. The tranſlation of them appeared in our language, at a time when, for want of better books, romances were the general ſtudy of the world. It contributed very much to abate that bad taſte. And indeed we may eaſily conceive, that only perſons of a wrong, light, ſuperficial turn of mind could attach themſelves to works that are no more than the idle imaginations of writers without weight or authority, in preference to hiſtories ſo fine and ſolid as thoſe of Joſephus. Truth alone is the natural nouriſhment of the mind, which muſt be diſtempered to prefer, or even compare, fiction and fable to it.

SECT. VII.

PLUTARCH.

A. D. 48. PLUTARCH was born at Chæronea, a town of Bœotia, five or ſix years before the death of the emperor Claudius, as near as can be conjectured. Bœotia was cenſured by the antients as a country that produced no men of wit or merit. Plutarch, not to inſtance Pindar and Epaminondas, is a good refutation of this unjuſt prejudice, and an evident proof, as he ſays himſelf, that there is no ſoil in which genius and virtue cannot grow up.

He deſcended from one of the beſt and moſt conſiderable families of Chæronea. The name of his father is not known: he ſpeaks of him as a man of great merit and erudition. His uncle was called Lamprias, of whom he ſays, that he was very eloquent, had a fruitful imagination, and excelled himſelf when at table with his friends. For at that time his genius conceived new fire, and his imagination, which was always happy, became more lively and abundant: Plutarch has preſerved this witty ſaying of Lamprias upon himſelf: *That wine had the ſame effect upon his wit, as fire upon incenſe;*

incenſe; *it made the fineſt and moſt exquiſite parts of it evaporate.*

Plutarch tells us, that he ſtudied philoſophy and mathematics at Delphi, under the philoſopher Ammonius, during Nero's voyage into Greece, at which time he might be about ſeventeen or eighteen years old.

The talents of Plutarch ſeem to have diſplayed themſelves very early in his country. For, whilſt he was very young, he was deputed with another citizen upon an important affair to the proconſul. His colleague having ſtopped on the way, he went forwards alone, and executed their joint commiſſion. At his return, when he was preparing to give an account of it to the public, his father taking him aſide, ſpoke to him to this effect: "In "the report you are going to make, ſon, take "care not to ſay, *I went*, *I ſpoke*, *I did thus*: but "always ſay, *We went*, *we ſpoke*, *we did thus*, giv-"ing your colleague a part in all your actions, "that half the ſucceſs may be aſcribed to him, "whom his country honoured with an equal ſhare "in the commiſſion: by this means you may "avoid the envy which ſeldom fails to attend the "glory of having ſucceeded." This is a wiſe leſſon, but ſeldom practiſed by ſuch as have colleagues, either in the command of armies, public adminiſtrations, or in any commiſſions whatſoever; in which it often happens, through a miſtaken ſelf-love, and a deſpicable and odious meanneſs of ſpirit, that men are for arrogating to themſelves the honour of a ſucceſs, to which they have only a right in common with their colleagues. They do not reflect, that glory generally follows thoſe who fly it, and pays them back with great intereſt the praiſes they are willing to divide with others.

Plut. in Moral. p. 816.

He made many voyages into Italy, on what occaſion is not known. We can only conjecture with very good foundation, that the view of carrying on and making his lives of illuſtrious men as compleat as poſſible obliged him to reſide more at Rome, than he would otherwiſe have done. What he ſays in the life of Demoſthenes, ſtrengthens this conjecture. According to him, "a man who undertakes to collect facts, and to write an hiſtory "conſiſting of events, which are neither in his own "hands, nor have happened in his own country, "but which are foreign, various, and diſperſed "here and there in many different writings; it is "abſolutely neceſſary for ſuch a man to reſide in "a great and populous city, where good taſte in "general prevails. Such a reſidence puts it into his "power to have a multiplicity of books at his diſpoſal, and to inform himſelf, by converſation, of "all the particulars which have eſcaped writers, "and which, from being preſerved in the memories of men, have only acquired the greater authority from that kind of tradition. It is the "means not to compoſe a work imperfect and "defective in its principal parts."

In vit. Demoſt. p. 846.

It is impoſſible to tell exactly when he took theſe voyages. We can only ſay for certain, that he did not go to Rome for the firſt time till the end of Veſpaſian's reign, and that he went there no more after that of Domitian. For it appears, that he was ſettled in his country for good, a little before the latter's death; and that he retired thither at the age of forty-four or forty-five.

His motive for fixing his retirement there, from thenceforth, is worth obſerving. *I was born*, ſays he, *in a very ſmall city*; *and*, *to prevent it from being ſmaller*, *I chuſe to remain in it*. And indeed what glory has he not acquired it! Cato of Utica, having with difficulty prevailed upon the philoſopher Athenodorus to go with him from Aſia to Rome, was ſo much pleaſed with, and ſo proud of that conqueſt, that he conſidered it as a greater, more glorious, and more uſeful exploit, than thoſe of

Lucullus and Pompey, who had triumphed over the nations and empires of the Eaſt. If a ſtranger, famous for his wiſdom, can do ſo much honour to a city of which he is not a native, how much muſt a great philoſopher, a great author, exalt the city that produced him, and in which he chuſes to end his days, though he could find greater advantages elſewhere. Mr. Dacier ſays with reaſon, that nothing ought to do Plutarch more honour than this love and tenderneſs which he expreſſed for Chæronea. We every day ſee people quit their country to make their fortunes, and aggrandiſe themſelves; but none who renounce their ambition, to make, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, the fortune of their country.

Plutarch has rendered his very famous. Hardly any body remembers that Chæronea was the place where Philip gained the great victory over the Athenians and Bœotians, which made him maſter of Greece; but multitudes ſay it was there Plutarch was born, it was there he ended his days, and wrote moſt of thoſe fine works that will be of eternal uſe and inſtruction to mankind.

During his ſtay at Rome, his houſe was always full of the lovers of learning, amongſt whom were the greateſt perſonages of the city, who went thither to hear his diſcourſes upon the different ſubjects of philoſophy. In thoſe times, the principal perſons of the ſtate, and the emperors themſelves, thought it for their honour, and made it their pleaſure, to be preſent at the lectures of the great philoſophers and famous rhetoricians. We may judge of the paſſion with which theſe public diſſertations of Plutarch were heard, and of the attention of his auditors, from what he tells us himſelf in his treatiſe upon curioſity. "Formerly at Rome, Pag. 522.
"ſays he, when I was ſpeaking in public, Arulenus Ruſticus, whom Domitian afterwards put to death through envy of his glory, was one of my hearers. Whilſt I was in the midſt of my diſ-

"courſe, an officer came in, and delivered him a "letter from Cæſar, (probably Veſpaſian.) The "aſſembly kept a profound ſilence at firſt, and I "ſtopped to give him time to read his letter: but "he would not; and did not open it till I had "done, and the aſſembly was diſmiſſed." This was perhaps carrying deference for the orator a little too far. A fault not very common, with the excuſe of a very laudable principle!

Plutarch's diſſertations were always in Greek. For, though the Latin tongue was uſed throughout the empire, he did not underſtand it well enough to ſpeak it. Pag. 846. He tells us himſelf, in the life of Demoſthenes, that, during his reſidence at Rome, the public affairs, with which he was charged, and the number of perſons that came every day to entertain themſelves with philoſophy, did not afford him time for learning it; that he did not begin to read the writings of the Romans till very late; and that the terms of that language did not ſerve ſo much to make him underſtand the facts, as the knowledge he had before of the facts, to make him underſtand the terms. But the Greek tongue was well known at Rome, and, properly ſpeaking, was even the language of the ſciences, witneſs the works of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who wrote his admirable reflections in Greek. This want of knowing the Latin tongue made Plutarch commit ſome faults, which are to be obſerved in his writings.

He had the moſt conſiderable offices in his country: for he was Archon, that is, principal magiſtrate. But he had paſſed through inferior employments before, and had acted in them with the ſame care, application, and ſatisfaction of the public, as he did In Moral. p. 811. afterwards in the moſt important. He was convinced, and taught others by his example, that the employments with which our country thinks fit to charge us, however low they may ſeem, reflect no diſhonour upon us, and that it depends on a man of worth and ſenſe to make them noble, by the manner in which he acquits himſelf of them; and this he proves by the example of Epaminondas.

As Plutarch punctually diſcharged all the duties of civil life, and was at the ſame time a good ſon, a good brother, father, huſband, maſter, and citizen; he had the pleaſure in conſequence to find, in his domeſtic affairs, and throughout his family, all the peace and ſatisfaction he could deſire: a felicity not very common, and the effect of a wiſe, moderate, and obliging ſpirit. He ſpeaks much in favour of his brothers, ſiſters, and wife. She was deſcended from the beſt families of Chæronea, and was eſteemed a model of prudence, modeſty, and virtue: her name was Timoxena. He had four ſons ſucceſſively by her, and one daughter. He loſt two of the firſt, and after them the daughter at two years of age. We have his letter of conſolation to his wife upon the death of this child.

Conſol ad uxor. p. 608, &c.

He had a nephew, called Sextus, a philoſopher of ſuch great learning and reputation, that he was ſent for to Rome to teach the emperor Marcus Aurelius the Grecian literature. That emperor mentions him much for his honour in the firſt book of his reflections. *Sextus*, ſays he, *taught me by his example to be mild and obliging*, *to govern my houſe as a good father of a family*, *to have a grave ſimplicity without affectation*, *to endeavour to find out and prevent the deſires and wants of my friends*, *to bear the ignorant and preſuming who ſpeak without thinking of what they ſay*, *and to adapt myſelf to the underſtanding of all men*, &c. Theſe are all excellent qualities, eſpecially that which induced him *to find out and prevent the deſires and wants of his friends*, becauſe it ſhews, that Marcus Aurelius knew the eſſential duty of a prince, which is to be fully convinced within himſelf, that, as a prince, he is born for others, and not others for him. As much may be ſaid of all perſons in place and authority.

It is time to proceed to the works of Plutarch. They are divided into two claſſes, the Lives of illuſtrious men, and his Morals.

In the latter there are a great number of curious facts not to be found elſewhere, with very uſeful leſſons both for the conduct of private life, and the adminiſtration of public affairs; and even admirable principles concerning the divinity, providence, and the immortality of the ſoul; but with a mixture every-where of the abſurd and ridiculous opinions, which we find in almoſt all the Pagans. The ignorance alſo of true phyſics renders the reading of many of theſe tracts tedious and diſagreeble.

The moſt eſteemed part of Plutarch's works is his lives of illuſtrious men, Greeks and Romans, whom he matches as near as poſſible and compares together. We have not all he compoſed; at leaſt ſixteen of them being loſt. Thoſe, of which the loſs is moſt to be regretted, are the lives of Epaminondas and the two Scipio's *Africani*. The compariſons of Themiſtocles and Camillus, of Pyrrhus and Marius, of Phocion and Cato, and of Cæſar and Alexander, are alſo wanting.

It would not be ſurpriſing if a man of fine taſte and judgment were aſked, which of all the books of profane antiquity he would preſerve, if he had the choice of ſaving only one of them from being burnt with all the reſt; we ought not to wonder I ſay, if ſuch a man pitched upon Plutarch's lives.

It is not only the moſt accompliſhed work we have, but the moſt proper for forming men either for public afairs and functions abroad, or for private and domeſtic life. Plutarch does not ſuffer himſelf, like the generality of hiſtorians, to be dazzled by the ſplendor of actions which make a great deal of noiſe, and attract the admiration of the vulgar and the many. He uſually judges of things by what conſtitutes their real value. The wiſe reflections, which he ſcatters every-where in his writings, accuſtom

cuſtom his readers to think in the ſame manner, and teach them wherein true greatneſs and ſolid glory conſiſt. He inflexibly denies thoſe exalted attributes to every thing that does not bear the ſtamp of juſtice, truth, goodneſs, humanity, love of the public, and has only the appearance of them. He does not ſtop at the exterior and glittering actions, in which princes, conquerors, and the other great ones of the earth, intent upon acquiring themſelves names, play each their part upon the ſtage of the world, where they exhibit, to uſe the expreſſion, a tranſitory and aſſumed character, and ſucceed in the counterfeit for a time. He unmaſks and diveſts them of all the foreign glare and diſguiſe that ſurround them; he ſhews them as they are in themſelves; and, to put it out of their power to eſcape his piercing ſight, he follows them with his reader into the moſt ſecret receſſes of their houſes, examines them, if I may ſay ſo, in their diſhabille, liſtens to their moſt familiar converſations, conſiders them at table where conſtraint ſeldom comes, and even at play, where diſguiſe is ſtill more unuſual. Theſe are the qualities in which Plutarch is wonderful, and which, in my opinion, are too much neglected by modern hiſtorians, who ſhun particulars of a common nature as low and trivial, which however ſhew the characters of men better than more great and glaring circumſtances. Theſe details are ſo far from diminiſhing the merit of Plutarch's lives, that they are directly what renders them at the ſame time more agreeable and more uſeful.

The reader will permit me to give an inſtance of this kind of actions in this place. I have already cited it in my treatiſe upon the ſtudy of polite learning, in that part of it where I examine in what true greatneſs conſiſts.

The marſhal Turenne never ſet out for the army, without having firſt ordered all his tradeſmen to be directed to deliver in their bills to his ſteward. His reaſon for it was, becauſe he did not know whether he ſhould return from the field. This circumſtance may appear little and low to ſome people, and not worthy of a place in the hiſtory of ſo great a man as that marſhal. Plutarch would not have thought ſo; and I am convinced, that the author of the new life of that prince, who is a man of ſenſe and judgment, would not have omitted it, if it had come to his knowledge. For indeed it argues a fund of goodneſs, equity, humanity, and even religion, which are not always to be found in great lords, who are too apt to be inſenſible to the complaints of the artiſan and the poor, the payment of whom however deferred only a few days, according to the Holy Scripture, cries for vengeance to heaven, and does not fail to obtain it.

As to the ſtile of Plutarch, his diction is neither pure nor elegant: but to make us amends it has a wonderful force and energy in painting the moſt lively images in few words, in venting the ſharpeſt and moſt piercing things, and in expreſſing noble and ſublime thoughts. He frequently enough makes uſe of compariſons, which throw abundance of grace and light into his narrations and reflections; and has harangues of inimitable beauty, almoſt always in the ſtrong and vehement ſtile.

The beauties of this author muſt be very ſolid, and bear much of the ſtamp of good taſte in them, to make themſelves ſo perceptible as they ſtill are in the old French of Amiot. But I miſtake. That old French has an air of freſhneſs, a ſpirit in it, that ſeems to make it bloom and grow young again every day. Hence it is that very good judges chuſe rather to uſe the tranſlation of Amiot, than to tranſlate the paſſages they quote from Plutarch themſelves, *not believing* (ſays Mr. Racine *) *themſelves capable of equalling the beauties of it.* I never read it, without regretting the loſs of abundance of happy terms and expreſſions in that old language, which have almoſt as much energy as thoſe of Plutarch. We ſuffer our language to impoveriſh itſelf every day, inſtead of being ſtudious, after the example of our neighbours the Engliſh, of diſcoveries to inrich it. It is ſaid that our ladies, out of too much delicacy, are partly the cauſe of that dearth, to which our language is in danger of being reduced. This would be very wrong, and they ought rather to favour with their ſuffrages, which would bring over abundance of followers, the prudent boldneſs of writers of a certain rank and merit; who, on their ſide, ſhould aſſume more boldneſs, and venture more new words than they do, but always with judicious reſerve and diſcretion.

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* *In the preface to his Mithridates.*

We are however obliged to Mr. Dacier for having ſubſtituted a new tranſlation of Plutarch's lives to that of Amiot, and for having thereby inabled much greater numbers to read them. It might have been more elegant and more laboured. But to carry a work of ſo vaſt an extent to its ultimate perfection would require the whole life of an author.

ARRIAN.

Arrian was of Nicomedia. His learning and eloquence, which acquired him the title of the new Xenophon, raiſed him to the higheſt dignities, and even the conſulſhip, at Rome. There is reaſon to believe him the ſame Arrian who governed Cappadocia in the latter part of Adrian's reign, and repulſed the Alans. He lived at Rome in the time of Adrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius.

He was the diſciple of Epictetus, the moſt celebrated philoſopher of that time. He wrote a work upon *the converſations of Epictetus* in eight books, of which we have only the four firſt; and compoſed many other treatiſes.

His ſeven books upon the expeditions of Alexander are come down to us; an hiſtory the more valuable, as we have it from a writer who was both a warrior, and a good politician. Photius accordingly gives him the praiſe of having wrote the life of that conqueror better than any body. We have from that critic an abridgment of the lives of Alexander's ſucceſſors, which Arrian alſo wrote in ten books. He adds, that the ſame author compoſed a book upon India; and it is ſtill extant, but has been made the eighth book of the hiſtory of Alexander.

He alſo wrote a deſcription of the coaſts of the Euxine ſea. Another is aſcribed to him upon thoſe of the Red ſea, that is to ſay, the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, and thoſe of Aſia as far as India. But this ſeems to be a more antient author's, cotemporary with Pliny the naturaliſt.

ÆLIAN *(Claudius Ælianus.)*

Ælian was of Præneſte, but paſſed the greateſt part of his life at Rome; for which reaſon he calls himſelf a Roman, He wrote a little work in fourteen books, intitled, *Hiſtoriæ variæ*, that is to ſay, *Miſcellaneous Hiſtories*; and another in ſeventeen books upon the Hiſtory of Animals. We have a treatiſe in Greek and Latin upon the order obſerved by the Greeks in drawing up armies, inſcribed to Adrian, and compoſed by one of the name of Ælian. All theſe works may be the ſame author's, who is believed to be the perſon whoſe eloquence Martial praiſes in one of his epigrams. Lib. 12. Epig. 24.

APPIAN.

Appian was of Alexandria, and lived in the time of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus. He pleaded ſome time at Rome, and was afterwards comptroller of the Imperial domains.

He wrote the Roman hiſtory, not in the order of time like Livy, but making each nation ſubjected by the Romans a work apart, and relating events as they happened to each ſeparately. Accordingly his deſign was to write an exact hiſtory of the Romans, and of all the provinces of their empire, down to Auguſtus; and ſometimes he went alſo as low as to Trajan. Photius ſpeaks of twenty-four books of it, though, when he wrote, he had not ſeen all thoſe which Appian mentions in his preface.

We have at preſent the hiſtory of the wars of Africa, Syria, Parthia, Mithridates, Iberia or Spain, and Hannibal; ſome fragments of thoſe of Illyria; five books of the civil wars inſtead of eight mentioned by Photius, and ſome fragments of ſeveral others, extracted by Mr. Valois out of the collections of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, with extracts of the like nature from Polybius and ſeveral other hiſtorians.

Photius obſerves that this author has an extreme paſſion for the truth of hiſtory; that none teach the art of war better; and that his ſtile is ſimple and void of ſuperfluity, but lively and vigorous. In his harangues he gives his reader excellent models of conduct, either for reanimating troops when diſcouraged, or for appeaſing them when mutinous and violent. He borrows many things from Polybius, and often copies Plutarch.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

Diogenes Laertius lived in the time of Antoninus, or ſoon after. Others place him in the reign of Severus and his ſucceſſors. He wrote the lives of the philoſophers in ten books, and carefully relates their opinions and apophthegms. This work is of great uſe for knowing the different ſects of the ancient philoſophers.

The ſurname of *Laertius*, uſually given him, probably implies his country, which was perhaps the fortreſs or city of Laertia in Cilicia.

We find by his writings, that, after having well ſtudied hiſtory and the maxims of the philoſophers, he embraced the ſect of the Epicureans, the fartheſt from truth, and the moſt contrary to virtue, of them all.

DION CASSIUS. *(Cocceius* or *Cocceianus.)*

Dion was of Nicæa in Bithynia. He lived in the reigns of the emperors Commodus, Pertinax, Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, and Alexander, who all had a very high regard for him, and confided the moſt important offices and governments of the empire to his care. Alexander nominated him conſul for the ſecond time. After this conſulſhip, he obtained permiſſion to retire, and paſs the reſt of his life in his own country, upon account of his infirmities. A. D. 229.

Suid. Phot. He wrote the whole Roman hiſtory from the arrival of Æneas in Italy to the reign of the emperor Alexander in eight Decads, or fourſcore books. He tells us himſelf, that he employed ten years in collecting materials of all that paſſed from the foundation of Rome to the death of Severus, and twelve years more in compoſing his hiſtory down to that of Commodus. He afterwards added to it that of the other emperors, with as much exactneſs as he could, to the death of Heliogabalus, and a ſimple abridgment of the eight firſt years of Alexander, becauſe, from having been little in Italy during that time, it had not been in his power to know ſo well how things had paſſed. Dio. l. 72. p. 829. Id. l. 80. p. 917.

Photius obſerves that his ſtile is lofty, and adapted to the greatneſs of his ſubject: that his terms are magnificent, and that his phraſes and manner of writing have the air of antiquity: that he has taken Thucydides for his model, whom he imitates excellently in the turn of his narration and harangues, and has followed him in all things, except in being more clear. This praiſe is much in Dion's favour, but I do not know whether it does not a little exceed the bounds of truth.

Voſſius ſays, and Lipſius had thought the ſame before him, that this hiſtorian is unpardonable for not having known how to eſteem virtue according to its value, and for having cenſured the greateſt men of antiquity, as Cicero, Brutus, Caſſius, and Seneca, either out of malignity of mind, or corruption of manners and judgment. That he did ſo is certain; and, whatever his motives were, the thing in itſelf can never be for his honour.

He compoſed, as we have ſaid, fourſcore books of the Roman hiſtory; but only a very ſmall part of that great work is come down to us. For the firſt thirty-four books are loſt, with the greateſt part of the thirty-fifth, except ſome fragments. The twenty that follow, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are the part that remain entire. Voſſius believes that the ſix following, which come down to the death of Claudius, are alſo perfect. But Bucherius maintains, that they are much otherwiſe; which ſeems very probable. We have only ſome fragments of the laſt twenty.

This defect is ſomething ſupplied by an abridgment of Dion from the thirty-fifth book, the time of Pompey, to the end, compoſed by Johannes Xiphilinus, patriarch of Conſtantinople in the eleventh century. This epitome is found to be ſufficiently juſt, Xiphilinus having added nothing to Dion, except in ſome very few places, where it was neceſſary, and having generally made uſe of his own words. The hiſtory of Zonarus may alſo be called an abridgment of Dion: for he follows him faithfully, and ſometimes informs us of things omitted by Xiphilinus.

HERODIAN.

Nothing is known of the life of Herodian, except that he was of Alexandria, the ſon of a Rhetorician named Apollonius *Dyſcolos*, or the *Rigid*, and that he followed his father's profeſſion. He is much known by his hiſtory of the emperors in eight books from the death of M. Aurelius to thoſe of Maximus and Balbinus. He aſſures us himſelf, that his hiſtory of thoſe ſixty years is that of his own times, and what he had ſeen himſelf. He had borne different offices both in the court, and civil government of Rome, which had given him a ſhare in ſeveral of the events which he relates.

As to hiſtory, Photius judges much in his favour. For he tells us that it is perſpicuous, lofty, and agreeable; that his diction is juſt and ſober, obſerving the medium between the affected elegance of ſuch as diſdain ſimple and natural beauties, and the low and languid expreſſion of thoſe who either do not know, or deſpiſe, the delicacy and refinements of art; that it does not aim at a falſe agreeable by multiplying words or things, and omits nothing neceſſary; in a word, that he gives place to few authors for all the beauties of hiſtory. Politian's tranſlation of Herodian's work happily ſuſtains and almoſt equals the elegance of the original. The French verſion of it, which the Abbé Mongaut has given the public, riſes much upon the Latin.

EUNAPIUS.

A.D. 363. Eunapius was of Sardis in Lydia, and came to Athens at the age of ſixteen. He ſtudied eloquence under Proæreſus the Chriſtian ſophiſt, and magic under Chryſanthus, who had married his couſin. Eunapius's lives of the ſophiſts of the fourth century is extant. There is abundance of circumſtances in it relating to the hiſtory of that time. He begins with Plotinus, who appeared in the middle of the third century; and goes on to Porphyrius, Jamblichus, and his diſciples, upon whom he expatiates particularly. He alſo wrote an hiſtory of the Emperors in fourteen books, which began in the year 268, in the reign of Claudius the ſucceſſor of Gallienus, and ended at the death of Eudóxia the wife of Arcadius. Some fragments of this hiſtory have been preſerved in the extracts of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus upon embaſſies, and in Suidas. We find in them, that he was exceedingly exaſperated againſt the Chriſtian emperors, and eſpecially againſt Conſtantine. The ſame ſpleen is obſerved to prevail in his lives of the ſophiſts, eſpecially againſt the monks. It is no wonder that a magician was an enemy to the Chriſtian religion.

ZOSIMUS.

Zosimus, Count and Advocate Fiſcal, lived in the time of Theodoſius the younger. He wrote the hiſtory of the Roman emperors in ſix books. The firſt, which contains the ſucceſſion of thoſe princes from Auguſtus down to Probus, (for what relates to Diocleſian is loſt) is extremely abridged. The other five are more diffuſe, eſpecially to the time of Theodoſius the Great and his children. He goes no farther than the ſecond ſiege of Rome by Alaric. The end of the ſixth book is wanting. Photius praiſes his ſtile. He ſays that Zoſimus has almoſt only copied and abridged Eunapius's hiſtory; which perhaps occaſioned its being loſt. He is no leſs exaſperated than the other againſt the Chriſtian emperors. A.D. 415.

PHOTIUS.

Photius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, lived in the ninth century. He was a perſon of immenſe erudition, and of ſtill vaſt ambition, which hurried him into horrible exceſſes, and occaſioned infinite troubles in the church. But that is foreign to our preſent ſubject.

I have placed him amongſt the Greek hiſtorians, and ſhall conclude my account of them with him, not becauſe he compoſed an hiſtory in form, but becauſe, in one of his works, he has given us extracts from a great number of hiſtorians, of whom many, without him, would be almoſt entirely unknown.

Μυριόϐιϐλον known. This work is intitled *Bibliotheca*, or *Library*; and indeed it merits that name. Photius examines almoſt three hundred authors in it, and tells us their names, countries, times when they lived, works they compoſed, judgment to be paſſed on them in reſpect to ſtile and character; and ſometimes even gives us extracts of conſiderable length, or abridgments from them, which are to be found only in this work. From hence we may judge of how great value he is to us.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Latin Hiſtorians.

I Shall not ſay much upon the feeble beginnings, and, to uſe the expreſſion, the infancy of the Roman hiſtory. Every body knows that it conſiſted at firſt only of ſimple notes or memorandums drawn up by the * *Pontifex maximus*, who regularly ſet down every year whatever paſſed of moſt conſiderable in the ſtate, either in war or peace; and this cuſtom, eſtabliſhed very early at Rome, ſubſiſted to the time of P. Mucius the Pontifex Maximus, that is to ſay, to the year of Rome 629, or 631. The name of *the Great Annals* were given to theſe memoirs.

We may ſuppoſe, that in thoſe early times theſe records were written in a very ſimple and even groſs ſtile. The † pontiffs contented themſelves with ſetting down the principal events, the times and places wherein they happened, the names and condition of the perſons who had the greateſt ſhare in them, in a plain manner without regard to ornament.

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* Erat hiſtoria nihil aliud niſi Annalium confectio: cujus rei, memoriæque publicæ retinendæ cauſa, ab initio rerum Romanarum uſque ad P. Mucium Pontificem maximum, res omnes ſingulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus—qui etiam nunc *Annales maximi* nominantur. *Cic.* l. 2. *de Orat.* n. 52.

† Sine ullis ornamentis monumenta ſolùm temporum, hominum, locorum, geſtarumque rerum reliquerunt—Non exornatores rerum, ſed tantummodo narratores fuerunt. *Ibid.* n. 54.

However rude and imperfect theſe annals were, they were of great importance, becauſe there were no other monuments to preſerve the memory of all that paſſed at Rome; and it was a * great loſs, when moſt of them were deſtroyed at the burning of the city by the Gauls.

Some years after hiſtory began to quit this groſs antique garb, and to appear in public with more decency. The poets were the firſt who conceived the deſign of improving and adorning it. Nævius compoſed a poem upon the firſt Punic war, and Ennius wrote the annals of Rome in heroic verſe.

Hiſtory at length aſſumed a regular form, and appeared in proſe. Q. Fabius Pictor is the moſt antient of the Latin hiſtorians: he lived in the time of the ſecond Punic war. L. Cincius Alimentus was his cotemporary. Livy cites them both with praiſe. It is believed that they wrote their hiſtories firſt in Greek, and then in Latin. Cincius certainly wrote the hiſtory of Gorgias the celebrated rhetorician in the latter language.

Liv. l. 21.

Cato the Cenſor *(M. Portius Cato)* has a juſter title than them to the name of Latin hiſtorian: for it is certain that he wrote his hiſtory in that tongue. It conſiſted of ſeven books, and was intitled *Origines*, becauſe in the ſecond and third books he related the origin of all the cities of Italy. We find that Cicero ſet a great value on this hiſtory. *Jam vero Origines ejus (Catonis) quem florem, aut quod lumen eloquentiæ non habent?* But upon Brutus's judging this praiſe exceſſive, he put a reſtriction to it by adding, That nothing was wanting to the writings of Cato, and the ſtrokes of his pencil, but a certain lively glow of colours, not diſcovered in his time: *Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis niſi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem & colorem defuiſſe.*

Cornel. Nepos. in fragm.

In Brut. n. 66.

Ibid. n.

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* Si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliiſque publicis privatiſque erant monumentis, incenſa urbe pleraque interierunt. *Liv.* l. 6. n. 1.

L. Piso Frugi, ſurnamed Calpurnius, is alſo cited amongſt thoſe antient hiſtorians. He was tribune of the people in the conſulſhip of Cenſorinus and Manlius, in the 605th year of Rome. He was alſo ſeveral times conſul. He was a civilian, orator, and hiſtorian; and had compoſed harangues, which were no longer in being in Cicero's time, with annals, of a ſtile mean enough in that orator's opinion. Pliny ſpeaks more advantageouſly of them.

The * true character of all theſe writers was great ſimplicity. They did not yet know what delicacy, beauty, and ornament of ſpeech were. They were ſatisfied with making their readers underſtand them, and confined themſelves to a cloſe and ſuccinct ſtile.

I proceed now to the hiſtorians better known, and whoſe writings are come down to us.

SALLUST.

It is not without reaſon that Salluſt has been called the firſt of the Roman hiſtorians:

Criſpus Romana primus in hiſtoria. Martial.

and that he has been believed equal to Thucydides, ſo generally eſteemed amongſt the Greek hiſtorians: Quintil. *Nec opponere Thucydidi Salluſtium verear.* But without determining their ranks here, which would not become me to do, it ſuffices to conſider Salluſt as one of the moſt excellent hiſtorians of antiquity. The reader may find very ſolid reflections upon his character in the preface to the *French* tranſlation of this hiſtorian.

The prevailing quality of his writings, and that which characteriſes Salluſt in a more peculiar and ſingular manner, is the brevity of his ſtile, which Quintilian calls *Immortalem Salluſtii velocitatem.* Scaliger is the only one who denies him this praiſe: but, as I have already obſerved, he is almoſt always odd and ſingular in his judgments.

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* Qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acuſilaus fuit; tales noſter Cato, & Pictor, & Piſo: qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornatur oratio; (modò enim huc iſta ſunt importata) &. dum intelligatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant eſſe brevitatem. *Lib. 2. de Orat.* n. 53.

This brevity of Salluſt proceeds from the lively vigour of his genius. He thinks ſtrongly and nobly, and writes as he thinks. His ſtile may be compared to thoſe rivers, which, whilſt they flow within narrower banks than others, are deeper, and carry a greater burden.

The language in which he wrote was extremely adapted to cloſe diction, and thereby favoured him in following the bent of his genius. It has, as well as the Greek, the advantage of being equally ſuſceptible of the two oppoſite extremes. In Cicero it gives us a numerous, flowing, periodic ſtyle: in Salluſt, a ſhort, broken, precipitate one. The latter often ſuppreſſes words, and leaves the care of ſupplying them to his reader. He throws many terms and phraſes together, without any conjunctions, which gives a kind of impetuoſity to his diſcourſe, He makes no ſcruple to uſe old words in his hiſtory, ſo they are but ſhorter, or have more energy than the terms in faſhion; a liberty for which he was * reproached in his life-time, as the following antient couplet ſhews;

Et verba antiqui multùm furate Catonis
Criſpe, Jugurthinæ conditor hiſtoriæ.

But he eſpecially makes great uſe of metaphors, and does not chuſe the moſt modeſt and leaſt glowing, as the maſters of the art declare neceſſary; but the moſt conciſe, the ſtrongeſt, the moſt lively, and the moſt bold.

By all theſe methods, and others, which I omit, Salluſt has ſucceeded in framing himſelf an entirely particular ſtile, and one that ſuits him only. He quits the common road, but without going out of

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* Salluſtii novandi ſtudium multa cum invidia fuit. *Aul. Gell.* c. 15.

his

his way, and by paths that only ſhorten it. He ſeems not to think like other men, and yet good ſenſe is the ſource of all his thoughts. His ideas are natural and reaſonable: but, all natural and reaſonable as they are, they have the advantage of being new, *from being peculiarly curious and exquiſite.*

We know not which to admire moſt in this excellent author, his deſcriptions, characters, or harangues: for he ſucceeds alike in them all; and we cannot diſcern upon what foundation Seneca the elder, or rather Caſſius Severus, whoſe opinion he repeats, could ſay, that the harangues of Salluſt are ſuffered only upon account of his hiſtory: *in honorem Hiſtoriarum leguntur.* Nothing can be added to their force, ſpirit, and eloquence. It is highly probable that the paſſage in queſtion is not applied to the harangues inſerted by Salluſt in his hiſtory, but to thoſe he ſpoke in the ſenate, or to ſome pleadings of his. When we read, in the hiſtory of the Jugurthine war, the account of a fort ſurpriſed by a Ligurian ſoldier of Marius's army, we ſeem to ſee him climb up and down along the ſteep rocks, and even to climb up and down along with him, the deſcription is ſo lively and animated.

We find five or ſix characters in Salluſt, which are ſo many maſter-pieces; and I do not know whether there be any thing in the whole extent of literature of a beauty that approaches nearer the idea of perfection. I ſhall repeat two of them in this place, from which the reader may judge of the reſt.

Character of CATILINE.

L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi & animi & corporis, ſed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adoleſcentia bella inteſtina, cædes, rapinæ, diſcordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem ſuam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, ſupra quàm cuiquam credibile eſt. Animus audax, ſubdolus, varius, cujuſlibet rei ſimulator ac diſſimulator: alieni appetens, ſui pro-

profuſus; ardens in cupiditatibus. Satis eloquentiæ, ſapientiæ parum. Vaſtus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta ſemper cupiebat.

"L. Catilina was of noble birth, and of great "ſtrength both of body and mind, but of a diſ"poſition highly corrupt and depraved. From his "earlieſt years, inteſtine wars, murders, rapine, "and civil diſcord were his delight, and the uſual "exerciſes of his youth. He bore hunger, cold, "watching and fatigues, with a patience not cre"dible of any body. He was bold, deceitful, in"conſtant, and capable of aſſuming and diſguiſing "any thing: greedy of another's, profuſe of his "own, and violent in all his appetites. He had "eloquence enough, but little wiſdom. His vaſt "ſpirit, his boundleſs ambition, perpetually affect"ed and coveted things of an exceſſive, incredible, "too lofty nature.

Character of SEMPRONIA.

In his erat Sempronia, quæ multa ſæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiſerat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis ſatis fortunata fuit: Literis Græcis & Latinis docta: pſallere, ſaltare elegantiùs, quàm neceſſe eſt probæ: multa alia, quæ inſtrumenta luxuriæ ſunt, ſed ei cariora ſemper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniæ an famæ minùs parceret, haud facilè diſcerneres—Ingenium ejus haud abſurdum: poſſe verſus facere, jocum movere, ſermone uti vel modeſto, vel molli, vel procaci. Prorſus multæ facetiæ, multuſque lepos inerat.

"Of this number was Sempronia, who had in "many things frequently inſtanced a maſculine "boldneſs of genius for vice. This woman was "ſufficiently happy in her perſon and birth, as well "as in her huſband and children: She was well "read in the Greek and Roman learning: could "ſing and dance with more elegance than was ne"ceſſary for a matron of virtue; and had beſides

" many of thoſe qualities, that miniſter to luxury " and render vice amiable, on which ſhe ever ſet an " higher value than upon the decency and chaſtity " of her ſex. It was not eaſy to ſay whether ſhe " was leſs frugal of her money or of her reputa- " tion. Her wit was by no means diſagreeable: ſhe " could make verſes, jeſt agreeably, and converſe " either with modeſty and tenderneſs, or tartneſs " and freedom; but in whatever ſhe ſaid there was " always abundance of ſpirit and humour."

There are abundance of admirable paſſages in Salluſt, eſpecially when he compares the antient manners of the commonwealth with thoſe of his own times. When we hear him ſpeak ſtrongly, as is uſual enough with him, againſt luxury, debauch, and the other vices of his age, one would take him for a man of the ſtricteſt life and greateſt probity in the world. But we muſt not conclude ſo from ſo plauſible an appearance. His conduct was ſo immoral, that it occaſioned his being expelled the ſenate by the cenſors.

Beſides the wars of Catiline and Jugurtha, Salluſt wrote a general hiſtory of the events that happened during a certain number of years, of which amongſt other fragments there are ſeveral perfectly fine diſcourſes.

LIVY.

The Latin preface to the new edition of Livy, of which Mr. Crevier profeſſor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais has lately publiſhed two volumes, would ſupply me with the little I intend to ſay here of this excellent hiſtorian. If I was leſs Mr. Crevier's friend, who inſiſts abſolutely upon my declaring him my pupil, which I think highly for my honour, I ſhould expatiate upon the uſefulneſs and merit of his work. The preface of it alone is ſufficient to inform the reader what value he ought to ſet upon it.

The more earneſtly we deſire to know an author famous for his writings, the more we regret, that little or nothing more than his name is come down to us. Livy is one of thoſe authors who have rendered their names immortal, but whoſe lives and actions are little known. He was born at Padua, in the conſulſhip of Piſo and Gabinius, fifty-eight years before the Chriſtian Æra. He had a ſon, to whom he wrote a letter upon education and the ſtudies proper for youth, which Quintilian mentions in more than one place, and of which we ought very much to regret the loſs. It is in this letter, or rather ſhort treatiſe, that he ſays, in reſpect to the authors proper to be recommended to the reading of youth, that they ought firſt to ſtudy Demoſthenes and Cicero, and next ſuch as reſemble thoſe excellent orators moſt: *Legendos Demoſthenem atque Ciceronem,* Quintil.
tum ita ut quiſque eſſet Demoſtheni & Ciceroni ſimillimus. l. 10. c. 1.
He ſpeaks, in the ſame letter, of a * rhetorician who diſapproved the compoſitions of his pupils, when they were perſpicuous and intelligible, and made them correct them, as he called it, by throwing obſcurity into them. When they had retouched them in this manner, he would ſay, *Ay, this now is* Senec.
much better, I underſtand nothing of it myſelf. Could Epiſt. 100.
one believe ſo ridiculous an extravagance poſſible? Livy alſo compoſed ſome philoſophical works and dialogues, in which philoſophy had a part.

But his great work was the Roman hiſtory in an hundred and forty, or an hundred and forty-two books, from the foundation of Rome to the death and funeral of Druſus, which happened in the 743d year of Rome, and in conſequence included that number of years. We find, from ſome dates in his hiſtory, that he employed the whole time be-

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[*] Apud Titum Livium invenio fuiſſe præceptorem aliquem, qui diſcipulos obſcurare quæ dicerent juberet, Græco verbo utens, σκότισον. Unde illa ſcilicet egregia laudatio: *Tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi.* Quintil. l. 8. c. 2.

tween the battle of Actium and the death of Druſus in compoſing it, that is to ſay, about one and twenty years. But he publiſhed it from time to time in parts; and this was what acquired him ſo great a reputation at Rome, and the honourable viſit of a ſtranger from the remoteſt part of Spain, who took ſo long a journey only for the ſake of ſeeing him. The capital of the world had enough to engage and ſatisfy the eyes of a curious perſon in the magnificence of its buildings, and the multitude of its paintings, ſtatues, and antient monuments. But this ſtranger found nothing ſo rare and precious in Rome as Livy. After having enjoyed his converſation at pleaſure, and entertained himſelf agreeably with reading his hiſtory, he returned with joy and content to his own country. And this is knowing the value of men.

Plin. Epiſt. 3. l. 2.

Nothing more is known of what regards Livy perſonally, He paſſed a great part of his life at Rome, eſteemed and honoured by the Great as he deſerved. He died in his country at the age of threeſcore and ſixteen, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius. The people of Padua have honoured his memory in all times, and pretend to have actually preſerved amongſt them ſome remains of his body, and to have made a preſent in the year 1451 of one of his arms to Alphonſo V. king of Arragon, at leaſt the inſcription ſays ſo.

It were much more to be wiſhed, that they had preſerved his hiſtory. Only thirty-five books of it are come down to us, which is not the fourth part of the work, and even ſome of them imperfect. What a loſs is this! The Learned have flattered themſelves from time to time with ſome faint hopes of recovering the reſt, which ſeem ſolely founded in their great deſire of them.

Johannes Freinſhemius has endeavoured to conſole the public for this loſs by his *Supplements*, and has ſucceeded in it as far as was poſſible. FREINSHEMIUS,

SHEMIUS, born at Ulm in Suabia in 1608, ſtudied at Straſburgh with great ſucceſs. In 1642 he was invited into Sweden, where he filled ſeveral conſiderable employments of literature. Upon his return into his country, he was made honorary profeſſor in the univerſity eſtabliſhed by the elector Palatine at Heidelburgh, where he died in 1660. The commonwealth of letters have infinite obligations to him for having rendered Livy the ſame ſervice as he had before done Quintius Curtius, by filling up all we have loſt of that great writer of the Roman hiſtory with an hundred and five books of Supplements. Mr. Doujat alſo filled up the deficient places in the laſt books which remain of Livy, but with very different ſucceſs. Mr. Crevier has reviſed and retouched Freinſhemius's Supplements in ſeveral places, and worked thoſe of Doujat entirely anew. By theſe means we have a continued and complete body of the Roman hiſtory; I mean that of the commonwealth.

It is doubted whether Livy himſelf divided his hiſtory from ten to ten books, that is to ſay, into decads. However this may be, that diviſion ſeems commodious enough.

In reſpect to the epitome's in the front of each book, the learned do not believe them either done by Livy or Florus. Whoever the author was, they have their uſe, as they ſerve to ſhew of what the books we have loſt treated.

Let us now examine the work in itſelf. There reigns in it, conſidered in all its parts, an eloquence perfect, and perfect in every kind. In the narrations, deſcriptions, ſpeeches, the ſtile, though varied to infinity, ſuſtains itſelf equally every-where: ſimple without meanneſs, elegant and florid without affectation, great and ſublime without tumour, flowing or conciſe, and full of ſweetneſs or force, according to the exigency of the matter; but always clear and intelligible, which is not the meaneſt praiſe of hiſtory.

Pollio [*], who was of a refined taſte that it was difficult to pleaſe, pretended he diſcovered *Patavinity* in the ſtile of Livy: that is to ſay, ſome words or turns of phraſe which ſavoured of the country of Padua. A man born there might retain, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, ſome ſmatch of the ſoil, and might not have all the refinement and delicacy of the Roman *urbanity*, which was not ſo eaſily communicated to ſtrangers, as the freedom of the city. But this is what we can now neither perceive nor underſtand.

This reproach of Patavinity has not hindered [†] Quintilian from equalling Livy with Herodotus, which is giving him great praiſe. He makes us obſerve the ſweet and flowing ſtile of his narrations, and the ſupreme eloquence of his harangues, wherein the characters of the perſons he introduces ſpeaking, are ſuſtained with all poſſible exactneſs, and the paſſions, eſpecially the ſoft and tender, are treated with wonderful art. All however that Livy could do was to attain, by qualities entirely different, to the immortal reputation which Salluſt acquired by his inimitable brevity: for theſe two hiſtorians have with reaſon been ſaid rather to be equal, than like each other; *pares magis, quam ſimiles.*

It is not only by his eloquence, and the beauty and ſpirit of his narration, that Livy acquired the reputation he has enjoyed for ſo many ages. He recommended himſelf no leſs by his fidelity, a virtue ſo neceſſary and deſirable in an hiſtorian. Neither the fear of diſpleaſing the powerful of his times, nor the deſire of making his court to them, prevented him from telling the truth. He ſpoke in his hiſtory with praiſe of the greateſt enemies of the houſe of the Cæſars, as of Pompey, Brutus, Caſſius and others; and Auguſtus took no offence at it: ſo that we know not which moſt to admire, the moderation of the prince, or the generous freedom of the hiſtorian. In the thirty-five books that remain of Livy, he mentions Auguſtus only twice, and that too with a reſerve and ſobriety of praiſe, which reproaches thoſe flattering, ſelf-intereſted writers, who, without diſcretion or meaſure, are ſo laviſh of an incenſe to office and dignity, due only to merit and virtue.

[†] In Tito Livio miræ facundiæ viro putat ineſſe Pollio Aſinius quandam Patavinitatem. Quare, ſi fieri poteſt, & verba omnia, & vox, hujus alumnum urbis oleant: ut oratio Romana planè videatur, non civitate donata. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 1.

[†] Nec indignetur ſibi Herodotus æquari Titum Livium, cum in narrando miræ jucunditatis clariſſimique candoris, tum in concionibus ſupra quam dici poteſt eloquentem: ita dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum perſonis accommodata. Sed affectus quidem, præcipuè eos qui ſunt dulciores, ut parciſſime dicam, nemo hiſtoricorum commendavit magis. Ideoque immortalem illam Salluſtii velocitatem diverſis virtutibus conſecutus eſt. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 24.

Lib. 1. n. 19, & l. 4. n. 20.

If any defect may be imputed to Livy, it is his over fondneſs for his country! a rock he has not always taken care enough to avoid. Whilſt he perpetually admires the greatneſs of the Romans, he not only exaggerates their exploits, ſucceſſes, and virtues; but diſguiſes and diminiſhes their vices, and the faults they commit.

Seneca the Elder reproaches Livy with having expreſſed a mean jealouſy of Salluſt, in accuſing him of ſtealing a ſentence from Thucydides, and of having maimed it by tranſlating it ill. What probability is there that Livy, who copied whole books from Polybius, ſhould make it a crime in Salluſt to copy a ſingle ſentence, that is to ſay a line, or part of one? Beſides which it is perfectly well rendered. Δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ εὐπραξίαι συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰ ἑκάστων ἁμαρτήματα. *Res ſecundæ mirè ſunt vitiis obtentui.* And how ſhall we reconcile this accuſation with what the ſame Seneca ſays in another place: That Livy judged with the utmoſt equity and candor of the works of the learned? *Ut eſt natura candidiſſimus omnium*

Lib. 4. Controv. 4.

Id ſuaſor. 7. 6.

nium magnorum ingeniorum æſtimator T. Livius. I believe we may rely upon this laſt teſtimony.

There is another complaint againſt him of a much more ſerious and important kind. He is taxed with ingratitude, and want of fidelity, either in not having named Polybius, or for having done it with too much indifference, in places where he copied him word for word. I ſhould be ſorry if this reproach could be made with good foundation: for it affects the qualities of the heart, of which the honeſt man ought to be very jealous. But is it not probable, that he did ſpeak of Polybius with praiſe in the other parts of his hiſtory not come down to us, that he did him all the juſtice due to his merit, and declared beforehand, that he made it his glory, and thought it his duty, to copy him word for word in many places, and that he ſhould often do ſo without citing him, to avoid repeating the ſame thing too often? My own intereſt is a little concerned here: for in this point I have ſome occaſion for the reader's indulgence.

This kind of blots, obſerved in Livy, have not however impaired his glory. Poſterity on account of them has not admired his work the leſs, not only as a maſter-piece of eloquence, but as an hiſtory, which every-where inculcates the love of juſtice and virtue; wherein we find, mingled with his narration, the ſoundeſt maxims for the conduct of life, with a ſingular attachment and reſpect, that ſhines out every-where, for the religion eſtabliſhed at Rome when he wrote; (unfortunately for him it was falſe, but he knew no other;) in fine, a generous boldneſs and pious zeal in condemning with force the impious ſentiments of the unbelievers of his age. *Nondum hæc,* ſays he in a paſſage of *Lib.* 3. *n.* 20. *quæ nunc tenet ſeculum, negligentia deum venerat: nec interpretando ſibi quiſque jusjurandum & leges aptas faciebat, ſed ſuos potiùs mores ad ea accommodabat.* "The contempt of the gods, ſo common in

" our age, was not yet known. Oaths and the " laws were the rules to which people conformed " their conduct, and the art of adapting them to " their own conveniency by illuſive interpretations " was then unknown."

From what I have now ſaid, it ſeems reaſonable to juſtify Livy in reſpect to the pretended ſuperſtition, with which he affects to relate ſuch a number of miracles and prodigies equally ridiculous and incredible. The faith of hiſtory required, that he ſhould not ſuppreſs things ſaid to have happened before him, which he found in his own collections and the annals, and which made a part of the religion commonly received in thoſe times, though perhaps he did not believe them himſelf. And he* explains himſelf on this head often and clearly enough, attributing moſt of the pretended prodigies, which made ſo much noiſe, to an ignorant and credulous ſuperſtition.

CÆSAR.

C. Julius Cæsar diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs by his wit than his valour. He applied firſt to the bar, where he made a great figure. † Only the deſire of attaining the firſt rank in the commonwealth, in reſpect to power, prevented him from diſputing alſo the firſt rank at the bar in reſpect to eloquence. His peculiar character was force and vehemence. The ſame fire which he made appear in battle, is diſcernible in his writings. To this vigour of ſtile he added great purity and elegance of language, which he had made his peculiar ſtudy, and upon which he piqued himſelf more than any other Roman.

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* Romæ, aut circa urbem, multa ea hieme prodigia facta, aut (quod evenire ſolet motis ſemel in religionem animis) multa nunciata & temerè credita ſunt. *Lib.* 21. *n.* 62.

Cumis (adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inſerit deos) mures in æde Jovis aurum roſiſſe nunciatum eſt. *Lib.* 27. *n.* 23.

† C. vero Cæſar, ſi foro tantum vacaſſet, non alius ex noſtris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis eſt, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixiſſe, quo bellavit, appareat. Exornat tamen hæc omnia mira ſermonis, cujus proprie ſtudioſus fuit, elegantia. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 10. He compoſed many works, amongſt others, two books upon the analogy of the Latin tongue. Who could believe, that ſo great a warrior as Cæſar ſhould employ himſelf ſeriouſly in compoſing tracts upon Grammar? How different are our manners and inclinations from thoſe of that age! It is in one of theſe books upon analogy, that he recommended avoiding new and unuſual expreſſions, as rocks: *tanquam ſcopulum, ſic fugias inſolens verbum.*

There were ſeveral pleadings of his alſo extant. * Beſides the elegance of his Latinity, which is neceſſary, ſays Atticus, or rather Cicero, not only to every orator, but every Roman citizen of condition, he adds all the ornaments of art, but principally a wonderful talent in painting objects, and placing things in all their light.

Only two of Cæſar's works remain; his ſeven books of the war with the Gauls, and his three of the civil war. They are, properly ſpeaking, only memoirs, and he made them public only as ſuch: *Commentarii.* He † wrote them haſtily, and even in the midſt of his expeditions: ſolely with the view of leaving materials to writers, for compoſing an hiſtory. The perſpicuity and elegance of ſtile, natural to him, are certainly evident in them: but he has neglected all the ſhining ornaments a genius ſo happy as his could have diffuſed throughout a work of that nature. ‡ All ſimple and negligent as it may appear, ſays Hirtius, it is however generally agreed, that no other work, however laboured and poliſhed, can come up to the beauty of Cæſar's Commentaries. His deſign was only to ſupply thoſe with materials who might undertake to compoſe an hiſtory from them in form. " In which, " ſays Cicero, he may have pleaſed writers of " mean parts, who will not fear disfiguring his " natural graces with trivial ornaments: but every " man of ſenſe will be far from touching or alter- " ing them in any manner whatſoever. For no- " thing in hiſtory gives ſo much pleaſure as ſo clear " and elegant a brevity of ſtile." *Dum voluit alios habere parata unde ſumerent, qui vellent ſcribere hiſtoriam, ineptis fortaſſe gratum fecit, qui volent illa calamiſtris inurere; ſanos quidem homines à ſcribendo deterruit. Nihil enim eſt in Hiſtoria pura & illuſtri brevitate dulcius.* Hirtius has the ſame thought, in reſpect to writers who ſhould conceive thoughts of compoſing an hiſtory from Cæſar's Commentaries. " He certainly ſupplies them with the means, ſays " he; but if they are wiſe, thoſe very means ought " for ever to prevent their having ſuch a thought." *Adeo probantur omnium judicio, ut prærepta non præbita facultas ſcriptoribus videatur.* Mr. Ablancourt's tranſlation of Cæſar's Commentaries is very much eſteemed. It might be improved, if ſome able hand would retouch it in ſome places.

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* Cum, inquit Atticus, ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quæ etiamſi orator non ſis, & ſis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen neceſſaria eſt) adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi: tum videtur tanquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 252.

† Cæteri quàm bene atque emendatè, nos etiam quàm facilè atque celeriter eos confecerit, ſcimus. *Hirt. Præf.* l. 8. *de Bell. Gall.*

‡ Conſtat inter omnes nihil tam operosè ab aliis eſſe perfectum, quod non horum elegantia Commentariorum ſuperetur. *Hirt.* ibid.

Cæſar had undoubtedly great wit and the moſt happy natural parts: * but he had alſo taken pains to cultivate them by aſſiduous ſtudy, and to inrich them with all that was moſt curious and exquiſite in literature; by which means he arrived at excelling almoſt all the moſt eloquent orators of Rome in purity of language and delicacy of ſtile. I purpoſely make this remark after Cicero, to excite our young nobility to follow ſo good an example, in uniting with the praiſe of valour that of fine ſenſe and polite knowledge. I have ſeen young Engliſhmen of diſtinction, who have done me the honour of a viſit, that were well read in the learning of the Greeks and Romans, and no leſs verſed in hiſtory. In theſe points jealouſy, or, to ſpeak more juſtly, emulation, is laudable between nation and nation. The French youth are inferior to none in vivacity and ſolidity of genius. In my opinion, they ought to pique themſelves upon not giving place in any thing to ſtrangers, and in not abandoning to them the glory of erudition and fine taſte.

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* Audio (inquit Atticus) Cæſarem omnium ferè oratorum Latinè loqui elegantiſſimè——Et ut eſſet perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis literis, & iis quidem reconditis & exquiſitis, ſummoque ſtudio & diligentia eſt conſecutus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 252, 253.

This is what Cæſar ſeems to exhort them. His Commentaries ought always to be in their hands. It is the ſoldier's book. The greateſt generals in all times have made him their maſter. The reading of theſe memoirs have been always their employment and delight. They find in them the rules of the art military, whether in ſieges or battles, reduced to practice. They may learn alſo there, the manner of compoſing memoirs, which is no vulgar talent. It were to be wiſhed, that all generals would regularly ſet down all the operations of the campaigns in which they command. What an aſſiſtance would that be to hiſtorians, and what a light to poſterity! Is there any thing more valuable than the memoirs of the Marſhal Turenne, printed in the ſecond volume of his life; or than thoſe of James II. king of England, then duke of York?

Hirtius finiſhed what Cæſar could not. The eighth book of the war with the Gauls is his, as well as thoſe of the war of Alexandria, and that of Africa. It is doubted whether he is the author of the book which treats of the war in Spain.

Mr. Ablancourt's tranſlation of Cæſar, as well as of Tacitus, is very good in many things, but wants retouching in many places.

PATERCULUS.

Caius, or *Publius*, or *Marcus* VELLEIUS PATERCULUS flouriſhed in the reign of Tiberius. There is great reaſon to believe that he was born in the A.D. 15. 735th year of Rome. His anceſtors were illuſtrious by their merit and offices. He was a tribune in the Vell. Pat. l.20.c.101. army, when Caius Cæſar, the grandſon of Auguſtus, had an interview with the king of Parthia in an iſland of the Euphrates. He had a command in Ib. c. 104. the cavalry under Tiberius; and attended that prince nine years ſucceſſively in all his expeditions; who rewarded him honourably. He was raiſed to the Ib. c. 124. prætorſhip the ſame year Auguſtus died.

The time when he began to write his hiſtory is not known; nor what it contained. The beginning of it is loſt. What is come down to us of it is a fragment of the antient Greek hiſtory with that of the Romans, from the defeat of Perſeus to the ſixteenth year of Tiberius. He addreſſes it to M. Vincius; who was conſul at that time, and promiſed one of greater extent. His travels into different regions might have furniſhed him with very agreeable and curious facts.

His ſtile is highly worthy of the age in which he lived, which was ſtill that of fine taſte and pure language. He excels principally in the characters of men, ſome of which I ſhall cite at the end of this article.

His narration is judged to be faithful and ſincere down to the time of the Cæſars, and in ſuch facts as do not concern them. For; from thenceforth, the deſire of flattering Tiberius makes him either omit, diſguiſe, or alter the truth in various inſtances. He accuſes Germanicus of cowardice, or rather of Lib. 2. c. 125. a too ſoft complacency for the ſeditious; whilſt he gives many others exceſſive praiſes: *Quo quidem tempore—pleraque * ignavè Germanicus.*

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* *A learned commentator* (Boëclerus) *believes this paſſage corrupt, and that* gnavè *ought to be read. But to correct a text in ſuch a manner, contrary to the faith of manuſcripts, is only to gueſs.*

He is juſtly reproached with having given Tiberius exceſſive praiſes. His unfair evaſions of offending that emperor appear, as I have already ſaid, in the care he takes to run ſlightly over the glorious actions of Germanicus, to ſuppreſs moſt of them, and to attack the fame of Agrippina, and other perſons hated by Tiberius.

But he is ſtill more unpardonable, for loading Sejanus with praiſes who occaſioned ſo many miſfortunes to the empire, and for having repreſented him as one of the moſt virtuous perſonages the Roman commonwealth had ever produced: *Sejanus, vir antiquiſſimi moris, & priſcam gravitatem humanitate temperans.* Lib. 2. c. 116.

This is nothing to the panegyric he beſtows upon him in the ſequel: "He previouſly laid down by "many examples the neceſſity princes were under "of aſſiſtance in their government, and of aſſociating coadjutors to divide with them the weight "of public affairs." *Raro eminentes viri non magnis adjutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam ſuam uſi ſunt——Etenim magna negotia magnis adjutoribus egent.* Lib. 2. c. 127, 128. Who doubts it? But the queſtion is to make a good choice. He proceeds then to Sejanus, and after having exalted the ſplendor of his birth, he repreſents him "as a man, who knows "how to temper the ſeverity of power with an "air of ſweetneſs, and the chearful ſerenity of the "antients; who tranſacts the moſt weighty affairs "with all the eaſe of leiſure; who aſſumes nothing "to himſelf, and thereby attains every thing; who "always is leſs in his own opinion than in that of "the public; whoſe aſpect and behaviour appear "calm and tranquil, whilſt the cares of the ſtate "afford him no reſt. In which judgment of his "merits, the court and the city, the prince and "the people, contend with each other." *Virum ſeveritatis lætiſſimæ, hilaritatis priſcæ; actu otioſis ſimillimum; nihil ſibi vendicantem, eoque aſſequentem omnia;*

omnia; *ſemper infra aliorum æſtimationes ſe metientem*; *vultu vitaque tranquillum, animo exſomnem. In hujus virtutùm æſtimationem jampridem judicia civitatis cum judiciis principis certant.* How great was his love of the public good, if we may believe his hiſtorian! What application to buſineſs! What zeal for the intereſts of the prince and ſtate! How amiable his character under the oppreſſive weight of the public buſineſs! What moderation, and in a word, what an aſſemblage of the greateſt virtues, atteſted by the unanimous voices of the world!

In order to know what we are to think of them, let us conſider a ſecond picture of the ſame Sejanus drawn by another maſter, who did not receive hire from him, and was never ſuſpected of flattery. This was Tacitus, of whom we ſhall ſoon ſpeak: *Sejanus Tiberium variis artibus devinxit adeo, ut obſcurum adversùs alios, ſibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret: non tam ſolertia, (quippe iiſdem artibus victus eſt) quàm deûm ira in rem Romanam; cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans; animus audax, ſui obtegens; in alios criminator: juxtà adulatio & ſuperbia; palam compoſitus pudor, intus ſumma apiſcendi libido, ejuſque cauſa modò largitio & luxus, ſæpe induſtria ac vigilantia, haud minùs noxiæ quoties parando regno finguntur.* Tacit. An. l. 4. c. 1. "Sejanus by various arts gained the aſcendant of "Tiberius ſo far, that though that prince was "gloomy and impenetrable to every body elſe, he "diſguiſed nothing, and kept no ſecret from him; "which is not ſo much to be aſcribed to the craft "and addreſs of that miniſter, (for he fell by the "ſame arts of cunning and deceit himſelf) as to "the anger of the gods againſt the Roman empire, to which his power and fall were equally "pernicious. He had ſtrength of body to ſupport great fatigues: the character of his mind "was preſumption, diſguiſe, and malignity in calumniating others. He was at the ſame time a

" flatterer to the loweſt degree of meanneſs, and
" haughty to exceſs: his outſide wore the appear-
" ance of great modeſty and reſerve; within the
" luſt of gain and ambition wholly engroſſed him.
" His means for the attainment of his ends were
" luxury and corruption, and ſometimes vigilance
" and application, no leſs dangerous, when aſſumed
" for uſurping empire."

To ſay every thing in a word, Sejanus, ſo much extolled by Paterculus, was the ſcourge of the divine wrath againſt the Roman empire: *deûm irâ in rem Romanam.* Perſons in high ſtations, who have the diſpenſation of graces and advantages, may judge from hence of the value they ought to ſet upon the praiſes laviſhed upon them ſo immoderately, and often with ſo little ſhame.

I have ſaid before that Paterculus excelled particularly in the characters of men. Some of them are ſhort, which are not the leaſt beautiful; and many of greater extent. I ſhall repeat here ſome examples of both.

MARIUS.

Lib. 2. c. 9. *Hirtus atque horridus, vitaque ſanctus; quantum bello optimus, tantum pace peſſimus; immodicus gloriæ, inſatiabilis, impotens, ſemperque inquietus.* " Marius
" had ſomething ſavage and horrid in his nature:
" his manners were auſtere, but irreproveable: ex-
" cellent in war, deteſtable in peace; greedy, or
" rather inſatiable of glory; violent, and incapa-
" ble of reſt."

SYLLA.

Lib. 2. c. 25. *Adeo Sylla diſſimilis fuit bellator ac victor, ut, dum vincit, juſtiſſimo lenior; poſt victoriam, audito fuerit crudelior.* " Nothing was more different than Sylla
" at war, and Sylla victorious. In the field, he
" was milder than the juſteſt; after the victory,
" more cruel than the moſt barbarous."

MITHRI-

MITHRIDATES.

Lib. 2. c. 18. *Mithridates, Ponticus rex: vir neque ſilendus, neque dicendus, ſine cura. Bello acerrimus, virtute eximius; aliquando fortuna, ſemper animo maximus: conſiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Annibal.* Mithridates, “ king of Pontus, of whom it is difficult either to “ ſpeak or to be ſilent. Moſt expert in war, of “ extraordinary valour; ſometimes very great by “ fortune, always by magnanimity: in counſels a “ general, in execution a ſoldier, in hatred to the “ Romans an Hannibal.”

MÆCENAS.

Lib. 2. c. 88. *C. Mæcenas, equeſtri ſed ſplendido genere natus: vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, ſanè exſomnis, providens, atque agendi ſciens; ſimul verò aliquid ex negotio remitti poſſet, otio ac mollitiis penè ultra feminam fluens.* “ Mæcenas deſcended from an Equeſtrian, but illuſtrious and antient family. Where vigilance “ was neceſſary, he was able, provident, and active, “ without allowing himſelf reſt. But as ſoon as affairs “ would admit of relaxation, he gave himſelf up “ to the charms of eaſe and voluptuouſneſs with “ almoſt more than female fondneſs.”

SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS.

Lib. 1. c. 12. *P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paterniſque L. Pauli virtutibus ſimillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac ſtudiorum eminentiſſimus ſeculi ſui: qui nihil in vita niſi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, ac ſenſit—Tam elegans liberalium ſtudiorum omniſque doctrinæ auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque ſecum habuerit. Neque enim quiſquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio diſpunxit: ſemperque aut belli aut pacis ſerviit artibus; ſemper inter arma ac ſtudia verſatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum diſciplinis exercuit.* Ib. c. 13. “ P. Scipio Æmilianus, who

" perfectly reſembled Scipio Africanus his grandfather,
" and Paulus Æmilius his father, in their
" virtues, was the moſt eminent perſon of his age
" for all the talents, natural and acquired, that
" could adorn peace or war; a man, who never
" during his life ever did, ſaid, or thought any
" thing but what deſerved praiſe. He was ſo
" great an admirer of polite learning and ſcience
" in general, in which himſelf excelled, that he always
" had with him, as well at home as in the
" field, Polybius and Panætius, two of the moſt
" illuſtrious learned men of his time. No man
" knew how to apply the intervals of leiſure from
" buſineſs with more elegance and taſte than this
" Scipio: and, as the arts of war or peace were his
" continual employments, between arms and books,
" he inceſſantly exerciſed either his body in the
" dangers and fatigues of the one, or his mind in
" the refined ſtudies and ſpeculations of the other."

CATO OF UTICA.

Lib. 2. c. 35. *M. Cato, genitus proavo, M. Catone, principe illo familiæ Porciæ: homo virtuti ſimillimus, & per omnia ingenio diis quàm hominibus propior: qui nunquam rectè fecit, ut facere videretur, ſed quia aliter facere non poterat; cuique id ſolum viſum eſt rationem habere, quod haberet juſtitiam: omnibus humanis vitiis immunis, ſemper fortunam in ſua poteſtate habuit.* " Cato of Utica's
" great grandfather was Cato the cenſor, that illuſtrious
" head of the Porcian family. He was in
" all things more like a God than a man, and
" ſeemed *virtue itſelf in human ſhape.* He never
" did any thing virtuous for the ſake of ſeeming
" virtuous, but becauſe he could not do otherwiſe;
" and never thought any thing could have reaſon,
" that wanted juſtice. Exempt from all human
" vices, fortune, to which he never gave way, was
" in his power, and in a manner his ſlave."

POMPEY.

POMPEY.

Innocentia eximius, ſanctitate præcipuus, eloquentia medius: potentiæ, quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidiſſimus. Dux bello peritiſſimus; civis in toga (niſi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem) modeſtiſſimus. Amicitiarum tenax, in offenſis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fideliſſimus, in accipienda ſatisfactione facillimus. Potentia ſua nunquam, aut rarò, ad impotentiam uſus: penè omnium vitiorum expers, niſi numeraretur inter maxima, in civitate libera dominaque gentium indignari, cùm omnes cives jure haberet pares, quemquam æqualem dignitate conſpicere. Lib. 2. c. 29.
“ Pompey's manners were blameleſe and noble, his
“ probity ſupreme, his eloquence indifferent. He
“ was extremely fond of power, when conferred
“ upon him freely and for his honour, but not ſo
“ much as to ſeize it by violence: a moſt able ge-
“ neral in war, a moſt moderate citizen in peace,
“ except when he apprehended having an equal.
“ Tenacious in friendſhip, eaſy in forgiving in-
“ juries, moſt faithful in reconciliation, and far
“ from rigid in exacting ſatisfaction. He never,
“ or very rarely, employed his power in committing
“ violence and oppreſſion; and might be ſaid to
“ be exempt from all vices, if it were not the
“ greateſt in a free ſtate, the miſtreſs of the world,
“ where all the citizens were equal by right and
“ conſtitution, to be incapable of ſuffering any
“ equal in power and authority.”

CÆSAR.

Cæſar forma omnium civium excellentiſſimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentiæ effuſiſſimus, animo ſuper humanam & naturam & fidem evectus: magnitudine conſiliorum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, Magno illi Alexandro, ſed ſobrio neque iracundo, ſimillimus: qui denique ſemper & ſomno & cibo in vitam, non in voluptatem, uteretur. Lib. 2. c. 41. “ Cæſar, beſides excelling

“ all the Romans in the beauty of his perſon, ſurpaſſed them ſtill more in the force and ſuperiority of his genius, in munificence and liberality to profuſion, and in valour and ability above either human nature or belief. The greatneſs of his projects, the rapidity of his conqueſts, and his intrepid valour in confronting dangers, make him entirely reſemble Alexander the Great, but Alexander ſober and free from rage. Food and reſt he uſed only for refreſhment, not for pleaſure.”

TACITUS.

TACITUS (*C. Cornelius Tacitus*) was older than the younger Pliny, who was born in the year of Chriſt 61.

Veſpaſian firſt raiſed him to dignities, in which Titus continued him, and to which Domitian added greater. He was prætor in the reign of the latter, and in that of Nerva was ſubſtituted conſul to Virginius Rufus, whoſe panegyric he compoſed.

Plin. Ep. 1. l. 2.

A. D. 77, or 78.
A. D. 93.
Vopiſc. in vit. Tacit.

He married the daughter of Cn. Julius Agricola, famous for the conqueſt of Britain. He had been four years out of Rome with his wife, when Agricola died. Lipſius believes that Tacitus left children, becauſe the emperor Tacitus ſaid he was deſcended from him or from the ſame family.

Plin. Ep. 3, 11. l. 2.

Learning rendered Tacitus more illuſtrious than his dignities. He pleaded, even after he had been conſul, with great reputation for eloquence, of which the peculiar character was weight and majeſty. He had been highly eſteemed, from his firſt appearance.

Id. Ep. 2. l. 7.
Id. Ep. 7. l. 8.

Pliny the younger was one of his firſt admirers, and they contracted a great friendſhip with each other. They mutually corrected each other's works; which is of great ſervice to an author. This I experience every day with the utmoſt gratitude, and am conſcious, that I owe the ſucceſs of my labours to the like aſſiſtance of no leſs learned than affectionate friends.

It appears that Tacitus publiſhed ſome orations or pleadings. He alſo compoſed ſome pieces in verſe; and there is a letter of his amongſt thoſe of Pliny.

Plin. Ep. 10. l. 9.

But he is only known, in theſe days, by his hiſtorical writings, to which St. Sidonius tells us he did not apply himſelf, till after he had endeavoured in vain to perſuade Pliny to undertake his ſubject.

Sidon. Ep. 22. l. 4.

He compoſed his *deſcription of Germany* during Trajan's ſecond conſulſhip: at leaſt there is room to conjecture ſo.

De Germ. c. 37.

The life of Agricola, his father-in-law, appears alſo from the preface to be one of his firſt works, and to be written in the beginning of Trajan's reign. He employs part of the preface in deſcribing the tempeſtuous times of a cruel reign at enmity with all virtue: *Sæva & infeſta virtutibus tempora.* This was that of Domitian. He concludes it with obſerving, that he dedicates that book to the glory of Agricola his father-in-law; and hopes that the reſpect and gratitude, which induced him to undertake it, will either recommend it to favour, or be its excuſe: *Hic interim liber honori Agricolæ ſoceri mei deſtinatus, profeſſione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excuſatus.*

He then proceeds to his ſubject, and explains the principal circumſtances and actions of his father-in-law's life. This piece is one of the fineſt and moſt valuable fragments of antiquity; in which ſoldiers, courtiers, and magiſtrates may find excellent inſtructions.

The great work of Tacitus is that wherein he wrote the hiſtory of the emperors, beginning at the death of Galba, and concluding at that of Domitian: which is what we call his *Hiſtories.* But, of the twenty-eight years contained in this hiſtory, from the year ſixty-nine to ninety-ſix, we have only the year ſixty-nine and part of ſeventy. To compoſe this work, he aſked memoirs of particular perſons, as he did of Pliny the younger, concerning his uncle's death. Such as were deſirous of being known

Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1.

Plin. Ep. 16. l. 6.

known to poſterity ſent him accounts without application, which we find from the ſame Pliny, who was in hopes of being immortaliſed by that means. The letters which he wrote him, upon that head, ſeem to be of the year 102 or 103, from whence we may judge at what time Tacitus applied himſelf to that work.

Plin. Ep. 16, 20. l. 6.

Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1.

He intended, after having finiſhed it, if God prolonged his life, to write alſo the hiſtory of Nerva and Trajan: Happy times, ſays he, in which a man might think as he pleaſed, and ſpeak as he thought. *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet.* But it does not appear that he executed this deſign.

Inſtead of that he reſumed the Roman hiſtory from the death of Auguſtus to the reign of Galba; and this is the part that he calls his *Annals*, becauſe he endeavoured to introduce all the events under their reſpective years, which however he does not always obſerve in relating ſome wars.

Annal. l. 11 c. 11.

In a paſſage of theſe annals, he refers to the hiſtory of Domitian, that he had written before: which ſhews that the *Hiſtories* were prior to the *Annals*, though the latter are placed firſt. And it is obſerved that the ſtile of his hiſtories is more florid and diffuſe than that of his annals, which is more grave and conciſe, without doubt, as he was naturally inclined to brevity, from his having grown ſtronger in that habit, the more he had written. Of the four emperors, whoſe hiſtory Tacitus wrote in his annals, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, only that of the firſt and laſt are come down to us almoſt entire: we however want three years of Tiberius, and the latter part of Nero's reign. Caligula is entirely loſt, and we have only the end of Claudius.

Hieron. Zachar.

He deſigned alſo to have written the hiſtory of Auguſtus: but St. Jerom ſeems to have known nothing more of his, except what he treated of from the death of that prince to that of Domitian, which, ſays he, made thirty books.

If what Quintilian ſays of a celebrated hiſtorian of his times, whom he does not name, is to be underſtood of Tacitus, as ſome authors have believed, it ſeems that he had been obliged to retrench ſome places in which he was too free and bold. The paſſage of Quintilian * ſays, "There is an hiſtorian "who ſtill lives for the glory of our age, and who "deſerves to live eternally in the remembrance of "ſucceeding times. He will be called by his name "hereafter, at preſent it ſuffices that we know him. "This great man has admirers, but no imitators; "his freedom and love of truth having done him "hurt, notwithſtanding his having ſuppreſſed part "of his writings. In what remains however, we "perfectly diſcern the elevation of his genius, and "his bold and noble manner of thinking."

It is a misfortune that we are no better informed in the circumſtances of the life of ſo illuſtrious a writer: Nor do we know any thing in reſpect to his death. The emperor Tacitus, who held it an honour to deſcend from our hiſtorian's family, decreed, that his works ſhould be placed in all libraries, and that ten copies ſhould be made of them every year at the expence of the public, in order to their being more correct. This was a wiſe and laudable precaution, which, one would think, might have preſerved entire a work ſo worthy in all its parts of being tranſmitted to poſterity.

Vopiſc. in vit. Tacit. Imper.

Tacitus boaſts of having written without paſſion or prejudice, *ſine ira & ſtudio*; and of having ſtrictly adhered to truth in every thing, which is the principal duty of an hiſtorian. To effect this, Tacitus had occaſion not only for a great love of truth, but a very fine diſcernment and much precaution. “For he obſerves himſelf, in ſpeaking of “the hiſtories of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and “Nero, that whether they were written during their “lives or after their deaths, falſhood was equally “notorious in them, fear having dictated ſome “of them, and hatred others: *Florentibus ipſis, ob metum falſæ; poſtquam occiderunt, recentibus odiis compoſitæ ſunt.* “There are, ſays he, two failings “highly apt to injure truth, either abandoned adu-“lation, or revengeful hatred againſt thoſe that “reign. It is not to be expected, that hiſtorians, “who are either flatterers or declared enemies, “ſhould have any great regard for poſterity. *Veritas pluribus modis infracta——libidine aſſentandi, aut rurſus odio adverſus dominantes. Ita neutris cura poſteritatis, inter infenſos vel obnoxios.* “We are preſently “diſguſted with the ſordid flattery of a writer, but “hear ſlander and reproach with pleaſure: for adu-“lation bears the odious brand of ſlavery, and ma-“lignity the ſpecious ſhew of freedom.” *Sed ambitionem ſcriptoris facilè adverſeris, obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt.* Tacitus promiſes to avoid theſe two extremes, and profeſſes a fidelity of proof againſt all prejudices: *Incorruptam fidem profeſſis, nec amore quiſquam & ſine odio dicendus eſt.*

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* Supereſt adhuc, & exornat ætatis noſtræ gloriam, vir ſeculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur. Habet amatores nec imitatores, ut libertas, quanquam circumciſis quæ dixiſſet, ei nocuerit; ſed elatum abunde ſpiritum & audaces ſententias deprehendas etiam in iis quæ manent. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

Annal. l. 1. c. 1.

Hiſtor. l. 1. c. 1.

The part which we have of Tiberius's reign is judged Tacitus's maſterpiece in reſpect to politics. The reſt of his hiſtory, ſay the ſame critics, might be compoſed by another as well as by him; Rome not wanting declaimers to paint the vices of Caligula, the ſtupidity of Claudius, and the cruelties of Nero. But to write the life of a prince like Tiberius required an hiſtorian like Tacitus, who could unravel all the intrigues of the cabinet, aſſign their real cauſes to events, and diſtinguiſh pretext and appearance from actual motives and truth.

It is uſeful and important, I confeſs, to unmaſk falſe virtues, to penetrate the miſts and obſcurity, in which ambition and the other paſſions conceal themſelves, and to ſet vice and guilt in full light, in order to inſpire the horror of them. But is it not to be feared that an hiſtorian, who almoſt everywhere affects to dive into the human heart, and to ſound it in its moſt ſecret receſſes, gives us his own ideas and conjectures for reality, and frequently lends men intentions they never had, and deſigns of which they never thought? Salluſt throws political reflections into his hiſtory, but he does it with more art and reſerve, and thereby renders himſelf leſs ſuſpected. Tacitus, in his hiſtory of the emperors, is more attentive to expoſing the bad, than ſhewing the good: which perhaps is becauſe all thoſe whoſe lives we have from him are bad princes.

As to the ſtile of Tacitus, we muſt own it very obſcure: it is ſometimes even hard and ſtiff, and has not all the purity of the good authors of the Latin tongue. But he excels in expreſſing much ſenſe in few words, which gives a very peculiar force, energy, and ſpirit, to his diſcourſe. He excels alſo in painting objects, ſometimes with brevity, and ſometimes with greater extent, but always in lively colours, that in a manner ſet what he deſcribes before our eyes, and (which is his peculiar character) ſuggeſt much more than they expreſs. Some examples will prove this better than what I ſay; which I ſhall extract ſolely from the life of Agricola.

Paſſages of Tacitus full of ſpirit.

1. Tacitus ſpeaks of the Britons, who voluntarily ſupplied recruits, paid tributes, and ſubmitted to all other impoſitions, when the governors ſent from Rome acted with lenity and moderation, "but "ſuffered cruelty and violent treatment with great "reluctance; ſufficiently ſubjected to obey, but not

" to be uſed like ſlaves." *Has (injurias) ægrè tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut ſerviant.* Cap. 13.

2. " Agricola, having applied himſelf from the " firſt year of his government to put a ſtop to theſe " diſorders, reinſtated the deſire of peace, which " before, either through the negligence or colluſion " of his predeceſſors, was no leſs terrible than war." *Hæc primo ſtatim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quæ, vel incuriâ vel tolerantiâ priorum, haud minus quam bellum timebatur.* Cap. 20.

3. Domitian's reception of Agricola, at his return from his glorious campaigns, is one of the fineſt paſſages in Tacitus, but the ſpirit of it cannot be rendered in a tranſlation: *Exceptus brevi oſculo, & nullo ſermone, turbæ ſervientium immixtus eſt.* " After a ſhort cool embrace, in which the em- " peror did not ſay one word, he was left to mix " with the crowd of courtiers attending." *Cap.* 40.

4. The ſame may be ſaid of what immediately follows. Agricola, who perfectly knew the genius of the court, and how offenſive the reputation of a ſucceſsful general is to idle courtiers without merit, to ſoften the luſtre of it, and to illude envy, thought proper to lead a quiet life remote from buſineſs: *Cæterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otioſos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit.* " He retained a moderate " equipage, treated every body with affability, " and went abroad in the company of only one or " two friends; ſo that the generality of people, " who uſually judge of the merit of men by the " ſplendor and magnificence of their train, when " they ſaw and conſidered him, aſked themſelves " whether that was the ſo much celebrated Agri- " cola, and could ſcarce believe it was him under " ſuch an appearance." *Cultu modicus, ſermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æſtimare mos eſt, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* How

are we to render theſe two laſt phraſes, *quærerent famam*, *pauci interpretarentur*, which have a profound ſenſe, that it is almoſt neceſſary to gueſs? The hiſtorian has provided for this, in telling us people generally judge of great men by the ſplendor that ſurrounds them; *pleriſque magnos viros per ambitionem æſtimare mos eſt.* He diſtinguiſhes two kinds of ſpectators. The one, which are the many, in ſeeing the modeſty of Agricola's outſide, inquired upon what his reputation could be founded, not perceiving the uſual marks of it: *ut pleriquè quærerent famam.* The others, and thoſe the exceeding few, who did not judge by vulgar opinion, comprehended, that great merit might be concealed under a ſimple and modeſt appearance, and that the one was not incompatible with the other: *pauci interpretarentur.*

5. Tacitus ſometimes mingles his facts with very judicious reflections. This he does in a wonderful manner, where he extols the wiſdom and moderation with which Agricola managed and ſoothed the violent temper of Domitian, though himſelf had frequently experienced bad treatment from it: *Proprium humani ingenii eſt, odiſſe quem læſeris, Domitiani verò natura præceps in iram, & quo obſcurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolæ leniebatur: quia non contumacia, neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant quibus moris illicita mirari, poſſe etiam ſub malis principibus magnos viros eſſe, obſequiumque ac modeſtiam, ſi induſtria ac vigor adſint, eò laudis excedere, quò plerique per abrupta, ſed in nullum reip. uſum, ambitioſa morte inclaruerunt.* Cap. 42. "Though it is of the nature of man to hate whom he has injured, and "Domitian was exceſſively prone to anger, and "the more irreconcileable, the more he concealed "it, Agricola knew how to pacify him by his prudence and moderation. For he never aggravated "his rage by contumacious behaviour, and was

"not ſo eager after fame, as to urge on his fat
"for the empty reputation of a generous freedom
"of ſpeech. Let thoſe who admire ſuch a raſhneſs of generoſity learn from him, that great
"men may live under bad princes; and that ſubmiſſion and modeſty, if ſupported with vigour
"and induſtry, may acquire greater fame, than
"many have aſpired to by a bold and hardy behaviour, without any emolument to the public,
"and with no other fruit to themſelves, except a
"more diſtinguiſhed death."

QUINTUS CURTIUS (*Rufus.*)

Antient Hiſtory, Vol. VI.

I have already obſerved elſewhere, that the time when Quintus Curtius lived is not preciſely known. The learned are very much divided on this head; ſome placing him in the reign of Auguſtus or Tiberius, and others in that of Veſpaſian, and even o Trajan.

He wrote the hiſtory of Alexander the Great i ten books, of which the two firſt are not com down to us, and which have been ſupplied by Freinſhemius. His ſtile is florid, agreeable, and ful of wiſe reflections; and he has many very fine harangues, but generally too long, and ſometimes i the ſpirit of declamation. His thoughts, which ar full of wit, and often very ſolid, have however a affected glitter and conceit, which do not entirel appear of the ſtamp of the Auguſtan age. I would be ſurpriſing enough, that Quintilian, in hi enumeration of the Latin authors, ſhould have omitted to mention an hiſtorian of the merit of Quintu Curtius, had the latter lived before him.

He is reproached with many faults of ignoranc in reſpect to aſtronomy, geography, the dates of hi events, and even the moſt known effects of nature as having thought the moon indifferently eclipſe when new, and when at the full: *Lunam deficere, cùm aut terram ſubiret, aut ſole premeretur.*

Lib. 4. c. 10.

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There is an excellent French tranſlation of this author by Mr. Vaugelas.

SUETONIUS. *(Caius Suetonius Tranquillus)*

Suetonius was the ſon of Suetonius Lenis, a tribune of the thirteenth legion, who was at the battle of Bedriacum, where the troops of Vitellius were defeated by Otho. He flouriſhed in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian. Sueton. in Othon. c. 10.

Pliny the Younger had a great affection for him, and was very deſirous of having him always with him. He ſays, that the more he knew him the better he loved him, upon account of his probity, politeneſs, good conduct, application to letters, and erudition; and did him many ſervices. Plin. l. 10. Ep. 100.

Suetonius compoſed a great number of books, which are almoſt all loſt. Only his hiſtory of the firſt twelve emperors, and part of his treatiſe upon the celebrated grammarians and rhetoricians, are come down us.

This hiſtory is very much eſteemed by the learned. He confines himſelf in it leſs to the affairs of the empire, than the perſons of the emperors, whoſe particular actions, domeſtic behaviour, and inclinations in general, good or bad, he relates. He does not obſerve the order of time, and no hiſtory ever differed more from annals than this. He reduces the whole to certain general heads, ſetting down under each all that relates to it. His ſtile is ſtrong and ſimple, in which it plainly appears, that he was more intent on truth than eloquence. He is blamed for having given too much licence to his pen, and for being as looſe and debauched in his narrattions, as the emperors, whoſe hiſtory he writes, in their lives.

LUCIUS FLORUS.

Florus is believed to have been a Spaniard, of the family of the Seneca's, and to have had the names of *L. Annæus Seneca* by birth, and of *L. Ju-* Voſſius.

lius Florus by adoption. We have an abridgement of his in four books of the Roman hiſtory from Romulus down to Auguſtus, which ſeems to have been written in Trajan's time. It has not the uſual fault of abridgements, of being dry, barren, and inſipid. Its ſtile is elegant, agreeable, and has a kind of poetical vivacity in it: but in ſome places it has too much emphaſis and pomp, and ſometimes even bombaſt. It is not an abridgement of Livy, from whom he often differs. We have ſaid before, that it is doubted whether the epitome's or ſummaries at the head of the books of Livy were written by Florus.

JUSTIN.

Justin is believed to have inſcribed his abridgement of the hiſtory of Trogus Pompeius to Titus Antoninus: but that is not certain, there having been ſeveral emperors of the name of Antoninus. Trogus Pompeius was one of the illuſtrious writers of the time of Auguſtus, and is ranked amongſt the hiſtorians of the firſt claſs, Livy, Salluſt, and Tacitus. His work was of immenſe extent, and contained the Greek and Roman hiſtory entire down to the reign of Auguſtus. Juſtin has abridged it in the ſame number of books; for which we are not obliged to him, if it be true that his abridgement occaſioned the loſs of the original. We may judge of the purity and elegance of Trogus's ſtile from the ſpeech of Mithridates to his troops, which Juſtin has inſerted entire in his thirty-eighth book. It is very long and indirect. For Juſtin takes notice, that Trogus did not approve the direct harangues introduced by Livy and Salluſt in their hiſtories. It is at the end of this ſpeech, after having repreſented to his ſoldiers, that he is not going to lead them into the frightful ſolitudes of Scythia, but the moſt fertile and opulent region in the univerſe, that Mithridates adds: "Aſia expects them with "impatience, and ſeems to offer them her hand,

" whilſt ſhe loudly invokes their aid; ſo much have " the rapacioufneſs of proconſuls, the oppreſſions " of tax-farmers, and the vexations of unjuſt tri" bunals, inſpired them with hatred and deteſta" tion of the Romans;" *Tantumque ſe avida expectat Aſia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incuſſit rapacitas proconſulum, ſectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium.* The ſtile of Juſtin is clear, intelligible, and agreeable: we find in him from time to time fine thoughts, ſolid reflections, and very lively deſcriptions. Except a ſmall number of words and modes of ſpeech, his Latinity is ſufficiently pure; and it is very probable that he generally uſes the words and even phraſes of Trogus.

AUTHORS of the AUGUST HISTORY.

The lives of the Roman emperors from Adrian to Carinus is called *The Auguſt Hiſtory.* Thoſe authors are Spartianus, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiſcus. They all lived in the reign of Diocleſian, though ſome of them wrote alſo under his ſucceſſors. I ſhall not enter into a particular account of their works, which have no relation to my hiſtory.

AURELIUS VICTOR.

AURELIUS VICTOR lived in the reign of Conſtantius, and long after. He is believed to have been an African. He was born in the country, and the ſon of a very poor illiterate man. He ſeems to have been a Pagan at the time he wrote. His hiſtory of the emperors begins at Auguſtus, and goes on to the twenty-third year of Conſtantius.

We have alſo, of the ſame author's, an abridgement of the lives of illuſtrious men, almoſt all Romans, from Procas to Julius Cæſar. Others aſcribe this little work to Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, *&c.* but Voſſius maintains that it is Aurelius Victor's. This abridgement contains little more than proper names and dates, and for that reaſon does not ſuit children who cannot learn much Latinity from it.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

Ammianus Marcellinus was by nation a Greek, of a conſiderable family in the city of Antioch. He ſerved many years in the Roman armies in the time of Conſtantius. He afterwards quitted the troops, and retired to Rome, where he wrote his hiſtory, which he divided into one and thirty books. He continued it from Nerva, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens. We have now only the laſt eighteen books, which begin at the end of the year 353, immediately after the death of Magnentius. Though he was a Greek, he wrote it in Latin, but in a Latin that favours much of the Greek and the ſoldier. This defect, ſays Voſſius, is made amends for by the author's other qualities, who is grave, ſolid, judicious, very ſincere, and a great lover of truth. His zeal for idols and their adorers, particularly for Julian the apoſtate, whom he makes his hero, is very evident; and on the contrary he appears much the enemy of Conſtantius. He does not however fail to treat both the one and the other with juſtice.

EUTROPIUS.

Eutropius wrote his abridgement of the Roman hiſtory in the reigns of Valentinian and Valens, but by order of the latter, to whom he inſcribes it. To judge of it by his ſtile, one would believe him rather a Greek than a Roman.

CHAPTER III.

OF ORATORS.

INTRODUCTION.

I AM to ſpeak in this place of the part of polite learning which has the moſt beauty, ſolidity, greatneſs, and ſplendor, and is of the moſt extenſive uſe: I mean Eloquence. This is a talent, which exalts the orator above the vulgar of mankind, and almoſt above humanity itſelf: which renders him in ſome meaſure the guide and arbiter of the moſt important deliberations; which gives him an empire over the mind the more admirable, as it is entirely voluntary, and founded ſolely upon the force of reaſon placed in all its light: in a word, which enables him to ſway the heart to his purpoſes, to overcome the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and to inſpire ſuch ſentiments as he pleaſes, joy or ſorrow, love or hatred, hope or fear, compaſſion or reſentment. If we repreſent to ourſelves the numerous aſſemblies of Athens or Rome, in which the greateſt intereſts of thoſe ſtates are conſidered, and where the orator, from the tribunal of harangues, reigns by his eloquence over an immenſe people, who hear him with a profound ſilence interrupted only by applauſes and acclamations: Of all that the world ever contained of magnificent in appearance, and moſt capable of dazzling the mind of man, is there any thing ſo grand, ſo ſoothing to to ſelf-love, as This?

What ſtill infinitely exalts the value of eloquence, according to the judicious reflection of Cicero, is the amazing ſcarcity of good orators in all ages. If we look back into all other profeſſions, arts and ſciences, we find numbers diſtinguiſhed for excelling in them, generals, Lib. 1. Orat. n. 6, —16.

generals, ſtateſmen, philoſophers, mathematicians, phyſicians, in a word, great perſons in every way. We cannot ſay the ſame entirely in reſpect to poets; I mean ſuch as have attained perfection in their art: the number of theſe has always been extremely ſmall, but however much greater than that of good orators.

What I now ſay ought to ſeem the more ſurpriſing, as, in reſpect to the other arts and ſciences, it is generally neceſſary to imbibe them from ſources devious and unknown, and not of common uſe; whereas the talent of ſpeaking is a thing merely natural, that ſeems to be within every one's capacity, that has nothing in it obſcure and abſtracted, and of which one of the principal rules and moſt eſſential virtues is to expreſs one's ſelf clearly, without ever departing from nature.

It cannot be ſaid, that, amongſt the antients, the ſucceſs of the other arts proceeded from a greater number of perſons being induced by the allurement of rewards to apply themſelves to them. As well at Athens as Rome, the two great theatres in which the talents of the mind ſhone out with moſt luſtre, no ſtudy was ever cultivated more univerſally, nor with greater application and ardor, than that of eloquence. And we ought not to wonder at it. In republics like thoſe, where all the affairs of the ſtate were examined in common; where war and peace, alliances and laws, were deliberated upon either before the people or ſenate, or with both; and where every thing was determined by plurality of voices; the talent of ſpeaking muſt neceſſarily have prevailed. Whoever ſpoke in theſe aſſemblies with moſt eloquence, became by neceſſary conſequence the moſt powerful. Hence the youth, of any ambition, did not fail to apply themſelves with the utmoſt diligence, to a ſtudy that alone opened the way to riches, credit, and dignities.

Whence therefore was it, that, notwithſtanding the application and efforts of ſo great a number of excellent geniuſes, the great advantages in reſpect to fortune, and the attraction of ſo ſoothing a reputation, the number of excellent orators has always been ſo ſmall? The reaſon is evident, and we ought to conclude, that of all the arts which are the object of human wit, eloquence muſt neceſſarily be the greateſt, the moſt difficult, and that which requires the moſt talents, and talents entirely different and even oppoſite in appearance, for ſucceeding in it.

Every body knows that there are three kinds of ſtile, the great or ſublime, the common or ſimple, and the mediate or florid, which holds the mean between the other two.

In the * ſublime kind, the orator employs whatever is moſt noble in the thoughts, moſt lofty in the expreſſions, moſt bold in the figures, and moſt ſtrong and pathetic in the paſſions. His diſcourſe is then like an impetuous torrent, incapable of being ſtopped or kept in, which in its violence bears away thoſe that hear it, and forces them, whether they will or no, to follow it whereſoever it hurries them. But this is not the place for treating this ſubject, which would alone prove the extent of the talents neceſſary to eloquence.

The † ſimple ſtile is quite different. It is clear, pure, intelligible, and nothing more. It has no thoughts of ſoaring, and endeavours only to be underſtood. It values itſelf ſolely upon a peculiar purity of language, great elegance, and refined delicacy. If it ſometimes ventures ornament, that

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* Grandiloqui [quidam] ut ita dicam fuerunt, cum ampla & ſentertiarum gravitate, & majeſtate verborum; vehementes, varii, copioſi, graves, ad permovendos & convertendos animos inſtructi & parati. *Cic. in Orat. n.* 20.

At ille qui ſaxa devolvat, & pontem indignetur, & ripas ſibi faciat, multus & torrens judicem vel nitentem contrà feret, cogetque ire qua rapit. *Quintil. l.* 12. *c.* 10.

† Contrà [ſunt quidam] tenues, acuti, omnia docentes, & dilucidiora non ampliora facientes, ſubtili quadam & preſſa oratione limati—Alii in eadem jejunitate concinniores, id eſt, faceti, florentes etiam, & leviter ornati. *Orat. n.* 20.

ornament is entirely ſimple and natural. Horace's expreſſion, *ſimplex munditiis*, is the beſt I can uſe to deſcribe this ſtile, of which Phædrus and Terence are the moſt perfect models.

A third * ſpecies of eloquence is in a manner the mean between the other two, and is therefore called the mixed, florid, or mediate ſtile. It has neither the delicacy of the latter, nor the force and thunder of the forme. It borders upon both, but without attaining to, or reſembling either. It participates of the one and the other, or, to ſpeak more juſtly, it is neither the one nor the other. The orator, in this way, deſignedly uſes the glitter of metaphors, the glow of figures, agreeable digreſſions, harmony of diſpoſition, and beauty of thoughts; retaining always however the mild and temperate character peculiar to it: ſo that it may then be compared to a ſtream that rolls its ſilver waves through flowery banks ſhaded with verdant trees.

Each of theſe kinds of eloquence is highly eſtimable in itſelf, and acquires all writers that ſucceed in them great reputation. But the † ſublime riſes infinitely above the other two. It is this kind of eloquence which excites admiration, raviſhes applauſe, and ſets all the paſſions of the ſoul in motion; that ſometimes, by its impetuoſity, its thunders, throws trouble and emotion into the mind, and ſometimes inſinuates itſelf with a majeſty of ſweetneſs, a dignity of ſoftneſs, irreſiſtibly tender and affecting.

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* Eſt autem quidam interjectus medius, & quaſi temperatus, nec acumine poſteriorum, nec fulmine utens ſuperiorum: vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens: utriuſque particeps, vel utriuſque (ſi verum quærimus) potiùs expers. *Orat. n.* 21.

Medius hic modus, & tranſlationibus crebrior, & figuris erit jucundior; egreſſionibus amœnus, compoſitione aptus, ſententiis dulcis: lenior tamen, ut amnis lucidus quidam, & virentibus utrinque ſylvis inumbratus. *Quintil. l.* 12. *c.* 10.

† Tertius eſt amplus, copioſus, gravis, ornatus, in quo profectò vis maxima eſt. Hic eſt enim, cujus ornatum dicendi & copiam admiratæ gentes, eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere paſſæ ſunt: ſed hanc eloquentirm, quæ curſu magno ſonituque ferretur, quam ſuſpicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam ſe aſſequi poſſe diffiderent. Hujus eloquentiæ eſt tractare animos, hujus omni modo permovere. Hæc modò perfringit, modò irrepit in ſenſus: inſerit novas opiniones, evellit inſitas. *Orat. n.* 97.

It is the union of all theſe parts which forms the perfect orator; and it is eaſy to perceive how difficult and extraordinary it is for one man to poſſeſs ſo many different qualities. The enumeration, which we ſhall ſoon make of the antient Greek and Latin orators, will ſhew us ſome who have confined themſelves with ſucceſs to the two latter kinds, but very few who have been able to attain to the ſublime, and ſtill fewer who have ſucceeded in all three at the ſame time.

What renders ſucceſs in this reſpect ſo difficult and extraordinary is, that the excellent qualities, which form the three kinds of ſtile, have each a defect that borders very cloſe upon them, which adorns itſelf with their name, which does indeed reſemble them in ſome meaſure, but at the ſame time alters and vitiates them, by carrying them too far, by making ſimplicity degenerate into meanneſs, ornament into tinſel and glare, and the great and ſublime into empty ſwell and bombaſt. For it is in ſtile, as in virtue. There are in the one and the other certain bounds and modifications to be obſerved, beyond which lie the vicious extremes:

Eſt modus in rebus, ſunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit cónſiſtere rectum. Hor.

Extremes the more to be feared, as they ſeem to ſpring from virtue itſelf, and confound themſelves with it.

The * Greeks call this exceſs κακόζηλον, *vicious affectation.* It appears in the three kinds of ſtile, when they exceed the bounds of the juſt and the true, when the imagination throws off the guidance of the judgment, and the mind is dazzled with a falſe appearance of the Good: This, in reſpect of eloquence, is the greateſt and moſt dangerous of faults, becauſe inſtead of being avoided like others, the phantom is purſued as merit.

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* Κακόζηλον, id eſt, mala affectatio, per omne dicendi genus peccat—Ita vocatur quicquid eſt ultra virtutem, quoties ingenium judicio caret, & ſpecie boni fallitur: omnium in eloquentia vitiorum peſſimum; nam cetera cùm vitentur, hoc petitur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

There is alſo * one virtue common to all the three kinds of ſtile, with which I ſhall conclude. Amongſt orators, and the ſame may be ſaid of hiſtorians, poets, and all writers, there is an infinite variety of ſtiles, geniuſſes, and characters, which occaſions ſo great a difference between them, that ſcarce one can be found amongſt them who perfectly reſembles another. There is however a kind of ſecret reſemblance and common tie between them, which makes them approach, and unites them with each other. I mean a certain delicacy and refinement of taſte, a kind of tincture of the True and the Fine, a manner of thinking and expreſſing themſelves, of which nature itſelf is the ſource; in fine, that Something it is eaſier to conceive than expreſs, by which a reader of taſte and ſenſe diſcerns the works, both antient and modern, that bear the ſtamp of pure and elegant antiquity.

And this is what young perſons, who deſire to make any progreſs in polite learning, ought to make the principal object of their care and application: I mean to ſtudy in the works of the learned thoſe natural beauties which are the growth of all ages and all languages, and to make themſelves familiar with them by a ſerious and reiterated commerce with the authors wherein they are to be found, in order to attain ſo happy a taſte as to diſcern them at firſt ſight, and, if I may venture the expreſſion, to perceive them like fragrant odours almoſt by the ſcent.

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* Habet omnia eloquentia aliquid commune. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 2.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GREEK ORATORS.

SECT. I.

The Age in which eloquence flouriſhed moſt at Athens.

GREECE, * ſo fertile in fine geniuſſes for all the other arts, was a long time barren in reſpect to eloquence, and, before Pericles, may in ſome meaſure be ſaid to have only ſpoken like an infant, and that till then ſhe had but a ſmall idea of, and ſet little value upon the talent of ſpeaking. It was at Athens that eloquence began firſt to appear with ſplendor. And it is not ſurpriſing that it was not in honour there, till after many ages. Eloquence does not uſually grow up amidſt the cares that are neceſſary in founding a ſtate, and the tumult of wars. She is the friend of peace, and the companion of tranquillity, and requires, if I may venture the expreſſion, for her cradle, a commonwealth already well eſtabliſhed and flouriſhing.

But † what ought to appear ſurpriſing is, that eloquence, almoſt in her birth, and from her firſt appearance (which Cicero dates in the time of Pericles) ſhould on a ſudden attain to ſuch an height of perfection. Before ‡ Pericles there was no work or diſcourſe in which any trace of beauty or ornament appeared,

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* Græcia—omnes artes vetuſtiores habet, & multo antè non inventas ſolùm, ſed etiam perfectas, quam eſt à Græcis elaborata vis dicendi atque copia. In quam cùm intueor, maxime mihi occurrunt, Attice, & quaſi lucent Athenæ tuæ, qua in urbe primùm ſe orator extulit.——Non in conſtituentibus Remp. nec in bella gerentibus—naſci cupiditas dicendi ſolet. Pacis eſt comes, otiique ſocia, & jam bene conſtitutæ civitatis quaſi alumna quædam eloquentia. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 26. & 45.

† Hæc ætas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum tulit. *Ibid.* n. 45.

‡ Ante Periclem—litera nulla eſt, quæ quidem ornatum aliquem habeat, & oratoris eſſe videatur. *Ibid.* n. 27.

appeared; or which expreſſed the orator; and his harangues diſplayed, even then, whatever is fineſt, moſt vigorous, and moſt ſublime in eloquence.

Pericles, whoſe view was to render himſelf powerful in the republic, and to ſway in the aſſemblies of the people, conſidered eloquence as the moſt neceſſary means for the attainment of thoſe ends, and devoted himſelf wholly to it. The natural excellency of his genius ſupplied him with whatever was wanting for his ſucceſs, and the great * application he had before made to philoſophy, under Anaxagoras, had taught him by what ſprings the human heart was to be moved and actuated at will. He employed with wonderful art ſometimes the charms of inſinuation to perſuade, and ſometimes the force of vehement paſſions to oppoſe and ſubdue. Athens, † who ſaw a new light ſhine out in her boſom, charmed with the graces and ſublimity of his diſcourſe, admired and feared his eloquence. It is ‡ obſerved, that, at the very time he oppoſed the paſſions of the people with a kind of inflexible obſtinacy, he knew how to pleaſe them, and had the addreſs to bring them over inſenſibly to his opinion. The comic poets, accordingly, in their ſatires upon him (for at that time they did not ſpare the moſt powerful) ſaid to his praiſe, on one ſide,

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* In Phædro Platonis [*pag.* 270] hôc Periclem præſtitiſſe ceteris dicit oratoribus Socrates, quòd is Anaxagoræ Phyſici fuerit auditor: à quo cenſet eum, cùm alia præclara quædam & magnifica didiciſſet, uberem & fœcundum fuiſſe, gnarumque (quod eſt eloquentiæ maximum) quibus orationis modis quæque animorum partes pellerentur. *Cic. in Orat.* n. 15.

† Hujus ſuavitate maximè exhilaratæ ſunt Athenæ, hujus ubertatem & copiam admiratæ; ejuſdem vim dicendi terroremque timuerunt. *In Brut.* n. 44.

‡ Quid Pericles? de cujus dicendi copia ſic accepimus, ut, cùm contra voluntatem Athenienſium loqueretur pro ſalute patriæ, ſeverius tamen id ipſum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus & jucundum videretur. Cujus in labris veteres comici etiam cùm illi maledicerent (quod tum Athenis fieri liceret) leporem habitaſſe dixerunt; tantamque in eo vim fuiſſe, ut in eorum mentibus qui audiſſent quaſi aculeos quoſdam relinqueret. *De Orat.* l. 3. n. 138.

that the goddeſs of perſuaſion with all her charms, dwelt on his lips; and, on the other, that his diſcourſe * had the vehemence of thunder, and that it always left behind it a kind of ſtimulation in the ſouls of his hearers.

By this † extraordinary talent of ſpeaking, Pericles retained during forty years, as well in war as peace, an entire authority over the moſt inconſtant and capricious, and at the ſame time the moſt jealous people in the world of their liberty, whoſe diſcouragement in diſgrace it was ſometimes neceſſary to remove, as it was ſometimes to abate their pride, and to check their raſhneſs in ſucceſs. Hence we may judge of the power and value of eloquence.

Though Pericles left no piece of eloquence behind him, he however deſerves to be ranked at the head of the Greek orators; and the more, according to ‡ Cicero, becauſe it was he who firſt taught Athens a taſte for ſound and perfect eloquence, placed it in honour, ſhewed its true eaſe and deſtination, and made its ſalutary effects evident by the ſucceſs which attended his harangues.

I proceed now to ſpeak of the ten Athenian orators, of whoſe lives Plutarch has given us an abridgement, and ſhall treat only thoſe, who are moſt known, with ſome extent.

Of the ten Greek orators.

ANTIPHON.

ANTIPHON improved himſelf very much in his converſations with Socrates. He taught rhetoric; he alſo compoſed pleadings for ſuch as had occaſion for

Plut. de vit. decem Rhet.

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* Ab Ariſtophane poëta fulgurare, tonare, permiſcere Græciam dictus eſt. *Orat.* n. 29.

Ἤϛραπτ', ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλάδα.

† Itaque hic doctrina, conſilio, eloquentia excellens, quadraginta annos præfuit Athenis, & urbanis eodem tempore & bellicis rebus. *Ibid.*

‡ Pericles primus adhibuit doctrinam, &c. *In Brut.* n. 44.

for them, and is believed to be the firſt that introduced that cuſtom. His invention was warm and abundant, his ſtile exact, his proofs ſtrong, and he had a great felicity in anſwering unforeſeen objections. He was no leſs ſucceſsful in moving the paſſions, and in giving the perſons he introduced ſpeaking their juſt and peculiar characters. He was condemned to die for having favoured the eſtabliſhment of the Four Hundred at Athens.

ANDOCIDES.

Plut.

ANDOCIDES was alſo the cotemporary of Socrates. He began to flouriſh twenty years before Lycias. He was brought to a trial as an accomplice in throwing down the ſtatues of Mercury, which were all either thrown down or mutilated in one night, in the beginning of the Peloponneſian war. He could extricate himſelf from this danger, only by promiſing to diſcover the guilty, in which number he included his own father, whoſe life, however, he ſaved. His ſtile was ſimple, and almoſt entirely void of figures and ornaments.

LYSIAS.

Dionyſ. Halic. in Lyſ.

LYSIAS was by origin of Syracuſe, but born at Athens. At fifteen years of age he went to Thurium in Italy with two of his brothers in the new colony ſent thither to ſettle. He continued there till the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe, and then returned to Athens in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his peculiar merit, and was always conſidered as one of the moſt excellent of the Greek orators, but in the ſimple and tranquil ſpecies of eloquence. Perſpicuity, purity, ſweetneſs, and delicacy of ſtile, were his particular attributes. He was, ſays * Cicero, a writer

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* Fuit Lyſias——egregiè ſubtilis atque elegans, quem jam propè audeas oratorem perfectum dicere. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 35.

f great ſubtilty and elegance, in whom Athens night almoſt boaſt already of a perfect orator. Quintilian gives us the ſame idea of him. Lyſias *, ays he, is ſubtile and elegant, and, if it ſufficed or an orator to inſtruct, none were more perfect han him. For he has nothing ſuperfluous, nothing ffected in his diſcourſe. His ſtile however reſembles nore a ſmall and clear ſtream, than a great river.

If Lyſias generally confined himſelf to that ſimlicity, and, as Cicero † calls it, leanneſs of ſtile, t was not becauſe he was abſolutely incapable of orce and greatneſs: for, according to the ſame Ciero, there were very ſtrong and nervous paſſages n his harangues. He wrote ‡ in that manner hrough choice and judgment. He did not plead t the bar himſelf, but compoſed pleadings for ohers; and to ſuit their character, was often obliged o uſe a ſimple ſtile with little or no elevation; ithout which thoſe native graces, which were adnirable in him, had been loſt, and he had berayed the ſecret himſelf. It was therefore neceſry that his diſcourſes, which he did not pronounce imſelf, ſhould have a natural and negligent air, that quires great art, and is one of the moſt refined crets of compoſition. In this manner the law for ccuſed perſons to plead their own cauſes without he help of advocates was eluded.

When Socrates was ſummoned before the judges o anſwer for his opinions concerning religion, Lyas brought him a ſpeech, which he had compoſed Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 231.

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* Lyſias ſubtilis atque elegans, & quo nihil, ſi oratori ſatis ſit ocere, quæras perfectius. Nihil enim eſt inane, nihil accerſitum: uro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini, propior. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† In Lyſia ſunt ſæpe etiam lacerti, ſic ut nihil fieri poſſit valenus: verùm eſt certè genere toto ſtrigoſior. *Brut.* n. 64.

‡ Illud in Lyſia dicendi textum tenue atque rarum lætioribus nueris corrumpendum non erat. Perdidiſſet enim gratiam, quæ in maxima eſt, ſimplicis atque inaffectati coloris: perdidiſſet fidem uoque. Nam ſcribebat aliis, non ipſe dicebat; ut oportuerit eſſe la rudibus & incompoſitis ſimilia, quod ipſum compoſitio eſt. *uintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

with abundance of care, and in which he had undoubtedly introduced whatever was capable of moving the judges. * Socrates, after having read it, told him, that he thought it very fine and oratorical, but not conſiſtent with the reſolution and fortitude that became a philoſopher.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus deſcribes at large, and with abundance of taſte and judgment, the character of Lyſias's ſtile, of which he enumerates the conſtituent parts, that are all of the ſimple and natural kind of eloquence I have ſpoken of. He even repeats ſome paſſages in one of his harangues, the better to make known his ſtile.

ISOCRATES.

Isocrates was the ſon of Theodorus the Athenian, who having inriched himſelf by making muſical inſtruments, was in a condition to give hi children a good education: for he had two mor ſons and one daughter. Iſocrates came into th world about the 86th Olympiad, two and twent years after Lyſias, and ſeven before Plato.

A. M. 3568. Ant. J. C. 436.

He had an excellent education under Prodicus Gorgias, Tiſias, and, according to ſome, Theramenes, that is to ſay, all the moſt famous rhetoricians of thoſe times.

His inclination would have led him to follo the uſual courſe of the young Athenians, and t have ſhared in the public affairs: but the weakne of his voice, and his almoſt unſurmountable timidity, not permitting him to venture appearing i public, he directed his views a different way. H did not however entirely renounce either the glor of eloquence, or the deſire of rendering himſel uſeful to the public, which were his ruling paſſions and what the natural impediment of his voice denied him he conceived thoughts of attaining b

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* Illam orationem diſertam ſibi & oratoriam videri, fortem & virilem non videri.

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the help of his induſtry and pen. Accordingly he applied himſelf diligently to compoſition, and did not, like the generality of the ſophiſts, make chimerical and uſeleſs queſtions, or ſubjects of mere curioſity, the objects of his application, but ſolid and important topics of government, which might be of uſe to ſtates, and even princes as well as private perſons, and at the ſame time do honour to himſelf by the graces he ſhould endeavour to diffuſe throughout his writings. Iſocrates himſelf informs us, in the exordium of his diſcourſe, that theſe were his views.

In Panathen.

He exerciſed himſelf alſo in compoſing pleadings for ſuch as had occaſion for them, according to the cuſtom general enough in thoſe times, though contrary to the laws, which, as I have obſerved before, ordained that perſons ſhould defend themſelves without uſing the help of others. But, as theſe pleadings drew trouble upon himſelf in conſequence of the violation of the law, and obliged him to appear often before the judges, he renounced them entirely, and opened a ſchool for the inſtruction of youth in eloquence.

By this new application, * the houſe of Iſocrates became, in reſpect to Greece in general, a fruitful nurſery of great men, and, like the Trojan horſe, none came out of it but illuſtrious perſons. Tho' he did not appear in public at the bar, and confined himſelf within the walls of his ſchool or ſtudy, he acquired a reputation to which none after him could attain, and was equally eſteemed for the excellence

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* Extitit igitur Iſocrates——(cujus domus cunctæ Græciæ quaſi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi) magnus orator & perfectus magiſter, quanquam forenſi luce caruit, intraque parietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo quidem, meo judicio, eſt poſtea conſecutus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 32.

Ex Iſocratis ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes extituerunt. *Lib.* 2. *de Orat.* n. 94.

Clariſſimus ille præceptor Iſocrates, quem non magis libri bene dixiſſe, quam diſcipuli bene docuiſſe teſtantur. *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 9.

of his compoſitions, and his art of teaching, as his writings and pupils ſufficiently proved.

He had a wonderful capacity in diſcerning the force, genius, and character of his ſcholars, and in knowing how to exerciſe and direct their talents: * a rare, but abſolutely neceſſary, quality for ſucceeding in the important employment of inſtructing. Iſocrates, in ſpeaking of two of his moſt illuſtrious diſciples, uſed to ſay, that in regard to Ephorus he uſed the ſpur, and to Theopompus the bridle, in order to quicken the ſlowneſs of the one, and check the too great vivacity of the other. The latter, in compoſing, gave a looſe to his fire and imagination, and exhauſted himſelf in bold and glowing expreſſions: him he curbed. The other, on the contrary, who was timid and reſerved, regarded nothing but a rigid correctneſs, and never dared to venture the leaſt excurſion: to him he recommended ſoaring and the flights of imagination. His deſign was not to make them like each other: but by retrenching from the one, and adding to the other, to conduct each to the higheſt pitch of perfection of which his genius was ſuſceptible.

Plut. de decem Orat. Gr. in Iſocr.

Iſocrates's ſchool was of great uſe to the public, and at the ſame time of great gain to himſelf. He acquired more money in it than any ſophiſt had ever done before him. He had generally more than an hundred ſcholars at five hundred drachma's (about twenty-five pounds) each, in all probability, for the whole time of their ſtudying under him. For the honour of ſo great a maſter, I ſhould be ſorry if what is ſaid of him in reſpect to Demoſthenes

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* Diligentiſſime hoc eſt eis, qui inſtituunt aliquos atque erudiunt, videndum, quò ſua quemque natura maxime ferre videatur——Dicebat Iſocrates, doctor ſingularis, ſe calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frænis uti ſolere. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat, alterum cunctantem & quaſi verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos ſimiles effecit inter ſe, ſed tantum alteri affinxit, de altero limavit, ut id conformaret in utroque, quod utriuſque natura pateretur. *Lib.* 3. *de Orat.* n. 36.

nes were true, that he would not inſtruct him, becauſe he was not able to pay the uſual price. I chuſe rather to hold with what Plutarch tells us in the ſame place, that Iſocrates took nothing of the citizens of Athens, and only of ſtrangers. So generous and diſintereſted a conduct ſuits much better with his character, and the excellent principles of morality diffuſed throughout all his works.

Beſides his income from his ſchool, he received great preſents from conſiderable perſons. Nicocles, king of Cyprus, and ſon of Evagoras, gave him twenty talents (about five thouſand pounds) for the diſcourſe inſcribed with his name.

A very ſenſible ſaying of Iſocrates is related: Plut. ibid. He was at table with Nicocreon king of Cyprus, and was preſſed to talk, and ſupply matter for converſation. He perſiſted in excuſing himſelf, and gave this reaſon for his refuſal: *What I do know does not ſuit this place; and what would ſuit it I don't know.* This thought is very like that of Seneca: *[*] I never deſired to pleaſe the people: for they do not approve what I know, and I don't know what they approve.*

Iſocrates, upon the news of the defeat of the Athenians by Philip at the battle of Chæronea, could not ſurvive the misfortune of his country, and died of grief, after having continued four days without eating. He was then fourſcore and eighteen, or an hundred years old. Ibid.

It is hard to deſcribe the ſtile of Iſocrates better than Cicero and Quintilian have done it: I ſhall cite their own words.

Cicero, after having related the favourable idea which Socrates had conceived of Iſocrates whilſt very young, and Plato's magnificent praiſe of him when very old, though he ſeems the declared enemy of the rhetoricians, goes on thus deſcribing his ſtile: In Orat. n. 41, 42.

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[*] Nunquam volui populo placere: nam, quæ ego ſcio, non probat; quæ probat populus, ego neſcio. *Senec.* Ep. 29.

ſtile: *Dulce igitur orationis genus, & ſolutum, & effluens, ſententiis argutum, verbis ſonans, eſt in illo epidictico genere, quod diximus proprium Sophiſtarum, pompæ quam pugnæ aptius, gymnaſiis & palæſtræ dicatum, ſpretum & pulſum foro.* "This kind of eloquence is ſmooth, agreeable, flowing, and abounds "with fine thoughts and harmonious expreſſions: "but it has been excluded the bar, and transferred "to the academies, as more proper for preparatory "exerciſes, than real affairs."

Lib. 10. c. 1. The following is Quintilian's picture of it, and ſeems to have been copied from the former: *Iſocrates in diverſo genere dicendi* [he had juſt before ſpoken of Lyſias] *nitidus & comptus, & palæſtræ quam pugnæ magis accommodatus, omnes dicendi veneres ſecutus eſt. Nec immeritò, auditoriis enim ſe, non judiciis compararat: in inventione facilis, honeſti ſtudioſus, in compoſitione adeo diligens, ut cura ejus reprehendatur.*

Lyſias and Iſocrates reſembled each other very much in many points, as Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſhews at large: but the ſtile of the latter is more ſmooth, flowing, elegant, florid, and adorned; his thoughts are more lively and delicate, with a diſpoſition of words extremely laboured, and perhaps to exceſs. In a word, all the beauties and graces of eloquence, uſed by the ſophiſts in the demonſtrative kind, are diſplayed in his diſcourſes, not deſigned for action and the bar, but pomp and oſtentation.

Cicero, in many parts of his books *de Republica*, ſtrongly inſiſts, that Iſocrates was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt that introduced into the Greek tongue number, ſweetneſs, and harmony, which before him were little known, and almoſt generally neglected.

It remains for me to explain one more quality of Iſocrates, his love of virtue and good in general, which Quintilian expreſſes, *honeſti ſtudioſus*, and which, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, infinitely exalts him above all the other orators. He runs over his principal diſcourſes to ſhew, that they have no other tendency but to inſpire ſtates, princes, and even private perſons, with ſentiments of probity, honour, fidelity, moderation, juſtice, love of the public good, zeal for the preſervation of liberty, and reſpect for the ſanctity of oaths, the faith of treaties, and for all that relates in any manner to religion. He adviſes all thoſe, who have the government of ſtates, and the adminiſtration of public affairs, confided to their care, to read and ſtudy thoſe admirable books with ſingular attention, which contain all the principles of true and ſalutary policy.

ISÆUS.

Isæus was of Chalcis in Eubœa. He went to Athens, and was the pupil of Lyſias, whoſe ſtile he imitated ſo well, that in reading their diſcourſes, it was hard to diſtinguiſh the one from the other. He began to appear with ſplendor after the Peloponneſian war, and lived to the time of Philip. He was Demoſthenes's maſter, who gave him the preference to Iſocrates, becauſe the eloquence of Iſæus was ſtronger, and more vehement than the other's, and for that reaſon ſuited better the warm and vigorous genius of Demoſthenes.

Plut. in Iſoc.

Iſæo torrentior. *Juven.*

LYCURGUS.

Lycurgus was highly eſteemed at Athens for his eloquence, and ſtill more for his probity. Several important employments were conferred upon him, in which he always acquitted himſelf with ſucceſs. The civil government of Athens was confided to his care, during which he made ſo ſevere a war upon malefactors, that he obliged them all to quit the city. He paſſed for a ſevere and inexorable judge, to which Cicero alludes in his letter to his friend Atticus: *Noſmetipſi, qui Lycurgei à principio fuiſſemus, quotidie demitigamur.*

Ad Attic. Ep. 13. l. 1.

Lycurgus was appointed quæſtor, that is to ſay, receiver-general of the revenues of the commonwealth,

wealth, at three different times, and exerciſed that function during fifteen years. In that time fourteen thouſand talents (about two millions ſterling) paſſed through his hands, of which he gave an exact account. Before him the revenues of the city amounted only to * ſixty talents, and he augmented them to twelve hundred (about three hundred thouſand pounds.) It was this quæſtor, who, ſeeing one of the farmers of the revenue carrying the philoſopher Xenocrates to priſon, becauſe he had not paid a certain tribute as a ſtranger at the time, took him from the officers, and made them carry the farmer thither in his ſtead, for having had the inſolence and cruelty to treat a man of learning in that manner. That action was univerſally applauded. Lycurgus was one of the orators demanded by Alexander of the Athenians, to which they could not conſent.

ÆSCHINES. DEMOSTHENES.

Method of ſtudying the Belles Lettres. Vol. II. *Antient Hiſtory.* Vol. VI.

I have related at large elſewhere the hiſtory of theſe two celebrated orators, who were always each other's rival, and whoſe diſputes did not ceaſe till the baniſhment of Æſchines. I have alſo treated their ſtile and eloquence in the ſame place; and as I have nothing to add to what I have ſaid in reſpect to them, I ſhall content myſelf here with ſetting before the reader their pictures as drawn by Quintilian:

Lib. 10. c. 1.

Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem ſimul Athenis ætas una tulerit; quorum longè princeps Demoſthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit: tanta vis in eo, tam denſa omnia, ita quibuſdam nervis † *intenta ſunt, tam nihil otioſum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quid deſit in eo, nec quid redundet, invenias. Plenior Æſchines, &*

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* *This would be a very ſmall revenue for ſuch a city as Athens, and the augmentation ſurpriſingly conſiderable: wherefore I do not know whether* ἑξακόσια, ſix hundred, *may not be read, inſtead of* ἑξήκοντα, ſixty.

† *The metaphor here is not taken from the nerves of the body, but the ſtrings of a bow, which being drawn to the utmoſt, diſcharge the arrows with extraordinary force and impetuoſity.*

magis fuſus, & grandiori ſimilis, quo minùs ſtrictus eſt; carnis tamen plus habet, lacertorum minus. "An infinite number of orators follow, for Athens had "ten at one and the ſame time; at the head of "theſe was Demoſthenes, who far ſurpaſſed them "all, and who deſerves to be conſidered almoſt as "the rule and ſtandard of eloquence. His ſtile is "ſo ſtrong, his ſenſe ſo cloſe and ſo home, and "every thing ſo juſt, ſo proper and exact, that nothing can be added or retrenched from him. Æſchines is more abundant and diffuſe. He ſeems "greater, becauſe more looſe, and leſs collected "in himſelf; he has however only more fleſh with "leſs nerves."

HYPERIDES.

Plut. in Hyper.

HYPERIDES had been at firſt the hearer and diſciple of Plato. He afterwards applied himſelf to the bar, where his eloquence was admired. * His ſtile had abundance of ſweetneſs and delicacy, but was fit only for ſmall cauſes. He was joined with Lycurgus in the adminiſtration of the public affairs, when Alexander attacked the Greeks, and always declared openly againſt that prince. After the loſs of the battle of Cranon, the Athenians being upon the point of delivering him up to Antipater, he fled to Ægina, and from thence took refuge in a temple of Neptune, from whence he was taken by force, and carried to Antipater at Corinth, who put him to the moſt cruel tortures, in order to draw from him ſome ſecrets and diſcoveries he wanted to know. But, leſt the violence of the pain ſhould force him to betray his friends and country, he bit off his tongue with his teeth, and expired in he torments.

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* Dulcis imprimis & acutus Hyperides: ſed minoribus cauſis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 1.

DINARCHUS.

Plut. in Dinar. DINARCHUS, according to ſome, was a native of Corinth, and came to ſettle at Athens when Alexander was purſuing his conqueſts in Aſia. He was the diſciple of Theophraſtus, who had ſucceeded Ariſtotle in his ſchool, and contracted a particular intimacy with Demetrius Phalereus. He did not plead himſelf, but compoſed pleadings for thoſe who had occaſion for them. He made Hyperides his model, or rather, according to others, Demoſthenes, whoſe animated and vehement ſtile ſuited his genius better.

Change of eloquence amongſt the Greeks.

The ſpace of time between Pericles and Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we are going to ſpeak, was the golden age of eloquence amongſt the Greeks, and included about an hundred and thirty years. Before Pericles Greece had produced abundance of great men for government, policy, and war; beſides numbers of excellent philoſophers: but eloquence was very little known there. It was he, as I have already obſerved, who firſt placed it in honour, who demonſtrated its force and power, and introduced the taſte for it. This taſte was not common to all Greece. Is there any mention in thoſe times of any Argive, Corinthian, or Theban orator? It confined itſelf to Athens, that in the interval of which I am ſpeaking, produced the great number of illuſtrious orators, whoſe merit has done it ſo much honour, and has rendered its reputation immortal. All that time may be called the reign of ſolid and true eloquence, which neither knows nor admits any other ornament, but natural beauty without paint. Brut. n. 36. *Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; &, ut opino mea fert, ſuccus ille & ſanguis incorruptus uſque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in quo naturalis ineſſet non fucatus nitor.*

As long as Greece propoſed to herſelf theſe great orators for models, and imitated them with fidelity, the taſte of ſound eloquence, that is the manly and the ſolid, ſubſiſted in all its purity. But, after their deaths, when ſhe began inſenſibly to loſe ſight of them, and to follow different tracks, an eloquence of a new kind, more ſet off and embelliſhed, ſucceeeded the antient, and ſoon made it diſappear. Demetrius Phalereus occaſioned this change; of whom it remains for me to ſpeak.

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

Demetrius was ſurnamed *Phalereus* from Phalera, one of the ports of Athens, where he was born. The celebrated Theophraſtus was his maſter.

I ſhall not repeat his hiſtory in this place, which is related with ſufficient extent in the VIIth volume. The reader may ſee there that Caſſander, having made himſelf maſter of Athens ſome time after the death of Alexander the Great, confided the government of it to Demetrius, who retained it ten years, and acted with ſo much wiſdom, that the people erected three hundred and ſixty ſtatues in honour of him: in what manner they were afterwards thrown down, and himſelf obliged to retire into Egypt, where Ptolomy Soter received him with great kindneſs: and, laſtly, his impriſonment in the reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus, where he died by the bite of an aſp. Art. I. §. 5. §. 7. Art. II. §. 3.

I conſider Demetrius Phalereus here only as an orator, and am to ſhew in what manner he contributed to the decline and deſtruction of eloquence at Athens.

I have already ſaid that he had been the diſciple of Theophraſtus, ſo called from his excellent and *divine manner of ſpeaking*. He had acquired under him a florid and elegant ſtile, abounding with ornaments; and had exerciſed himſelf in that kind of eloquence, which is called the *temperate* or *mediate*, which keeps the mean between the ſublime and ſimple; admits all the ornaments of art; employs the ſhining graces of elocution and the glitter of thoughts; in a word, which abounds with the ſweet and agreeable, but is void of force and energy, and with all its glow and embelliſhment riſes no higher than mediocrity. Demetrius excelled in this manner of writing, which is highly capable of pleaſing and exciting admiration of itſelf, if not compared with the ſublime kind, the ſolid and majeſtic beauty of which makes the faint luſtre of its ſlight and ſuperficial charms appear like nothing. * It was eaſy to perceive from his flowing, ſweet, agreeable ſtile, that he had been the ſcholar of Theophraſtus. His ſhining expreſſions and happy metaphors, ſays Cicero, were a kind of ſtars, that glittered in his diſcourſe, and made it luminous.

The mind is generally apt enough to be dazzled by this kind of eloquence, which illudes the judgment by pleaſing the imagination. And this happened now at Athens, where † Demetrius was the firſt who ſtruck at the antient ſolid taſte, and began the corruption of eloquence. His ſole view in ſpeaking to the people, was to pleaſe them. He was for ſhewing the mildneſs and benevolence of his diſpoſition, which indeed was his character: but the ſmooth terms and accent, in which he conveyed it, tickled the ears of his auditors without going farther, and only left behind it a pleaſing remembrance of a ſweet and harmonious diſpoſition of ſtudied words and thoughts. It was not like the victorious elo-

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* Orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophraſti diſcipulum agnoſceres. *Offic. l.* 1. *n.* 3.

Cujus oratio cùm ſedatè placidèque loquitur, tum illuſtrant eam quaſi ſtellæ quædam tralata verba atque immutata. *Orat. n.* 92.

† Hic primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit: & ſuavis, ſicut fuit, videri maluit quàm gravis: ſed ſuavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; & tantùm ut memoriam concinnitatis ſuæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle ſcripſit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, à quibus eſſet auditus. *Brut. n.* 38.

uence of Pericles, which whilſt it abounded with
harms, was armed with thunder and lightning,
nd left in the mind of the hearer, not only a ſenſe
f pleaſure and delight, but a lively impreſſion, a
ind of reſiſtleſs impulſe, that reached and engroſſed
he heart.

This ſhowy eloquence may ſometimes be appli-
able on occaſions of pomp and ſplendor, in which
o other ends are propoſed, but to pleaſe the audi-
ors, and to diſplay wit, as in the caſe of panegy-
ics, provided however that wiſe reſtrictions be ob-
rved, and the liberty allowed to this kind of diſ-
ourſe be kept within juſt bounds. Perhaps alſo
is ſpecies of eloquence would have been leſs dan-
erous, if it had been confined to the private
ſſemblies of the rhetoricians and ſophiſts, who ad-
itted only an inconſiderable number of hearers.
ut that of Demetrius had a far more ample thea-
e. It appeared before the whole people; ſo that
is manner of ſpeaking, if applauded, as it always
as, became the rule of the public taſte. No other
nguage was heard at the bar, and the ſchools of
etoric were obliged to conform to it. All decla-
ations, which were their principal exerciſe, and
f which the invention is aſcribed to our Demetrius,
ere formed upon the ſame plan. In propoſing his
ile to themſelves, they did not keep within the
ounds he had obſerved: for he was excellent in
arts, and merited praiſe in many things. But as
r them, elocution, thoughts, figures, every thing,
is uſual, were ſtrained and carried to exceſs. This
ad taſte made its way with rapidity into the pro-
inces, where it ſtill grew much more corrupt. As
on * as eloquence had quitted the Piræus in this
ondition, and diſperſed itſelf into the iſlands, and
ver Aſia, it loſt that Attic health and vigour it

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* Ut ſemel è Piræeo eloquentia evecta eſt, omnes peragravit in-
las, atque ita peregrinata tota Aſia eſt, ut ſe externis oblineret
oribus, omnemque illam ſalubritatem Atticæ dictionis quaſi ſani-
tem perderet, ac loqui pene dediſceret. *Brut. n.* 51.

had preſerved ſo long at home, aſſumed the manners of ſtrangers, and almoſt unlearned to ſpeak; ſo great and precipitate was its decline. We have this deſcription of it from Cicero.

The ruin of liberty at Athens partly conduced to haſten that of eloquence. The great men, who had done it ſo much honour by the talent of ſpeaking, appeared there no more. Only ſome rhetoricians and ſophiſts, diſperſed in the ſeveral parts of Greece and Aſia, ſupported in ſome ſmall degree its antient reputation. I have ſpoken of them elſewhere.

But what is moſt ſurpriſing, ſome ages after, eloquence reſumed new force, and appeared again with almoſt as much ſplendor as of old at Athens. It is plain that I mean thoſe happy times in which the Greek fathers made ſo laudable and holy an uſe of this talent. For I am not afraid to compare St. Baſil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chryſoſtom, and ſome others, with the moſt celebrated orators of Athens. I have inſerted ſeveral extracts from them in the ſecond volume of the treatiſe upon ſtudy, eſpecially from St. Chryſoſtom, which in my opinion are not inferior to the orations of Demoſthenes, either in beauty of ſtile, ſolidity of argument, greatneſs of matter, or force and vehemence of paſſions. The reader may conſult thoſe paſſages, which diſpenſes with my giving new proofs of what I advance here; and I believe he will agree with me, that there is nothing finer or more eloquent to be found in all the writings of antient Greece.

We ſhall ſoon ſee that the Latin eloquence has not the ſame good fortune. As ſoon as it began to decline, after having ſhone out with extraordinary luſtre for ſome years, it continually languiſhed, and ſunk by degrees ſufficiently rapid, till it fell at laſt into a ſtate of corruption, from which it has never ſince raiſed itſelf. And this is what I am to ſhew in the following article.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN ORATORS.

ROME, intent at firſt upon ſtrengthening herſelf in her new eſtabliſhment, then upon extending her dominions continually around her, and afterwards on puſhing her conqueſts into remote regions, devoted her whole care and application for many ages to military exerciſes, and continued during all that time without taſte for the arts and ſciences in general, and in particular for eloquence, of which ſhe had hitherto ſcarce any idea. * It was not till after ſhe had ſubjected the moſt powerful nations, and eſtabliſhed herſelf in peace and tranquillity, that her commerce with the Greeks began to reform her groſſneſs and kind of barbarity in reſpect to the exerciſes of the mind. The Roman youth, who ſeemed then to awake out of a profound ſleep, became ſenſible to a new ſpecies of glory unknown to their anceſtors, and began to open their eyes, and conceive a taſte for eloquence.

In order to give ſome idea of the beginning, progreſs, perfection, and decline of eloquence, I ſhall divide the Roman orators into four ages, but ſhall expatiate only upon ſuch of them as are moſt known either by their works or reputation.

SECT. I.

Firſt age of the Roman Orators.

THE Romans, in the arms of peace, the friend of ſcience, and mother of leiſure, made at firſt ſome efforts for the attainment of eloquence.

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* Poſtea quàm imperio omnium gentium conſtituto, diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit, nemo fere laudis cupidus adoleſcens non ſibi ad dicendum ſtudio omni enitendum putavit. *Lib.* 1. *de Orat. n.* 14.

* But, as they were entirely ignorant of the mean it was neceſſary to uſe for acquiring it, and had n other guide but their own reaſon and reflections they made but little progreſs. It was neceſſary t call in conquered Greece to the aid of her victors As ſoon as the Grecian rhetoricians had been hear at Rome, had taught there, and their books bega to be read, the Roman youth conceived an incredible ardour for eloquence. We have ſeen elſewhere what difficulties it met with on its firſt entrance into Rome, and what obſtacles it had to ſurmount for eſtabliſhing itſelf there. But it is of th nature of eloquence to conquer oppoſition, and t force the barriers laid in its way. It got the bette at Rome, notwithſtanding the endeavours of Cato who, though a great orator himſelf, was againſ the people's devoting themſelves too much to th arts of Greece; and in a ſhort time became th reigning ſtudy there. The greateſt men afterwards as Scipio and Lælius, had always learned Greek about them, from whom they made it their glor to receive leſſons.

Antient Hiſtory, Vol. I. Part 2.

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 155.

To proceed to the orators of the firſt age, th moſt known are Cato the Cenſor, the Gracchi Scipio Æmilianus, and Lælius. They had excellent natural parts, a wonderful fund of wit, grea order in their diſcourſe, force in their proofs, ſolidit in their thoughts, and energy: but neither art, delicacy, grace, care in the arrangement of words, no knowledge of the numbers and harmony of ſpeech.

Cic. in Brut. n. 65.

Cato had compoſed an infinite number of orations. More than an hundred and fifty of them were extant in Cicero's time: but they were no read. * He affirms however that his eloquence wants only thoſe lively figures, and glowing colours, which were not known in his time.

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* Ac primò quidem totius rationis ignari, qui neque exercitationis ullam viam, neque aliquod præceptum artis eſſe arbitrarentur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, conſequebantur. Poſt autem, auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitiſque eorum literis, adhibitiſque doctoribus, incredibili quodam noſtri homine dicendi ſtudio flagraverunt. *Lib.* 1. *de Orat. n.* 14.

The GRACCHI diſtinguiſhed themſelves alſo by an eloquence manly and vigorous, but void of ornaments. Cicero has preſerved ſome lines of a diſcourſe ſpoken by young Gracchus after his brother's death, which are very lively and pathetic, and which he has imitated himſelf in the peroration of his defence of Murena: *Quò me miſer conferam? quò vertam? In capitoliumne? at fratris ſanguine redundat. An domum? matremne ut miſeram lamentantemque videam, & abjectam?* "Where ſhall I go, whither ſhall "I turn myſelf, miſerable as I am? Shall it be to "the capitol? but that ſtill reeks with my brother's "blood. Shall I go home? what, to behold my "mother's ſorrow, to hear her mourn, and ſee her "lying inconſolable on the ground?" If the reſt of his diſcourſe reſembled theſe few lines, it did not give place in any thing to thoſe of Cicero. † In pronouncing them, every thing ſpoke in him, his eyes, voice, geſture; ſo that his enemies themſelves could not refrain from tears. Aulus Gellius has preſerved two fragments of the diſcourſe of C. Gracchus, which are not of the ſame taſte with that cited by Cicero. They are elegant, but cold, though the ſubject is weighty and affecting. It was the ſame Gracchus who had always a ſlave behind him with a flute, to give him notice when to raiſe or lower his voice.

Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 215.

Lib. 10. c. 3.

Quintilian frequently oppoſes the ſtile of the age we ſpeak of to that of his own times, and gives an excellent precept on that head. "Youth‡, ſays he,

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* Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis niſi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem & colorem defuiſſe. *Brut. n.* 298.

† Quæ ſic ab illo acta eſſe conſtabat, oculis, voce, geſtu, inimici ut lacrymas tenere non poſſent. *Brut. n.* 298.

‡ Duo genera maximè cavenda pueris puto. Unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catoniſque, & aliorum ſimilium lectione durefcere velit: fient enim horridi & jejuni.—— Alterum

" have two great faults to ſhun. The firſt would " be, if, upon the recommendation of any exceſſive " admirer of the antients, they ſhould ſtudy and " imitate the orations of Cato, the Gracchi, and " the like authors; for that would render their ſtile " ſtiff, dry, and rugged. The oppoſite fault is " their being charmed with the glittering pretti" neſs, the finery of the ſoft effeminate ſtile now in " faſhion, and ſpoiling their taſte by a fondneſs for " a gaudy luſcious kind of eloquence, the more " dangerous for them, as the more grateful to their " age and character. But, when their judgment is " formed, and they are ſafe on that ſide, I would " adviſe them, continues he, to read the antients, " whoſe ſtrong and manly eloquence, when ſepa" rated from the rudeneſs and inelegance of the " groſs age in which they lived, will ſuſtain, and " even exalt, the beauties and ornaments of ours. " I would alſo exhort them to ſtudy the moderns " attentively, who are excellent in parts, and may " be of great uſe to them."

I thought this paſſage of Quintilian proper in this place for explaining the ſtile of the times in queſtion: beſides which it includes very judicious advice, that the youth of the preſent age may alſo apply to their advantage.

I ſhall not enter into the character of the eloquence of Scipio and Lælius, and aſſure myſelf, that, though it ſavoured of the age they lived in, it was far from the roughneſs of Cato's and the Gracchi. I ſhall only relate here a fact highly for the honour of Lælius, and which ſhews how far he carried his candour and integrity. He had taken upon him the care of a very important cauſe, and

Brut. n. 85. —88.

Alterum quod huic diverſum eſt, ne recentis hujus laſciviæ floſculis capti, voluptate quadam prava deliniantur ut prædulce illud genus, & puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo propius eſt, adament. Firmis autem judiciis, jamque extra periculum poſitis, ſuaſerim & antiquos legere, ex quibus ſi aſſumatur ſolida ac virilis ingenii vis, deterſa rudis ſeculi ſqualore, tum noſter hic cultus clariùs eniteſcet; & novos, quibus & ipſis multa virtus adeſt. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 6.*

pleaded it with abundance of eloquence. The judges however did not think his arguments ſufficient to determine their ſentence, and referred it to another hearing. Lælius laboured it anew, and pleaded it a ſecond time, but with the ſame ſucceſs as before. Upon which, without farther delay, he obliged his clients to put their cauſe into the hands of Galba, a famous orator of thoſe times, who was more vehement and pathetic than him. It was not without great difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to undertake it; however he carried it unanimouſly by his firſt pleading. "It was then, as in all other "things, the better and more humane cuſtom, ſays "Cicero, to be eaſy in doing juſtice to the merit of "others, though at one's own expence:" *Erat omnino tum mos, ut in reliquis rebus melior, ſic in hoc ipſo humanior: ut faciles eſſent in ſuum cuique tribuendo.*

SECT. II.

Second age of the Roman orators.

I Shall place four orators in this ſecond age: Antony and Craſſus, more advanced in years; and Cotta and Sulpitius, younger men. They are hardly known by any thing but what Cicero tells us of them in his books of rhetoric. He * obſerves it was under the two firſt that the Roman eloquence, having attained a kind of maturity, began to be capable of entering the liſts with that of the Greeks.

Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 8. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 3.

ANTONY, in his voyage to Cilicia, whither he went proconſul, ſtopped for ſome time at Athens and in the iſland of Rhodes upon different pretexts, but in reality for the opportunity of converſing with the moſt able rhetoricians, and in order to improve himſelf in eloquence by their inſtructions. He however always affected from thenceforth to ap-

Ibid. n. 153.

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* Quod idcirco poſui, ut dicendi Latinè prima maturitas in qua ætate extitiſſet, poſſet animadverti. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 161.

Ego ſic exiſtimo—in his primùm cum Græcorum gloria Latinè dicendi copiam æquatam. *Ib.* n. 138.

pear of ignorant of what the Greeks taught in reſpect to the art of ſpeaking, with the view of rendering his eloquence thereby the leſs ſuſpected. And * he accordingly was generally ſuppoſed by his hearers to come to the bar, and to plead his cauſes, almoſt without preparation. But, in reality, he was ſo well prepared, that the judges were often not enough ſo in their diſtruſt of him. Nothing for the ſucceſs of his cauſe eſcaped him. He knew how to diſpoſe every proof in the place where it made moſt impreſſion. He was leſs attentive to the delicacy and elegance of his terms, than to their force and energy. He ſeemed to regard only things in themſelves and right reaſon: in a word, he had all the great qualities of an orator, and ſupported them wonderfully by the force and dignity of his utterance.

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 197—203. In the ſecond book of the Orator he traces the plan himſelf of an oration which he pronounced in defence of Norbanus, who was juſtly proſecuted as the author of a ſedition: a cauſe, as it is eaſy to conceive, of a very tender and difficult nature. He treated it with ſuch art, force, and eloquence, as wreſted the criminal from the ſeverity of the judges: and he confeſſes himſelf, that he carried his cauſe leſs by the ſtrength of reaſon, than the vehemence of the paſſions he knew how to introduce with judgment. *Ita magis affectis animis Judicum, quàm doctis, tua, Sulpiti, eſt à nobis tum accuſatio victa.* Sulpitius, the advocate on the other ſide, had notwithſtanding left the judges perfectly convinced of the juſtice of his cauſe, and highly incenſed againſt Norbanus: *Cùm tibi ego, non judicium, ſed incendium tradidiſſem.* Nothing is more capable of forming young pleaders than the plan of this harangue: but they ought not to imitate the uſe Antony made at that time of his talents for ſaving a criminal from the puniſhment he deſerved.

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* Erat memoria ſumma, nulla meditationis ſuſpicio. Imparatus ſemper aggredi ad dicendum videbatur: ſed ita erat paratus, ut Judices, illo dicente, nonnunquam viderentur non ſatis parati ad cavendum fuiſſe. *Brut.* n. 139.

Crassus was the only orator that could be ranked with Antony, and ſome give him the preference to the other. He was but three years younger than him. His peculiar character was * an air of gravity and dignity, which he knew how to temper with an inſinuating politeneſs, and even refined pleaſantry and raillery, that never forgot the decency of the orator. His language was pure and correct with elegance, but eaſy and void of affectation. He explained himſelf with wonderful clearneſs, and exalted the beauty of his diſcourſe by the ſtrength of his proofs, and agreeable alluſions and ſimilitudes. Brut. n. 143.

When Craſſus had to do with perſons of merit and reputation, he took care to proceed with tenderneſs and reſerve, and employed no raillery in reſpect to them that could ſhock or offend: *in quo genere nulli aculei contumeliarum inerant.* † A moderation very extraordinary in thoſe who value themſelves upon pleaſantry, and who find it very hard to keep in a ſmart ſaying when it comes uppermoſt, and which they think it for their honour to vent. But he behaved differently in reſpect to ſuch as gave room for it by their bad conduct. One Brutus, of whom I am going to ſpeak, was of this number. He had taken up the buſineſs of an accuſer for the ſake of the rewards granted by the laws to ſuch as convicted criminals: a calling which was looked upon at Rome as highly unworthy of a man of condition and probity, though a young man was approved there for making himſelf known by accuſing ſome perſon of importance. This Brutus was univerſally ſcandalous as a prodigal who had ſquandered his eſtate in exceſſes and debauchery. Pleading one day againſt Craſſus, he cauſed two ſpeeches of that orator to be read, in which he had manifeſtly contradicted himſelf. Craſſus was highly nettled, and knew well how to be even with him. For that purpoſe he cauſed three dialogues of Brutus's father to be read alſo, in each of which, according to a cuſtom common enough, mention was made in the beginning of the country-houſe where the converſation was ſuppoſed to be held. After having by this method introduced the names and reality of three eſtates which his father had left him, he aſked him with bitter reproaches what was become of them?

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* Erat ſumma gravitas: erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum & urbanitatis oratorius non ſcurrilis lepos. Latinè loquendi accurata & ſine moleſtiâ diligens elegantia, &c.

† Quod eſt hominibus facetis & dicacibus difficillimum, habere hominum rationem & temporum, & ea, quæ occurrant, cùm ſalſiſſime dici poſſunt, tenere. 2. *de Orat.* n. 221.

An * accidental circumſtance gave Craſſus occaſion to treat him in the ſame cauſe with a quite different force and vivacity, and to unite the moſt ſevere invectives with raillery. Whilſt they were pleading in the forum, where every body knows all great cauſes were tried, the funeral proceſſion of a Roman lady paſſed by, at the head of which, according to the ceremonies practiſed on ſuch occaſions at Rome, the images of her anceſtors were carried: ſhe was of the family of the *Junii*, of which that of Brutus was a branch. Upon this unexpected ſight, Craſſus, as if tranſported with a ſudden enthuſiaſm, fixing his eyes on Brutus, with the moſt animated voice and geſture: "Why do "you ſit, Brutus? ſaid he, What news would you "have this good old lady carry to your father, "and to thoſe great men, whoſe images you ſee "borne before her? What ſhall ſhe ſay of you to "your anceſtors, and particularly to Lucius Brutus, "who delivered this people from the tyranny of "kings? What ſhall ſhe tell them you do? What "buſineſs, what glory, what virtue ſhall ſhe ſay you "ſtudy? Is it to increaſe your patrimony? That "would not ſuit your birth; beſides your debauches "have entirely eaten up that. Is it the civil law? "Your father's example might induce you to it; "but of that you don't ſo much as know the moſt "common principles. Is war your ſtudy? No, "you never ſaw a camp. Or eloquence? Of that "too you know nothing: and as for the volubility "of your tongue and the ſtrength of your lungs, "you devote them wholly in this place to the vile "and execrable traffic of gain by calumnies. And "do you dare to ſee the ſun? To look the judges "in the face, to appear at the bar, in the forum, "the city, and in the ſight of the people? Are "you not ſtruck with ſhame and horror at this pro"ceſſion, that deceaſed lady and thoſe venerable "images, whoſe glory you diſhonour ſo much by "your infamous practices?" A paſſage like this ſuffices to ſhew us what we are to judge of the character and merit of Craſſus's eloquence.

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* Quis eſt qui non fateatur, hoc lepôre atque iis facetiis non minùs refutatum eſſe Brutum, quam illis tragœdiis, quas egit idem, cum caſu in eadem cauſa cum funere efferretur anus Junia? Proh dii immortales! Quæ fuit illa, quanta vis, quam inexpectata, quam repentina! cum, conjectis oculis, geſtu omni imminente, ſumma gravitate & celeritate verborum: *Brute, quid ſedes? Quid illam anum patri nunciare vis tuo? Quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? Quid Lucio Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit? Quid te facere? Cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti ſtudere? Patrimoniono augendo? At id non eſt nobilitatis. Sed fac eſſe. Nihil ſupereſt: libidines totum diſſipaverunt. An juri civili? Eſt paternum. Sed &c.——An rei militari, qui nunquam caſtra videris? An eloquentiæ, quæ nulla eſt in te, & quicquid eſt vocis ac linguæ, omne in iſtum turpiſſimum calumniæ quæſtum contuliſti? Tu lucem aſpicere audes? Tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium eſſe conſpectu? Tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipſas non perhorreſcis: quibus non modo imitandis, ſed ne collocandis quidem tibi nullum locum reliquiſti?* Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 223—226.

To this rare talent he added great knowledge of the civil law; in which however Scævola far exceeded him. He was the moſt learned civilian, and one of the moſt celebrated orators of his time: They * were both almoſt of the ſame age, had paſſed through

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* Illud gaudeo, quòd & æqualitas veſtra, & pares honorum gradus, & artium ſtudiorumque quaſi finitima vicinitas, tantum abeſt ab

through the ſame dignities, and applied themſelves to the ſame functions and ſtudies. This reſemblance, and kind of equality, far from exciting the leaſt thought of jealouſy, as it often happens, and from making the leaſt change whatſoever in their friendſhip, only ſerved to improve and augment it.

I ſhall ſay only a few words of the two young orators, Cotta and Sulpitius, who at this time made a ſhining figure at the bar. The character of their eloquence was quite different.

COTTA's * invention was penetrating and acute: his elocution pure and flowing. As the weakneſs of his lungs obliged him to avoid all violent exertions of voice, he took care to adapt his ſtile and manner of compoſing to the infirmity of his organs. Every thing in it was juſt, neat, and ſtrong. But, what was moſt admirable in him, as he could make no very great uſe of the vehement and impetuous ſtile, and conſequently could not influence the judges by the vigour of his diſcourſe; he had however the addreſs, in treating his matter, to produce the ſame effect upon them by his calm and compoſed manner, as Sulpitius by his ardent and animated eloquence.

The ſtile of SULPITIUS, on the contrary, was † lofty, vehement, and, to uſe the expreſſion, tragical. His

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ab obtrectatione invidiæ, quæ ſolet lacerare plerosque, uti ea non modò non exulcerare veſtram gratiam, ſed etiam conciliare videatur. *Brut.* n. 156.

* Inveniebat igitur acutè Cotta, dicebat purè ac ſolutè: & ut ad infirmitatem laterum perſcienter contentionem omnem remiſerat, ſic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi accommodabat genus. Nihil erat in ejus oratione niſi ſincerum, nihil niſi ſiccum, atque ſanum: illudque maximum, quòd, cum contentione orationis flectere animos judicum vix poſſet, nec omnino eo genere diceret, tractando tamen impellebat, ut idem facerent à ſe commoti, quod à Sulpitio concitati. *Brut.* n. 202.

† Fuit enim Sulpitius vel maximè omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis, &, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. Vox cùm magna, tum ſuavis & ſplendida: geſtus & motus corporis ita venuſtus, ut tamen ad forum non ad ſcenam inſtitutus videretur. Incitata & volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen, nec circumfluens oratio.

His voice was ſtrong, ſweet, and clear; the geſture and motion of his body extremely graceful and agreeable; but that grace of action ſuited the bar, not the ſtage. His diſcourſe was rapid and abundant, but without any vicious redundance or ſuperfluity. Sulpitius made Craſſus his model; Cotta was better pleaſed with Antony. But the latter had neither Antony's force, nor the former Craſſus's pleaſantry.

There was a remarkable difference between Cotta and Sulpitius. The latter was cut off in his youth, whereas Cotta lived to an advanced age, was conſul, and pleaded with Hortenſius, who was however much younger than him.

The example of Cotta and Sulpitius ſhews, that two orators may both be excellent without reſembling each other; and that the important point is to diſcern aright, to what nature or genius inclines us, and to take her for our guide. Theſe had the good fortune to find two great maſters and moſt friendly guides in Antony and Craſſus, who ſpared no pains, and made it their pleaſure, to form them for eloquence.

SECT. III.

Third age of the Roman orators.

THIS is the golden age of the Roman eloquence, which was of ſhort duration, but ſhone out with great luſtre, and almoſt equalled Rome with Athens. It produced a great number of excellent orators, Hortenſius, Cæſar, who would have been an orator of the firſt claſs, if he had kept to the bar; Brutus, Meſſala, and many others, who all acquired great reputation amongſt the Romans, though their orations are not come down to us. But Cicero obſcures the glory of all the reſt, and

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tio. Craſſum hic volebat imitari, Cotta malebat Antonium. Sed ab hoc vis aberat Antonii, Craſſi ab illo lepos. *Ibid.* n. 203.

may be conſidered as the moſt perfect model of the Roman eloquence that ever appeared in the world. I muſt deſire the reader's permiſſion for referring Vol. II. him to the treatiſe upon ſtudy, where I have expatiated largely upon Cicero, and the character of his eloquence, of which, for that reaſon, there remains little for me to ſay.

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 2. He was indebted to nature for an happy genius, which his father took care to cultivate in a particular manner, under the direction of Craſſus, who laid down the plan of his ſtudies. He had the moſt able maſters of thoſe times at Rome, and went afterwards into Greece and Aſia minor, to learn the precepts of Oratory at their ſource.

His brother [*] Quintus believed, that nature alone, with the aid of frequent exerciſe, ſufficed to form the orator. Cicero was of a very different opinion, and was convinced, that the talent of ſpeaking could only be acquired by a vaſt extent of erudition. Accordingly, perſuaded that, without the moſt tenacious application, and an ardor that roſe almoſt to paſſion, nothing great could be attained, he devoted himſelf wholly to laborious ſtudy. The fruits of it ſoon appeared, and, from his firſt ſhewing himſelf at the bar, he was diſtinguiſhed by univerſal applauſe.

He had a fertile, warm, and ſhining wit; a rich and lively imagination; a poliſhed, florid, abundant, and luxuriant ſtile; which laſt quality is no fault in a young orator. Every body knows, that Cicero, when maſter of the art, in laying down rules, is for having youth diſplay fertility and abundance in their Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 88. compoſitions: *Volo ſe efferat in adoleſcente fœcunditas.* Quintilian [†] often and ſtrongly recommends to maſters,

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[*] Soles nonnunquam hac de re à me in diſputationibus noſtris diſſentire, quod ego eruditiſſimorum hominum artibus eloquentiam contineri ſtatuam; tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrinæ ſegregandam putes, & in quodam ingenii atque exercitationis genere ponendam. *Lib. 1. de Orat.* n. 5.

[†] In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi nec ſperari poteſt: melior autem eſt indoles læta generoſique conatûs, & vel plura concipiens

interim

ters, not to expect or require finiſhed and perfect diſcourſes from their diſciples. He prefers a bold freedom in their exerciſes, which grows wanton whilſt it makes efforts, and exceeds the bounds of the exact and the juſt. It is eaſy to correct abundance, but there is no curing ſterility.

Cicero himſelf cites an example of this luxuriant and too florid ſtile from his own defence of Roſcius Amerinus, who was accuſed of parricide. In a great common-place upon parricide, after having deſcribed the puniſhment eſtabliſhed by the Roman laws for ſuch as were convicted of it, which was to ſow them up in a leathern bag, with a dog, a cock, a ſerpent, and an ape, and to throw them into the ſea, he adds the following reflection, to ſhew the enormity of the crime by the ſingularity of the puniſhment, the choice of which ſeems to have had in view the excluding of an ungrateful wretch from the uſe of all nature, who had been ſo unnatural to deprive his father of life: *Quid eſt tam commune quam ſpiritus vivis, terra mortuis, mare fluctuantibus, littus ejectis? Ita vivunt, dum poſſunt, ut ducere animam de cœlo non queant: ita moriuntur, ut eorum oſſa terra non tangat: ita jactantur fluctibus, ut nunquam abluantur: ita poſtremò ejiciuntur, ut ne ad ſaxa quidem mortui conquieſcant, &c.* "What is "there ſo common as the air we breathe to the "living, the earth to the dead, the water to thoſe "who go by ſea, and the ſhore to thoſe who are "driven by the waves. By the invention of this "puniſhment, theſe unhappy wretches, during "the ſhort time they retain life in it, live without "power to reſpire the air, and die in ſuch a manner, that their bones cannot touch the earth: "they are toſſed to and fro in the waves, without "being waſhed by them; and are driven againſt

In Orat. n. 107, 108.

Pro Roſc. Amer. n. 75.

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interim ſpiritus—Facile remedium eſt ubertatis: ſterilia nullo labore vincuntur. *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 4.

" the rocks and ſhores, ſo as never to reſt or lie " ſtill even in death."

The whole * paſſage upon the puniſhment of parricides, and eſpecially that part of it juſt quoted, was received with extraordinary applauſe. But Cicero, ſome time after, began to perceive, that this common-place ſavoured too much of the young man (he was then twenty-ſeven years old) and that if he had been applauded, it was leſs from any real beauty in the paſſage, than the hopes and promiſe he then gave of his future merit. And indeed this paſſage has nothing in it but a glitter without ſolidity, which dazzles for a moment, but will not bear the leaſt ſerious examination. The thoughts are far-fetched and unnatural, with a ſtudied affectation of Antitheſis and Contraſt,

In Brut. n. 316. Cicero very much reformed his taſte, and, after going to Athens, and into Aſia minor, where, as celebrated as he was for pleading, he became the diſciple of the learned rhetoricians who taught there, he returned to Rome almoſt entirely changed from what he was when he left it. † Molo the Rhodian in particular was of great uſe to him, in teaching him to retrench the ſuperfluity and redundance that proceeded from the warmth and vivacity of his years, and in accuſtoming him to a leſs diffuſed ſtile, to keep within juſt bounds, and to give his diſcourſe more weight and maturity.

Belles Lettres, Vol. 2. The emulation excited in him by the great ſucceſs of his friend, but rival, Hortenſius, was of infinite ſervice to him. I have ſpoken of it elſewhere with ſufficient extent. He ſeems from thenceforth to

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* Quantis illa clamoribus adoleſcentuli diximus de ſupplicio parricidarum! quæ nequaquam ſatis deferbuiſſe poſt aliquando ſentire cœpimus. Sunt enim omnia ſicut adoleſcentis, non tam re & maturitate quam ſpe & expectatione laudati.

† Molo dedit operam, ſi modò id conſequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos & ſuperfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate reprimeret, & quaſi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me, biennio poſt, non modò exercitatior, ſed propè mutatus.

have formed the deſign of carrying from Greece, or at leaſt of diſputing with her, the glory of eloquence. He exerted himſelf in every branch of it courageouſly, without neglecting one. The ſimple, the florid, and the ſublime ſtiles became equally familiar to him; and he has given us the moſt finiſhed models in thoſe three ſpecies of eloquence. He mentions ſeveral * places in his treatiſe *De Oratore*, where he had employed thoſe different kinds of ſtile; and ingenuouſly confeſſes, that, if he has not attained perfection in them, he has at leaſt attempted and ſhadowed it. Nobody knew the heart of man better than him, nor ſucceeded better in moving the ſprings of it, † whether he inſinuates into his hearer's favour by the ſoft and tender paſſions, or uſes thoſe which require bold figures, vehemence, and all that eloquence has of ſtrongeſt and moſt affecting. To be convinced of this, the reader has only to conſult his perorations. When ‡ pleadings were divided, this laſt part was always left to him, in which he never failed to ſucceed in a peculiar manner; not, ſays he, that he had more wit than others, but becauſe he was more moved and affected himſelf, without which his diſcourſe would not have been capable of moving and affecting the judges.

It was this admirable || union and application of all the different qualities of the orator that occa-

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* Nulla eſt ullo in genere laus oratoris, cujus in noſtris orationibus non ſit aliqua, ſi non perfectio, at conatus tamen atque adumbratio. Non aſſequimur, at, quid deceat, videmus. *Orat.* n. 103.

† Hujus eloquentiæ eſt tractare animos, hujus omni modo permovere. Hæc modò perfringit, modò irrepit in ſenſus: inſerit novas opiniones, evellit inſitas. *Orat.* n. 97.

‡ Si plures dicebamus, perorationem mihi tamen omnes relinquebant: in quo ut viderer excellere, non ingenio ſed dolore aſſequebar——nec unquam is qui audiret incenderetur, niſi ardens ad eum perveniret oratio. *Orat.* n. 130, 132.

|| Jejunas hujus multiplicis & equabiliter in omnia genera fuſæ orationis aures civitatis accepimus, eaſque nos primi, quicumque eramus, & quantulumcumque dicebamus, ad hujus generis dicendi, audiendi, incredibilia ſtudia convertimus. *Orat.* n. 106.

Propter exquiſitius & minimè vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. *Brut.* n. 321.

ſioned the rapid ſucceſs of Cicero's pleadings. He owns himſelf, that Rome had never ſeen or heard any thing of the like nature before; and that this new ſpecies of eloquence charmed the hearers, and carried off all ſuffrages. That of the antients, as I have obſerved before, had abundance of ſolidity, but was entirely void of grace and ornament. * Rome, which to their time had neither literature nor delicacy of ear, ſuffered, and even went ſo far as to admire, them. Hortenſius had begun to throw graces into diſcourſe. But, beſides his negligence in that reſpect at length, from his being contented with and ſecure, as he thought, of, his reputation, the ornaments he uſed conſiſted rather in words and turns of phraſe than thoughts, and had more ele gance than real beauty.

Cicero induſtriouſly gave eloquence all the grace of which it was ſuſceptible, but without leſſening the ſolidity and gravity of diſcourſe. He departed a little in this from the method of Demoſthenes who, ſolely attentive to things in themſelves, and not in the leaſt to his own reputation, goes on di rectly to the end in view, and neglects every thing merely ornamental. † Our orator thought himſel obliged to comply in ſome meaſure with the taſte of his times, and the delicacy of the Romans, which required a more pleaſing and florid ſtile. He neve loſt ſight of the public utility, but was ſtudious a the ſame time of pleaſing the judges; and in this he ſaid he ſerved his country more effectually: for his diſcourſe, in being agreeable, was neceſſarily the

* Erant, nondum tritis hominum auribus & erudita civitate, to-lerabiles. *Brut.* n. 124.

† Ne illis quidem nimiùm repugno, qui dandum putant nonni-hil eſſe temporibus atque auribus, nitidius aliquid atque affectatius poſtulantibus——Atque id feciſſe M. Tullium video, ut cùm omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret: cùm & ipſam ſe rem agere diceret (agebat autem maximè) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipſe proderat, quòd placebat. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 10.

more perſuaſive. * This beauty, this charm of ſtile, diffuſed throughout the orations of Cicero, made him ſeem to obtain that by gentle means, which he actually ſeized by force; whilſt the judges, who conceived they did no more than follow him of their own accord, were borne away by *bright illuſion* and imperious vehemence.

He alſo inriched the Roman eloquence with another advantage, which highly exalted its value: I mean the diſpoſition of words, which conduces infinitely to the beauty of diſcourſe. † For the moſt agreeable and moſt ſolid thoughts, if the terms in which they are expreſſed want arrangement and numeroſity, offend the ear, of which the ſenſe is exceedingly delicate. The ‡ Greeks had been almoſt four hundred years in poſſeſſion of this kind of beauty in the admirable works of their writers, who had carried the ſweetneſs and harmony of diſpoſition to its higheſt perfection. I have obſerved in the beginning of this volume, in what manner Cicero acquired the Roman language this improvement.

As much muſt be ſaid of all the other parts of eloquence, || of which he either gave the Romans the firſt knowledge, or at leaſt carried them to their higheſt perfection: and in this Cæſar had reaſon to ſay, that Cicero had rendered his country great ſervice. For by his means Rome, which gave place to Greece only in this kind of glory, deprived her

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* Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affuit? Ut ipſa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas; &, cùm tranſverſum vi ſua Judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, ſed ſequi. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Quamvis graves ſuaveſque ſententiæ, tamen ſi inconditis verbis efferuntur, offendunt aures, quarum eſt judicium ſuperbiſſimum. *Orat.* n. 150.

‡ Et apud Græcos quidem jam anni prope quadringenti, cum hoc numerus) probatur: nos nuper agnovimus. *Orat.* n. 171.

|| Cæſar Tullium, non ſolùm principem atque inventorem copiæ dixit, quæ erat magna laus; ſed etiam bene meritum de populi Romani nomine & dignitate. Quo enim uno vincebamur à victa Græcia, id aut ereptum illis eſt, aut certè nobis cum illis communicatum. *Brut.* n. 254.

of it, or, perhaps, roſe to the point of dividing it with her.

Cicero in conſequence may truly be ſaid to be, in reſpect to Rome, what Demoſthenes had before been to Athens : that is to ſay, that each on his ſide carried eloquence to the higheſt perfection it ever attained.

SECT. IV.

Fourth age of the Roman orators.

IT is the uſual lot of human things, when they have attained their higheſt perfection, to decline ſoon, and to degenerate ever after. Eloquence, as well as hiſtory and poetry, experienced this ſad fatality at Rome. Some few years after the death o Auguſtus, that region, ſo fertile of fine works an noble productions, * bore no more of thoſe excellen fruits, which had done it ſo much honour ; and a if it had been univerſally blaſted, that bloom o Roman urbanity, that is to ſay, the extreme delicacy of taſte, which prevailed in all works of wi and learning, withered and diſappeared almoſt on ſudden.

A man highly eſtimable in other reſpects for hi fine genius, rare talents, and learned works, occaſioned this change in eloquence : it is eaſy to perceive that I mean Seneca. A too great eſteem fo himſelf, a kind of jealouſy for the great men wh had appeared before him, a violent deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and to uſe the expreſſion, of forming a ſect, and being the leader for others to follow, made him quit the uſual track, and thro himſelf into paths that were new and unknown t the antients.

The beſt things are abuſed, and even virtue themſelves become vices when exceſſive and carrie too far. The graces with which Cicero had embelliſhed and inriched the Roman eloquence, were diſpenſed ſoberly and with great judgment: but Seneca laviſhed them without diſcretion or meaſure. In the writings of the firſt, the ornaments were grave, manly, majeſtic, and proper for exalting the dignity of a queen: in thoſe of the ſecond, one might almoſt term them the finery of a Courtezan, which, far from adding new luſtre to the natural beauty of eloquence, by the profuſion of pearls and gems, diſguiſed and made it diſappear. For the ſoil of Seneca is admirable. No antient author has either o many, ſo fine, or ſo ſolid thoughts as him. But e ſpoils them by the turn he gives them, by the ntitheſes and quibbles with which they are uſually arded, by an exceſſive affectation of ending almoſt very period with an epigrammatic point, or a kind of glittering thought, a conceit very like it. This made Quintilian ſay it were to be wiſhed, Lib. 1. c. 1. hat Seneca in compoſing had uſed his own genius, ut another's judgment. *Velles eum ſuo ingenio dixſe, alieno judicio.* What I have obſerved of him Belles Lettres, Vol. 11. lſewhere, with great extent, diſpenſes with my ying any more of him in this place.

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* Omnis fœtus repreſſus, exuſtuſque flos ſiti veteris ubertatis exaruit. *Brut.* n. 16.

PLINY *the Younger.*

The AUTHOR, of whom I am going to ſpeak, s one of thoſe perſons of antiquity that beſt deſerve o be known. I ſhall firſt trace a plan of his life rom his own letters, in which we ſhall find all the ualities of the man of honour and probity, with he moſt amiable goodneſs of heart and generoſity is poſſible to imagine. I ſhall then proceed to ive ſome idea of his ſtile by extracts from his anegyric upon Trajan, which is the only piece of is eloquence come down to us.

Abridgement of the life of Pliny the younger.

A.D. 61. PLINY the younger was born at Coma, a city of Italy. His mother was Pliny the Naturaliſt's ſiſter, who adopted him for his ſon.

Epiſt. 1. l. 2. Having loſt his father very early, Virginius Rufus, one of the greateſt perſons of his age, was his guardian, who always conſidered him as his own ſon, and took particular care of him, Virginius, whoſe virtues had rendered him ſuſpected, and ever odious to the emperors, had however the good fortune to eſcape their jealouſy and hatred. He livec to the age of fourſcore and three, always happy anc admired. The emperor Trajan cauſed his obſequies to be ſolemniſed with great magnificence and Tacitus the hiſtorian, who was then conſul pronounced his funeral oration.

Pliny was no leſs happy in maſters, than he ha been in a guardian. We have ſeen elſewhere, tha he ſtudied rhetoric under Quintilian, and that, c all his diſciples, he was the perſon who did hir moſt honour, and alſo expreſſed moſt gratitude fc him. The whole ſequel of his life will ſhew th taſte he had acquired for polite learning of ever kind in the ſchool of that celebrated rhetoriciar
Epiſt. 4. l. 7. At the age of fourteen he compoſed a Greek tragedy. He exerciſed himſelf afterwards in ever ſpecies of poetry, which he made his amuſemen

Ep. 6. l. 6. He believed it neceſſary to hear alſo Nicetas c Smyrna, a celebrated Greek rhetorician, who wa then at Rome.

Ep. 14. l. 1. I include Ruſticus Arulenus in the number c his maſters, who had been tribune of the people i 69, and who profeſſed Stoic philoſophy. His merit
Domitian. and virtue were crimes under an emperor, wh was the declared enemy of both, and occaſione the loſs of his life. He had taken particular ca

to form Pliny for virtue, who always retained the higheſt gratitude for his memory,

Pliny was ſent into Syria, where he ſerved for ſome years at the head of a legion. All the leiſure his duty afforded him there he devoted to the lectures and converſations of Euphrates, a famous philoſopher, who believed then that he ſaw in Pliny all that he afterwards proved. He gives us a fine picture of that philoſopher. His * air, ſays he, is ſerious, without ſourneſs or ill nature. His preſence inſpires reſpect, but neither fear nor awe. His extreme politeneſs is equalled only by the purity of his manners. He makes war upon vices, not perſons; and reforms ſuch as err, but without inſulting them. Ep. 10. l. 1.

On his return to Rome, he attached himſelf more cloſely than ever to Pliny the Naturaliſt, who had adopted him, and in whom he had the good fortune to find a father, maſter, model, and excellent guide. He collected his ſlighteſt diſcourſes, and ſtudied all his actions.

His uncle, then fifty-ſix years old, was obliged to repair to the coaſt of Naples, in order to take upon him the command of the Roman fleet at Miſenum. Pliny the younger attended him thither, where he loſt him by the unhappy accident I have related elſewhere.

Deſtitute of that ſupport, he ſought no other than his own merit, and applied himſelf wholly to public affairs. He pleaded his firſt cauſe at nineteen years of age. Young as he was, he ſpoke before the Centumviri in an affair, wherein he was under the neceſſity of contending with all the perſons of the higheſt credit in Rome, without excepting thoſe whom the prince honoured with his favour. † It was this action that firſt made him Ep. 8. l. 5. Ep. 18. l. 1.

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* Nullus horror in vultu, nulla triſtitia, multum ſeveritatis. Verearis occurſum, non reformides. Vitæ ſanctitas ſumma; comitas par. Inſectatur vitia, non homines: nec caſtigat errantes, ſed emendat.

† Illa actio mihi aures hominum, illa januam famæ patefecit.

known, and opened the way for the reputation he afterwards acquired. He retained from thenceforth an approbation as univerſal as extraordinary in a city where neither competitors nor envy were idle.

Ep.16.l.4. He had more than once the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the entrance of the bar entirely ſhut up by the multitude of hearers, who waited when he was to plead. He was obliged to go to his place through the tribunal where the judges ſat; and ſometimes ſpoke ſeven hours, when himſelf was the only perſon tired in the aſſembly.

Ep.14.l.5. He never pleaded but for the public intereſts, his friends, or thoſe whoſe ill fortune had left them none. Moſt of the other advocates ſold their aſſiſtance, and to glory, of old the ſole reward of ſo noble an employment, had ſubſtituted a ſordid traffic of gain. Trajan, to reform that diſorder, publiſhed a * decree, which at the ſame time it gave Pliny great pleaſure, did him no leſs honour. "How pleaſed I am, ſaid he, not only never to "have entered into any agreement about the cauſes "in which I have been concerned, but to have always refuſed all kinds of preſents, and even new-"years gifts, upon account of them! † It is true, "indeed, that every thing repugnant to honour is "to be avoided, not as prohibited, but as infa-"mous. There is however great ſatisfaction in "ſeeing that prohibited, which one never allowed "one's ſelf to do."

Ep.23.l.6. He made it a pleaſure, and even a duty, to aſſiſt with his advice, and to produce young perſons of family and hopes at the bar. He would not under-

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* *It was ordained by this decree, that all perſons who had cauſes ſhould make oath that they had neither given nor promiſed, nor cauſed to be given or promiſed, any thing to the advocate concerned for them. After the ſuit was determined, it admitted giving to the amount of ten thouſand ſeſterces (about* 60l. *ſterling.* Ep. 21. l. 5.

† Oportet quidem quæ ſunt inhoneſta, non quaſi illicita, ſed quaſi pudenda, vitare. Jucundum tamen, ſi prohiberi publicè videas, quod nunquam tibi ipſe permiſeris.

take ſome cauſes, but upon condition of having a young advocate joined with him in them. * It was the higheſt joy to him, to ſee them begin to diſtinguiſh themſelves in pleading, by treading in his ſteps, and following his counſels. From how good an heart, from what a fund of love for the public, do ſuch ſentiments flow! Ep. 11. l. 6.

It was by theſe ſteps that Pliny ſoon roſe to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate. He always retained the virtues in them by which they were acquired. In the time of Domitian he was prætor.

That ſavage prince, who looked upon innocence of manners as a cenſure of his own conduct, baniſhed all the philoſophers from Rome and Italy. Artemidorus, one of Pliny's friends, was of this number, and had withdrawn to an houſe that he had without the gates of the city. "I went thither to ſee him, ſays Pliny, at a time when my "viſit was moſt remarkable and moſt dangerous. "I was prætor. He could not diſcharge the debts "he had contracted for many noble uſes without a "great ſum of money. Some of the richeſt and "moſt powerful of his friends would not ſee the "difficulty he was under. As to me, I borrowed "the ſum, and made him a preſent of it. I had "however great reaſon to tremble for myſelf. Seven "of my friends had juſt before either been baniſhed "or put to death. Of the latter were Senecio, "Ruſticus and Helvidius: the exiles were Mauricus, Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia. † The thunder which fell ſo often, and ſtill ſmoked around "me, ſeemed evidently to preſage the like fate for "myſelf. But I am far from believing that I deſerve on this account all the glory Artemidorus "gives Ep. 11. l. 3.

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* O diem lætum, notandumque mihi candidiſſimo calculo! Quid enim aut publicè lætius, quam clariſſimos juvenes nomen & famam ex ſtudiis petere; aut mihi optatius, quam me ad recta tendentibus quaſi exemplar eſſe propoſitum?

† Tot circa me jactis fulminibus quaſi ambuſtus, mihi quoque impendere idem exitium certis quibuſdam notis augurarer.

"gives me: I only avoid infamy." Where ſhall we find now ſuch friends and ſuch ſentiments?

I admire Pliny's good fortune, worthy man as he was, in eſcaping the cruelty of Domitian. I could wiſh that he owed this obligation to his maſter and friend Quintilian, who had undoubtedly great credit with the emperor, eſpecially after he had charged him with the education of his ſiſter's grandſons. Hiſtory ſays nothing upon this head: it only informs us, that an accuſation fully prepared againſt Pliny was found amongſt Domitian's papers.

Ep. 5. l. 1. A. D. 96. The bloody death of that emperor, who was ſucceeded by Nerva, reſtored tranquillity to perſons of worth, and made the bad tremble in their turn. A famous informer, named Regulus, not ſatisfied with having fomented the proſecution of Ruſticus Arulenus, had beſides triumphed over his death, by inſulting his memory with writings ful of injurious reproaches and inſolent ridicule. Never was man ſo abject, cowardly, and creeping, as this wretch appeared after Domitian's death; which is always the caſe with ſuch venal proſtitutes to iniquity, that have no ſenſe of honour. He wa afraid of Pliny's reſentment, the declared friend o Ruſticus in all times. Beſides which he had attacked him perſonally in Domitian's life; and in a public pleading at the bar, had laid a murtherou ſnare for him by an inſidious queſtion, in reſpect to a perſon of worth, whom the emperor had baniſhed, which expoſed Pliny to certain danger, had he openly declared the truth; or would have diſhonoured him for ever, had he betrayed it. This baſe wretch left nothing undone to avert Pliny's juſt revenge, employed the recommendation of hi beſt friends, and came to him at laſt in perſon, to implore him, with the moſt abject and abandoned ſubmiſſions, to forget the paſt. Pliny did not think fit to explain himſelf, being willing, before he determined in the affair, to wait the arrival of Mauricus.

ricus, the brother of Ruſticus; who was not yet returned from baniſhment. It is not known how this buſineſs ended.

Another of the ſame kind did him abundance of honour. As ſoon as Domitian was killed, Pliny, upon mature deliberation, judged the preſent a very happy occaſion for proſecuting the vile, avenging oppreſſed innocence, and acquiring great glory. He had contracted a particular friendſhip with Helvidius Priſcus, the moſt virtuous and moſt revered perſon of his time, as alſo with Arria and Fannia, of whom the firſt was the wife of Pætus Thraſea and Fannia's mother; and the latter the wife of Priſcus. The ſenator Publicius Certus, a man of great power and credit, deſigned for conſul the enſuing year, had urged the death of Helvidius, who was alſo a ſenator of conſular dignity, even in the ſenate. Pliny undertook to avenge his illuſtrious friend. Arria and Fannia, who were returned from baniſhment, joined him in ſo generous a deſign. He had never done any thing without the advice of Corellius, whom he conſidered as the wiſeſt and moſt able perſon of the age. But, upon this occaſion, knowing him to be a man of too timorous and circumſpect a prudence, and, at the ſame time, that * in reſolutions wiſely taken it is not proper to conſult perſons, whoſe counſels are a kind of orders to the aſker, he did not impart his deſign to him, and contented himſelf with communicating it upon the very day it was to be put in execution, but without aſking his opinion. Ep.13.l.9. Ep.17.l.4.

The ſenate being aſſembled, Pliny repaired thither, and demanded permiſſion to ſpeak. He began with great applauſe, but, as ſoon as he had opened the plan of the accuſation, and had ſufficiently deſigned the criminal, without naming him however hitherto, the ſenate roſe up againſt him on

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* Expertus uſu, de eo quod deſtinaveris non eſſe conſulendos, quibus conſultis obſequi debeas.

on all ſides. He heard all their outcries without trouble or emotion, whilſt one of his friends of conſular dignity intimated to him ſoftly, but in very lively terms, that he had expoſed himſelf with too much courage, and too little prudence, and preſſed him earneſtly to deſiſt from his accuſation; adding at the ſame time, that he would render himſelf formidable to ſucceeding emperors. *So much the better*, replied Pliny, *if they are bad ones.*

They at length proceeded to give their opinions, and the firſt who ſpoke, which were the moſt conſiderable of the ſenate, apologiſed for Certus, as if Pliny had actually named him, though he had not yet done ſo. Almoſt all the reſt declared in his favour.

When it came to Pliny's turn to ſpeak, he treated the ſubject in all its extent, and replied to every thing that had been advanced. It is not conceivable with what attention and applauſe, even thoſe who a little before had oppoſed him, received all he ſaid, ſo ſudden was the change produced either by the importance of the cauſe, the force of the reaſons, or the courage of the accuſer.

The emperor did not judge it proper that the proceedings ſhould go on. Pliny however carried what he propoſed. Certus's colleague obtained the conſulſhip, as had been before intended: but as for himſelf, another was nominated in his ſtead.

What an honour was this for Pliny! A ſingle man, by the idea conceived of his zeal for the public good, brings over all the ſuffrages to his own ſide, ſupports the dignity of his order, and reſtores courage to ſo auguſt an aſſembly as the Roman ſenate, at a time when the terror of the preceding reign ſtill rendered it timorous and almoſt ſpeechleſs.

I ſhall repeat two other occaſions alſo, in which, not as a ſenator, but an advocate, he diſplayed both the force of his eloquence, and his juſt indignation againſt the oppreſſors of the people in the provinces.

They are both of the ſame time, but the year is not preciſely known.

In the firſt, “We ſee an event famous from the “rank of the perſon, ſalutary by the ſeverity of “the example, and memorable for ever from its “importance.” I ſhall uſe Pliny's own words, but I ſhall abridge his account conſiderably: Ep. 11. l. 2.

“Marius Priſcus, proconſul of Africa, accuſed “by the Africans, without propoſing any defence, “confines himſelf to demanding the ordinary “judges. Tacitus and myſelf (ſays Pliny) being “charged by order of the ſenate with the cauſe of “that people, believed it our duty to remonſtrate, “that the crimes in queſtion were too enormous “to admit a civil trial. For Priſcus was accuſed “of no leſs than ſelling condemnation, and even “the lives of innocent perſons.—Vitellius Hono-“ratus and Flavius Martianus were cited as his “accomplices and appeared. The firſt was ac-“cuſed of having purchaſed the baniſhment of a “Roman knight, and the deaths of ſeven of his “friends, for three hundred thouſand ſeſterces. *About* 1900 *l.* *ſterling.* “The ſecond had given ſeven hundred thouſand, “to have various torments inflicted upon another *About* 4350 *l.* *ſterling.* “Roman knight. This latter had been firſt con-“demned to be whipped, then ſent to the mines, “and at laſt ſtrangled in priſon. But a fortunate “death ſaved Honoratus from the juſtice of the “ſenate. Martianus therefore was committed “without Priſcus. Upon ſome debates which “aroſe upon this affair, it was referred to the firſt “aſſembly of the ſenate.

“This aſſembly was moſt auguſt. The prince Trajan. “preſided in it, being then conſul. It was about “the beginning of January, when the ſenate is “generally moſt numerous. Beſides the impor-“tance of the cauſe, the noiſe it had made, and “the natural curioſity of all men to be eye-wit-“neſſes of great and extraordinary events, had "drawn together from all parts a great multitude "of auditors. You may imagine the trouble and "apprehenſion we were under, who were to ſpeak "in ſuch an aſſembly, and in the preſence of the "emperor. I have ſpoken more than once in the "ſenate, and may venture to ſay, that I never was "ſo favourably heard any where: notwithſtanding "which every thing daunted me, as if entirely new "to me.

"The difficulty of the cauſe embarraſſed me al"moſt as much as the reſt. I conſidered, in the "perſon of Priſcus, a man, who, a little before, "was of conſular dignity, was honoured with an "important prieſthood, of both which titles he was "then diveſted. I was ſincerely concerned at be"ing to accuſe an unfortunate perſon already con"demned. If the enormity of his crime urged "ſtrongly againſt him, pity, which uſually ſuc"ceeds a firſt condemnation, pleaded no leſs in "his favour. At length I took courage, began "my diſcourſe, and received as many applauſes as "I had fears before. I ſpoke almoſt five hours: "for * I was granted an hour and a half more "than was at firſt allowed me. All that ſeemed "difficult and averſe, when I had it to ſay, became "eaſy and favourable when I ſaid it. The empe"ror's goodneſs and care, I dare not call it anxiety, "for me, went ſo far, that he ordered me ſeveral "times to be admoniſhed by a freedman, who "ſtood behind me, to ſpare myſelf, and not to "forget the weakneſs of my conſtitution.

"Claudius Marcellinus defended Martianus. "The ſenate adjourned to the next day; for there "was not ſufficient time for going through a new "pleading before night.

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* Nam decem clepſydris, quas ſpatioſiſſimas acceperam, ſunt additæ quatuor.

“ On the morrow Salvius Liberalis ſpoke for Priſcus. [*] He is a ſubtle orator, diſpoſes his ſubject with method, has abundance of vehemence, and is truly eloquent. All theſe talents he diſplayed this day. [†] Tacitus replied with abundance of eloquence, in which the great and the ſublime of his character diſtinguiſhed itſelf not a little. Catius Fronto rejoined very finely for Priſcus; and, as he ſpoke laſt, and there was but little time remaining, he endeavoured more to move the judges, than to juſtify the accuſed. Night came on, and the affair was referred to the next day.

“ The queſtion then was to examine the proofs, and proceed to vote. It was certainly ſomething very noble, and highly worthy of antient Rome, to ſee the ſenate aſſembled, and employed for three days ſucceſſively, without ſeparating till night. Cornutus Tertullus conſul elect, a perſon of extraordinary merit, and moſt zealous for juſtice, was the firſt that gave his opinion. It was to condemn Priſcus to pay the ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces he had received into the public treaſury, and to baniſh him from Rome and Italy. He went farther againſt Martianus, and was for having him baniſhed even from Africa; and concluded with propoſing to the ſenate, to declare [‡] Tacitus and I had faithfully and worthily anſwered their expectation in acquitting ourſelves of our commiſſion The conſuls, and all the perſons of conſular dignity, who ſpoke afterwards, were of the ſame opinion. Some diviſion enſued: but at laſt every body came over to Cornutus.”

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[*] Vir ſubtilis, diſpoſitus, acer, diſertus.

[†] Reſpondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentiſſimè, & quod eximium orationi ejus in eſt, σεμνῶς.

[‡] Ego & Tacitus. *The Latin is more ſimple and leſs ceremonious.* I and Tacitus. *Perhaps the ſenate's vote named Pliny firſt.*

Pliny makes an end of his letter with a ſtroke of gaiety. "You are now, ſays he to his friend, fully "informed of what paſſes here. Let me know in "your turn what you do in the country. Send "me an exact account of your trees, your vines, "your corn, and your cattle; and aſſure yourſelf, "that if I have not a very long letter from you, "you ſhall have but very ſhort ones from me for "the future. Adieu."

Ep. 4. & 9. l. 3. It appears that Pliny was in a manner the refuge and aſylum of the oppreſſed provinces. The deputies from *Bœtica implored the ſenate to appoint Pliny to be their advocate in the ſuit they had commenced againſt Cæcilius Claſſicus, late governor of that province. Whatever other employments he might have, he could not refuſe that people his aſſiſtance, for whom he had before pleaded upon a like occaſion. † For, ſays Pliny, you cancel your firſt good offices, if you do not repeat them. Oblige an hundred times, and refuſe once, men (for ſuch is their nature) forget every thing but the refuſal. Accordingly he undertook their cauſe.

Either a voluntary or natural death ſaved Claſſicus from the conſequences of this proſecution. Bœtica however did not omit to demand that it ſhould go on; for ſo the laws required; and accuſed at the ſame time the miniſters and accomplices of his crimes, demanding juſtice againſt them. The firſt thing that Pliny believed it neceſſary to eſtabliſh, was, that Claſſicus was guilty, which it was not difficult to prove. He had left amongſt his papers an exact memorandum, in his own hand-writing, of the gains he had made by his ſeveral extortions. Probus and Hiſpanus, two of his accomplices, gave more trouble. Before he entered upon the

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* *Andaluſia is a great part of what the antients called Bœtica.*

† Eſt ita natura comparatum, ut antiquiora beneficia ſubvertas, niſi illa poſterioribus cumules. Nam, quamlibet ſæpe obligati, ſi quid unum neges, hoc ſolum meminerunt, quod negatum eſt.

proof of their crimes, Pliny judged it neceſſary to ſhew, that the execution of a governor's orders in what was manifeſtly unjuſt, was criminal; without which it had been loſing time to prove them Claſſicus's inſtruments. For they did not deny the facts laid to their charge, but excuſed themſelves by pleading that they were reduced to them by obedience to their ſuperior, which, according to them, ſufficed for their vindication. They pretended, that ſuch obedience could not be made criminal in them, as they were natives of the province, and conſequently accuſtomed to tremble at the leaſt command of the governor. Their advocate, who was a perſon of great ability, confeſſed afterwards, that he never was ſo much perplexed and diſconcerted, as when he ſaw the only arms in which he had placed his whole confidence, wreſted out of his hands.

The event was as follows. The ſenate decreed, that the eſtate of Claſſicus, before he took poſſeſſion of his government, ſhould be ſeparated from what he had afterwards acquired. The firſt was adjudged to his daughter, and the reſt to the people of Bœtica. Hiſpanus and Probus were baniſhed for five years; ſo black did that which at firſt ſeemed ſcarce criminal, appear after Pliny had ſpoke. The other accomplices were proſecuted with the ſame effect.

What conſtancy and courage had Pliny, and how much muſt he have abhorred injuſtice and oppreſſion? What an happineſs was it for the remote provinces, as Andaluſia was, where the governors, like ſo many petty tyrants, making their will their law, plundered and oppreſſed the people with impunity, to have a zealous and intrepid defender, whom neither credit nor menaces were capable of ſwaying in the leaſt! For theſe public robbers find protection, and are ſeldom made examples, which can alone put a ſtop to ſuch pernicious abuſes.

Pliny's

A. D. 99. In Panegyr. Traj. Pliny's zeal was ſoon rewarded in a conſpicuous manner. He was actually made præfect of the treaſury, that is to ſay, high-treaſurer, with Cornutus Tertullus; which office he held two years, when they were both nominated conſuls to be ſubſtituted to the uſual ones for the following year. Trajan ſpoke in the ſenate to have this honour conferred upon them, preſided in the aſſembly of the people at their nomination, and proclaimed them conſuls himſelf. He gave them great praiſes, and repreſented them as men who equalled the antient conſuls of Rome, in their love of juſtice and the public good. Ep. 13. l. 5. "It was then I perfectly knew, ſays "* Pliny, ſpeaking of his colleague, what kind of "man, and of what value, he was. I heard him "as a maſter, and reſpected him as a father, leſs "on account of his advanced age, than his pro"found wiſdom."

A. D. 100. Pliny, when conſul, pronounced, in his own and his colleague's name, an oration to thank Trajan for having conferred that dignity upon them, and to make his panegyric according to the order he had received from the ſenate, and in the name of the whole empire. I ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to ſpeak of this panegyric.

A. D. 103. About the end of the year 103, Pliny was ſent to govern Pontus and Bithynia in quality of proconſul. His ſole employment there was to eſtabliſh good order in his government, to execute juſtice, to redreſs grievances, and ſoften ſubjection. He had no thoughts of attracting reſpect by the pomp of equipage, difficulty of acceſs, haughtineſs in hearing, and inſolence in giving anſwers.

A noble ſimplicity, an always frank and eaſy reception, an affability that ſweetened neceſſary refuſals, with a moderation that never departed from itſelf, conciliated the affection of every body.

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* Tunc ego qui vir & quantus eſſet, altiſſimè inſpexi: quem ſequerer ut magiſtrum, ut parentem vererer: quod non tam ætatis maturitate, quam vita, merebatur.

Trajan, otherwiſe the moſt humane and juſt of princes, had ſet on foot a violent perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. Pliny, from the neceſſity of his office, and in conſequence of his blindneſs, had his ſhare in it. But the natural ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition made him averſe, at leaſt in ſome meaſure, to inflict puniſhments upon perſons guilty of no crime. In conſequence finding himſelf perplexed in the execution of the emperor's orders, he wrote him a letter upon that head, and received an anſwer, which, of all the monuments of Paganiſm, are perhaps thoſe that do moſt honour to the Chriſtian religion. I ſhall inſert both at length in this place.

Pliny's letter to the emperor Trajan.

"It is a part of my religion, Cæſar, to explain all my ſcruples to you. For who can either determine or inſtruct me better? I never was preſent at the proceedings againſt any Chriſtian: ſo that I neither know upon what the information againſt them turns, nor how far their puniſhment ſhould extend. I am much at a loſs about the difference of age. Muſt young and old without diſtinction ſuffer the ſame inflictions? Are not thoſe who repent to be pardoned, or is it to no purpoſe to renounce Chriſtianity, after having once embraced it? Is it the name only that I am to puniſh in them, or are there any crimes annexed to that name? However this be, I have made this my rule, in reſpect to the Chriſtians brought before me: Thoſe who have owned themſelves ſuch I have interrogated a ſecond and third time, and threatened them with puniſhment. When they perſiſted, I ordered it accordingly. For, of whatever nature their confeſſion was, I believed it indiſpenſably neceſſary to puniſh in them their diſobedience and invincible obſti-

Ep. 97. l. 10.

" nacy. There were others poſſeſſed with the ſame " phrenſy, whom I have reſerved in order to ſend " them to Rome, becauſe they are Roman citi" zens. Accuſations of this kind becoming after" wards more frequent even from being ſet on foot, " as is uſual, various kinds of them offer. A me" morial has been put into my hands, wherein " ſeveral perſons are accuſed of being Chriſtians, " who deny that they either are or ever were ſo. " They have in my preſence, and in the terms I " preſcribed, invoked the gods, and offered in" cenſe and wine to your image, which I cauſed " expreſsly to be brought out with the ſtatues of " our divinities. They have even uttered vio" lent imprecations againſt Chriſt. And this I " am told, is what none, who are truly Chriſtians, " can ever be forced to do. I believed it therefore " neceſſary to acquit them. Others, who have " been brought before me by an informer, have at " firſt confeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, and imme" diately after denied it; declaring that they had " indeed been ſo, but that they had ceaſed to be " ſo, ſome above three, and others a greater num" ber of years, and ſome for more than twenty. " All theſe people have adored your image, and " the ſtatues of the gods; and all of them loaded " Chriſt with curſes. * They have affirmed to me, " that their whole error and fault conſiſted in theſe " points: That on a day fixed, they aſſembled be" fore ſun-riſe, and ſung alternately hymns to " Chriſt as to a god; that they engaged themſelves " by oath, not to any crime, but not to rob or " commit adultery; to be faithful to their promiſe,

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* Affirmabant autem hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel culpæ ſuæ, vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Chriſto, quaſi deo, dicere ſecum invicem; ſeque ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere, ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſitum appellati abnegārent: quibus peractis, morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium.

" and not to ſecrete or deny depoſits: That after " this it was their cuſtom to ſeparate, and then to " rea-ſſemble, in order to eat promiſcuouſly ſome " ſimple and innocent food: That they had ceaſed " to do ſo ſince my edict, by which, according " to your orders, I had prohibited all aſſemblies " whatſoever. Theſe depoſitions convinced me " more than ever, that it was neceſſary to extort " the truth by force of torments out of two virgin " ſlaves, who they ſaid were prieſteſſes of their " worſhip: but I diſcovered only a bad kind of " ſuperſtition, carried to exceſs; and for that rea" ſon have ſuſpended every thing till I have your " farther orders. The affair ſeems worthy of your " reflection, from the multitude of thoſe involved " in the danger. For great numbers of all ages, " ſexes, and conditions, are liable to this accuſa" tion. This contagious evil has not only infected " the cities, but has reached the villages and coun" try. I believe however that it may be remedied, " and that a ſtop may be put to it: and it is cer" tain that the temples which were almoſt entirely " abandoned, are now frequented; and that the " long neglected ſacrifices are renewed. Victims " are ſold every where, which before had few pur" chaſers. From whence may be judged what " numbers may be reclaimed, if pardon be granted " to repentance."

The emperor Trajan's anſwer to Pliny.

" You have, moſt dear Pliny, taken the me" thod you ought in proceeding againſt the Chri" ſtians brought before you: for it is impoſſible " to eſtabliſh a certain and general form in affairs " of ſuch a nature. It is not neceſſary to make " ſtrict inquiries after thoſe people: but if they are " accuſed and convicted, they muſt be puniſhed. " However, if the accuſed denies that he is a " Chriſtian, and proves he is not by his behaviour, Ep. 98.

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“ I mean by invoking the gods, it is proper to “ pardon him on his repentance, whatever cauſes “ of ſuſpicion may before have been laid to his “ charge, * FOR THE REST, ANONYMOUS INFORMATIONS OUGHT NOT TO BE RECEIVED IN “ ANY KIND OF CRIME: FOR THAT WERE OF “ PERNICIOUS EXAMPLE, AND DOES NOT SUIT “ THE TIMES IN WHICH WE LIVE.”

I leave it to the reader to make the reflections, theſe two letters naturally ſuggeſt, upon the magnificent praiſe they include of the purity of manners of the primitive Chriſtians, the amazing progreſs Chriſtianity had already made in ſo few years, even to occaſion the temples to be abandoned; th incredible number of the faithful of all ages, ſexes, and conditions; the authentic teſtimony rendere by a Pagan of the belief of the divinity of Jeſu Chriſt generally eſtabliſhed amongſt thoſe Faithful the remarkable contradiction of Trajan's opinion for if the Chriſtians were criminal, it was juſt t make ſtrict inquiry after them; and, if not, it wa unjuſt to puniſh them though accuſed; and laſtl upon the maxim taken from the law of nature, wit which the emperor concludes his letter, in declaring, that he ſhould deem it a diſhonour to his age if, in any crime whatſoever, (the expreſſion is general) regard were had to informations without th names of their authors.

On Pliny's return to Rome, he reſumed buſine and his employments. His firſt wife being dea without children, he married a ſecond named Calphurnia. As ſhe was very young, and had abundance of wit, he found no difficulty in inſpiri her with a taſte for polite learning. It became he ſole paſſion; but ſhe reconciled it ſo well with he affection for her huſband, that it could not be ſai whether ſhe loved Pliny for polite learning, or polit

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* Sine auctore verò propoſiti libelli nullo crimine locum haber debent. Nam & peſſimi exempli, nec noſtri ſeculi eſt.

learning for Pliny. When he was to plead ſome Ep. 19. l. 4 important cauſe, ſhe always had ſeveral perſons waiting to bring her the firſt news of his ſucceſs, and the emotion that expectation occaſioned ceaſed only with their return. If he read any oration or other piece to an aſſembly of his friends, ſhe never failed to contrive herſelf ſome place, from whence behind a curtain ſhe might overhear the applauſes given him. Her huſband's works were continually in her hand, and, with no other art but love for her maſter, ſhe compoſed airs upon the lyre to his verſes.

His letters to her ſhew how far he carried his tenderneſs for a wife ſo worthy of his affection and eſteem: "You tell me that my abſence gives you Ep. 7. l. 6. "abundance of pain, and that your ſole conſolation is reading my works, and often laying them "by you in my place. I am tranſported with joy "that you deſire me ſo ardently, and at your manner "of conſoling yourſelf. As for me, I read your letters over and over, and am perpetually opening "them again, as if they were new ones. But they "only ſerve to aggravate the regret I feel in wanting you. For what felicity muſt one not find in "the converſation of her, whoſe letters have ſuch "charms! Fail not however to write often to me, "though it gives me a kind of pleaſure that torments me." In another letter he ſays: "I con- Ep. 4. l. 6. "jure you moſt earneſtly to prevent my anxiety "by one and even two letters every day. I ſhall "at leaſt feel hope whilſt I read them, though I "fall into my firſt alarms afterwards." In a third, "To tell you to what a degree your abſence affects Ep. 7. l. 7. "me would ſeem incredible. I paſs the greateſt "part of my nights in thinking of you. In the "day and at the hours I uſed to ſee you, my feet "in a manner carry me of themſelves to your apartment; and, not finding you there, I return

" with as much ſadneſs and confuſion, as if I had " been refuſed entrance."

Ep. 10. l. 8. After having received ſome hurt at her firſt time of being with child, ſhe recovered, and lived a conſiderable time, but left him no iſſue.

Neither the time nor circumſtances of Pliny's death are known.

I have not pretended hitherto to give an exact and continued account of Pliny's actions, but only an idea of his character by ſome events more remarkable than others, and conſequently the moſt proper for making it known. I ſhall with the ſame view add ſome other facts, without confining myſelf to the order of time, and ſhall reduce them to four or five heads.

I. *Pliny's application to ſtudy.*

It had been ſtrange if Pliny, brought up in the ſight and under the care of his uncle Pliny the Naturaliſt, had wanted a taſte for the ſciences, and indeed had not devoted himſelf entirely to them. We may believe that in his firſt ſtudies he followed the plan he laid down for a young man who had conſulted him upon that ſubject. As this letter may be uſeful to youth, I ſhall inſert part of it here:

Ep. 9. l. 7. " You aſk me in what manner I would adviſe " you to ſtudy. One of the beſt methods, according " to the opinion of many, is to tranſlate Greek " into Latin, or Latin into Greek. By that you " will acquire juſtneſs and beauty of diction, happineſs " and grace of figures, and facility in expreſſing " your ſenſe; beſides which, in that imitation " of the moſt excellent authors, you will " inſenſibly contract an habit of thinking and expreſſing " yourſelf like them. A thouſand things " which eſcape a man that reads do not eſcape a " tranſlator. Tranſlation enlarges the mind, and " forms the taſte.

“ You may alſo, after having read ſomething “ only for the ſake of making it your ſubject, treat “ it yourſelf, with the reſolution not to be excelled “ by your original. You may then compare your “ work with your author's, and carefully examine “ what he has done better than you, and you better than him. What a joy will it be to you “ to perceive yours ſometimes the beſt; and how “ much will it redouble your emulation, ſhould “ you find yourſelf always the inferior!

“ I know your preſent ſtudy is the eloquence of “ the bar: but, for the attainment of that, I would “ not adviſe you to confine yourſelf entirely to that “ contentious ſtile, that breathes nothing but war “ and debate. As fields delight in change of ſeeds, “ our minds alſo require to be exerciſed in different ſtudies. I would therefore have you ſometimes make a fine piece of hiſtory your employment, ſometimes the compoſition of a letter, “ and ſometimes verſes——It is in this manner “ the greateſt orators, and even the greateſt men, “ have exerciſed or unbended themſelves: or rather have exerciſed and unbended both together. “ It is amazing how much theſe little works awaken “ and exhilarate the genius.

“ I have not ſaid what it is neceſſary to read, “ though the having mentioned what it is proper “ to write ſufficiently ſpeaks that. Remember “ only to make a good choice of the beſt authors “ in every kind; for it has been well ſaid *, that it “ is neceſſary to read much, but not many things.”

We have ſeen that Pliny, at the age of fourteen, had wrote a Greek tragedy, and afterwards exerciſed himſelf in the ſeveral ſpecies of poetry. He was much delighted with reading Livy. † He ad- Ep. 21. l. 6.

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* Aiunt multum legendum eſſe, non multa.

† Sum ex iis qui miror antiquos; non tamen, ut quidam, temporum noſtrorum ingenia deſpicio. Neque enim quaſi laſſa & effœta natura, ut nihil jam laudabile pariat.

mired

mired the antients without being of the number of thoſe who deſpiſe the moderns. I cannot believe, ſays he, that nature is become ſo barren and exhauſted as to produce nothing valuable in our days.

Ep. 6. l. 9. He tells a friend in what manner he employs himſelf during the public diverſions: "I have "paſſed all theſe laſt days in compoſing and "writing with the greateſt tranquillity imaginable. "You may aſk how that is poſſible in the midſt "of Rome? It was the time of the ſhews in the "Circus which give me no manner of pleaſure. I "ſee nothing new or varied in them, and conſequently nothing worth ſeeing more than once. "This redoubles my aſtoniſhment, that ſo many "thouſand——and even grave perſons——ſhould "have a puerile paſſion for ſeeing horſes run, and "men driving chariots ſo often. * When I conſider this inſatiable deſire to ſee theſe trifling common ſights over and over again, I feel a ſecret "ſatisfaction in taking no pleaſure in ſuch things, "and am glad to employ a leiſure in polite ſtudies, which others throw away upon ſuch frivolous amuſements."

Ep. 19. l. 8. We ſee ſtudy was his whole joy and conſolation. "Literature, ſays he, is my diverſion and comfort; and I know nothing ſo agreeable as it is "to me, and nothing ſo mortifying as not to be "ſoftened by it. In my grief for my wife's indiſpoſition, the ſickneſs of my family, and even the "deaths of ſome of them, † I find no remedy but "ſtudy. It indeed makes me more ſenſible of adverſity, but renders me alſo more capable of "bearing it."

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[*] Quos ego (quoſdam graves homines) cum recordor in re inani, frigida, aſſidua, tam inſatiabiliter deſidere, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac voluptate non capiar. Ac per hos dies libentiſſimè otium meum in literis colloco, quos alii otioſiſſimis occupationibus perdunt.

[†] Ad unicum doloris levamentum ſtudia confugio, quæ præſtant ut adverſa magis intelligam, ſed patientius feram.

II. *Pliny's*

II. *Pliny's eſteem and attachment for perſons of virtue and learning.*

All the great men of his age, all who were moſt diſtinguiſhed by eminent virtues, were Pliny's friends: Virginius Rufus, who refuſed the empire; Corellius, who was conſidered as a perfect model of wiſdom and probity; Helvidius, the admiration of his times; Ruſticus Arulenus and Senecio, whom Domitian put to death; and Cornutus Tertullus, who was ſeveral times his colleague.

He thought it alſo highly for his honour to have contracted a particular amity with the perſons who made the greateſt figure then in polite learning, Tacitus, Suetonius, Martial, and Silius Italicus.

" I have read your book, ſays he to Tacitus, Ep.20.l.7.
" and have obſerved with all the exactneſs in my
" power what I believe it neceſſary to alter and re-
" trench: * for I love no leſs to ſpeak truth, than
" you to hear it; beſides which no people are
" more docile to reproof, than thoſe who deſerve
" moſt praiſe. I expect that you will ſend back
" my book in your turn with your corrections.
" † Agreeable, charming exchange! How much
" am I delighted to think that, if poſterity ſets any
" value upon us, it will publiſh to the end of time
" with what freedom, ſimplicity, and friendſhip we
" lived together. It will be ſomething rare and
" remarkable, that two men, almoſt of the ſame
" age, of the ſame rank, and of ſome reputation
" in the republic of letters, (for I am reduced to

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* Nam & ego verum dicere aſſuevi, & tu libentur audire. Neque enim ulli patientiùs reprehendentur, quam qui maxime laudari merentur.

† O jucundas, ô pulchras vices! Quam me delectat, quòd, ſi qua poſteris cura noſtrî, uſquequaque narrabitur, qua concordia, fide, ſimplicitate vixerimus! Erit rarum & inſigne, duos homines ætate, dignitate propemodum æquales, nonnullius in literis nominis, (cogor enim de te quoqùe parcius dicere, quia de me ſimul dico) alterum alterius ſtudia foviſſe.

" ſpeak modeſtly of you, when I join you with " myſelf) ſhould have aſſiſted each other's ſtudies " ſo faithfully. As for me, from my moſt early " youth, the reputation and glory you had acquired made me deſirous of imitating you, and " of treading, and of appearing to tread, in your " ſteps, not near you, but nearer than another. " It was not becauſe Rome had not at that time " abundance of geniuſſes of the firſt rank: but, amongſt them all, the ſimilitude of our inclinations pointed out you, as the moſt proper, as " the moſt worthy of being imitated. This is what " highly augments my joy, as often as I hear it " ſaid, that, when converſation turns upon polite " learning, we are named together."

We may conceive how ſtudious Pliny was to oblige the hiſtorian Suetonius, from what he writes of him to a friend. This letter, though ſhort, is one of the moſt elegant of his come down to us:

Ep.24. l.1. " Suetonius *, who lodges with me, is for buying a little ſpot of land, which one of your " friends is diſpoſed to ſell. Favour me ſo far, I " beg you, as not to let him give more for it than " it is worth; which will make him like his purchaſe. A bad bargain is always diſagreeable; " but moſt ſo, in ſeeming to reproach us with imprudence. This bit of land, if not too dear, has

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* Tranquillus, contubernalis meus, vult emere agellum, quem venditare amicus tuus dicitur. Rogo cures, quanti æquum eſt, emat: ita enim delectabit emiſſe, Nam mala emptio ſemper ingrata eſt, eo maximè quod exprobrare ſtultitiam domino videtur. In hoc autem agello (ſi modo arriſerit pretium) Tranquilli mei ſtomachum multa ſollicitant: vicinitas urbis, opportunitas viæ, mediocritas villæ, modus ruris, qui avocet magis quam diſtringat. Scholaſticis porro ſtudioſis, ut hic eſt, ſufficit abunde tantum ſoli, ut relevare caput, reficere oculos, reptare per limitem, unamque ſemitam terere, omneſque viticulas ſuas noſſe, & numerare arbuſculas poſſint. Hæc tibi expoſui, quo magis ſcires, quantum ille eſſet mihi, quantum ego tibi debiturus, ſi prædiclum iſtud, quod commendatur his dotibus, tam ſalubriter emerit, ut pœnitentiæ locum non relinquat. Vale. *Mr. Rollin adds, that the French tongue cannot render the delicacy and elegance of the diminutives and frequentatives ſcattered in abundance throughout this little letter.* Agellum Venditare. Reptare per limitem. Viticulas. Arbuſculas. Prædiclum.

" many temptations for my friend: its ſmall diſ-
" tance from Rome, the goodneſs of the ways, the
" mediocrity of its buildings, with its appurte-
" nances more fit to amuſe than employ. For
" theſe men of learning, devoted like him to ſtudy,
" want only as much land as is neceſſary for un-
" bending their minds and delighting their eyes
" in good air. A ſingle alley to walk in, a back
" way into the fields, and as many vines and plants
" as they can be acquainted with without burthen-
" ing their memories, abundantly ſuffice them. I
" tell you all this, that you may know the better
" how much he will be obliged to me, and I to
" you, if he can buy this little place, with theſe re-
" commendations, without any reaſon to repent it."

Martial, ſo well known from his epigrams, was alſo one of Pliny's friends, and the death of that poet gave him great concern. Ep. 21. l. 3. " I am informed,
" ſaid he, that Martial is dead, and am very ſorry
" for it. * He was an ingenious, ſubtle, ſharp
" man, and had abundance both of ſalt and gall,
" with no leſs candor, in his writings. When he
" left Rome, I gave him ſomething to help him
" on his journey; which little aſſiſtance I owed him,
" as well on account of our friendſhip, as the verſes
" he had made for me. † It was the antient cuſ-
" tom to confer rewards, either of honour or profit,
" upon ſuch as had wrote in praiſe of cities or cer-
" tain individuals. But that cuſtom, with many
" others no leſs noble and decent, is one of the laſt
" in modern practice. Ever ſince we have ceaſed to
" do what deſerved praiſe, we have deſpiſed it
" as a thing of no value." Pliny repeats the paſſage of thoſe verſes, in which the poet, addreſſing

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* Erat homo ingenioſus, acutus, acer, & qui plurimum in ſcribendo & ſalis haberet & fellis, nec candoris minus.

† Fuit moris antiqui, eos qui vel ſingulorum laudes vel urbium ſcripſerant, aut honoribus aut pecunia ornare: noſtris vero temporibus, ut alia ſpecioſa & egregia, ita hoc inprimis exolevit. Nam poſtquam deſiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.

himſelf

himſelf to his muſe, bids her go to Pliny at his houſe upon the Eſquiline hill, and approach him with reſpect:

> Sed ne tempore non tuo diſertam
> Pulſes ebria januam, videto.
> Totos dat tetricæ dies Minervæ,
> Dum centum ſtudet auribus virorum
> Hoc quod ſecula poſterique poſſint
> Arpinis quoque comparare chartis.
> Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas:
> Hæc hora eſt tua, cùm furit Lyæus,
> Cùm regnat roſa, cum madent capilli.
> Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

Mr. Sacy has tranſlated theſe verſes into French thus:

> *Prends garde, petite ivrogneſſe,*
> *De n'aller pas, à contretems,*
> *Troubler les emplois importans*
> *Où du ſoir au matin l'occupe ſa ſageſſe.*
> *Reſpecte les momens qu'il donne à des diſcours*
> *Qui font le charme de nos jours,*
> *Et que tout l'avenir, admirant notre Pline*
> *Oſera comparer aux Oracles d'Arpine.*
> *Prends l'heure que les doux propos,*
> *Enfans des verres & des pots,*
> *Ouvrent tout l'eſprit à la joie;*
> *Qu'il ſe détend, qu'il ſe déploie,*
> *Qu'on traite les ſages de ſots;*
> *Et qu'alors, en humeur de rire,*
> *Les plus Catons te puiſſent lire.*

The ſame verſes are in Engliſh.

> *Wanton muſe, a while forbear,*
> *Of improper times beware;*
> *Knock not at his learned gate;*
> *All day long affairs of weight ——*
> *A thouſand hearers all day long*
> *To his charming accents throng:*

Strains ſo ſweetly wiſe, ſo rare,
Future ages ſhall compare
*To thoſe of * Arpinas' ſon,*
Tho' from Greece the palm he won.
Stir not there till ev'ning hours,
Till Bacchus reigns, and ſofter pow'rs;
When, crown'd with roſes, ſweet with oils,
Mirth laughs at care, and learned toils:
Then take thy time devoid of fear,
When Cato's ſelf thy lays would hear.

"Do you not think, ſays Pliny in concluding his "letter, that the man who wrote of me, in theſe "terms, well deſerved ſome tokens of my affection "at his departure, and of my grief at his death?"

He alſo very much lamented that of Silius Italicus, on whoſe poetry he paſſes a judgment entirely juſt. † *He wrote verſes*, ſays he, *with more art than genius*. An incurable abceſs having given him a diſguſt for life, he ended his days by a voluntary abſtinence from food. Ep. 7. l. 3.

III. *Pliny's liberality.*

Pliny, in compariſon with ſome of the rich perſons of Rome, had but a very moderate fortune, but a ſoul truly great, and the moſt noble ſentiments. Of this his almoſt innumerable liberalities are an undoubted proof. I ſhall relate only a part of them.

He had laid down principles to himſelf upon this head which well deſerve attention: "In my ‡ opi"nion, ſays he, a man truly liberal ſhould give "to his country, his relations by blood or mar"riage, and his friends, but his friends in neceſſity." This is the order in giving that equity preſcribes, and which he followed exactly. Ep. 30. l. 9.

We have already ſeen that he made a very generous preſent to Quintilian, his maſter, towards the portion of his daughter on her marriage, and aſſiſted Martial, when he retired from Rome. Of Ep. 3. l. 6. thoſe two friends, the latter was in neceſſity, and the other was not rich.

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* Cicero. † Scribebat carmina majore cura quàm ingenio.

‡ Volo eum, qui ſit verè liberalis, tribuere patriæ, propinquis, affinibus, amicis, ſed amicis pauperibus.

He had given his nurſe a ſmall eſtate in land, which, at the time he gave it her, was worth an hundred thouſand ſeſterces, that is to ſay, about ſix hundred pounds. What great lords of modern date act in this manner? Pliny however calls this a little preſent: *Munuſculum.* And, after beſtowing this piece of land, we find him make his nurſe's income from it his care. He writes to the perſon who had the care of it, to recommend the improvement of it to him. "For, adds he, ſhe who received this "little farm has not more intereſt in its produce, "than I who gave it her."

Ep. 4. l. 2. Seeing Calvina, whom he had partly portioned out of his own fortune, upon the point of renounceing the inheritance of her father Calvinus's eſtate, through fear that it was not ſufficient to diſcharge his debts to Pliny; he wrote to her not to affront her father's memory in that manner, and, to determine her, ſent her a general acquittance.

Ep. 19. l. 1. Upon another occaſion he gave Romanus three hundred thouſand ſeſterces (almoſt nineteen hundred pounds) to purchaſe him the eſtate neceſſary to qualify him for being admitted into the order of Roman knights.

Ep. 14. l. 7. Corellia, the ſiſter of Corellius Rufus, for whom Pliny had always an infinite reſpect during his life, bought lands of him at the price of ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces. Upon better information ſhe found thoſe lands worth nine hundred thouſand, and preſſed him earneſtly to take the overplus, but could not prevail upon him to do ſo. A fine conteſt this between juſtice and generoſity, in which the buyer's delicacy and the ſeller's noble diſintereſtedneſs are equally admirable! Where ſhall we find ſuch behaviour now?

Some merchants had purchaſed his vintage at a Ep. 2. l. 8. ery reaſonable price, from the hopes of gaining onſiderably by it. They were diſappointed; and e returned money to them all. The reaſon he ives for it is ſtill more admirable than the thing ſelf: "I[*] think it no leſs noble to do juſtice in ' one's own houſe, than from the tribunal; in ' ſmall than great affairs; and in one's own, as ' well as in thoſe of other people."

What he did for his country ſtill exceeds every Ep. 13, l. 4. hing I have ſaid hitherto. The inhabitants of Coma, not having any maſters amongſt them for he education of their children, were obliged to end them to other cities. Pliny, who had the eart both of a ſon and a father for his country, ade the inhabitants ſenſible of the advantages that ould attend the education of their youth at Coma ſelf: "Where[†], ſays he to their parents, can ' they have a more agreeable reſidence than their ' country? where form their manners with more ' ſafety, than in the ſight of their fathers and mo' thers? and where will their expences be leſs ' than at home? Is it not beſt for your children ' to receive their education in the ſame place where ' they had their birth, and to accuſtom themſelves ' from their infancy to love to reſide in their na' tive country?" He offered to contribute one hird towards a foundation for the ſubſiſtance of aſters, and thought it neceſſary to leave the reſt f the expence upon the parents, in order to render hem the more attentive in chuſing good teachers rom the neceſſity of the contribution, and the in ereſt they would have in ſeeing their expence well eſtowed.

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[*] Mihi egregium inprimis videtur, ut foris ita domi, ut in mag is ita in parvis, ut in alienis ita in ſuis, agitare juſtitiam.

[†] Ubi aut jucundiùs morarentur, quam in patria; aut pudiciùs ontinerentur, quam ſub oculis parentum; aut minore ſumptu, uam domi?—Edoceantur hîc, qui hîc naſcuntur, ſtatimque ab in antia natale ſolum amare, frequentare conſueſcant.

Ep. 8. l. 1. He did not confine himſelf to this donation. For as he ſays elſewhere, * liberality once on foot know not how or where to ſtop, and has ſtill the mor charms, the more we uſe it. He founded a librar there, with annual penſions for a certain number o young perſons of family, whoſe fortunes did no afford them the neceſſary ſupplies for ſtudy. H had accompanied the inſtitution of this library wit a diſcourſe, which he pronounced in the preſenc only of the principal citizens. He afterwards deliberated whether he ſhould publiſh it. "It † is hard ſays he, to ſpeak of one's own actions withou giving reaſon to judge, that we do not ſpeak o them merely becauſe we did them, but did then for the ſake of ſpeaking of them. As for me I do not forget that a great ſoul is far more affected with the ſecret reports of conſcience, tha the moſt advantageous ones of common fame Our actions ought not to follow glory, but glor them: And, if through the caprice of fortun they do not find it, we ought not to believe, tha what has deſerved it loſes any thing of its value.'

Ep. 4. l. 2. It is not eaſy to comprehend how a private perſon was capable of ſo many liberalities. This h explains himſelf in a letter to a lady, to whom h had made a conſiderable remittance: "Do no fear, ſays he, that ſuch a preſent will diſtreſs me: pray make yourſelf eaſy upon that head. My fortune indeed is not large. My rank requires expence, and my income, from the nature of my eſtate, is no leſs caſual than moderate. But what I want, on that ſide, I find in frugality; the moſt

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* Neſcit enim ſemel incitata liberalitas ſtare, cujus pulcritudinem uſus ipſe commendat. *Epiſt.* 12. *l.* 5.

† Meminimus, quanto majore animo honeſtatis fructus in conſcientia, quam in fama, reponatur. Sequi enim gloria, non appeti debet: nec, ſi caſu aliquo non ſequatur, idcirco quod gloriam non meruit, minus pulcrum eſt. Ii vero qui benefacta ſua verbis adornant, non ideo prædicare quia fecerint, ſed ut prædicarent feciſſe creduntur.

"aſſured ſource of my liberality." *Quod ceſſat ex reditu, frugalitate ſuppletur : ex qua, velut è fonte, liberalitas noſtra decurrit.* What a leſſon and at the ſame time what a reproach is this to thoſe young noblemen, who with immenſe eſtates, do no good to any body, and often die much in debt! They are laviſh to prodigality upon luxury and pleaſures, but cloſe and cruel to inſenſibility to their friends and domeſtics. "Ever * remember, ſays Pliny, Ep.6.l.2.
"ſpeaking to a young man of diſtinction, that nothing is more to be avoided, than that monſtrous "mixture of avarice and prodigality, which prevails ſo much in our times; and that, if one of "thoſe vices ſuffices to blaſt a perſon's reputation, "both of them muſt diſgrace him infinitely more."

IV. *Pliny's innocent pleaſures.*

Pliny's diſpoſition was not rigid and auſtere. On the contrary he was extremely facetious, and took pleaſure in converſing gaily with his friends: *Aliquando rideo jocor, ludo: utque omnia innoxiæ remiſſionis genera complectar, homo ſum.* Ep. 3.l.5.

He was very glad to ſee his friends at his table, and often gave and accepted entertainments, but ſuch of which temperance, converſation, and reading made the principal part. "I ſhall come † to ſup- Ep.12.l.3.
"per with you, ſays he to a friend, upon condition "however that we have nothing but what is plain "and frugal, except only converſation in abun"dance after the manner of Socrates; and not "much neither even of that."

He reproaches another with not having kept his Ep.15.l.1.
promiſe with him. "On my word you ſhall hear "of it. You put me to the expence of providing

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* Memento nihil magis eſſe vitandum, quam iſtam luxuriæ & ſordium novam ſocietatem: quæ cum ſint turpiſſima diſcreta ac ſeparata, turpiùs junguntur.

† Veniam ad cœnam: ſed jam nunc paciſcor, ſit expedita, ſit parca, Socraticis tantum ſermonibus abundet: in his quoque teneat modum.

“ a ſupper for you, and don't come to it. Juſtic “ is to be had at Rome. You ſhall pay me to th “ laſt farthing, which is more perhaps than yo “ imagine. I had got each of us a lettuce, thre “ ſnails, two eggs, a cake, with muſcadel win “ and ice. Beſides which we had Spaniſh Olive “ Gourds, Shalots, and a thouſand other mea “ to the full as delicious. But you were bett “ pleaſed, at I know not who's, with oyſters, ſow “ belly ſtuffed, and ſcarce fiſh. I ſhall certainl “ puniſh you for it.”

Ep. 6. l. 1. He deſcribes one of his parties of hunting with a the wit and pleaſantry imaginable: “ I know yo “ will laugh, and conſent that you do laugh as muc “ as you pleaſe. That very Pliny, whom you know “ has catched three wild boars, and very large one “ too. What himſelf, ſay you? Himſelf. D “ not believe however, that they coſt my indolenc “ much. I ſate down near the nets: I had neithe “ ſpear nor dart by me, but I had my book an “ a pen: I meditated, wrote, and, * in caſe of m “ going home with my hands empty, had provide “ myſelf with the conſolation of having my leave “ full.”

Hence we ſee ſtudy was his darling paſſion. Th taſte followed him univerſally, at table, in hunting and wherever he went. He employed in it all th intervals of time, which were not paſſed in the ſe vice of the public: for † he had laid it down to him ſelf as a law, always to give buſineſs the preferenc to pleaſure, and the ſolid to the agreeable.

Ep. 8. l. 2. This made him deſire leiſure and retirement ſ ardently: “ Shall ‡ I never then”, cried he, whe

oppreſſe

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* Ut ſi manus vacus, plenas tamen ceras reportarem.

† Hunc ordinem ſecutus ſum, ut neceſſitates voluptatibus, ſeri jucundis anteferrem. *Ep.* 21 *l.* 8.

‡ Nunquam-ne hos arctiſſimos laqueos, ſi ſolvere negatur, ab rumpam? Nunquam, puto. Nam veteribus negotiis nova accre cunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur: tot nexibus, tot quaſi cateni majus in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.

ppreſſed by a multiplicity of affairs, " be able to
' break the ſhackles with which I am hampered,
' ſince I cannot unbind them? No, I dare not flat-
' ter myſelf with that. Every day ſome new care
' augments my old ones. One buſineſs is no ſoon-
' er at an end than another riſes up. The chains
' of my occupation are perpetually multiplying
' and growing more heavy."

In writing to a friend, who employed his leiſure Ep.23. l.4.
ke a wiſe man in a delightful retirement, he could
ot avoid envying him. " It is thus, ſays he,
' that a perſon no leſs diſtinguiſhed in the func-
' tions of the magiſtrate, than the command of
' armies, and who has devoted himſelf to the ſer-
' vice of the commonwealth as long as honour
required it, ought to paſs his age. * We owe
our firſt and ſecond ſtage of life to our country,
but the laſt to ourſelves. This the laws ſeem to
adviſe us, in granting us our quietus at ſixty.
When ſhall I be at liberty to enjoy reſt? At
what age ſhall I be permitted to imitate ſo glo-
rious a retirement, and when will it be poſſible
for mine not to be called ſloth, but honourable
leiſure?"

He never thought he lived or breathed, but when
e could ſteal from the town to one of his country-
ouſes, for he had ſeveral. His agreeable deſcrip-
on of them ſufficiently ſhews the pleaſure he took
them. He ſpeaks of his orchards, his kitchen
nd other gardens, his buildings, and eſpecially of
e places that were in a manner the work of his
wn hands, with that joy and ſatisfaction which
ery man feels who builds or plants in the country.
e calls theſe places his delights, his loves, his
al loves: *amores mei, re vera amores: ipſe poſui.* Ep.17. l.2.
nd in another place: *præterea indulſi amori meo*; Ep. 6. l. 5.

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* Nam & prima vitæ tempora & media patriæ, extrema nobis
ipertiri debemus, ut ipſæ leges monent, quæ majorem annis ſexa-
nta otio reddunt.

amis

amo enim quæ maxima ex parte ipſe inchoavi, aut in-choata percolui. "Am I in the wrong, ſays he t("one of his friends, for being ſo fond of this re "treat, for making it my joy, and for ſtaying ſ("long at it?" And in another letter: "Here ar "neither the offenſive, nor the impertinent. Al "here is calm, all peace: and, as the goodneſs o "the climate makes the ſky more ſerene, and th "air more pure, my body is in better health, an "my mind more free and vigorous. The one "exerciſe in hunting, and the other in ſtudy."

Pliny's ardor for reputation and glory.

It is not to be doubted but that glory was tl ſoul of Pliny's virtues. His application, leiſur diverſions, ſtudies, all tended that way. * It w a maxim with him, that the only ambition, whic ſuited an honeſt man, was either to do things wo thy of being written, or to write things worthy being read. He did not deny, that the love glory was his darling paſſion: "Every † boc "judges differently of human happineſs. For n "part, I think no man ſo happy as he who e "joys a great and ſolid reputation; and who, a "ſured of the voices of poſterity, taſte befor "hand all the glory it intends him. ‡ Nothir "affects me ſo much, ſays he, as the deſire of ſu "viving long in the remembrance of mankind; "diſpoſition truly worthy of a man, and eſpe "ally of one, who, having nothing to reproa "himſelf with, does not fear the judgment of p "ſterity." The celebrated Thraſea uſed to ſa

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* Equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum eſt : facere ſcribenda, aut ſcribere legenda. *Ep.* 16. *l.* 6.

† Alius alium, ego beatiſſimum exiſtimo, qui bonæ manſuræq famæ præſumptione perfruitur, certuſque poſteritatis cum futı gloria vivit.

‡ Me nihil æquè ac diuturnitatis amor & cupido ſolicitat : homine digniſſima, præſertim qui nullius ſibi conſcius culpæ, poſ ritatis memoriam non reformidet.

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that an orator ought to charge himſelf with three kinds of cauſes: thoſe of his friends, thoſe who want protection, and thoſe of which the conſequences may be of an exemplary nature—— "* I "ſhall add to theſe three kinds (ſays Pliny again) "perhaps as a man not without ambition, great "and famous cauſes. For it is juſt to plead ſome-"times for reputation and glory, that is to ſay, to "plead one's own cauſe."

He paſſionately deſired that Tacitus would write his hiſtory: but, leſs vain than Cicero, he did not aſk him to embelliſh it with lyes: *mendaciunculis aſpergere.* "My † actions, ſays he to that hiſto-"rian, will in your hands become more great, re-"markable, and ſhining. I do not however deſire "you to exaggerate them: for I know, that hiſtory "ought never to depart from truth, and that truth "does ſufficient honour to good actions." I do not know whether I had reaſon for ſaying, that Pliny was leſs vain than Cicero, and whether Cicero ought not to be deemed the more modeſt, becauſe the more ſincere. He knew what he wanted, and aſked an officious ſupplement of that. But Pliny does not believe he has occaſion either for favour or aid. He is more ſatisfied with his own merit. It is ſufficiently great, ſolid, and noble, to ſupport itſelf alone for the view of poſterity. It has no occaſion for any thing, beſides an elevation of ſtile, to convey the ſimple truth down to future ages without any foreign addition. Ep. 33. l. 7.

Pliny often aſſembled a number of his ſelect friends, in order to read his compoſitions either in verſe or proſe to them. He declares in ſeveral letters, that he did this with the view of making uſe

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* Ad hæc ego genera cauſarum, ambitiosè fortaſſe, addam tamen claras & illuſtres. Æquum enim eſt agere nonunquam gloriæ & famæ, ie eſt, ſuam cauſam.

† Hæc, utcunque ſe habent, notiora, clariora, majora tu facies: quanquam non exigo ut excedas actæ rei modum. Nam nec hiſtoria debet egredi veritatem, & honeſtè factis veritas ſufficit.

of

of their advice; which might be: but the deſire of being praiſed and admired had a great ſhare in it, Ep. 10. l. 2. for he was infinitely ſenſible in that point. "I* "repreſent to myſelf already the crowd of hearers," (he ſpeaks to a friend whom he ádviſes to read his works in the ſame manner) "the tranſports of ad-"miration, the applauſes, and even that ſilence, "which, whilſt I ſpeak in public, or read my com-"poſitions, is ſcarce leſs charming than the loudeſt "applauſes, when it proceeds ſolely from attention, "and an impatient deſire of hearing what remains."

Ep. 17. l. 4. He was highly offended at the mute and ſuper-cilious behaviour of ſome hearers, when it concern-ed his friends. "An excellent work was read in "an aſſembly, to which I was invited. Two or "three perſons, who conceived themſelves better "judges than all the reſt of us, heard it as if "they had been deaf and dumb. They never "opened their lips, made the leaſt motion, or ſo "much as roſe up, unleſs it was when they were "weary of ſitting. † What contradiction, or "rather what folly was this, to paſs an whole day "in mortifying a man, to whoſe houſe they came "only to expreſs friendſhip and eſteem for him!"

Ep. 1. l. 5. He did noble actions; but was well pleaſed that they ſhould be known, and himſelf praiſed for them. "‡ I do not deny, ſays he, that I am "not ſo wiſe, as to be indifferent to that kind of "reward, which virtue finds in the teſtimony and "approbation of many."

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* Imaginor qui concurſus, quæ admiratio te, qui clamor, quod etiam ſilentium maneat: quo ego, cùm dico vel recito, non minus quam clamore delector, ſit modò ſilentium acre, & intentum, & cupidum ulteriora audiendi.

† Quæ ſiniſteritas, ac potiùs amentia, in hoc totum diem impendere, ut offendas, ut inimicum relinquas, ad quem tanquam amiciſſimus veneris.

‡ Neque enim ſum tam ſapiens, ut nihil mea interſit, an iis quæ honeſtè feciſſe me credo teſtificatio quædam & quaſi præmium accedat.

Pliny is cenſured for ſpeaking often of himſelf, but however he cannot be reproached with ſpeaking only of himſelf. No man ever took more pleaſure in extolling the merit of others; which he carried ſo far as to occaſion his being accuſed of praiſing to exceſs, a fault againſt which he was very far either from defending himſelf, or being willing to correct. "You tell me, that I am reproached by Ep. 28. l. 7. "ſome people with praiſing my friends to exceſs "upon all occaſions. I confeſs my crime, and glory "in it. For can there be any thing more generous, "than to err through ſuch an indulgence of one's "ſelf? And pray who are theſe people, who believe they know my friends better than I do? "Granted they do, wherefore do they envy me ſo "grateful an error? For ſuppoſe my friends are "not what I ſay, I am always happy in believing "they are. Let me therefore adviſe theſe cenſurers "to apply their malignant delicacy to thoſe who "believe there is wit and judgment in criticiſing "their friends: as for me, they ſhall never perſuade "me, that I love mine too well."

Have I not expatiated too far upon Pliny's private character, and will not the extracts I have made from his letters, appear to the reader too long and abundant? I am afraid they will, and confeſs my weakneſs. Theſe characters of integrity, probity, generoſity, love of public good, which to the misfortune of our age are become ſo rare, tranſport me out of myſelf, raviſh my admiration, and make me incapable of abridging my deſcriptions of them. And indeed, I repeat it again, is there a more gentle, deſireable, ſocial, and amiable character, in every reſpect, than that of which I have been endeavouring ſo long to give ſome idea? How agreeable is the commerce of life with ſuch friends; and how happy is it for the public, when ſuch beneficent perſons as Pliny, void of capricious humour, paſſion, and prejudice, fill the firſt offices of a ſtate,

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and make it their ſtudy to ſoften and remove the diſtreſſes of thoſe with whom they have to do?

I was in the wrong for ſaying, that Pliny was void of paſſion. Exempt as he was from ſuch as in the judgment of the world diſhonour men, he had one, leſs groſs and more delicate indeed, but not leſs warm and vicious in the ſight of the Supreme Judge, whatſoever endeavours the general corruption of the human heart may make to ennoble it, by giving it almoſt the name of virtue: I mean that exceſſive love of glory, which was the ſoul of all his actions and undertakings. Pliny and all the reſt of the illuſtrious writers of the Pagan world were ſolely engroſſed by the deſire and care of living in the remembrance of poſterity, and of tranſmitting their names to future ages by writings, which they were in hopes would endure as long as the world, and obtain them a kind of immortality, with which they were blind enough to content themſelves. Could any thing be more uncertain, precarious, and frivolous, than this hope? Could not time, which has aboliſhed the greateſt part of the works of theſe vain men, have alſo aboliſhed the little that remains of them? To what are they indebted for the fragments of them that have eſcaped the general ſhipwreck? The little of theirs come down to us, does it prevent all that belongs to them, even their very names, from having periſhed totally throughout all Africa, Aſia, and great part of Europe? Had it not been for the ſtudies kept up by the Chriſtian church, would not Barbariſm have annihilated their works and names; throughout the univerſe? How vain, how trifling then is the felicity, upon which they relied, and to which they wholly devoted themſelves! Have not thoſe, who were the admiration of their own times, fallen into the abyſs of death and oblivion, as well as the moſt ignorant and ſtupid? We, whom religion has better inſtructed, ſhould be very blind and void of reaſon, if, deſtined by the grace of our Saviour to a bleſſed immortality, we ſuffered ourſelves to be dazzled by imaginary greatneſs, and the phantom of an eternity in idea.

The extracts I have made from his letters are more than ſufficient to make the reader acquainted with his genius and manners: it remains for me to give an idea of his ſtile by ſome extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is an extremely elaborate piece of eloquence, and has always been conſidered as his maſter-piece.

Panegyric upon Trajan.

I have already obſerved, that Pliny, after his being appointed conſul by Trajan, in conjunction with Cornutus Tertullus his intimate friend, received the ſenate's orders to make that prince's panegyric in the name of the whole Empire. He addreſſes his diſcourſe always to the Emperor, as if preſent. If he were really ſo, for it is doubted, it muſt have coſt his modeſty a great deal: but, whatever repugnance he might have to hearing himſelf praiſed to his face, which is always very diſagreeable, he did not think it proper to oppoſe the Decree of ſo venerable an aſſembly. It is eaſy to judge that Pliny, on that occaſion, exerted all his faculties; to which no doubt the warmth of his gratitude added new force. Some extracts, which I am going to make from that piece, will at the ſame time ſhew the eloquence of its author, and the admirable qualities of the prince it praiſes.

General praiſe of Trajan.

Sæpe ego mecum, patres conſcripti, tacitus agitavi, qualem quantumque eſſe oporteret cujus ditione nutuque maria, terræ, pax, bella regerentur: cùm interea fingenti formantique mihi principem, quem æquata diis immortalibus poteſtas deceret, nunquam voto ſaltem concipere ſuccurrit ſimilem huic quem videmus. Enituit aliquis

quis in bello, ſed obſolevit in pace. Alium toga, ſed non & arma honeſtârunt. Reverentiam ille terrore, alius amorem humanitate captavit. Ille quæſitam domi gloriam, in publico; hic in publico partam, domi perdidit. Poſtremò, adhuc nemo extitit, cujus virtutes nullo vitiorum confinio læderentur. At principi noſtro quanta concordia quantuſque concentus omnium laudum omniſque gloriæ contigit; ut nihil ſeveritati ejus hilaritate, nihil gravitati ſimplicitate, nihil majeſtati humanitate detrahatur! Jam firmitas, jam proceritas corporis, jam honor capitis, & dignitas oris, ad hoc ætatis indeflexa maturitas, nec ſine quodam munere deûm feſtinatis ſenectutis inſignibus ad augendam majeſtatem ornata cæſaries, nonne longè latéque principem oſtentant?

" I have often endeavoured, fathers, to form to " myſelf an idea of the great qualities which a per- " ſon worthy of ruling the univerſe abſolutely by " ſea and land, in peace and war, ought to have; " and I confeſs, that when I have imagined, ac- " cording to my beſt diſcretion, a prince capable " of ſuſtaining with honour a power comparable to " that of the gods, my utmoſt wiſhes have never " roſe ſo high, as even to conceive one like him " we now ſee. Some have acquired glory in war, " but loſt it in peace. * The gown has given others " fame, but the ſword diſgrace. Some have made " themſelves reſpected by terror, and others belov- " ed by humanity. Some have known how to " conciliate eſteem in their own houſes, but not to " preſerve it in public; and ſome to merit repu- " tation in public, which they have ill ſuſtained at " home. In a word we have ſeen none hitherto, " whoſe virtues have not ſuffered ſome alloy from " the neighbouring vices. But in our prince, what " an aſſemblage of all excellent qualities, what a " concurrence of every kind of glory, do we not " behold; his ſeverity loſing nothing by his chear-

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* *At Rome the princes exercised the functions both of magiſtrates and generals.*

" fulneſs, his gravity by the ſimplicity of his man-
" ners, nor the majeſty of his power and perſon by
" the humanity of his temper and actions! The
" ſtrength and gracefulneſs of his body, the ele-
" gance of his features, the dignity of his aſpect,
" the healthy vigour of his maturer years, his hoary
" hair, which the gods ſeem to have made white
" before the time only to render him the more ve-
" nerable; do they not all combine to point out,
" to ſpeak, the ſovereign of the world."

Trajan's conduct in the army.

Quid cùm ſolatium feſſis militibus, ægris opem ferres? Non tibi moris tua inire tentoria, niſi commilitonum ante luſtraſſes; nec requiem corpori, niſi poſt omnes, dare. Hac mihi admiratione dignus imperator non videretur, ſi inter Fabricios, & Scipiones, & Camillos talis eſſet. Tunc enim illum imitationis ardor, ſemperque melior aliquis accenderet. Poſtquam vero ſtudium armorum à manibus ad oculos, ad voluptatem à labore tranſlatum eſt, quam magnum eſt unum ex omnibus patrio more, patria virtute lætari, & ſine æmulo ac ſine exemplo ſecum certare, ſecum contendere: ac, ſicut imperat ſolus, ſolum ita eſſe qui debeat imperare!

" In your care of the tired and wounded ſol-
" diers, in which none ever were more attentive,
" was it your cuſtom to retire to your own tent,
" till after having viſited all the reſt, or to take
" repoſe, till you had firſt provided for that of
" the whole army? To find ſuch a general a-
" mongſt the Fabricii, the Scipios, the Camilli,
" would ſeem no great matter of admiration. In
" thoſe days there was always ſome great example,
" ſome ſuperior, to quicken ſuch ardor, and to
" kindle in the ſoul a noble emulation. But now,
" when we love arms only in the ſhews of the
" Circus, and have transferred them from the
" hand to the eye, from fatigue and toil to paſ-
" time and amuſement, how glorious is it to be the

" only one in retaining the antient manners and
" virtues of his country, and to have no other mo-
" del to propoſe, no other rival to contend with,
" but himſelf; and, as he reigns alone, to be the
" only perſon worthy of reigning!"

Veniet tempus quo poſteri viſere, viſendum tradere minoribus ſuis geſtient, quis ſudores tuos hauſerit campus, quæ refectiones tuas arbores, quæ ſomnum ſaxa prætexerint, quod denique tectum magnus hoſpes impleveris, ut tunc ipſi tibi ingentium ducum ſacra veſtigia iiſdem in locis monſtrabantur.

" The time will come, when poſterity will eagerly viſit themſelves, and ſhew to their children, the plains where you ſuſtained ſuch glorious labours, the trees under which you refreſhed yourſelf with food, the rocks where you ſlept, and the houſes that were honoured with ſo great a gueſt: in a word, they will trace your ſacred footſteps every-where, as you have done thoſe in the ſame places of the great captains you delight ſo much to contemplate."

Itaque perinde ſummis atque infimis carus, ſic imperatorem commilitonemque miſcueras, ut ſtudium omnium laboremque & tanquam particeps ſociuſque elevares. Felices illos, quorum fides & induſtria, non per nuncios & interpretes, ſed ab ipſo te, nec auribus tuis ſed oculis probantur. Conſecuti ſunt, ut abſens quoque de abſentibus nemini magis, quam tibi, crederes.

" Dear as you were alike to great and ſmall, you mingled the ſoldier and general in ſuch a manner, that, at the ſame time your office exacted their whole obedience and labours as their leader, you ſoftened their toils by ſharing in them as their companion. How happy are they to ſerve you, who are not informed of their zeal and capacity from the reports of others, but are yourſelf the witneſs of them in your own perſon! Hence to their good fortune, even when abſent, "you rely on none more than yourſelf in what re-"lates to them."

Trajan's return and entrance into Rome, after his being declared emperor.

Ac primùm qui dies ille, quo expectatus deſideratuſque urbem tuam ingreſſus es!——Non ætas quemquam, non valetudo, non ſexus retardavit quominus oculos inſolito ſpectaculo expleret. Te parvuli noſcere, oſtentare juvenes, mirari ſenes, ægri quoque neglecto medentium imperio ad conſpectum tui, tanquam ad ſalutem ſanitatemque, prorepere. Inde alii ſe ſatis vixiſſe te viſo, te recepto; alii nunc magis vivendum prædicabant. Fœminas etiam tunc fœcunditatis ſuæ maxima voluptas ſubiit, cum cernerent cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperiſſent. Videres referta tecta ac laborantia, ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non niſi ſuſpenſum & inſtabile veſtigium caperet: Oppletas undique vias, anguſtumque tramitem relictum tibi: alacrem hinc atque inde populum: ubique par gaudium, paremque clamorem.

"What ſhall I ſay of that day, when your city, "after having ſo long deſired and expected you, "beheld you enter it?——Neither age, ſex, nor "health could keep anybody from ſo unuſual a "ſight. The children were eager to know you, "the youth to point you out, the old to admire "you, and even the ſick, without regard to the "orders of their phyſicians, crept out, as if for "the recovery of their health, to feed their eyes "on you. Some ſaid, that they had lived long "enough, as they had ſeen you; and others that "they only now began to live. The women re-"joiced that they had children, when they ſaw for "what prince they had brought forth citizens, for "what general ſoldiers. The roofs were all crowded "and ready to break down under the numbers upon "them; the very places where there was ſcarce "room to ſtand, and not upright, were full. The "throng was ſo vaſt in the ſtreets, that it ſcarce

"left

“ you way to paſs through it: whilſt the joy an
“ acclamations of the people filled all places, an
“ reſounded univerſally to the heavens.”

The example of the prince how powerful.

Non cenſuram adhuc, non præfecturam morum rece piſti; quia tibi beneficiis potius quam remediis ingenii no ſtra experiri placet. Et alioqui neſcio an plus moribu conferat princeps, qui bonos eſſe patitur, quam qui cogi Flexibiles quamcumque in partem ducimur à principe, a que ut ita dicam, ſequaces ſumus——Vita principis cen ſura eſt, eaque perpetua: ad hanc dirigimur, ad han convertimur; nec tam imperio nobis opus eſt, quam ex emplo. Quippe infidelis recti magiſter eſt metus. Me lius homines exemplis docentur, quæ imprimis hoc in boni habent, quod approbant, quæ præcipiunt, fieri poſſ

“ You have not yet thought fit to take the cen
“ ſorſhip upon you, nor to charge yourſelf wit
“ inſpecting into the manners of the people; be
“ cauſe you chuſe rather to try our diſpoſition b
“ kindneſs and indulgence, than bitter remedie
“ And indeed, I do not know whether the princ
“ who honours the virtues of his people, does n
“ contribute more to them, than he who exac
“ them with rigour.——The life of a prince is
“ continual cenſorſhip: it is to that we adapt our
“ ſelves, to that we turn as to our model; an
“ want leſs his commands than his example. Fo
“ fear is but a dubious, a treacherous teacher o
“ duty. Examples are of much greater efficac
“ with men: for they not only direct to virtue, bu
“ prove that it is not impoſſible to practiſe wha
“ they admoniſh.”

Virtue, not ſtatues, do honour to princes.

Ibit in ſecula fuiſſe principem, cui florenti & incolum nunquam niſi modici honores, ſæpius nulli decernerentur —Ac mihi intuenti in ſapientiam tuam, minus miru videtur, quod mortales iſtos caducoſque titulos aut de preceri *eceris, aut temperes. Scis enim ubi vera principis, bi ſempiterna ſit gloria; ubi ſint honores, in quos nihil ammis, nihil ſenectuti, nihil ſucceſſoribus liceat. Arcus im, & ſtatuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & bſcurat oblivio, negligit carpitque poſteritas: contrà, ntemptor ambitionis & infinitæ poteſtatis domitor ac ænator animus ipſa vetuſtate floreſcit, nec ab ullis ma-s laudatur, quam quibus minimè neceſſe eſt. Præterea, t quiſquis factus eſt princeps, extemplò fama ejus, in-rtum bona an mala, cæterùm æterna eſt. Non ergo rpetua principi fama, quæ invitum manet, ſed bona ncupiſcenda eſt. Ea porro non imaginibus & ſtatuis, d virtute ac meritis propagatur.*

"It will be told in all ages, that there was a prince to whom in the height of glory and good fortune only moderate honours, and more frequently none were decreed.—When I conſider your profound wiſdom, my wonder ceaſes, on ſeeing you either decline or moderate thoſe fleeting vulgar titles. You know wherein the true, the immortal glory of a prince conſiſts; you know wherein thoſe honours have their being, which fear neither flames, time, nor the envy of ſucceſſors. For neither triumphal arches, ſtatues, altars, nor even temples eſcape oblivion, and the neglect or injuries of poſterity. But he, whoſe exalted ſoul diſdains ambition, and ſets due bounds to univerſal power, ſhall flouriſh to the lateſt period of the world, revered and praiſed by none ſo much, as thoſe who are moſt at liberty to diſpenſe with that homage. The fame of a prince, from the moment he becomes ſo, whether good or bad, is neceſſarily eternal. He ought not therefore to deſire an immortal name, which he muſt have whether he will or no, but a good one; and that, not ſtatues and images, but merit and virtue perpetuate."

The

The prince's happineſs inſeparable from that of the people.

Fuit tempus, ac nimium diu fuit, quo alia adverſ alia ſecunda principi & nobis. Nunc communia til nobiſcum tam læta, quam triſtia; nec magis ſine te n eſſe felices, quam tu ſine nobis potes. An, ſi poſſes, i ſine votorum adjeciſſes, UT ITA PRECIBUS TUIS DI ANNUERENT, SI JUDICIUM NOSTRUM MERER PERSEVERASSES?

“ There was a time, and but of too long dur
“ tion, when our misfortunes and proſperity an
“ the prince's were the reverſe of each other. B
“ now our good and evil are one and the ſame wi
“ yours; and we can no more be happy witho
“ you, than you without us. Had it been othe
“ wiſe, would you have added at the end of yo
public vows, *That you deſired the gods would he*
“ *your prayers no longer, than you perſiſted to deſer*
“ *our love?*”

It is remarkable that a condition was inſerted t the order of Trajan himſelf in the vows made f him by the public: SI BENE REMPUBLICAM E EX UTILITATE OMNIUM REXERIS: that is to ſa *if you govern the commonwealth with juſtice, and ma the good of all mankind the rule of your power.* “
“ vows, cries Pliny, worthy of being made, wo
“ thy of being eternally heard! The commo
“ wealth has, by your guidance, entered into
“ contract with the gods, that they ſhould t
“ watchful for your preſervation, as long as yo
“ are ſo for that of your country: and, if you a
“ any thing to the contrary, that they ſhould wit
“ draw their regard and protection from you.
Digna vota, quæ ſemper ſuſcipiantur, ſemperque ſolva tur. Egit cum diis, ipſo te auctore, Reſpublica, ut ſoſpitem incolumemque præſtarent, ſi tu cæteros præſt tiſſes: ſi contra, illi quoque à cuſtodia tui corporis ocul dimoverent.

Admirab

dmirable union between the wife and ſiſter of Trajan.

Nihil eſt tam pronum ad ſimultates quàm æmulatio,
n fœminis præſertim. Ea porro maximè naſcitur ex
onjunctione, alitur æqualitate, exardeſcit invidia, cu-
us finis eſt odium. Quo quidem admirabilius exiſtiman-
um eſt, quòd mulieribus duabus in una domo parique
ortuna nullum certamen, nulla contentio eſt. Suſpiciunt
nvicem, invicem cedunt: cùmque te utraque effuſiſſimè
iligat, nihil ſua putant intereſſe utram tu magis ames.
dem utrique propoſitum, idem tenor vitæ, nihilque ex
uo ſentias duas eſſe.

"Nothing is more apt to produce enmity than emulation, eſpecially amongſt women. It generally is moſt frequent where it ſhould leaſt be found, I mean in families: equality nouriſhes it, envy inflames it, the end of which is implacable hatred. And this makes our wonder the greater, when we behold two ladies, equal in fortune, in the ſame palace, between whom there never happens the leaſt difference. They ſeem to contend in paying reſpect and giving place to each other; and, though they both love you with the utmoſt tenderneſs, they do not think which of them you love beſt of any conſequence. Their views, the tenor of their lives, are ſo much the ſame, that there is nothing in either from whence one can diſtinguiſh them to be two perſons."

Trajan was ſenſible to the joys of friendſhip.

Jam etiam & in privatorum animis exoleverat priſ-
um mortalium bonum amicitia, cujus in locum migra-
verant aſſentationes, blanditiæ, & pejor odio amoris
imulatio. Etenim in principum domo nomen tantum
micitiæ, inane ſcilicet irriſumque, manebat. Nam quæ
oterat eſſe inter eos amicitia, quorum ſibi alii domini,
lii ſervi videbantur? Tu hanc pulſam & errantem
reduxiſti. Habes amicos, quia amicus ipſe es. Neque
nim, ut alia ſubjectis, ita amor imperatur: neque eſt

ullus affectus tam erectus, & liber, & dominationis impatiens, nec qui magis vices exigat.

“ Friendſhip, that ineſtimable good, in which
“ of old the happineſs of mortals conſiſted, was
“ baniſhed even from the commerce of private life
“ and flattery, compliment, and outward profeſ-
“ ſion, the phantom of friendſhip, more dangerous
“ even than enmity, had aſſumed its place. If the
“ name of friendſhip was ſtill known in the court
“ of the princes, it was only as the object of con-
“ tempt and ridicule. For what friendſhip could
“ ſubſiſt between thoſe, who conſidered each other
“ in the light of maſters and ſlaves ? But you have
“ recalled the exile from wandering abroad : You
“ have friends, becauſe you are yourſelf a friend
“ For the power of a prince, though he command
“ without bounds in other things, does not extend
“ to love. Of all the affections of the ſoul, that
“ is the moſt free, unbiaſſed, and averſe to con-
“ ſtraint ; none of them exacting returns with
“ greater rigour.”

Abſolute power of the freedmen under the bad emperors

Plerique principes, cum eſſent civium domini, libertorum erant ſervi. Horum conſiliis, horum nutu regebantur : per hos audiebant, per hos loquebantur : per ho Præturæ etiam, & Sacerdotia, & Conſulatus, imò & ab his, petebantur. Tu libertis tuis ſummum quidem honorem, ſed tanquam libertis, habes ; abundeque his ſufficere credis, ſi probi & frugi exiſtimentur. Sci enim, præcipuum eſſe indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos.

“ Moſt of our emperors whilſt lords of the ci-
“ tizens, were ſlaves to their freedmen. They go-
“ verned ſolely by their counſel and dictates ; and
“ had neither will, ears, nor tongues but theirs
“ By them, or rather from them, all offices, prætor,
“ pontifex, conſul, were to be aſked. As for you
“ you have indeed a very high regard for your
“ freed-

freedmen, but you regard them as freedmen, and believe them ſufficiently honoured in the circumſtances of worthy men of moderate fortune. For you know, that there is not a more infallible proof of the prince's meanneſs, than the greatneſs of his freedmen."

Nothing exalts the prince like deſcending to the man.

Cui nihil ad augendum faſtigium ſupereſt, hic uno odo creſcere poteſt, ſi ſe ipſe ſubmittat, ſecurus magnidinis ſuæ. Neque enim ab ullo periculo fortuna prinium longiùs abeſt, quam ab humilitate.

"To him who has attained the higheſt fortune, there remains but one means for exalting himſelf, and that is, ſecure in his greatneſs, to neglect and deſcend from it properly. Of all the dangers princes can incur, the leaſt they have to fear, is making themſelves cheap by humility.

In what the greatneſs of princes conſiſts.

Ut felicitatis eſt quantum velis poſſe, ſic magnitudinis lle quantum poſſis.

"As it is the higheſt felicity to be capable of doing all the good you will, ſo it is the moſt exalted greatneſs to deſire to do all the good you can."

Of Pliny's ſtyle.

Pliny's panegyric has always paſſed for his mar-piece, and even in his own time, when many his pieces of eloquence that had acquired him eat reputation at the bar, were extant. In praing as conſul, and by order of the ſenate, ſo acmpliſhed a prince as Trajan, to whoſe favour he s beſides highly indebted, it is not to be wonred that he made an extraordinary effort of geus, as well to expreſs his private gratitude, as the iverſal joy of the empire. His wit ſhines out every

Pectus eſt quod diſertos facit. *Quintil.* every where in his diſcourſe; but his heart is ſtill more evident in it, and all know that true eloquence flows from the heart.

Ep. 18. l. 3. When he ſpoke this panegyric, it was not ſo long as it is at preſent. It was not till after the firſt eſſay, that, like an able painter, he added new ſtrokes of art to the portrait of his hero; but all taken from the life, and which, far from alterin the likeneſs and truth, only rendered them ſtronge and more ſenſible. * He gives us himſelf the reaſon that induced him to act in this manner: "M firſt view, ſays he, was to make the emperor (i poſſible) more in love with his own virtues, b the charms of juſt and natural praiſes; and nex to point out to his ſucceſſors, not as a maſter but under the cover of example, the moſt certain paths to ſolid glory. For though it be laudable to form princes by precepts, it is difficult not to ſay proud and aſſuming. But to tranſmit the praiſes of a moſt excellent prince to poſterity is ſetting up a light to guide ſucceedin emperors, and to the full as uſeful, with no arrogance." It was not eaſy for him to have propoſed a more perfect model. Trajan may be ſai to have united all the qualities of a great prince i one only, which was in being perfectly convinced that he was not emperor for himſelf, but for hi people. But that is not the preſent queſtion.

The ſtile of his diſcourſe is elegant, florid, an luminous, as that of a panegyric ought to be, i

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* Officium conſulatûs injunxit mihi ut Reip. nomine Princi gratias agerem. Quod ego in Senatu cùm ad rationem & loci temporis ex more feciſſem, bono civi convenientiſſimum credid eadem illa ſpatioſiùs & uberiùs volumine amplecti. Primùm, Imperatori noſtro virtutes ſuæ veris laudibus commendarentur deinde ut futuri Principes, non quaſi à magiſtro, ſed tamen ſub exemplo præmonerentur, qua potiſſimum via poſſent ad eandem gloriam niti. Nam præcipere qualis eſſe debeat Princeps, pulcrum quidem, ſed oneroſum ac prope ſuperbum eſt. Laudare verò optimu Principem, ac per hoc poſteris, velut è ſpeculo, lumen quod ſequantur oſtendere, idem utilitatis habet, arrogantiæ nihil.

whic

which it is allowable to diſplay with pomp whatever is moſt ſhining in eloquence. The thoughts in it are fine, ſolid, very numerous, and often ſeem entirely new. The diction, though generally ſimple enough, has nothing low, or that does not ſuit the ſubject, and ſupport its dignity. The deſcriptions are lively, natural, circumſtantial, and full of happy images, which ſet the object before the eyes, and render it ſenſible. The whole piece abounds with maxims and ſentiments truly worthy of the prince it praiſes.

As fine and eloquent as this diſcourſe is, it cannot however in my opinion be judged of the ſublime kind. We do not ſee in it, as in Cicero's orations, I mean even of the demonſtrative kind, thoſe warm and emphatical expreſſions, noble and ſublime thoughts, bold and affecting turns and ſallies, and figures full of vivacity and fire, which ſurpriſe, aſtoniſh, and tranſport the ſoul out of itſelf. His eloquence does not reſemble thoſe great rivers that roll their waves with noiſe and majeſty, but rather a clear and agreeable ſtream which flows gently under the ſhade of the trees that adorn its banks. Pliny leaves his reader perfectly calm and in his natural ſituation of mind. He pleaſes, but by parts and paſſages. A kind of monotony prevails throughout his whole panegyric, which makes it not eaſy to bear the reading of it to the end; whereas Cicero's longeſt oration ſeems the fineſt, and gives the moſt pleaſure. To this I muſt add, that Pliny's ſtile favours a little of the taſte for antitheſes, broken thoughts, and ſtudied turns of phraſe, which prevailed in his time. He did not abandon himſelf to them, but was obliged to give into the mode. The ſame taſte is obvious in his letters, but with leſs offence, becauſe they are all detached pieces, in which ſuch a ſtile does not diſpleaſe: I believe them however far from being comparable to thoſe of Cicero. But, all things rightly conſidered, Pliny's letters and panegyric deſerve the eſteem and approbation all ages have given them; to which I ſhall add, that his tranſlator (into French) ought to ſhare them with him.

Antient Panegyrics.

There is a collection of Latin orations extant, intitled *Panegyrici veteres*, which contains panegyrics upon ſeveral of the Roman emperors. Tha of Pliny is at the head of them, with eleven of th ſame kind after it. This collection, beſides including abundance of facts not to be found elſewhere may be of great uſe to ſuch as have occaſion t compoſe panegyrics. The Antients of a better ag ſupply us with no models of this kind of diſcourſes except Cicero's oration for the Manilian law, an ſome parts of his other harangues, which are finiſhed maſter-pieces of the demonſtrative kind. Th ſame beauty and delicacy are not to be expected i the panegyrics of which I am ſpeaking. Remoteneſs from the Auguſtan age had occaſioned a grea decline of eloquence, which no longer retaine that antient purity of language, beauty of expreſſion, ſobriety of ornaments, and ſimple and natural air, that roſe, when neceſſary, into an admirable loftineſs and ſublimity of ſtile. But there i abundance of wit in theſe diſcourſes, with very fin thoughts, happy turns, lively deſcriptions, an extremely ſolid praiſes.

To give the reader ſome idea of them, I ſha content myſelf with tranſcribing two paſſages her in Latin only. They are extracted from the panegyric ſpoken by Nazarius in honour of Conſtantin the Great, upon the birth-day of the two Cæſar his ſons. St. Jerom mentions this Nazarius as celebrated orator, and ſays that he had a daughte no leſs eſteemed than himſelf for eloquence.

A.D. 321.

Fir

Firſt paſſage.

Nazarius ſpeaks here of the two Cæſars: *Nobiliſſimorum Cæſarum laudes exequi velle, ſtudium quidem dulce, ſed non & cura mediocris eſt; quorum in annis pubeſcentibus non erupturæ virtutis tumens germen, non flos præcurſor indolis bonæ lætior quam uberior apparet; ſed jam facta grandifera, & contra rationem ætatis maximorumque fructuum matura perceptio. Quorum alter jam obterendis hoſtibus gravis terrorem paternum, quo ſemper barbaria omnis intremuit, derivare ad nomen ſuum cœpit: alter jam Conſulatum, jam venerationem ſui, jam patrem ſentiens, ſi quid intactum aut parens aut frater reſervet, declarat mox victorem futurum, qui animo jam vincit ætatem. Rapitur quippe ad ſimilitudinem ſuorum excellens quæque natura, nec ſenſim ac lentè indicium promit boni, cum involucra infantiæ vividum rumpit ingenium.*

Second paſſage.

Nazarius praiſes a virtue in Conſtantine very rarely found in princes, but highly eſtimable, that s, continence. He adds alſo ſeveral other praiſes to it:

Jam illa vix audeo de tanto Principe commemorare, uod nullam matronarum, cui forma emendatior fuerit, boni ſui piguit; cum ſub abſtinentiſſimo Imperatore ſpecies luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ eſſet, ſed udoris ornatrix. Quæ ſine dubio magna, ſeu potius divina laudatio, ſæpe & in ipſis etiam philoſophis, non tam re exhibita, quam diſputatione jactata. Sed remittamus hoc principi noſtro, qui ita temperantiam ingenerare omnibus cupit, ut eam non ad virtutum ſuarum decus adſcribendam, ſed ad naturæ ipſius honeſtatem referendam arbitretur. Quid, faciles aditus? quid, aures patientiſſimas? quid, benigna reſponſa? quid, vultum ipſum auguſti decoris gravitate, hilaritate permixta, venerandum quiddam & amabile renidentem, quis digne exequi poſſit?

Can any thing be more ſolid than this thought? *No lady, however beautiful, has had reaſon to repent her being ſo; becauſe, under ſo wiſe a prince as Conſtantine, beauty is not an attraction to vice, but the ornament of virtue.* And could it be better expreſſed? *Cùm ſub abſtinentiſſimo Imperatore ſpecies luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ eſſet, ſed pudoris ornatrix.*

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS, &c.

OF THE SUPERIOR SCIENCES.

WE are now come to that part of literature which is the greateſt and moſt exalted in the order of natural knowledge, I mean Philoſophy, and the Mathematics that are a branch of it. The latter have under them a great number of Arts and Sciences, which either depend upon or relate to them. The ſtudy of theſe requires, for ſucceeding in it, force and extent of mind, which natural qualities it highly improves. It is eaſy to conceive that ſubjects ſo various, extenſive, and important, can only be treated very ſuperficially in this place: neither do I pretend to take them all in, or to give an exact detail of them here. I ſhall confine myſelf to the moſt ſelect, and ſhall treat of what ſeems moſt proper to gratify, or rather to excite, the curioſity of readers

little

little verſed in ſuch matters, and to give them ſome idea of the hiſtory of the great men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe ſciences, and of the improvements they have acquired in coming down from the antients to the moderns. For it is not here as in polite learning (the *Belles-Lettres*,) in which, to ſay no more, it is moſt certain that the latter ages have added nothing to the productions of Athens and Rome.

All the ſciences, of which I am to ſpeak here, may be divided into two parts; Philoſophy and the Mathematics. Philoſophy will be the ſubject of this twenty-ſixth book; and Mathematics of the following, which will be the laſt.

OF
PHILOSOPHY.

PHILOSOHY is the ſtudy of nature and morality founded on the evidence of reaſon. This ſcience was at firſt called σοφία, *Wiſdom*; and he profeſſors of it σοφοὶ, *Sages* or *Wiſemen*. Thoſe names ſeemed too arrogant to Pythagoras, for which reaſon he ſubſtituted more modeſt ones to hem, calling this ſcience *Philoſophy*, that is to ſay, ove of wiſdom; and thoſe who taught or applied hemſelves to it *Philoſophers*, lovers of wiſdom.

Almoſt in all times and in all civiliſed nations, here have been ſtudious perſons of exalted genius who cultivated this ſcience with great application: he Prieſts in Egypt, the Magi in Perſia, the Chaldeans in Babylon, the Brachmans or Gymnoſophiſts in India, and the Druids amongſt the Gauls. Though philoſophy owes its origin to ſeveral of hoſe I have now mentioned, I ſhall conſider it here only as it appeared in Greece, which gave it new uſtre, and became in a manner its ſchool in geneal. Not only ſome particulars, diſperſed here and here in different regions, from time to time, make happy-efforts, and by their writings and reputation give a ſhining, but ſhort and tranſient, light; but Greece, by a ſingular privilege, brought up and formed in her boſom, during a long and uninterupted ſeries of ages, a multitude, or, to ſpeak more properly, a people of philoſophers, ſolely employed in inquiring after truth; many of whom with that view renounced their fortunes, quitted their countries, undertook long and laborious voyages, and paſſed their whole lives to extreme old age in ſtudy.

Can we believe that this tenacious concurrence of learned and ſtudious perſons, of ſo long duration in one and the ſame country, was the mere effect of chance, and not of a peculiar Providence, which excited ſo numerous a ſucceſſion of philoſophers to ſupport and perpetuate antient tradition concerning certain eſſential and capital truths? How uſeful were their precepts upon morality, upon the virtues and duties, in preventing the growth or rather inundation of depravity and vice? For inſtance, what hideous diſorder had taken place, if the Epicurean had been the ſole prevailing ſect! How much did their diſputes conduce to preſerve the important doctrines of the difference between matter and mind, the immortality of the ſoul, and the exiſtence of a ſupreme Being! * It is not to be doubted but God has diſcovered admirable principles to them upon all theſe points, preferably to the many other nations whom barbarity continued in profound ignorance.

It is indeed true, that many of theſe philoſophers advanced ſtrange abſurdities. And even all of them, according to St. Paul, *held the truth in unrighteouſneſs—becauſe that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful.* None of their ſchools had ever the courage to maintain or prove the unity of God, though all the great philoſophers were fully convinced of that truth. God has been pleaſed by their example to teach us, what man abandoned to himſelf, and his mere capacity, is. During four hundred years and upwards, all theſe great geniuſſes, ſo ſubtile, penetrating, and profound, were inceſſantly diſputing, examining, and dogmatiſing, without being able to

Rom. i. 18—21.

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* *Becauſe that which may be known of God, is manifeſt in them; for God hath ſhewed it unto them.* Rom. i. 19.

agree upon, or conclude any thing. They were not deſtined by God to be the light of the world: *Thoſe did not the Lord chuſe, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them.* Baruch iii. 27.

Philoſophy, amongſt the Greeks, was divided into two great ſects: the one called the *Ionic*, founded by Thales of Ionia; the other the *Italic*, becauſe it was eſtabliſhed by Pythagoras in that part of Italy, called *Græcia Magna.* Both the one and the other were divided into many other branches, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

This in general is the ſubject of my intended diſſertation upon the philoſophy of the antients. It would ſwell to an immenſe ſize, were I to treat it in all its extent, which does not ſuit my plan. I ſhall content myſelf, therefore, in giving the hiſtory and opinions of the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt theſe philoſophers, with relating what ſeems moſt important and inſtructive, and beſt adapted to gratify the juſt curioſity of a reader, who conſiders the actions and principles of theſe philoſophers as an eſſential part of hiſtory, but a part of which it ſuffices to have a ſuperficial knowledge and general idea. My guides amongſt the antients will be Cicero in his philoſophical works, and Diogenes Laertius in his treatiſe upon the philoſophers; and, amongſt the moderns, the learned Engliſhman Mr. Stanley, who has compoſed an excellent work upon this ſubject.

I ſhall divide my diſſertation into two parts. In the firſt, I ſhall relate the hiſtory of the philoſophers, without dwelling much upon their opinions; in the ſecond, I ſhall treat the hiſtory of philoſophy itſelf, and the principal maxims of the different Sects.

PART

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY of the PHILOSOPHERS.

I Shall run over all the Sects of antient philoſophy, and give a brief hiſtory of the philoſophers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in each.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY of the PHILOSOPHERS *Of the Ionic ſect, to their diviſion into various branches.*

THE IONIC SECT, to reckon from Thales, who is conſidered as the founder of it, down to Philo and Antiochus that Cicero heard, ſubſiſted above five hundred years.

THALES.

Diog. Laert. A. M. 3364. Ant. J. C. 640.

THALES was of Miletus, a famous city of Ionia. He came into the world the firſt year of the XXXVth Olympiad.

To improve himſelf in the knowledge of the moſt learned perſons of thoſe times, he made ſeveral voyages, according to the cuſtom of the antients; at firſt into the iſland of Crete, then into Phœnicia, and afterwards into Egypt, where he conſulted the prieſts of Memphis, who cultivated the ſuperior ſciences with extreme application. Under theſe great maſters he learned geometry, aſtronomy, and philoſophy. A pupil of this kind does not long continue ſo. Thales accordingly proceeded very ſoon from leſſons to diſcoveries. His maſters of Memphis learned from him the method of meaſuring exactly the immenſe pyramids which ſtill ſubſiſt.

Egypt was at that time governed by Amaſis, a prince who loved letters, becauſe he was very learned himſelf. He ſet all the value it deſerved upon the merit of Thales, and gave him public marks of his eſteem. But that Greek philoſopher, who was fond of liberty and independence, had not the talents for ſupporting himſelf in a court. He was a great aſtronomer, a great geometrician, and an excellent philoſopher, but a bad courtier. The too free manner in which he declaimed againſt tyranny diſpleaſed Amaſis, and made him conceive impreſſions of diſtruſt and fear of him, to his prejudice, which he did not take too much pains to remove, and which were followed ſoon after with his entire diſgrace. Greece was the better for it. Thales quitted the court, and returned to Miletus to diffuſe the treaſures of Egypt in the boſom of his country.

The great progreſs he had made in the ſciences, occaſioned his being ranked in the number of the ſeven ſages of Greece, ſo famed among the antients. Of theſe ſeven ſages, only Thales founded a ſect of philoſophers, becauſe he applied himſelf to the contemplation of nature, formed a ſchool and a ſyſtem of doctrines, and had diſciples and ſucceſſors. The others made themſelves remarkable only by a more regular kind of life, and ſome precepts of morality which they gave occaſionally.

Antient Hiſtory, Vol. II. *towards the end.*

I have ſpoken elſewhere of theſe ſages with ſome extent, as well as of many circumſtances of the life of Thales: of his reſidence in the court of Crœſus king of Lydia, and his converſation with Solon. I have repeated there the ſenſible pleaſantry of a woman who ſaw him fall into a ditch, whilſt he was contemplating the ſtars: *How,* ſaid ſhe to him, *ſhould you know what paſſes in the heavens, when you do not ſee what is juſt at your feet?*

and his ingenious manner of evading his mother, when ſhe preſſed him earneſtly to marry, by anſwering her, when he was young, *It is too ſoon yet*: and, after his return from Egypt, *It is too late now.*

The reaſons, which had prevented Thales from giving himſelf chains by entering into the married ſtate, made him prefer a life of tranquillity to the moſt ſplendid employments. Prompted by a warm deſire of knowing nature, he ſtudied it aſſiduouſly in the happy leiſure which a ſtrict retirement afforded him, impenetrable to tumult and noiſe, but open to all whom the love of truth, or occaſion for his counſel, brought to him. He quitted it very rarely; and that only to take a frugal repaſt at the houſe of his friend Thraſybulus, who by his abilities became king of Miletus, at the time of the treaty made by that city with Alyattes king of Lydia.

Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 25. Apul Florid.

Cicero tells us, that Thales was the firſt of the Greeks who treated the ſubject of phyſics.

The glory of having made ſeveral fine diſcoveries in aſtronomy is aſcribed to him: of which one that relates to the magnitude of the ſun's diameter compared with the circle of his annual motion, gave him great pleaſure. Accordingly a rich man, to whom he had imparted it, offering that philoſopher whatever reward he thought fit for it, Thales aſked him no other, but that he would give the honour of the diſcovery to its author. This is an inſtance of the character of the learned, who are infinitely more ſenſible to the honour of a new diſcovery than to the greateſt rewards; and of the truth of what * Tacitus ſays in ſpeaking of Helvidius Priſcus, *That the laſt thing the wiſe themſelves renounce is the deſire of glory.* He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ability in foretelling the eclipſes of the ſun and moon with great exactneſs, which was conſidered in thoſe times as a very wonderful matter.

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* Erant quibus appetentior famæ videbatur, quando etiam ſapientibus cupido gloriæ noviſſima exuitur. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. 4. c. 6.

St. Clemens Alexandrinus repeats two fine ſayings of Thales, after Diogenes Laertius: * Being aſked one day what God was, he anſwered, *That which has neither beginning nor end.* Another aſking him whether a man could conceal his actions from God? *How can that be,* replied he, *as it is not in his power to conceal even his thoughts from him.* † Valerius Maximus adds, that Thales ſpoke thus, that the idea of God's preſence to the moſt ſecret thoughts of the ſoul might induce men to keep their hearts as pure as their hands. Cicero makes exactly the ſame remark, though in terms ſomething different. ‡ Thales, ſays he, who was the wiſeſt of the ſeven ſages, believed it of the laſt importance for men to be convinced, that the Divinity filled all places, and ſaw all things, which would render them in conſequence wiſer and more religious.

He died in the firſt year of the LVIIIth olympiad, aged fourſcore and twelve, during his being preſent at the celebration of the Olympic games.

A. M. 3456. Ant. J. C. 548.

ANAXIMANDER.

Thales had for his ſucceſſor Anaximander, his diſciple and countryman. Hiſtory has preſerved no particular circumſtances of his life. He departed from his maſter's doctrine in many points. It is ſaid that he forewarned the Lacædemonians of the dreadful earthquake which deſtroyed their city. He was ſucceeded by ANAXIMENES.

Cic. de Divin. l. 1. n. 112.

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* Rogatus Thales quid ſit Deus? Id, inquit, quod neque habet principium, nec finem. Cùm autem rogaſſet alius, an Deum lateat homo aliquid agens: Et quomodo, inquit, qui ne cogitans quidem?

† Mirificè Thales. Nam interrogatus an facta hominum deos fallerent; nec cogitáta, inquit. Ut non ſolùm manus, ſed etiam mentes puras habere vellemus; cùm ſecretis cogitationibus noſtris cœleſte numen adeſſe crederemus. *Val. Max.* l. 7. c. 2.

‡ Thales, qui ſapientiſſimus inter ſeptem fuit, dicebat, Homines exiſtimare oportere deos omnia cernere, deorum omnia eſſe plena: fore enim omnes caſtiores. *Cic. de leg. n.* 2. *l.* 36.

ANAXAGORAS.

A. M. 3456. Ant. J. C. 500.

Anaxagoras, one of the moſt illuſtrious philoſophers of antiquity, was born at Clazomenæ in Ionia, about the LXXth olympiad, and was the diſciple of Anaximenes. The nobility of his extraction, his riches, and the generoſity which induced him to abandon his patrimony, rendered him very conſiderable. * Believing the cares of a family and an eſtate obſtacles to his taſte for contemplation, he renounced them abſolutely, in order to devote his whole time and application to the ſtudy of wiſdom, and the inquiry after truth, which were his only pleaſures. † When he returned into his own country after a long voyage, and ſaw all his lands lie abandoned and uncultivated, far from regretting the loſs, he cried out, *I ſhould have been undone, if all this had not been ruined.* Socrates, in his ironical way, affirmed that the ſophiſts of his time had more wiſdom than Anaxagoras; as, inſtead of renouncing their eſtates like him, they laboured ſtrenuouſly to inrich themſelves, convinced as they were of the ſtupidity of old times, and that THE WISE MAN OUGHT TO BE WISE FOR HIMSELF, that is to ſay, that they ought to employ their whole pains and induſtry in amaſſing as much money as poſſible.

Plat. in Hipp. maj. p. 283.

Anaxagoras, in order to apply himſelf wholly to ſtudy, renounced the cares and honours of government. No man however was more capable of ſucceeding in public affairs. We may judge of his abilities in that way from the wonderful progreſs made by his pupil Pericles in policy. It was to

Plut. in Peric. p. 154.

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* Quid aut Homero ad delectationem animi ac voluptatem, aut cuiquam docto defuiſſe unquam arbitramur? An, ni ita ſe res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipſe Democritus, agros & patrimonia ſua reliquiſſent, huic diſcendi quærendique divinæ delectationi toto ſe animo dediſſent? *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 5. n. 114 & 115.*

† Cum è diutina peregrinatione patriam repetiſſet, poſſeſſioneſque deſertas vidiſſet: NON ESSEM, inquit, EGO SALVUS, NISI ISTÆ PERIISSENT. *Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7.*

him he was indebted for thoſe grave and majeſtic manners that rendered him ſo capable of governing the commonwealth. It was he that laid the foundation of that ſublime and triumphant eloquence which acquired him ſo much power, and who taught him to fear the gods without ſuperſtition. In a word, he was his counſellor, and aſſiſted him with his advice in the moſt important affairs, as Pericles himſelf declared. I have elſewhere mentioned the little care the latter took of his maſter, and that Anaxagoras, wanting the neceſſaries of life, reſolved to ſuffer himſelf to die of hunger. Pericles upon this news flew to his houſe, and earneſtly intreated him to renounce ſo melancholy a reſolution: *When one would uſe a lamp*, replied the philoſopher, *one takes care to ſupply it with oil, that it may not go out.* Plut. in Peric. p. 162.

Wholly engroſſed in the ſtudy of the ſecrets of nature, which was his paſſion, he had equally abandoned riches and public affairs. Upon being aſked one day, whether he had no manner of regard for the good of his country? *Yes, yes*, ſaid he, lifting up his hand towards heaven, *I have an extreme regard for the good of my country.* He was aſked another time to what end he was born? to which he anſwered, *To contemplate the ſun, moon, and ſkies.* Is that then the end to which man is deſtined? Diog. Laert.

He came to Athens at the age of twenty, about the firſt year of the LXXVth olympiad, very near the time of Xerxes's expedition againſt Greece. Some authors ſay, that he brought thither the ſchool of philoſophy which had flouriſhed in Ionia from its founder Thales. He continued and taught at Athens during thirty years. Diog. Laert. A. M. 3484. Ant. J. C. 480.

The circumſtances and event of the proſecution fomented againſt him at Athens for impiety are differently related. The opinion of thoſe who believe that Pericles could find no ſurer method for preſerving that philoſopher, than to make him quit Athens, ſeems the moſt probable. The reaſon, or

rather the pretext, for ſo heavy an accuſation was
that, in teaching upon the nature of the ſun, h
defined it *a maſs of burning matter*; as if he ha
thereby degraded the ſun, and excluded it from th
number of the gods. It is not eaſy to comprehen
how, in ſo learned a city as Athens, a philoſophe
ſhould not be allowed to explain the properties c
the ſtars by phyſical reaſons, without hazardin
his life. But the whole affair was an intrigue an
a cabal of the enemies of Pericles, who were fc
deſtroying him, and endeavoured to render himſe
ſuſpected of impiety, from his great intimacy wit
this philoſopher.

Anaxagoras was found guilty through conti
macy, and condemned to die. When he receive
this news, he ſaid, without ſhewing any emotior
Nature has long ago paſſed ſentence of death upon n
judges, as well as me. He remained at Lampſacu
during the reſt of his life. In his laſt ſickneſ
upon his friends aſking him whether he wou
have his body carried to Clazomenæ after his death
* *No*, ſaid he, *that's unneceſſary. The way to t*
infernal † *regions is as long from one place as anothe*
When the principal perſons of the city came to r
ceive his laſt orders, and to know what he deſir
of them after his death; he replied, nothing, e
cept that the youth might have leave to play eve
year upon the day of his death. This was done a
cordingly, and continued a cuſtom to the time
Diogenes Laertius. He is ſaid to have lived ſixt
two years. Great honours were paid, and even
altar erected, to him.

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* Nihil neceſſe eſt, inquit: undique enim ad inferos tantund
viæ eſt. *Cic.* 1. *Tuſc.* n. 104.

† Infernal regions, *or hell. The antients underſtood by this w*
the place to which the ſouls of all men go after death.

ARCHELAUS.

Archelaus, of Athens according to ſome, and of Miletus according to others, was the diſciple and ſucceſſor of Anaxagoras, in whoſe doctrine he made little alteration. Some ſay that it was he who tranſported philoſophy from Ionia to Athens. He confined himſelf principally to the phyſics, as his predeceſſors had done: but he introduced the ethics a little more than them. He formed a diſciple, who placed them highly in honour, and made them his capital ſtudy.

SOCRATES.

This diſciple of Archelaus was the famous Socrates, who had been alſo the pupil of Anaxagoras.
He was born in the fourth year of the LXXVIIth A. M.
Olympiad, and died the firſt of the XCVth, after 3534. A. M.
having lived ſeventy years. 3604.

Cicero has obſerved in more than one place, that Academ.
Socrates, conſidering that all the vain ſpecula- Quæſt. l. 1. n. 15.
tions upon the things of nature tended to nothing uſeful, and did not contribute to render man more virtuous, devoted himſelf ſolely to the ſtudy of morality. * *He was the firſt*, ſays he, *who brought philoſophy down from heaven*, where ſhe had been employed till then in contemplating the courſe of the ſtars; *who eſtabliſhed her in cities, introduced her into private houſes, and obliged her to direct her inquiries to what concerned the manners, duties, virtues, and vices of life.* Socrates is therefore conſidered with reaſon as the founder of moral philoſophy amongſt the Greeks.

This was not becauſe he had not perfectly ſtudied the other branches of philoſophy: he poſſeſſed them all in a ſupreme degree, having induſtriouſly formed

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* Socrates primus philoſophiam devocavit è cœlo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit, & coegit de vita & moribus, rebuſque bonis & malis quærere. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 5. n. 10.

Epiſt. ad Æſchin. himſelf in them. But, as he judged them of little uſe in the conduct of life, he made little uſe of them: and, if we may believe Xenophon, he was never heard in his diſputes to mention either aſtronomy, geometry, or the other ſublime ſciences, that before him had ſolely employed the philoſophers; in which Xenophon ſeems deſignedly to contradict and refute Plato, who often puts ſubjects of that kind into the mouth of Socrates.

I ſhall ſay nothing here either of the circumſtances of the life and death of Socrates, or of his opinions: I have done that elſewhere with ſufficient extent. *Ant. Hiſt.* Vol. IV. It only remains for me to ſpeak of his diſciples, who, though all of them made it their honour to acknowledge Socrates their chief, were divided in their opinions.

XENOPHON.

Xenophon was certainly one of the moſt illuſtrious diſciples of Socrates, but did not form a ſect; for which reaſon I ſeparate him from the reſt. He was as great a warrior as philoſopher. *Ant. Hiſt.* Vol. IV. I have related at large the ſhare he had in the famous retreat of the Ten Thouſand.

His adherence to the party of young Cyrus, who had declared himſelf openly againſt the Athenians, drew upon him their hatred, and occaſioned his baniſhment. Diog. Laert. After his return from the expedition againſt Artaxerxes, he attached himſelf to Ageſilaus king of Sparta, who then commanded in Aſia. As Ageſilaus knew perfectly well how to diſtinguiſh merit, he had always a moſt peculiar regard for Xenophon, and, upon being recalled by the Ephori for the defence of his country, carried the Athenian general thither along with him. Xenophon after various events retired to Corinth with his two ſons, where he paſſed the reſt of his days. In the war between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, when the people of Athens reſolved to aid the latter, he ſent his two ſons to that city. Gryllus ſignaliſed himſelf in a peculiar manner in the battle of Mantinæa, and ſome pretend that it was he who wounded Epaminondas in the action. He did not ſurvive ſo glorious an exploit long, but was killed himſelf. The news of his death was brought to his father, whilſt he was offering a ſacrifice. Upon hearing it he took the wreath from his head; but, upon being informed by the courier, that his ſon fell fighting glorioully, he immediately put it on again, and continued the ſacrifice without ſhedding a ſingle tear, ſaying coldly, *I knew the ſon to whom I gave life was not immortal.* Might not this be called a conſtancy, or rather hardneſs of heart, truly Spartan?

Xenophon died the firſt year of the CVth Olympiad, aged fourſcore and ten. A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of his works. He was the firſt that reduced to writing and publiſhed the diſcourſes of Socrates, but exactly as they came from his mouth and without any additions of his own, as Plato made to them.

It is pretended that there was a ſecret jealouſy between thoſe two philoſophers, little worthy of the name they bore, and the profeſſion of wiſdom upon which they both piqued themſelves: and ſome proofs are given of this jealouſy. Plato never mentions Xenophon * in any of his books, which are very numerous, nor Xenophon him, though they both frequently ſpeak of the diſciples of Socrates. Beſides which, all the world knows that the Cyropædia of Xenophon is a book, in which, relating the hiſtory of Cyrus, whoſe education he extols, he lays down the model of an accompliſhed prince, and the idea of a perfect government. We are told, that he compoſed this piece with no other deſign but to contradict Plato's Commonwealth, Aul. Gell. l. 14. c. 3.

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* *Voſſius has obſerved that Xenophon has ſpoke once of Plato, but only in mentioning his name.* Memorab. l. 3. p. 772.

which had lately appeared; and that Plato was ſo angry upon that account, that, to diſcredit this De leg. l. 3. p. 697. work, he ſpoke of Cyrus, in a book which he afterwards wrote, as of a prince indeed of great courage and love of his country, but one * whoſe education had been very bad. Aulus Gellius, who relates what I have now ſaid, cannot imagine that two ſuch great philoſophers, as thoſe in queſtion, could be capable of ſo mean a jealouſy; (it is however but too common amongſt men of letters) and he chuſes rather to aſcribe it to their admirers and partiſans. And indeed it often happens that diſciples, through a too partial zeal, are more delicate in reſpect to the reputation of their maſters, and urge what concerns them with greater warmth, than themſelves.

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* Παιδείας δὲ ὀρθῆς οὐχ ἧφθαι τὸ παράπαν.

CHAPTER II.

Diviſion of the Ionic philoſophy into different ſects.

BEFORE Socrates there had been no different ſects amongſt the philoſophers, though their opinions were not always the ſame: but from his time many roſe up, of which ſome ſubſiſted longer in vogue, and others were of ſhorter duration. I ſhall begin with the latter, which are the Cyrenaic, Megarean, Elian, and Eretrian ſects. They take their names from the places where they were inſtituted.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Cyrenaic ſect.

ARISTIPPUS.

ARISTIPPUS was the chief of the Cyrenaic ſect. He was originally of Cyrene in Libya. The great reputation of Socrates induced him to quit his country, in order to ſettle at Athens and to have the pleaſure of hearing him. He was one of that philoſopher's principal diſciples: but he led a life very repugnant to the precepts taught in that excellent ſchool, and when he returned into his own country, opened a very different courſe for his diſciples. The great principle of his doctrine was, that the ſupreme good of man during this life is pleaſure. His manners did not belie his opinions, and he employed a ready and agreeable turn of wit in eluding, by pleaſantries, the juſt reproaches made him on account of his exceſſes. He perpetually abandoned himſelf to feaſting and women. * When he Laert.

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* Ne Ariſtippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit, cùm eſſet objectum habere eum Laida: *Habeo,* inquit, *Laida. non habeor à Laide.* Cic. Ep. 26. l. 9. ad Fam.

was raillied upon his commerce with the courtezan Lais: *True*, ſaid he, *I poſſeſs Lais, but not Lais me.* Upon being reproached for living with too much ſplendor, he replied: *If good living were a crime, there would not be ſo much feaſting on the feſtivals of the gods.*

The reputation of Dionyſius the tyrant, whoſe court was the centre of pleaſures, whoſe purſe was ſaid to be always open to the learned, and whoſe table was always ſerved with the utmoſt magnificence, drew him to Syracuſe. As his wit was ſupple, ready, and inſinuating, and he omitted no occaſion of ſoothing the prince, and bore his raillery and intervals of bad humour with a patience next to ſlaviſh, he had abundance of credit in that court. Dionyſius aſking him one day, why philoſophers were always ſeen in the houſes of the great, and the great never in thoſe of philoſophers? *It is*, replied Ariſtippus, *becauſe philoſophers know what they want, and the great don't.*

If Ariſtippus could content himſelf with herbs, ſaid Diogenes the Cynic to him, *he would not be ſo baſe as to court princes. If my critic*, replied Ariſtippus, *knew how to make his court to princes, he would not content himſelf with herbs.*

Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti,
Nollet Ariſtippus. Si ſciret Regibus uti,
Faſtidiret olus qui me notat. Hor. Ep. 17. l. 1.

The one's view was good living, the other's to be admired by the people.

Scurror ego ipſe mihi, populo tu.

And which is beſt? Horace, without heſitating, gives Ariſtippus the preference, whom he praiſes in more than one place. He reſembled him too much himſelf, not to do ſo. However he dares not abandon

don himſelf to the principles of Ariſtippus, and falls inſenſibly into them by propenſity of nature.

> *Nunc in Ariſtippi furtim præcepta relabor.*
> Id. Ep. 1. l. 1.

So mean is the love of pleaſure, that, let thoſe who give themſelves up to it diſſemble ever ſo well, they cannot intirely conceal their ſhame!

Ariſtippus was the firſt diſciple of Socrates that took a certain præmium from thoſe he taught, which gave his maſter great offence. Having demanded fifty drachma's of a man for teaching his ſon: "How fifty drachma's, cried the father! Why that's enough "to buy a ſlave. Indeed? replied Ariſtippus, "buy him then, and you'll have two." *About 25 ſhillings.*

Ariſtippus died on his return from Syracuſe to Cyrene. He had a daughter, named Areta, whom he took great care to educate in his own principles, in which ſhe became a great proficient. She inſtructed her ſon Ariſtippus, ſurnamed Μητροδίδακτος, in them herſelf.

THEODORUS.

Theodorus, the diſciple of Ariſtippus, beſide the other principles of the Cyrenaics, publicly taught that there were no gods. The people of Cyrene baniſhed him. He took refuge at Athens, where he would have been tried and condemned in the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus had not found means to ſave him. Ptolomy the ſon of Lagus received him into his ſervice, and ſent him once as his ambaſſador to Lyſimachus. The philoſopher ſpoke to that prince with ſo much impudence, that one of his miniſters, who was preſent, told him: *I fancy, Theodorus, you imagine there are no kings, as well as no gods.* Laert.

It is believed that this philoſopher was at laſt condemnd to die, and obliged to take poiſon.

We ſee here that the impious doctrine of atheiſm, contrary to the general and immemorial belief of mankind, ſcandaliſed and offended all nations ſo much, as to be deemed worthy of death. It owes its birth to teachers abandoned to the debaucheries of women and the table, and who propoſe to themſelves the pleaſures of the ſenſes as the great ends of being.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Megarean ſect.

IT was inſtituted by EUCLID, who was of Megara, a city of Achaia, near the Iſthmus of Corinth. He actually ſtudied under Socrates at Athens, at the time of the famous decree, that partly occaſioned the Peloponneſian war, by which the citizens of Megara were prohibited to ſet foot in Athens upon pain of death. So great a danger could not abate his zeal for the ſtudy of wiſdom. In the diſguiſe of a woman he entered the city in the evening, paſſed the night with Socrates and went back before light, going regularly every day almoſt ten leagues forwards and backwards. There are few examples of ſo warm and conſtánt an ardour for knowledge.

Amplius viginti millia.

He departed very little from his maſter's opinions. After the death of Socrates, Plato and other philoſophers, who apprehended the effects of it, retired to him at Megara, who gave them a very good reception. His brother one day in great rage upon ſome particular ſubject of diſcontent, ſaying to him: *May I periſh, if I am not revenged on you. And may I periſh*, replied Euclid *if my kindneſs does not at length correct this violence of your temper, and make you as much my friend as ever.*

The Euclid, of whom we ſpeak, is not Euclid the mathematician, who was alſo of Megara, but flouriſhed above ninety years after under the firſt of the Ptolomy's.

His ſucceſſor was Eubulides, who had been his diſciple. Diodorus ſucceeded the latter. We ind in the ſequel, that theſe three philoſophers conributed very much to the introduction into logical diſputations of a bad taſte for ſubtile reaſonings, ounded ſolely upon ſophiſms.

I ſhall almoſt paſs over in ſilence what regards he Elian and Eretrian ſects, which include few hings of any importance.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Elian and Eretrian ſects.

I Confound theſe two ſects together, and reduce what I have to ſay of them to a few words, as hey contain nothing important.

The *Elian* ſect was founded by Phædon, one of he favourite diſciples of Socrates. He was of Elis in Peloponneſus.

The *Eretrian* was ſo called from Eretria a city of Eubœa, the country of Menedemus, its founder.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the three ſects of Academics.

OF all the ſects the ſchool of Socrates brought forth, the moſt famous was the Academic, ſo called from the place where they aſſembled, which was the houſe of an antient hero of Athens, named Academus, ſituated in the ſuburbs of that city, where Plato taught. We have ſeen in the hiſtory of Cimon the Athenian general, who ſought to diſtinguiſh himſelf no leſs by his love for learning and learned men than his military exploits, that he adorned the Academy with fountains and walks of trees for the convenience of the philoſophers who aſſembled there. From that time all places, where men of letters aſſemble, have been called *Academies.*

Three *Academies*, or ſects of Academics, ar reckoned. Plato was the founder of the *antient* or firſt. Arceſilaus, one of his ſucceſſors, mad ſome alterations in his philoſophy, and by that reformation founded what is called the *middle*, or ſecond academy. The *new*, or third academy, is attributed to Carneades. We ſhall ſoon ſee wherei their difference conſiſted.

SECT. I.

Of the antient Academy.

THOSE who made it flouriſh in ſucceſſion t one another were Plato, Speuſippus, Xenocrates, Polemon, and Crantor.

PLATO.

A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 428.

PLATO was born in the firſt year of th LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. He was at firſt calle Ariſtocles from the name of his grandfather; bu his maſter of the Paleſtra called him Plato fro his large and broad ſhoulders, which name he retained. Whilſt he was an infant in arms, ſleepin one day under a myrtle, a ſwarm of bees ſettle upon his lips, which was taken for an omen, tha the child would prove very eloquent, and diſtinguiſh himſelf highly by the ſweetneſs of his ſtile This came to paſs, whatever we may think of th augury; from whence the ſurname of *Apis Attica* Athenian bee, was given him.

He ſtudied grammar, muſic, and painting, unde the moſt able maſters. He applied himſelf alſo t poetry, and even compoſed tragedies, which h burnt at the age of twenty, after having heard Socrates. He attached himſelf ſolely to that philoſopher; and, as he was exceedingly inclined to virtue by nature, made ſuch improvements from th leſſons of his maſter, that at twenty-five he gave extraordinary proofs of his wiſdom.

The

A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

The fate of Athens was at that time very deplo-able. Lyſander the Lacædemonian general had ſtabliſhed the thirty tyrants there. Plato's merit, which was already well known, induced them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to engage him in their party, and to oblige him to ſhare in the affairs of he government. To this he conſented at firſt, with the hope either of oppoſing, or at leaſt of oftening, the tyranny: but he preſently perceived, hat the evil had no remedy, and, that to ſhare in he public affairs, it was neceſſary either to render himſelf an accomplice of their crimes, or the victim of their appetites. He therefore waited a more favourable occaſion.

A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402.

That time ſeemed ſoon after to be arrived. The yrants were expelled, and the form of the government intirely changed. But the affairs of the pub-ic were in no better a condition, and the ſtate re-eived new wounds every day. Socrates himſelf was ſacrificed to the malice of his enemies. Plato etired to the houſe of Euclid at Megara, from whence he went to Cyrene, to cultivate the mathematics under Theodorus, the greateſt mathemati-ian of his time. He afterwards viſited Egypt, nd converſed a great while with the Egyptian prieſts, who taught him great part of their tradi-ions. It is even believed, that they made him cquainted with the books of Moſes and the prophets. Not content with all theſe acquiſitions, he went to that part of Italy called Græcia Magna, to hear the three moſt famous Pythagoreans of thoſe imes, Philolaus, Archytas of Tarentum, and Eu-ytus. From thence he went into Sicily, to ſee the wonders of that iſland, and eſpecially the volcano of mount Ætna. This voyage, which was a mere ffect of his curioſity, laid the firſt foundations of he liberty of Syracuſe, as I have explained at large n the hiſtory of Dionyſius, the father and ſon, and n that of Dion. He intended to have gone to Perſia,

ſia, in order to have conſulted the Magi: but was prevented by the wars which at that time troubled Aſia.

At his return to his country after all his travels, in which he had acquired an infinitude of curious knowledge, he ſettled his abode in the quarter of the ſuburb of Athens, called the Academy, (of which we have ſpoken above) where he gave his leſſons, and formed ſo many illuſtrious diſciples.

Plato compoſed a ſyſtem of doctrine from the opinions of three philoſophers. He followed Heraclitus in natural and ſenſible things: that is to ſay, he believed, with Heraclitus, that there was but one world; that all things were produced by their contraries; that motion, which he calls war, occaſions the production of beings, and reſt their diſſolution.

He followed Pythagoras in intellectual truths, or what we call the metaphyſics: that is to ſay, he taught, as that philoſopher did, that there is but one God, the author of all things; that the ſoul is immortal; that men have only to take pains to purge themſelves of their paſſions and vices, in order to be united to God; that after this life there is a reward for the good, and a puniſhment for the wicked; that between God and man there are various orders of ſpirits, which are the miniſters of the ſupreme Being. He had alſo taken the Metempſychoſis from Pythagoras, but given it a conſtruction of his own.

And finally, he imitated Socrates in reſpect to morality and politics; that is to ſay, he reduced every thing to the manners, and laboured only to incline all men to diſcharge the duties of the ſtate of life in which the Divine Providence has placed him.

He alſo very much improved logic, or, which is the ſame thing, the art of reaſoning with order and exactneſs.

All the works of Plato, except his letters, of which only twelve are come down to us, are in the form of dialogues. He purpoſely choſe that manner of writing, as more agreeable, familiar, comprehenſive, and better adapted to inſtruct and perſuade, than any other. By the help of it he ſucceeded wonderfully in placing truths in their full light. He gives to each of his ſpeakers his proper character; and by an admirable * chain of reaſons, which neceſſarily induce each other, he leads them on to admit, or rather to ſay themſelves, all he would prove to them.

As to the ſtile, it is impoſſible to imagine any thing greater, more noble, or more majeſtic; that, ſays † Quintilian, he ſeems not to ſpeak the language of men, but of the gods. The flow and numbers of his elocution form an harmony ſcarce inferior to that of Homer's poetry; and the Atticiſm, which, amongſt the Greeks, was in point of ſtile whatever was fineſt, moſt delicate, and moſt perfect in every kind, prevails in it univerſally, and ſhews itſelf every-where in a manner intirely peculiar.

But neither the beauty of ſtile, the elegance and happineſs of expreſſions, nor the harmony of numbers, conſtitute the value of Plato's writings. What is moſt to be admired in them is the ſolidity and greatneſs of the ſentiments, maxims, and principles diffuſed throughout them, whether for the conduct of life, policy, government, or religion. I ſhall cite ſome paſſages from them in the ſequel.

Plato died in the firſt year of the CVIIIth Olympiad, which was the thirteenth of the reign of Philip of Macedon, aged eighty-one, and upon the ſame day he was born. A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348.

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* In dialogis Socraticorum, maximeque Platonis, adeo ſcitæ ſunt interrogationes, ut, cùm pleriſque bene reſpondeatur, res tandem ad id quod volunt efficere, perveniat. *Quintil.* l. 5. c. 7.

† Ut mihi, non hominis ingenio, ſed quodam Delphico videatur oraculo inſtinctus. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

He had many diſciples, of whom the moſt diſtinguiſhed were Speuſippus his nephew by the mother's ſide, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, and the celebrated Ariſtotle. Theophraſtus is alſo ſaid t have been of the number of his hearers, and Demoſthenes to have always conſidered him as hi maſter; of which his ſtile is a good proof. Dion the brother-in-law of Dionyſius the tyrant, alſo di him great honour by his excellent character, his inviolable attachment to his perſon, his extraordinar taſte for philoſophy, the rare qualities of his hea and heart, and his great and heroic actions for reeſtabliſhing the liberty of his country.

Cic. Acad. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 17—18. After the death of Plato, his diſciples divide themſelves into two ſects. The firſt continued t teach in the Academy, the name of which they retained. The others ſettled their ſchool in the Lycæum, a place in Athens adorned with porticoes an gardens. They were called Peripatetics, and ha Ariſtotle for their founder. Theſe two ſects differe only in name, and agreed as to opinions. The had both renounced the cuſtom and maxim of Socrates, which was to affirm nothing, and to explai themſelves in diſputes only dubiouſly and with reſerve. I ſhall ſpeak of the Peripatetics in the ſequel when I have briefly related the hiſtory of the philoſophers who fixed their reſidence in the Academy.

SPEUSIPPUS.

Laert. I have already ſaid that he was Plato's nephew His conduct was ſo very irregular in his youth that his parents turned him out of their houſe That of his uncle became his aſylum. Plato behave to him as if he had never heard of his debauche life. His friends were ſhocked and amazed at hi placing his kindneſs ſo ill, and at ſo indolent a conduct, and blamed him for taking no pains to correct his nephew, and reform his diſſolute manners. He replied calmly, that he laboured more effectu-

all

lly to that purpoſe than they imagined, in ſhewng him, by his own manner of living, the infinite ifference between virtue and vice, and between ecency and depravity. And indeed that method cceeded ſo well, that it inſpired Speuſippus with very great reſpect for him, and a violent deſire f imitating him, and of devoting himſelf to phioſophy, in the ſtudy of which he afterwards made ery great proficiency. It requires no common adreſs to manage the ſpirit of a vicious young man, nd to bring him over to a ſenſe of his duty. The oiling heat of youth ſeldom gives way to violence, hich often ſerves only to inflame and precipitate into deſpair.

Plato had cultivated a particular intimacy beveen Speuſippus and Dion, with a view of ſofteng the auſtere temper of the latter, by the gaiety nd inſinuating manners of his nephew.

He ſucceeded his uncle in the ſchool after his eath, but held it only eight years; after which his firmities obliged him to reſign it to Xenocrates. peuſippus did not depart from Plato's doctrine, ut was not ſtudious to imitate him in his practice. e was choleric, loved pleaſure, and ſeemed ſelftereſted; for he exacted a præmium from his ſciples, contrary to the cuſtom and principles of lato.

XENOCRATES.

Xenocrates was of Chalcedon, and became ery early Plato's diſciple.

He ſtudied under that great maſter at the ſame me as Ariſtotle, but not with the ſame talents. He had occaſion for a ſpur, and the other for a ridle; which are Plato's own words of them, who dded, that, in putting them together, he coupled horſe with an aſs. He is praiſed for not being

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* *Iſocrates ſaid the ſame thing of Theopompus and Euphorus.*

diſcouraged

Plut. de audit. p. 47.

diſcouraged by the ſlowneſs of his parts, which mad ſtudy much more laborious to him than to other: Plutarch uſes the example of him, and that of Cl anthes, to encourage ſuch as perceive they have le penetration and vivacity than others, and exhor them to imitate thoſe two great philoſophers, an like them, to ſet themſelves above the ridicule (their companions. If Xenocrates, from the heav neſs of his genius, was inferior to Ariſtotle, he f ſurpaſſed him in practical philoſophy and purity (manners.

Diog. Laert.

Ælian. l. 14. c. 9.

He was naturally melancholy, and had ſom thing ſtiff and auſtere in his temper; for whic reaſon Plato often adviſed him *to ſacrifice to t Graces*, ſignifying clearly enough by thoſe word that it was neceſſary for him to ſoften the ſeveri of his temper. He ſometimes reproved him f that fault with more force and leſs reſerve, appr hending that his pupil's want of politeneſs and goo nature would become an obſtacle to all the go effects of his inſtruction and example. Xenocra was not inſenſible to thoſe reproaches: but th never diminiſhed the profound reſpect he alwa had for his maſter. And when endeavours we uſed to make him angry with Plato, and he w provoked to defend himſelf with ſome vivacit he ſtopped the mouths of his indiſcreet frien with ſaying, *He uſes me ſo for my good.* He to Plato's place in the ſecond year of the CX Olympiad.

A. M. 3666.

Diog. Laert.

Diogenes Laertius ſays, that he loved neith pleaſure, riches, nor praiſe. He ſhewed on ma occaſions a generous and noble diſintereſtedne The court of Macedonia had the reputation of r taining a great number of penſioners and ſpies all the neighbouring republics, and to corrupt wi bribes all perſons ſent to negotiate with the Xenocrates was deputed with ſome other Athen ans to Philip. That prince, who perfectly unde

ſto

ſtood the art of inſinuating into people's favour, applied himſelf in a particular manner to Xenocrates, whoſe merit and reputation he was apprized of. When he found him inacceſſible to preſents and intereſt, he endeavoured to mortify him by an affected contempt and ill treatment, not admitting him to his conferences with the other ambaſſadors from the commonwealth of Athens, whom he had corrupted by his careſſes, feaſts, and liberalities. Our philoſopher, firm and unalterable in his principles, retained all his ſtiffneſs and integrity, and, though wholly excluded, continued perfectly eaſy, and never appeared either at audiences or feaſts as his colleagues did. At their return to Athens, his colleagues endeavoured in concert to iſcredit him with the people, and complained, that e had been of no manner of uſe to them in this mbaſſy; in conſequence of which he was very near aving a fine laid on him. Xenocrates, forced by he injuſtice of his accuſers to break ſilence, explained all that had paſſed in Philip's court, made he people ſenſible of what importance it was to ave a ſtrict eye upon the conduct of deputies who ad ſold themſelves to the enemy of the commonwealth, covered his colleagues with ſhame and confuſion, and acquired immortal glory.

Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 5. n. 91. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3.

His diſintereſtedneſs was alſo put to the proof by lexander the Great. The ambaſſadors of that rince, who without doubt came to Athens upon ccount of ſome negociation, (neither the time nor he affair are ſaid) offered Xenocrates from their maſter fifty talents, that is to ſay, fifty thouſand rowns. Xenocrates invited them to ſupper. The ntertainment was ſimple, frugal, plain, and truly philoſophical. * The next day the deputies aſked im, into whoſe hands they ſhould pay the money

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* Cùm poſtridie rogarent eum, cui numerari juberet: *Quid! Vos eſternâ*, inquit, *cœnulâ non intellexiſtis, me pecunia non egere?* uos cùm triſtiores vidiſſet, triginta minas accepit, ne aſpernari reis liberalitatem videretur. *Cic.*

they had orders to give him. *How! ſaid* he to them, *did not my feaſt yeſterday inform you, that I have no occaſion for money?* He added that Alexander was more in want of it than him, becauſe he had more mouths to feed. Seeing that his anſwer made them ſad, he accepted of thirty minæ (about ſeventy-five pounds) that he might not ſeem to deſpiſe the king's liberality out of pride. * Thus, ſays an hiſtorian, in concluding his account of this fact, the king would have purchaſed the friendſhip of the philoſopher, and the philoſopher would not ſell it to the king.

His diſintereſtedneſs muſt have reduced him tc great poverty, as he could not diſcharge a certair tax, which ſtrangers were obliged to pay yearl into the public treaſury of Athens. Plutarch tell us, that one day, as they were hauling him to priſo for not having paid this tribute, the orator Lycurgus diſcharged the ſum, and took him out of th hands of the farmers of the revenue, who frequentl are not too ſenſible to the merit of the learned Xenocrates, ſome days after meeting the ſon of hi deliverer, told him, *I pay your father the favour h did me with intereſt; for all the world praiſes him upo my account.* Diogenes Laertius tells us ſomethin very like this of him, which perhaps is the ſame fac diſguiſed under different circumſtances. He ſay that the Athenians ſold him, becauſe he could no pay the capitation laid upon ſtrangers: but tha Demetrius Phalereus bought him, and immediatel gave him his liberty. It is not very probable, tha the Athenians ſhould treat a philoſopher of the reputation of Xenocrates with ſo much cruelty.

Plut. in Flamin. p. 375.

Diog. Laert. in Xenoc.

Athens had a very high idea of his probity. On day when he appeared before the judges to giv evidence in ſome affair, on his going towards th altar, in order to ſwear that what he had affirme was true, all the judges roſe up, and would no

Cic. Orat. pro Corn. Balb n. 14. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 9.

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* Ita rex philoſophi amicitiam emere voluit: philoſophus reg ſuam vendere noluit. *Val. Max.*

ſuffe

ſuffer him to do ſo, declaring that his word was as ſatisfactory to them as an oath.

Happening in company, where abundance of ſcandal was talked, he did not ſhare in it, and continued mute. Upon being aſked by ſomebody the reaſon of his profound ſilence, he replied, *It is becauſe I have often repented ſpeaking, but never holding my tongue.*

He had a very fine maxim upon the education Plut de
of youth, which it were to be wiſhed parents would audit.
cauſe to be obſerved in their houſes. * He was, p. 38.
from their earlieſt infancy, for having wiſe and virtuous diſcourſes often repeated in their preſence; but without affectation; in order that they might ſeize in a manner on their ears, as on a place hitherto unoccupied, through which virtue and vice might equally penetrate to the heart; and that thoſe wiſe and virtuous diſcourſes, like faithful centinels, ſhould keep the entrance firmly cloſed againſt all words that might corrupt the purity of manners in the leaſt, till by long habit youth were become ſtrong, and their † ears ſafe againſt the invenomed breath of bad converſation.

According to Xenocrates, there are no true phi- Plut. de
loſophers but thoſe who do that voluntarily and of virt. morali
their own accord, which others do only through p. 446.
fear of puniſhment and the laws.

He compoſed ſeveral works, amongſt the reſt Diog.
one upon the method of reigning well; at leaſt Laert.
Alexander aſked it of him.

He loſt little time in viſits, was very fond of the retirement of his ſtudy, and meditated much.

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* Τῶν λόγων τοὺς φαύλους φυλάττεσθαι παραινῶν, πρὶν ἑτέρους χρηστοὺς, ὥσπερ φύλακας, ἐντραφέντας ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας, τῷ ἔθει τὴν μάλιστα κινουμένην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναπειθομένην χώραν κατασχεῖν.

† *He alludes to the Athletæ, who in boxing uſed to cover their heads and ears with a kind of leathern cap, to deaden the violence of the blows. He ſays that this precaution is much more neceſſary to youth. For all the riſk the Athletæ ran was of having their ears hurt; whereas young perſons hazard their innocence, and even the loſs of themſelves.*

He ſeldom was ſeen in the ſtreets: but, when he appeared there, the debauched youth uſed to fly to avoid meeting him.

Diog. Laert. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 90. A young Athenian, more vicious than the reſt, and abſolutely infamous for his irregularities in which he gloried, was not ſo much awed by him. His name was Polemon. On leaving a party o debauch, paſſing by the ſchool of Xenocrates, an finding the door open, he went in, full of wine, ſweet with eſſence, and with a wreath on his head In this condition he took his ſeat amongſt the auditors, leſs to hear than out of inſolence. Th whole aſſembly were ſtrangely ſurpriſed and offended. Xenocrates, without the leaſt emotion or chang of countenance, only varied the diſcourſe, and wen on with ſpeaking upon temperance and ſobriety, al the advantages of which he ſet in full light, by oppoſing to thoſe virtues the ſhame and turpitude o the contrary vices. The young libertine, wh liſtened with attention, opened his eyes to the deformity of his condition, and was aſhamed of himſelf. * The wreath falls from his head; with downcaſt eyes he hides himſelf in his cloak, and, inſtea of that gay inſolence which he had ſhewn on entering the ſchool, he appears ſerious and thoughtful An entire change of conduct enſued; and, abſolutely cured of his bad paſſions by a ſingle diſcourſe from an infamous debauchee, he became an excellent philoſopher, and made an happy amends fo the vices of his youth by a wiſe and regular courſ of life, from which he never departed.

A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316. Xenocrates died at the age of eighty-two, th firſt year of the CXVIth Olympiad.

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* ——— Faciaſne quod olim
Mutatus Polemon? Ponas inſignia morbi,
Faſciolas, cubital, focalia? potus ut ille
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpſiſſe coronas,
Poſt quam eſt impranſi correptus voce magiſtri.
Hor. Sat. 3. *l.*

POLE

POLEMON. CRATES. CRANTOR.

I join theſe three philoſophers under the ſame title, becauſe little is known of their lives.

Polemon worthily ſucceeded his maſter Xenocrates, and never departed from his opinions, nor the example of wiſdom and ſobriety, which he had ſet him. He renounced wine in ſuch a manner at he age of thirty, which was the time his celebrated change of conduct began, that during the reſt of his life he never drank any thing but water. Athen. l. 2. c. 44.

Crates, who was his ſucceſſor, is little known, nd muſt be diſtinguiſhed from a Cynic philoſopher of the ſame name, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel.

Crantor was more famous. He was of Soli n Cilicia. He quitted his native country, and came to Athens, where he was the diſciple of Xenocrates at the ſame time with Polemon. * He paſſes for one of the great pillars of the Platonic ſect. What Horace ſays of him, in praiſing Homer, argues the great reputation of this philoſopher, and how much his principles of morality were in eſteem:

> Qui quid ſit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
> Plenius ac melius Chryſippo & Crantore dicit.
>
> *Hor. Ep.* 2. *l.* 1.

Who tells what's great, what mean, what fit, what not,
Better than Crantor *or Chryſippus taught.*

The ſame cannot be ſaid of his principles upon the nature of the ſoul, as we ſhall ſee in its place.

He wrote a book upon *Conſolation*, which is loſt: was addreſſed to Hippocles, whom an early death had deprived of all his children. It is men- Plut. de Conſol. p. 104.

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* Crantor ille qui in noſtra academia vel in primis fuit nobilis. Cic. *Tuſc. Quæſt. l.* 3. *n.* 12.

tioned * as a book of gold, of which every word deſerved to be got by heart. Cicero had made great uſe of it in a tract that bore the ſame title. Arceſilaus the author of the middle Academy was his diſciple.

SECT. II.

Of the Middle Academy.

IT is ſo called, becauſe it ſubſiſted between the ancient Academy inſtituted by Plato, and the new that ſoon ſucceeded it, of which Carneades was the author.

ARCESILAUS.

Diog. Laert. in Arceſil.

Num. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 14. c. 5.

Diog. Laert.

ARCESILAUS was born at Pitane in Æolia. H went to Athens and became the diſciple of th greateſt philoſophers, of which number were Polemon, Theophraſtus, Crantor, Diodorus, and Pyrrho It was evidently of the laſt that he learnt to doub every thing. He was only an Academic by name which he retained out of reſpect to Crantor, upo being whoſe diſciple he valued himſelf.

He ſucceeded Crates, or, according to others Polemon, as profeſſor in the Platonic ſchool, i which he became an innovator. For he founded a ſect, which was called the ſecond or middle Academy, to diſtinguiſh it from that of Plato. H was very oppoſite to the Dogmatiſts, that is to ſay the philoſophers who affirmed and decided. H ſeemed to doubt all things, maintained both ſides c a queſtion, and determined nothing. He had a grea number of diſciples. To attack all the ſcience and to reject not only the evidence of the ſenſes, bu of reaſon, was certainly the boldeſt undertaking that could be formed in the republic of letters. To hope any ſucceſs in it required all the merit of Arceſilaus. * He was by nature of an happy, ready, warm genius: his perſon was very graceful, and his manner of ſpeaking happy and delightful. The beauty of his aſpect admirably ſeconded the charms of his utterance. Accordingly Lucullus †, who learnedly and ſolidly refutes the opinion of the Academics, ſays that nobody would have followed the opinion of Arceſilaus, if the eloquence and addreſs of the teacher had not covered and made the manifeſt abſurdity of his doctrine diſappear.

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* Legimus omnes Crantoris, veteris Academici, de luctu: e enim non magnus, verùm aureolus, &, ut Tuberoni Panætius pra cipit, ad verbum ediſcendus libellus. *Acad. Quæſt. l.* 4. *n.* 135.

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Things much for his honour are related of his liberality. ‡ He delighted in doing good, and was not willing that it ſhould be known. § Viſiting a ‖ friend who was ſick, and wanted neceſſaries, but was aſhamed to own it, he dexterouſly ſlid a purſe full of money under his pillow, to ſpare his ſhame and delicacy, and that he might ſeem rather to have found than accepted it.

Authors do not give ſo favourable a teſtimony of the purity of his manners, and accuſe him of the moſt infamous vices. And that ought not to appear ſtrange in a philoſopher, who, doubting every thing, doubted in conſequence the exiſtence of virtue and vice, and could not really admit any rule in reſpect to the duties of civil life.

Diog. Laert.

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* Arceſilas floruit, tum acumine ingenii, tum admirabili quodam lepore dicendi. *Academ. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 16.

† Quis iſta, tam apertè perſpicuéque & perverſa & falſa, ſecutus eſſet, niſi tanta in Arceſila——& copia rerum, & dicendi vis fuiſſet? *Ibid.* n. 60.

‡ Ἐυεργετῆσαι πρόχειρος ἦν, ϗ λαθεῖν τὴν χάριν ἀτυφότατος. *Diog. Laert.*

§ Arceſilaus, ut aiunt, amico pauperi, & paupertatem ſuam diſſimulanti, ægro autem, & ne hoc quidem confitenti deeſſe ſibi in ſumptum ad neceſſarios uſus, cùm clam ſuccurrendum judicaſſet, pulvino ejus ignorantis ſacculum ſubjecit, ut homo inutiliter verecundus, quod deſiderabat, inveniret potiùs quàm acciperet. *Senec. de Benef.* l. 2.

‖ *Seneca calls him Cteſibius: Plutarch gives him another name.* De diſcrim. amic. & adulat. p. 63.

Diog. Laert. He did not care to have any part in the public affairs. However, having been choſen to go to Demetrias, in order to negotiate for his country with Antigonus, he accepted the deputation, but returned without ſucceſs.

In the torments of the * gout, he affected the patience and inſenſibility of a Stoic. *Nothing from thoſe has reached this*, ſaid he, pointing to his feet and touching his † breaſt, to Carneades the Epicurean, who was much concerned to ſee him ſuffer in that manner. He was for making the other believe, that his ſoul was inacceſſible to pain. Lofty language, with nothing real in it but pride!

Idem. Arceſilaus flouriſhed about the CXXth Olympiad, that is to ſay, about the year of the world 3704. He died of exceſſive drinking, which had made him delirious, at the age of 75.

Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 16 His ſucceſſors were Lacydes, Evander, and Egeſimus, which laſt was the maſter of Carneades.

SECT. III.

Of the New Academy.

CARNEADES.

CARNEADES of Cyrene inſtituted the third or new Academy, which, properly ſpeaking, did not differ from the ſecond. For, except ſome few palliatives, Carneades was as warm and zealous an advocate for uncertainty as Arceſilaus. ‡ The difference between them, and the innovation

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* Is cùm arderet & podagræ doloribus, viſitaſſetque hominem Carneades Epicuri perfamiliaris, & triſtis exiret: Mane, quæſo, inquit, Carneade noſter. Nihil illinc huc pervenit, oſtendens pedes & pectus. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 94.

† *The antients believed the breaſt the ſeat of the ſoul and of courage.*

‡ Non ſumus ii quibus nihil verum eſſe videatur, ſed ii qui omnibus veris falſa quædam adjuncta eſſe dicamus, tanta ſimilitudine, ut in iis nulla inſit certa judicandi & aſſentiendi nota. Ex quo exiſtit

ion aſcribed to him of whom we now ſpeak, conſiſt in his not denying with Arceſilaus, that there are truths; but he maintained that they were compounded with ſo many obſcurities, or rather falſhoods, that it was not in our power to diſcern with certainty the true from the falſe. He went therefore ſo far as to admit that there were probable things, and agreed that probability might determine us to act, provided we did not pronounce abſolutely upon any thing. Thus he ſeems to have retained at bottom the whole doctrine of Arceſilaus, but, out of policy, and to deprive his opponents of the more ſpecious pretexts for declaiming againſt and ridiculing him, he granted degrees of probability, which ought to determine the wiſe man to chuſe this or that in the conduct of civil life. He ſaw plainly, that without theſe conceſſions he ſhould never be able to anſwer the ſtrongeſt objections to his principle, nor to prove that it did not reduce man to inaction.

Carneades was the declared antagoniſt of the Stoics, and applied himſelf with extreme ardour to refute the works of Chryſippus, who had been for ſome time the ſupport of the Porch. He ſo ardently deſired to overcome him, that in preparing for the diſpute he took hellebore, in order to have his mind the more free, and to give the fire of his imagination the greater force againſt him. Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7.

A maxim of morality, very admirable in a Pagan, is aſcribed to him. "If a perſon knew, ſays "he, that an enemy, or another whoſe death would "be for his advantage, would come to ſit down "upon the graſs where the aſpic lurked, it would "be acting diſhoneſtly not to give him notice of "it, even though his ſilence might paſs with im- Cic. de finib. l. 2. n. 59.

ſtit & illud, multa eſſe probabilia; quæ quanquam non perciperentur, tamen, quia viſum haberent quendam inſignem & illuſtrem, his ſapientis vita regeretur. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 12.

"punity, nobody being capable of making a crime "of it."

But the conduct of theſe Pagans was always inconſiſtent with itſelf in ſome part or other. This grave philoſopher was not aſhamed of keeping a concubine in the houſe with him.

Pag. 58. Plutarch has preſerved a pretty reflection of Carneades, in his treatiſe upon the difference between a friend and a flatterer. He had cited the example of one who, in diſputing the prize in the horſe-race with Alexander, had ſuffered himſelf to be beaten deſignedly, for which that prince was very angry with him: he adds, "That the manage is the only "thing, in which young princes have nothing to "apprehend from flattery. Their other maſters "frequently enough aſcribe good qualities to them, "which they have not. But an horſe, without re"gard to rich or poor, to ſubject or ſovereign, "throws all the aukward riders that back him."

The embaſſy of Carneades to Rome is much celebrated: I have ſpoken of it elſewhere.

To conclude what relates to Carneades, I ſhall obſerve that he had not entirely neglected the Phyſics, but that he had made the Ethics his principal ſtudy. He was extremely laborious, and ſo avaricious of his time, that he took no care either to pare his nails or cut his hair. Solely devoted to meditation, he not only avoided feaſts, but even forgot to eat at his own table, ſo that his ſervant, who was alſo his concubine, was obliged to put meat into his hand, and almoſt into his mouth. Diog. Laert. Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7.

Digo. Laert. He was extremely afraid of dying. However, upon being informed that his antagoniſt Antipater, the Stoic philoſopher, had poiſoned himſelf, he aſſumed a ſhort ſally of courage againſt death, and cried out: *Then give me alſo—What?* aſked ſomebody. *Mulled wine*, replied he, having bethought himſelf better of it. Diogenes Laertius ridicules this puſillanimity, and reproaches him with having choſen

hoſen rather to languiſh long of the phthiſic, than o give himſelf death: for That the Pagans thought lorious, though the wiſeſt amongſt them were of a lifferent opinion, *and believed, that nature was the ta- it law of God.* He died in the fourth year of the CLXIId Olympiad, aged fourſcore and five years. A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133.

CLITOMACHUS.

Clitomachus, the diſciple of Carneades, was his ſucceſſor. He was a Carthaginian, and called Aſdrubal in the Punic tongue. He compoſed ſeveral books, which were highly eſteemed, and of which one was intitled *Conſolation.* He addreſſed it to his countrymen after the taking and deſtruction of Carthage, to conſole them under the ſtate of Captivity into which they were fallen. Plut. de fort. Alex. p. 328. Cic. l. 3. Tuſcul. Quæſt. n. 54.

PHILO. ANTIOCHUS.

Philo ſucceeded his maſter Clitomachus. He taught both philoſophy and rhetoric, but at different times. Cicero frequented his ſchool, and improved from his double lectures. Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 2. n. 9.

He was alſo the hearer of Antiochus, Philo's diſciple and ſucceſſor. Antiochus was of Aſcalon, and is the laſt of the Academic philoſophers mentioned in hiſtory. Cicero in his voyage to Athens was charmed with his calm, flowing, graceful manner of ſpeaking: but he did not approve the change he had introduced in the method of Carneades. For Antiochus, after having long and ſtrenuouſly maintained the opinions of the new Academy, which rejected entirely the evidence of the ſenſes, and even of reaſon, and taught that there was nothing certain, had on a ſudden embraced thoſe of the old Academy; whether he had been undeceived by the conviction of reaſon and the report of his ſenſes; or, as ſome believed, that jealouſy and envy for the diſciples of Clitomachus and Philo had induced him to that alteration. Plut. in Cic. p. 862.

Plut. in Lucull. p. 519, 520. Lucullus, the famous Roman, as well known for his wonderful taſte for the ſciences, as his great ability in war, had declared openly for the ſect of the Academics, not of the new Academy, though then very flouriſhing from the writings of Carneades; which Philo explained, but for that of the old Academy, of which the ſchool was held at that time by Antiochus. He had cultivated the friendſhip of that philoſopher with extreme ardour: he gave him an apartment in his own houſe, and made uſe of his aſſiſtance in oppoſing the diſciples of Philo, of whom Cicero was the chief.

ARTICLE. V.

Of the Peripatetics.

ARISTOTLE.

I Have already obſerved, that, after Plato's death, his diſciples divided themſelves into two ſects: of which the one continued in the ſchool where Plato had taught, and the other removed to the Lycæum, an agreeable place in the ſuburbs of Athens. Ariſtotle was the chief and founder of the latter.

Diog. Laert. A. M. 3620. He was a native of Stagira a city of Macedonia, and was born in the firſt year of the XCIXth Olympiad, forty years after Plato. His father Nicomachus was a phyſician, and flouriſhed in the reign of Amyntas king of Macedonia, Philip's father.

At the age of ſeventeen he went to Athens, and entered himſelf in the ſchool of Plato, under whom he ſtudied twenty years. He was its greateſt honour, and Plato uſed to call him the ſoul of his ſchool. His paſſion for ſtudy was ſo great, that, in order to prevent ſleep from engroſſing him, he placed a baſon of braſs by his bed-ſide, and, when he lay down, extended one of his hands out of bed with an iron ball in it, that the noiſe, made by the falling of the ball into the baſon, when he fell aſleep, might immediately wake him.

After Plato's death, which happened in the firſt year of the CVIIIth Olympiad, he retired to the A. M.
houſe of Hermias, tyrant of Atarnea in Myſia, his 3656.
fellow-pupil, who received him with joy, and loaded him with honours. Hermias having been condemned and put to death by the king of Perſia, Ariſtotle married his ſiſter Pithais, who was left without a fortune or protector.

It was at this time Philip choſe him, to take care of the education of his ſon Alexander, who might then be about fourteen or fifteen years old. He had long before deſigned him that important Aul. Gell.
and glorious employment. As ſoon as his ſon came l. 9. c. 3.
into the world, he informed him of his birth by a letter, which does Philip no leſs honour than Ariſtotle, and which I am not afraid to repeat in this place. *You have this*, ſays he, *to inform you, that I have a ſon. I thank the Gods, not ſo much for having given him to me, as for having given him to me in the time of Ariſtotle. It is with reaſon I aſſure myſelf, that you will make him a ſucceſſor worthy of us, and a king worthy of Macedonia.* Quintilian * ſays expreſsly, that Ariſtotle taught Alexander the firſt rudiments of grammar. But, as that opinion admits of ſome difficulty, I do not entirely give into it. When the time for taking upon him the education of that prince arrived, Ariſtotle repaired to Macedonia. We have ſeen elſewhere the high value which Philip and Alexander expreſſed for his extraordinary merit.

After a reſidence of ſome years in that court, he obtained permiſſion to retire. Calliſthenes, who had accompanied him thither, took his place, and was appointed to follow Alexander into the field. * Ariſtotle, in whom profound judgment and a great knowledge of the world were united, upon the point of ſetting ſail for Athens, adviſed Calliſthenes not to forget one maxim of Xenophanes, which he judged abſolutely neceſſary to perſons who live in courts: "Speak ſeldom to the prince, or "ſpeak ſo as to pleaſe him: that your ſilence may "either make you more ſecure, or your diſcourſ "more agreeable to him." Calliſthenes, who wa naturally moroſe and auſtere, made but ill uſe o this counſel, which indeed at bottom favours mor of the courtier than the philoſopher.

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* An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio ſuo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Ariſtotele ſummo ejus ætatis Philoſopho voluiſſet, aut ille ſucepiſſet hoc officium, ſi non ſtudiorum initia à perfectiſſimo quoque tractari, pertinere ad ſummam credidiſſet? *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 1.

Ariſtotle then, not having thought proper to follow his pupil to the war, to which his attachmen to ſtudy made him very averſe, after Alexander' departure returned to Athens. He was receive there with all the marks of diſtinction due to a philoſopher that excelled in ſo many reſpects. Xenocrates at that time preſided in Plato's ſchool in th Academy: Ariſtotle opened his in the Lycæum The concourſe of his hearers was extraordinary In the morning his leſſons were upon philoſophy and in the afternoon upon rhetoric: he uſually gav them walking, which occaſioned his diſciples to b called Peripatetics.

Cic. l. 3. de Orat. n. 141. Quintil. l. 3. c. 1.

He taught only philoſophy at firſt: but the grea reputation of Iſocrates, then ninety years old, wh had applied himſelf ſolely to rhetoric, and with incredible ſucceſs, excited his jealouſy, and induce him alſo to teach it. It is perhaps to this nobl emulation, allowable between the learned, whe confined to imitating, or even ſurpaſſing what other have done well, that we owe Ariſtotle's Rhetoric,

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* Ariſtoteles, Calliſthenem auditorem ſuum ad Alexandrum dimittens, monuit ut cum eo aut rariſſimè, aut quàm jucundiſſimè loqueretur: quo ſcilicet apud regias aures vel ſilentio tutior, vel ſermone eſſet acceptior. *Val. Max.* l. 7. c. 2.

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the moſt complete and moſt eſteemed work the antients have left us upon that ſubject; unleſs we chuſe rather to believe it compoſed for Alexander.

So ſhining a merit as Ariſtotle's did not fail to excite envy, which ſeldom ſpares great men. As long as Alexander lived, that conqueror's name ſuſpended the effects of it, and awed the malignity of his enemies. But he was no ſooner dead, than they roſe up in concert againſt him, and ſwore his deſtruction. Eurymedon, prieſt of Ceres, lent them his aſſiſtance, and ſerved their hatred with a zeal the more to be feared, as it was covered with the maſk of religion. He cited Ariſtotle before the judges, and accuſed him of impiety, pretending that he taught doctrines contrary to the worſhip of the gods eſtabliſhed at Athens. To prove this, he referred to Ariſtotle's hymn in honour of Hermias, and the inſcription engraved upon his ſtatue in the temple of Delphos. This inſcription is ſtill extant in Athenæus and Diogenes Laertius. It conſiſts of four verſes, which have no relation to ſacred matters, and only to the king of Perſia's perfidy to the unfortunate friend of Ariſtotle: neither is the hymn more criminal. Ariſtotle might perhaps have offended Eurymedon the prieſt of Ceres perſonally by ſome ſtroke of ridicule, a much more unpardonable crime than only attacking the gods. However it were, not believing it ſafe to wait the event of a trial, he quitted Athens, after having taught there thirteen years. He retired to Chalcis in the iſland of Eubœa, and pleaded his cauſe from thence in writing. Athenæus repeats ſome expreſſions in this apology, but does not warrant them poſitively to be Ariſtotle's. Somebody aſking him the cauſe of his retiring, he anſwered, *that it was to prevent the Athenians from committing a ſecond murder upon philoſophy*, alluding to the death of Socrates. Athen. l. 15. p. 696, 697. Ælian. l. 3. c. 36.

It is pretended that he died of grief, becauſe he could not diſcover the cauſe of the ebbing and flowing

Laert. A. M. 3683.

Ammon. in vit. Ariſtot.

flowing of the Euripus, and that he even threw himſelf headlong into that ſea, ſaying, *Let the Euripus ſwallow me, ſince I can't comprehend it.* There were a multitude of other things in nature beyond his comprehenſion, and he was too wiſe to be mortified on that account. Others affirm with more probability, that he died of the cholic in the 63d year of his age, two years after Alexander's death. He was extremely honoured in Stagira the place of his nativity. It had been demoliſhed by Philip king of Macedonia: but Alexander cauſed it to be rebuilt at the requeſt of Ariſtotle. The inhabitants in gratitude for that benefit inſtituted a feſtival in honour of this philoſopher, and when he died at Chalcis in Eubœa, tranſported his bones to their city, erected an altar upon his monument, gave the place the name of Ariſtotle, and afterwards held their aſſemblies in it. He left a ſon called Nicomachus, and a daughter who was married to a grandſon of Demaratus king of Sparta.

Vol. X.

I have related elſewhere the fate of his works, during how many years they remained buried and unknown, and in what manner they were at length brought to light and made public.

L. 10. c. 1.

Lib. 12. c. ult.

Plin. l. 8. c. 16.

Quintilian ſays, that he does not know which to admire moſt in Ariſtotle, his vaſt and profound erudition, the prodigious multitude of the writings which he left behind him, the beauty of his ſtile, or the infinite variety of his works. One would believe, ſays he in another place, that he muſt have employed ſeveral ages in ſtudy, for comprehending within the extent of his knowledge all that regards not only philoſophy and rhetoric, but even plants and animals, whoſe nature and properties he ſtudied with infinite application. Alexander, to ſecond his maſter's ardour in that learned labour, and to ſatisfy his own curioſity, gave orders for making exact inquiries through the whole extent of Greece and Aſia in all that related to birds, fiſh, and animals of every kind: an expence which amounted to Athen. l. 9. p. 898. above eight hundred talents, that is to ſay, eight hundred thouſand crowns. Ariſtotle compoſed above fifty volumes upon this ſubject, of which only ten remain.

The univerſity of Paris has thought very differently at different times of Ariſtotle's writings. In the council of Sens held at Paris in 1209, all his books were ordered to be burnt, and the reading, writing, or keeping them prohibited. The rigor of this prohibition was afterwards ſomething abated. At length, by a decree of the two cardinals ſent by pope Urban V. to Paris, in the year 1366, to regulate the univerſity, all the books of Ariſtotle were allowed there; and that decree was renewed and confirmed in 1452 by cardinal Etouteville. From that time Ariſtotle's doctrine always prevailed in the univerſity of Paris, till the happy diſcoveries of the laſt age opened the eyes of the learned, and made them embrace a ſyſtem of philoſophy highly different from the antient opinions of the ſchools. But, as Ariſtotle was formerly admired beyond due bounds, he is perhaps deſpiſed at preſent more than he deſerves.

Ariſtotle's Succeſſors.

THEOPHRASTUS was of the iſland of Leſbos. Laert. Ariſtotle, before he retired to Chalcis, appointed him his ſucceſſor. Accordingly he filled the place of his maſter with ſo much ſucceſs and reputation, that the number of his hearers amounted to two thouſand. Demetrius Phalereus was one of his diſciples and intimate friends. The beauty and delicacy of his eloquence occaſioned his being called Theophraſtus, which ſignifies *divine ſpeaker*.

Cicero * relates a circumſtance particular enough of him. He was cheapening ſomething of an herb-woman, and was anſwered by her: *No, Mr. Stranger, you ſhall have it for no leſs.* He was extremely ſurpriſed and even concerned, that, after having paſſed great part of his life at Athens, the language of which he piqued himſelf upon ſpeaking in perfection, he could however ſtill be diſcovered for a ſtranger. But it was his attention itſelf to the purity of the Attic dialect carried too far, that occaſioned his being known for ſuch, as Quintilian obſerves. What a taſte had Athens even down to the meaneſt of the people!

He did not believe, any more than Ariſtotle, that it was poſſible to enjoy any real felicity here without the goods and conveniencies of life: in which, ſays Cicero †, he degraded virtue, and deprived her of her higheſt glory; reducing her to an incapacity of making man happy of herſelf. He aſcribes ſupreme divinity, in one place, to intelligence, in another to heaven in general, and, after that, to the ſtars in particular.

Lib. 1. de nat. deor. n. 35.

He died at the age of eighty-five, exhauſted with labour and ſtudy. He is ſaid to have murmured againſt nature at his death, for granting a long lif to ſtags and ravens, who can make no beneficia uſe of it; whilſt ſhe abridged that of man, whom a longer date would enable to attain a perfect knowledge in the ſciences: a murmur equally trifling and unjuſt, and which the light of reaſon onl

Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 69.

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* Ut ego jam non mirer illud Theophraſto accidiſſe quod dicitu cùm percontaretur ex anicula quàdam, quanti aliquid venderet? & reſpondiſſet illa, atque addidiſſet: *Hoſpes, non pote minoris:* tuliſſ eum moleſtè, ſe non effugere hoſpitis ſpeciem, cùm ætatem agere Athenis, optimeque loqueretur. *In Brut.* n. 172.

Quomodo & illa Attica anus Theophraſtum, hominem alioqui di ſertiſſimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi, hoſpitem dixit: ne aliò ſe id deprehendiſſe interrogata reſpondit quàm quòd nimiu Atticè loqueretur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 1.

† Spoliavit virtutem ſuo decore, imbecillamque reddidit, quod negavit in ea ſola poſitum eſſe beatè vivere. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 33.

as taught many of the antients to condemn, as a ind of rebellion againſt the divine will. *Quid enim ſt aliud gigantum more bellare cum diis, niſi naturæ epugnare?* Cic. de Seneƈt. n. 5. Laert.

STRATO was of Lampſacus. He applied himelf very much to phyſics, and little to ethics, vhich occaſioned his being called the phyſician. He began to preſide in his ſchool in the third A. M. 3718. ear of the CXXIIId Olympiad, and taught there ighteen years. He was the maſter of Ptolomy hiladelphus.

LYCON of Troas. He governed his ſchool forty ears.

ARISTON. CRITOLAUS. The latter was one of A. M. 3781. he three ambaſſadors ſent by the Athenians to ome in the ſecond year of the CXLth Olympiad, nd the 534th of Rome.

DIODORUS. This was one of the laſt eminent hiloſophers of the ſeƈt of the Peripatetics.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the ſeƈt of the Cynics.

ANTISTHENES.

THE Cynic philoſophers owe their origin and Laert. inſtitution to Antiſthenes the diſciple of Sorates. This ſeƈt derives its name from the place here its founder taught, called * *Cynoſarges*, in the uburb of Athens. If this origin be true, at leaſt, e cannot doubt but their immodeſty and impuence might well have confirmed a name given hem at firſt from the place. Antiſthenes led a ery hard life, and for his whole dreſs had only a retched cloak. He had a long beard, a ſtaff in is hand, and a wallet at his back. He reckoned obility and riches as nothing, and made the ſupreme good of man conſiſt in virtue. When he was aſked of what uſe philoſophy had been to him, he anſwered, *To enable me to live with myſelf.*

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* *This word ſignifies a white, or a lively and ſwift dog.*

DIOGENES.

Laert. DIOGENES was the moſt celebrated of his diſciples. He was of Synope a city of Paphlagonia. He was expelled from thence for counterfeiting the coin. His father, who was a banker, was baniſhed for the ſame crime. Diogenes, upon arriving a Athens, went to Antiſthenes, who treated him wit great contempt, and would have driven him awa with his ſtaff, becauſe he was reſolved to have n more diſciples. Diogenes was not ſurpriſed, an bowing his head, " Strike, ſtrike, ſaid he, don' " be afraid: you'll never find a ſtick hard enoug " to make me remove, ſo long as you ſpeak." Antiſthenes, overcome by the obſtinacy of Diogenes, permitted him to be his diſciple.

Diogenes made great improvements from hi leſſons, and perfectly imitated his manner of livin

His whole furniture conſiſted of a ſtaff, a walle and a wooden bowl. Seeing a little boy drink o of the hollow of his hand: *He ſhews me*, ſays h *that I have ſtill ſomething ſuperfluous*, and broke h bowl. He always went barefoot, without ev wearing ſandals, not even when the earth was co vered with ſnow. A tub ſerved him for a lodgin which he rolled before him wherever he went, ar had no other habitation. Every body knows wh he ſaid to Alexander, who made him a viſit Corinth; and the celebrated ſaying of that princ *If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.* * Juv nal, accordingly, finds the inhabitant of the tu greater and more happy than the conqueror of th univerſe. The one deſired nothing, and the who

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* Senſit Alexander, teſta cùm vidit in illa
Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
Nil cuperet, quàm qui totum ſibi poſceret orbem.

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world was too little for the other. * Seneca therefore is not miſtaken, when he ſays that Alexander, the proudeſt of mankind, who believed that every thing ought to tremble before him, was forced that day to ſubmit to Diogenes, having found a man in him, from whom he could take, and to whom he could give, nothing.

For the reſt, we are not to believe, that he was the more humble for his ragged cloak, bag, and tub. He had as much vanity in thoſe things, as Alexander could have from the conqueſt of the whole earth. One day entering Plato's houſe, which was furniſhed magnificently enough, he trampled a fine carpet under his feet, ſaying, *I tread upon the pride of Plato.* *Yes*, replied the latter, *but with another kind of pride.* Ælian. l. 3. c. 29. Diog. Laert.

He had a ſupreme contempt for all human race. Walking at noon with a lighted lanthorn in his hand, ſomebody aſked him what he ſought? *I am ſeeking a man*, replied he.

Upon ſeeing a ſlave put on a perſon's ſhoes: *You'll not be ſatisfied*, ſays he, *till he wipes your noſe for you. Of what uſe are your hands to you?*

Another time ſeeing the judges carrying a man to be puniſhed for ſtealing a little vial out of the public treaſury: *See*, ſaid he, *the great thieves have catched a little one!*

The relations of a young man, whom they brought to him to be his diſciple, ſaid all the good things of him imaginable: that he was prudent, of good morals, and knew a great deal. Diogenes heard them very calmly: *As he is ſo accompliſhed*, ſaid he, *he has no occaſion for me.*

He was accuſed of ſpeaking and thinking ill of the divinity. He ſaid that the uninterrupted good fortune of Harpalus, who generally paſſed for a De nat. deor. l. 3. n. 83.

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* Quidni victus ſit illo die, qui homo, ſupra menſuram humanæ ſuperbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem cui nec dare quidquam poſſet, nec eripere. *Senec. de Benef.* l. 5. c. 6.

thief and a robber, was a teſtimony againſt the gods.

Amongſt excellent maxims of morality, he held ſome very pernicious opinions. He regarded chaſtity and modeſty as weakneſs, and was not afraid to act openly with an impudence contrary to all ſenſe of decency and natural ſhame. And indeed the character of the Cynics was to overdo every thing in reſpect to manners, and to render virtue itſelf hateful, if poſſible, by the exceſſes and inconſiſtencies to which they carried it:

> Inſani ſapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
> Ultra, quam ſatis eſt, virtutem ſi petat ipſam.
> *Hor.* Ep. 6. l. 1.
>
> *More than enough, in virtue's ſelf is bad;*
> *Juſt's then unjuſt; the wiſeman grows the mad.*

His hiſtorian gives him moſt perſuaſive eloquence of which he relates wonderful effects. Oneſicritu had ſent one of his ſons to Athens. That young man, having heard ſome of Diogenes's lectures, ſettled in that city. His elder brother ſoon after did the ſame. Oneſicritus himſelf, having had the curioſity to hear that philoſopher, became his diſciple ſuch attractions had the eloquence of Diogenes This Oneſicritus was a perſon of importance. He was in great favour with Alexander, followed him in his wars, in which he had employments of diſtinction, and compoſed an hiſtory that contained the beginning of Alexander's life. Phocion, ſtil more illuſtrious than him, was alſo the diſciple o Diogenes, as was Stilpon of Mægara.

Diog. Laert.

Plut. in Alex. p. 701.

Diogenes in going to the iſland of Egina was taken by pirates, who carried him to Crete, where they expoſed him to ſale. When he was aſked by the cryer, *What he could do?* he anſwered, *Command men*, and bade him ſay, *Will any body buy a maſter?* A Corinthian called Xeniades bought him, and carried him to Corinth, where he made him preceptor

Diog. Laert.

ceptor to his ſons. He confided alſo the whole care of his houſe to him. Diogenes acquitted himſelf ſo well of thoſe employments, that Xeniades was inceſſantly ſaying every-where, *A good genius has taken up his abode in my houſe.* The friends of Diogenes would have ranſomed him: *No*, ſaid he, *that's fooliſh. Lions are not the ſlaves of thoſe that feed them, but thoſe that feed them their ſervants.* He educated the children of Xeniades very well, and acquired their affection to a great degree. He grew old in this houſe, and ſome ſay he died there.

He ordered at his death that his body ſhould be left upon the earth without interment. " How! " ſaid his friends, would you lie expoſed to the " birds and beaſts? No, replied he, put my ſtick " by me, that I may drive them away. And " how will you do that, ſaid they, when you have " no ſenſe? What then does it ſignify, anſwered " the Cynic, whether I am eaten or not by the birds " and beaſts, as I ſhall have no ſenſe of it?" Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 104.

No regard was had to the great indifference of Diogenes about interment. He was buried magnificently near the gate next the Iſthmus. A column was erected near his tomb, on which a dog of Parian marble was placed.

He died at almoſt fourſcore and ten years of age, according to ſome upon the ſame day as Alexander, but others make him ſurvive that prince ſome years.

CRATES.

Crates the Cynic was one of the principal diſciples of Diogenes. He was a Theban of a very conſiderable family, and of great fortune. He ſold his whole patrimony for more than two hundred talents, which he put into the hands of a banker, and deſired him to give them to his children, in caſe they proved fools; but, if they had elevation of mind enough to be philoſophers, he directed him to diſtribute the money amongſt the citizens of Diog. Laert. *Two hundred thouſand crowns.*

Thebes,

Thebes, becauſe philoſophers wanted nothing: always exceſs and caprice even in actions laudable in themſelves.

Hipparchia, the ſiſter of the orator Metrocles, charmed with the freedom of Crates's manners, was abſolutely determined to marry him, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all her relations. Crates, to whom they applied themſelves, did all he could on his ſide to make her diſguſt this marriage. Having ſtript himſelf before her to ſhew her his hunch-back and ill-made body in the worſt light, and throwing his cloak, bag, and ſtaff, upon the ground: *There* ſays he, *are all my riches, and my wife muſt expect n other jointure from me.* She perſiſted in her reſolution, married hunch-back, dreſſed herſelf like a Cynic, and became ſtill more *free* and impuden than her huſband.

* Impudence was the prevailing character of theſ philoſophers. They reproached others with thei faults without any reſerve, and even added an ai of inſolence and contempt to their reproaches. This according to ſome, occaſioned their being calle Cynics, becauſe they were biting, and barked at al the world like dogs; and becauſe they were aſhame of nothing, and held that every thing might b done openly without ſhame or reſerve.

A. M. 3676. Crates flouriſhed at Thebes about the CXIIIt Olympiad, and excelled all the Cynics of his time He was the maſter of Zeno, the founder of the fa mous ſect of the Stoics.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Stoics.

ZENO.

Diog. Laert. ZENO was of Citium in the iſland of Cyprus On his return from buying purple in Phœni

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* *They called immodeſty nature; and ſo it is, the nature of brute not man, whoſe* Reaſon *makes him naturally aſhamed of the obſcen and indecent.*

cia

ia, for he applied himſelf firſt to commerce, he was caſt away in the port of Pyræus. He was much afflicted with his loſs, and removed to Athens, where he went into a bookſeller's ſhop, and took up a book of Xenophon's, the reading of which gave him infinite pleaſure, and made him forget his misfortune. He aſked the bookſeller, where that ſort of people, of whom Xenophon ſpoke, were to be found. Crates the Cynic happened to paſs by at that inſtant. The bookſeller pointed him out to Zeno, and adviſed him to follow him. From that day he commenced his diſciple; at which time he was thirty years of age. The morality of the Cynics A. M.
highly pleaſed him, but he could not reliſh their 3672.
immodeſty and impudence.

After having ſtudied ten years under Crates, and paſſed ten more in the houſes of Stilpon of Mægara,
Xenocrates, and Polemon, he inſtituted a new ſect A. M.
at Athens. His reputation immediately ſpread 3692.
throughout Greece. In a ſhort time he became the moſt diſtinguiſhed philoſopher in the country. As he uſually taught in a porch, his followers were called *Stoics*, from the Greek word ϛοὰ, which ſignifies a porch or portico.

Zeno lived to the age of ninety-eight, without Laert.
ever experiencing any diſorder of body. He taught forty-eight years ſucceſſively, and lived ſixty-eight from his firſt applying to philoſophy under Crates
the Cynic. Euſebius dates his death at the CXXIXth A. M.
Olympiad, which was much regretted. When An- 3743.
tigonus king of Macedonia received news of it, he was ſenſibly afflicted. The Athenians cauſed a tomb to be erected for him in the ſuburb of Ceramica, and by a public decree (wherein he was praiſed as a philoſopher who had perpetually excited the youth under his diſcipline to virtue, and who had always led a life conformable to the precepts he taught) they gave him a crown of gold, and cauſed extraordinary honours to be paid to his memory:

memory: "In order, ſays the decree, that all the "world may know, that the Athenians are ſtudious "to honour perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, both "during their lives and after their deaths." Nothing does a people more honour than ſuch noble and generous ſentiments, which ariſe from an high eſteem for knowledge and virtue.

I have already obſerved elſewhere that a neighbouring nation, I mean England, diſtinguiſhes itſelf by its eſteem for great men of this kind, and by the gratitude it expreſſes for thoſe who have exalted the glory of their country.

LEUCIPPUS.

LEUCIPPUS is one of the moſt famous of Zeno's diſciples. Authors do not agree about the place of his birth. He is believed the inventor of
Strab. l. 16. p. 557. the atomical ſyſtem. Poſidonius aſcribes it to one Moſchus of Phœnicia, who, according to Strabo, lived before the Trojan war: but the moſt learned
Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 72, 73. perſons give Leucippus the honour of it. Epicurus is blamed for not owning his improvement from the inventions of this philoſopher, and reproached with having only reformed the ſyſtem of Democritus in ſome places, of which Leucippus was the firſt author.

CLEANTHES.

Laert. CLEANTHES was of Aſſos in Troas. He was worth but four drachma's, that is to ſay, thirty pence, when he came to Athens. He recommended himſelf highly by the courageous patience, with which he ſupported the hardeſt and moſt painful labours. He paſſed almoſt the whole night in drawing water for a gardener, in order to gain ſubſiſtence, and to enable himſelf, during the day, to apply to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Being cited before the judges of the Areopagus, to give an account, according to one of Solon's laws, how he lived, he produced the gardener as an evidence, and without doubt his own hands, hard and callous with labour. The judges, in a tranſport of admiration, ordered him ten minæ, about thirty pounds, out of the public treaſury. Zeno forbade him to accept of them, ſo much was poverty in honour with theſe philoſophers! He filled the chair of the Porch with great reputation.

His genius was naturally heavy and ſlow; but he overcame that defect by tenacious application to ſtudy. Eloquence was not his talent. * He however thought fit to compoſe a Rhetoric, as well as Chryſippus, of whom we ſhall ſoon ſpeak; but both with ſuch bad ſucceſs, that, if we may believe Cicero, who certainly was a good judge in this caſe, thoſe works were fitter to make a man mute than a ſpeaker.

CHRYSIPPUS.

Chrysippus was of Soli, a city of Cilicia. His Laert. genius was very ſubtile, and proper for logical diſputations, in which he exerciſed himſelf much, and upon which he wrote many tracts. Diogenes Laertius makes them amount to above three hundred. It is ſaid that the occaſion of his writing abundance was his envy of Epicurus, who had compoſed more books than any other philoſopher: but he never came up to that rival. His works were little laboured, and by neceſſary conſequence little correct, full of tedious repetitions, and often even contradictions. It was the common fault of the Stoics to introduce abundance of ſubtilty and dryneſs into their diſputations either by word of mouth or in writing. They ſeem as carefully to have avoided all beauty of ſtile, as depravity of morals.

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* Scripſit artem rhetoricam Cleanthes, Chryſippus etiam, ſed hic, ut, ſi quis obmuteſcere concupierit, nihil aliud legere debeat. *De Finib. l.* 4. *n.* 7.

morals. * Cicero did not blame them much fo wanting a talent entirely foreign to their profeſſion and not abſolutely neceſſary to it. † *If a philoſopher*, ſays he, *have eloquence, I do not like him th worſe for it: if not, I make it no crime in him.* ‡ H was ſatisfied if they were clear and intelligible; fo which he valued Epicurus.

Quintilian often cites with praiſe a work writte by Chryſippus upon the education of children.

Academ. l. 4. n. 7.

He aſſociated himſelf for ſome time with th Academics, maintaining after their manner bot ſides of a queſtion. The Stoics complained, tha Chryſippus had collected ſo many and ſo ſtron arguments for the ſyſtem of the Academics, tha he could not afterwards refute them himſelf, whic had ſupplied Carneades their antagoniſt with arm againſt them.

Plut. contra Stoic. p. 1074, 1075. Laert.

His doctrine, in many points, did no honou to his ſect, and could only diſgrace it. He believed the gods periſhable, and maintained tha they would actually periſh in the general conflagration. He allowed the moſt notorious and moſ abominable inceſts, and admitted the communit of wives amongſt Sages. He compoſed ſevera writings full of the moſt horrid obſcenities. Suc was the § philoſopher, who paſſed for the moſt ſolid ſupport of the Porch, that is to ſay, of the moſ ſevere ſect of the Pagan world.

It muſt appear aſtoniſhing after this, that ‖ Seneca ſhould praiſe this philoſopher, whom he join wit vith Zeno, in the moſt magnificent terms. He goes ſo far as to ſay of both the one and the other, hat they had done greater things in their cloſets, han if they had commanded armies, filled the firſt ffices of a ſtate, and inſtituted wiſe laws; and he dds, that he conſiders them, not as the legiſlators f a ſingle city, but of all mankind.

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* Videmus iiſdem de rebus jejunè quoſdam & exiliter, ut eum quem acutiſſimum ferunt, Chryſippum diſputaviſſe; neque ob ean rem philoſophiæ non ſatisfeciſſe, quòd non habuerunt hanc dicend ex arte alienam facultatem. *De Orat. l.* 1. *n.* 49.

† A philoſopho, ſi afferat eloquentiam, non aſperner: ſi non habeat, non admodum flagitem. *De Finib. l.* 1. *n.* 15.

‡ Oratio me iſtius philoſophi non offendit. Nam & complectitu verbis quod vult, & dicit planè quod intelligam. *Ibid.*

§ Fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum. *Academ.* 4, 75.

‖ Nos certè ſumus, qui dicimus, [& Zenonem & Chryſippun majora egiſſe, quàm ſi duxiſſent exercitus, geſſiſſent honores, lege tuliſſent

Chryſippus died in the CXLIIId Olympiad. A A. M.
omb was erected for him amongſt thoſe of the moſt 3793.
lluſtrious Athenians. His ſtatue was to be ſeen in he ſuburb of Ceramica.

DIOGENES *the Babylonian.*

Diogenes the Babylonian was ſo called, becauſe his country, Seleucia, was in the neighbourhood of Babylon. He was one of the three philoſophers deputed by Athens to the Romans.

He ſhewed great moderation and tranquillity of ſoul upon an occaſion capable of moving the calmeſt and moſt patient of men. * He was expatiating upon anger. A young man of great impudence and preſumption ſpit in his face, probably to try whether he practiſed himſelf the doctrine he taught others. The philoſopher, without ſeeming moved, or raiſing his voice, ſaid coldly, *I am not angry: but however I doubt whether I ought not to be ſo.* Did ſuch a doubt ſuit the apathy of a Stoic?

ANTIPATER.

Antipater was of Sidon. He is often mentioned in the fourth book of Academical Queſtions as one of the moſt learned and eſteemed of the Stoics. He was the diſciple of Diogenes the Babylonian, and Poſidonius was his.

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tuliſſent, quas, non uni civitati, ſed toti humano generi tulerunt. *Senec. de Ot. ſap. c.* 32.

[*] Ei de ira cùm maximè diſſerenti adoleſcens protervus inſpuit. Tulit hoc ille leniter ac ſapienter. Non quidem, inquit, iraſcor: ſed dubito tamen an iraſci oporteat. *Senec de ira, l.* 3. *c.* 38.

PANÆTIUS.

Strab. l. 14. p. 655.

A. M. 3814.

Panætius was, without contradiction, one of the moſt famous philoſophers of the Stoic ſect. He was a Rhodian, and his anceſtors had commanded the armies of that ſtate. We may date his birth about the middle of the CXLVIIIth Olympiad.

Divin. l. 1. n. 6.

He perfectly anſwered the peculiar care that had been taken of his education, and devoted himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Inclination, perhaps prejudice, determined him in favour of the Stoic ſect, at that time in the higheſt credit. Antipater of Tarſus was his maſter. He heard him as a man that underſtood the Rights of reaſon; and, notwithſtanding the blind deference with which the Stoics received the deciſions of the founders of the Porch, Panætius abandoned thoſe without ſcruple, which did not appear ſufficiently eſtabliſhed.

Plut. de Stoic. repugn. p. 1034. Procl. in Heſiod. p. 151.

To ſatisfy the deſire of knowledge, that was his darling paſſion, he quitted Rhodes, without regard to the advantages for which the greatneſs of his birth ſeemed to deſign him. The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in every kind of literature uſually aſſembled at Athens, and the Stoics had a famous ſchool there. Panætius frequented it with aſſiduity, and at length ſupported its reputation with dignity. The Athenians reſolved to make him their own, and offered him the freedom of their city; for which he returned them his thanks. "A modeſt "man, ſaid he to them in reſpect to Proclus, "ought to content himſelf with one country:" in which he imitated Zeno, who, leſt it might be injurious to his own citizens, would not accept the ſame favour.

The fame of Panætius ſoon extended itſelf beyond the ſeas. The ſciences had for ſome time made conſiderable progreſs at Rome. The Great cultivated them in emulation of each other, and thoſe whom their birth and capacity had placed at the he head of the public affairs, made it their honour o protect them to the utmoſt. Such was the ſtate of things when Panætius came to Rome. He was rdently deſired there. The young nobility flew to hear him; and the Scipio's and the Lælii were of he number of his diſciples. A tender friendſhip nited them from thenceforth, and Panætius, as nany writers inform us, attended Scipio in his ſeveral expeditions. To make him amends, that lluſtrious Roman, on a ſignal occaſion, gave him he moſt grateful marks of his confidence. * Panætius was the only one upon whom he caſt his yes, when the ſenate appointed him ambaſſador o the nations and kings of the Eaſt in alliance vith the commonwealth. The credit of Panætius vith Scipio was not uſeleſs to the Rhodians, and vas often employed for them with ſucceſs.

Plut. in Moral. p. 814.

The year of his death is not preciſely known. Cicero tells us, that Panætius lived thirty years afer having publiſhed his treatiſe upon the duties of nan, which Cicero has diffuſed into his: but it is ot known at what time that treatiſe appeared. It s probable that he publiſhed it in the flower of his ge. The value Cicero ſet on it, and the uſe he nade of it, are good proofs of the excellency of his work, of which therefore we ſhould regret the oſs. He compoſed abundance of others. The eader may ſee an account of them in the memoir of the Abbé Sevin upon the life of Panætius, rom which I have extracted all I have ſaid of them n this place.

Tom. X. *des Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres.*

To the praiſe of the Stoics it muſt be confeſſed, hat, leſs intent than other philoſophers upon frivoous and often dangerous ſpeculations, they devoted heir ſtudies to the clearing up of thoſe great principles of morality, which are the firmeſt ſupports of ſociety : * but the dryneſs and ſtiffneſs tha prevailed in their writings, as well as in their man ners, diſguſted moſt of their readers, and abun dantly leſſened their utility. The example of Cle anthes and Chryſippus, the founders of the Porch did not miſlead Panætius. Attentive to the goo of the public, and that the uſeful generally is no current without the agreeable, he united the ſolidit of argument with the beauty and elegance of ſtile and diffuſed into his works all the graces and orna ments of which they were ſuſceptible.

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* P. Africani hiſtoriæ loquuntur, in legatione illa nobili quam obiit, Panætium unum omnino comitem fuiſſe. *Acad. Quæſt.* . 4. *n.* 5.

POSIDONIUS.

POSIDONIUS was of Apamea in Syria, but h paſſed the greateſt part of his life at Rhodes, whe he taught philoſophy with much reputation, an was employed in the affairs of the public with th ſame ſucceſs.

Pompey, on his return from his expedition again Mithridates, touched at Rhodes in order to ſee him He found him ſick. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, i what manner this viſit paſſed.

EPICTETUS.

I ſhould injure the ſect of the Stoics, if in th number of its followers I omitted Epictetus, th man perhaps, of all theſe philoſophers, who did moſt honour by the ſublimity of his ſentiments, an the regularity of his life.

Epictetus was born at Hierapolis, a city c Phrygia near Laodicea. The meanneſs of his ex traction has prevented us from the knowledge c his parents. He was the ſlave of one Epaphrodi tus, whom Suidas calls *one of Nero's guards*; fro whence he took his name Epictetus, which ſigni es *bought ſervant* or *ſlave.* It is neither ſaid by ἐπίκτητος. hat accident he was brought to Rome, nor how e came to be ſold to Epaphroditus: it is only nown that he was the latter's ſlave. Epictetus as apparently made free. He always was a folower of the Stoic philoſophy, which was at that me the moſt perfect and the moſt ſevere ſect.

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* Stoïci horridiores evadunt, aſperiores, duriores & oratione moribus. Quam illorum triſtitiam atque aſperitatem fugiens Panæ tius, nec acerbitatem ſententiarum, nec diſſerendi ſpinas probavit fuitque in altero genere mitior, in altero illuſtrior. *De Finil l.* 4. *n.* 78, 79.

He lived at Rome till the edict of Domitian, by A. D. 96. hich all philoſophers were baniſhed from thence. If we may believe Quintilian, many of them conealed great vices under ſo fair a name, and had cquired the reputation of philoſophers, not by eir virtue and knowledge, but by a grave and vere countenance, and a ſingularity of dreſs and haviour, which ſerved as a maſk for very corrupt anners. Quintilian is perhaps a little exceſſive in is deſcription, with the view of pleaſing the Emeror: but it is certain, that it could in no manner e applied to Epictetus.

Upon quitting Rome, he went to ſettle at Nicoolis, a conſiderable city of Epirus, where he lived any years, always in great poverty, but highly onoured and eſteemed. He returned afterwards Rome in the reign of Adrian, with whom he as in great conſideration. Neither the time, place, or any other circumſtances of his death are menoned: he died at a ſufficiently great age.

He confined all his philoſophy to ſuffering ills atiently, and moderation in pleaſure, which he xpreſſed by the two Greek words, ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, *ſtine & abſtine.*

Celſus, who wrote againſt the Chriſtians, ſays, Orig. in hat, upon his maſter's bending his leg with great Celſ. l. 7. iolence, he told him without emotion, and in a ughing manner: *Why you'll break my leg.* And,

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* Noſtris temporibus ſub hoc nomine maxima in pleriſque vitia tuerunt. Non enim virtute ac ſtudiis, ut haberentur philoſophi, borabant; ſed vultum, & triſtitiam, & diſſentientem à cæteris haitum peſſimis moribus prætendebant. *Quintil.* l. 1. *in Proœm.*

as it happened ſo, he continued in the ſame tone
Did not I tell you, that you'd break it?

Lucian. adverſ. indoct. p. 548.

Lucian ridicules a man, who bought Epictetus
lamp at a great * price, though only an earthe
one; as if he had imagined that by uſing it h
ſhou'd become as wiſe as that admirable and ven
rable old man.

Epictetus had compoſed many works, of whic
only his *Enchiridion* or *Manual* remain. But A
rian, his diſciple, has written a great work, which,
he pretends, conſiſts ſolely of what he had hea
him ſay, and which he had collected, as near as po
ſible, in his own terms. Of the eight books whi
formed this work, we have only four.

Stobæus has preſerved us ſome ſentences of th
philoſopher's, which had eſcaped the diligence
his diſciple. I ſhall cite only two of them in th
place:

“ To be rich does not depend on thee, but
“ be happy does. Riches themſelves are not a
“ ways a good, and certainly are always of ſho
“ duration; but the happineſs, derived from w
“ dom, endures for ever.

“ When thou ſeeſt a viper or a ſerpent in a b
“ of gold, doſt thou eſteem it the more, and ha
“ thou not always the ſame horror for it on a
“ count of its venomous nature? Have the ſar
“ for the wicked man, when thou ſeeſt him ſu
“ rounded with ſplendor and riches.

“ The ſun does not ſtay to be implored to im
“ part his light and heat. By his example do
“ the good thou canſt, without ſtaying till it
“ aſked of thee.”

The following prayer Epictetus deſired to ma
at his death, which I take from Arrian: “
“ Lord, have I violated your commandment
“ Have I abuſed the gifts you have conferred u

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* *Three thouſand drachma's, about* 75l.

“

"on me? Have I not ſubmitted my ſenſes, wiſhes, "and opinions, to you? Have I ever complained "of you? Have I accuſed your providence? I "have been ſick, becauſe it was your will; and it "was alſo mine. It was your will that I ſhould "be poor, and I was contented with poverty. I "have been of the meaneſt of the people, becauſe "it was your will; and did I ever deſire to be "otherwiſe? Was I ever afflicted for my condi- "tion? Have you ever ſurpriſed me murmuring "and dejected? I am ſtill entirely ready to under- "go whatever you ſhall pleaſe to ordain for me. "The leaſt ſign from you is an inviolable order for "me. It is your will that I ſhould quit this magnifi- "cent ſcene: I go, with a thouſand moſt humble "thanks, that you have vouchſafed to admit me "to ſee your works, and to diſplay to my eyes the "admirable order, with which you govern this "univerſe." Though it be eaſy to obſerve in this prayer ſeveral ſtrokes borrowed from Chriſtianity, which at that time began to caſt a great light, we however perceive in it a man well ſatisfied with himſelf, and who, by his frequent interrogations, ſeems to defy the Divinity himſelf to find any fault in him. A ſentiment and prayer truly worthy of a Stoic, all proud of his pretended virtue! St. Paul, who abounded ſo much in good works, did not ſpeak ſuch language. *I judge not mine own ſelf*, ſaid he. *For I know nothing by myſelf*, (or as the French expreſſes it better, *though my conſcience reproaches me with nothing) yet am I not hereby juſtified: but he that judge thme is the Lord.* For the reſt, this prayer, all defective as it is, will condemn abundance of Chriſtians. For it ſhews us, that a perfect obedience, an entire devotion, and total reſignation to the will of God, were conſidered by the Pagans themſelves, as the indiſpenſable duties of creatures to him from whom they hold their being. This philoſopher knew the terms of duties and

1 Cor. iv, 3, 4.

virtues,

virtues, but had the misfortune to be ignorant of the principle of them.

Epictetus was at Rome at the time when St. Paul made ſo many converſions there, and when Chriſtianity almoſt at its birth ſhone out with ſo much luſtre in the unexampled conſtancy of the Faithful. But far, from improving from ſo radiant a light, he blaſphemed againſt the faith of the primitive Chriſtians, and the heroic courage of the martyrs. In the fourth chapter of the ſeventh book of Arrian, after having ſhewn, that a man conſcious of his liberty, and convinced that nothing can hurt him, becauſe he has God for his deliverer fears neither the guards nor ſwords of tyrants Epictetus adds: PHRENZY AND CUSTOM *have been capable of inducing ſome to deſpiſe them, as the* * *Galileans; and ſhall not reaſon and demonſtration produc the ſame effect?* Nothing was more contrary to the doctrine of the Goſpel than the pride of th Stoics.

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* *So the Chriſtians were called.*

CHAPTER III.

Hiſtory of the philoſophers of the Italic ſect.

I Have already ſaid, that the Italic ſect was ſo called, becauſe it was inſtituted by Pythagoras in that part of Italy called Græcia Magna.

I ſhall divide this chapter into two articles. In the firſt I ſhall relate the life of Pythagoras, and that of Empedocles the moſt famous of his diſciples. In the ſecond I ſhall treat on the diviſion of the Italic into four other ſects.

ARTICLE I.

PYTHAGORAS.

THE moſt common opinion is that Pythagoras was of Samos, and ſon of Mneſarchus the ſculptor. Diog. Laert. He was at firſt the diſciple of Pherecides, who is ranked in the number of the ſeven ſages. After the death of his maſter, as he had an extraordinary deſire of learning and of knowing the manners of ſtrangers, he abandoned his country, and all he had, for the ſake of travelling.

He remained a conſiderable time in Egypt, to converſe there with the prieſts, and to learn from them whatever was moſt occult in the myſteries of their religion and learning. Polycrates wrote in his favour to Amaſis king of Egypt, in order that he might treat him with diſtinction. Pythagoras went afterwards into the country of the Chaldeans, to acquire the learning of the Magi. A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. Some imagine that he might have ſeen Ezekiel and Daniel, and have improved from their leſſons at Babylon. After having travelled into different parts of the Eaſt, he went to Crete, where he contracted a great intimacy with the wiſe Epimenides. And at laſt, after having inriched himſelf with different knowledge in the ſeveral countries where he had been, he returned to Samos, laden with the precious ſpoils which had been the motives, and were the fruits of his travels.

His grief to ſee his country oppreſſed by the tyranny of Polycrates made him reſolve on voluntary baniſhment. He went into that part of Italy which was called Great Greece, and ſettled at Crotona in the houſe of Milo, the famous boxer, where he taught philoſophy. It is from thence that the Sect, of which he was author, was called the Italic ſect.

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 5. n. 9.

Before him, as I have obſerved already, thoſ who excelled in the knowledge of nature, and ha acquired reputation by a virtuous and regular life were called ſages, σοφοί. That name appearing to proud to him, he aſſumed another, which implied, that he did not aſcribe the poſſeſſion of wiſdom t himſelf, but only the deſire of poſſeſſing it. Thi was *Philoſopher*, that is to ſay, lover of wiſdom.

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 38.
A. M. 3472.
Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 3.

The reputation of Pythagoras ſoon ſpread ove all Italy, and brought a great number of diſciple to hear him. Some make Numa of this number who was elected king of Rome: but they miſtake Pythagoras flouriſhed in the time of Tarquin th laſt king of the Romans, that is, in the 220th yea of Rome; or, according to Livy, in the reign o Servius Tullius. The * error of thoſe who mak him king Numa's cotemporary is glorious for the both. For they had not fallen into it, if they ha not believed that Numa could not have ſhewn ſ much ability and wiſdom in his government, if h had not been the diſciple of Pythagoras. Certai it is that his reputation afterwards became very grea at Rome. The Romans muſt have conceived a ver high idea of him, as, upon being commanded by a

Plut. in Num. p. 65.
Plin. l. 34. c. 6.

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* *Ovid has followed this falſe tradition in the fifteenth book of th Metamorphoſes.*

oracle during the war with the Samnites to erect two ſtatues, the one to the braveſt, and the other to the wiſeſt, of the Greeks, they ſet up thoſe of Alcibiades and Pythagoras. Pliny was much ſurpriſed that they choſe either of them.

He made his ſcholars undergo a ſevere noviciate of ſilence for at leaſt two years, and * extended it to five with thoſe in whom he diſcerned a too great itch for talking.

His diſciples were divided into two claſſes. The one were ſimple hearers, hearkening to and receiving what was taught them, without demanding the reaſons of it, of which it was ſuppoſed they were not yet capable. The others, as more formed and intelligent, were admitted to propoſe their difficulties, to penetrate deeper into the principles of philoſophy, and to learn the reaſons of all that was taught them.

Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. 5.

ἀκȣστικοί.

μαθηματικοί.

Pythagoras conſidered geometry and arithmetic, as abſolutely neceſſary to enlarge the minds of young people, and to prepare them for the ſtudy of great truths. He alſo ſet great value upon, and made great uſe of, muſic, to which he referred every thing; † pretending that the world was formed by a kind of harmony imitated afterwards by the lyre; and he annexed peculiar ſounds to the motion of the celeſtial ſpheres which revolve over our heads. It is ſaid that it was the ‡ cuſtom of the Pythagoreans, on riſing frombed, to awaken the mind with the ſound of the lyre, in order to make themſelves

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* Loquaciores enimvero fermè in quinquennium, velut in exilium vocis, mittebantur. *Apul. in Florid.*

† Pythagoras atque eum ſecuti, acceptam ſine dubio antiquitus opinionem vulgaverunt, mundum ipſum ea ratione eſſe compoſitum, quam poſtea ſit lyra imitata. Nec illa modò contenti diſſimilium concordia, quam vocant ἁρμονίαν, ſonum quoque his motibus dederunt. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

‡ Pythagoreis certè moris fuit, & cùm evigilaſſent, animos ad lyram excitare, quo eſſent ad agendum erectiores; & cùm ſomnum peterent, ad eandem priùs lenire mentem, ut, ſi quid fuiſſet turbidiorum cogitationum, componerent. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

more fit for action: and, before going to bed, they reſumed their lyre, which no doubt they touched to a ſofter ſtrain, in order to prepare themſelves for ſleep, by calming whatever might remain of the tumultuous thoughts of the day.

Pythagoras had a great aſcendant over the minds of his ſcholars. His having advanced any thing ſufficed for them to be convinced of it without farther proof: from whence came the famous ſaying
Plut. de adul. & amic. diſcr. p. 70. αὐτὸς ἔφη, *ipſe dixit, he (the maſter) has ſaid it.* A reprimand which he gave one of his ſcholars in the preſence of all the reſt, ſo ſenſibly affected him, that he could not ſurvive it, and killed himſelf. From thenceforth Pythagoras, inſtructed and infinitely afflicted by ſo mournful an example, never rebuked any body except in private.

Juſtin. l. 20. c. 4. His doctrine, and ſtill more his example, produced a wonderful change in Italy, and eſpecially at Crotona, where he principally reſided. Juſtin deſcribes at large the reformation which he introduced into that city. "He came, ſays he, to "Crotona, and, having found the inhabitants in general abandoned to luxury and debauch, he conciliated them at length by his authority to the "rules of a prudent frugality. He continually "praiſed virtue, and inculcated its beauty and advantages. He repreſented in the moſt lively "terms the ſhame of intemperance, and enumerated the ſtates which had been ruined in conſequence of vicious exceſſes. His diſcourſe made "ſuch an impreſſion on the people, and occaſioned ſo general a change in the city, that it "ſeemed a quite different place, and retained no "marks of the antient Crotona. He ſpoke to the "women ſeparately from the men, and the children from their fathers and mothers. To the "wives he recommended the virtues of their ſex, "chaſtity and ſubmiſſion to their huſbands; to "the youth, profound reſpect for their fathers and

“ mothers, and a taſte for ſtudy and the ſciences. “ * He inſiſted principally upon frugality the mother of all virtues; and prevailed upon the ladies to renounce the fine cloaths, and rich ornaments, which they thought eſſential to their rank, “ but which he conſidered as the food of luxury “ and vice. Theſe they ſacrificed to the principal “ divinity of the place, which was Juno; ſhewing “ by ſo generous a conduct they were entirely convinced, that the true ornament of ladies was “ unſpotted virtue, and not magnificence of dreſs. “ The reformation which the warm exhortations “ of Pythagoras produced amongſt the youth, may “ be judged, adds the hiſtorian, from their ſucceſs “ with the ladies, who generally adhere to their “ ornaments and jewels with almoſt invincible paſſion. *In juventute quoque quantum profligatum ſit,* “ *victi fœminarum contumaces animi manifeſtant.*”

This laſt reflection, which naturally enough expreſſes the character of the ladies, is not made only by Juſtin. St. Jerom alſo obſerves, † *that the ſex are naturally fond of ornaments.* “ We know ladies, “ ſays he, of diſtinguiſhed chaſtity, who love to “ adorn their perſons, not for the ſake of pleaſing “ any man, but to pleaſe themſelves.” And he adds elſewhere, that ſome of them carry that taſte to an exceſs which knows no bounds, and will hearken to no reaſon: *Ad quæ ardent & inſaniunt ſtudia matronarum.*

Hieron. Ep. ad Demetr.

The zeal of Pythagoras was not confined to his ſchool, and the inſtruction of private perſons, but even penetrated into the palaces of the great. That philoſopher knew, that to inſpire princes and magiſtrates with the principles of honour, probity, juſtice, and love of public good, was labouring for the happineſs and reformation of whole nations. * He had the glory of forming diſciples, who proved excellent legiſlators: Zaleucus, Charondas, and many others, whoſe wiſe laws were ſo uſeful to Sicily, and that part of Italy called Great Greece, and who have a juſter title to the higheſt praiſes, than thoſe famed conquerors who have made themſelves known to the world only by ravages, fire and ſword.

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* Inter hæc, velut genetricem virtutum frugalitatem omnibus ingerebat, conſecutuſque diſputationum aſſiduitate erat, ut matronæ auratas veſtes, cæteraque dignitatis ſuæ ornamenta, velut inſtrumenta luxuriæ, deponerent, eaque omnia delata in Junonis ædem ipſi deæ conſecrarent; præ ſe ferentes, vera ornamenta matronarum pudicitiam, non veſtes, eſſe. *Juſtin.* l. 20. c. 4.

† Φιλόκοσμον genus fœmineum eſt: multaſque etiam inſignis pudicitiæ, quamvis nulli virorum, tamen ſibi ſcimus libenter ornari. *Hieron. Epiſt. ad Gaudent.*

He took great pains to put an end to wars in Italy, and to calm the inteſtine factions which diſturbed the tranquillity of ſtates. War, ſaid he, ſhould be made only againſt theſe five things: diſeaſes of the body, ignorance of the mind, paſſions of the heart, ſeditions of cities, and diſcord of families. Theſe five enemies he is for combating with the utmoſt ardour and perſeverance.

Val. Max. l. 8. c. 15. The inhabitants of Crotona thought proper, that their ſenate, which conſiſted of a thouſand perſons, ſhould act in all things by the advice of ſo great a man, and determine nothing but in concert with him; ſuch credit had his prudence and zeal for the public good acquired him.

Crotona was not the only city that had the benefit of his counſels: † many others experienced the good effects of this philoſopher's ſtudies. He went from one to another to diffuſe his inſtructions with greater fruit and abundance, and he left behind him, in all places where he continued any time, the precious footſteps of his reſidence in the

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* Zaleuci leges Charondæque laudantur. Hi, non in foro, nec in conſultorum atrio, ſed in Pythagoræ tacito illo ſanctoque receſſu didicerunt jura, quæ florenti tunc Siciliæ & per Italiam Græciæ ponerent. *Senec.* Epiſt. 90.

† Plurimis & opulentiſſimis urbibus effectus ſuorum ſtudiorum approbavit. *Val.* l. 8. c. 7.

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ood order, diſcipline, and wiſe regulations which e eſtabliſhed in them.

His maxims of morality were admirable, and he vas for having the ſtudy of philoſophy tend ſolely o the rendering men like God. Hierocles gives his praiſe to a piece of poetry, intitled, *Carmen ureum*, (golden verſes) which contain this philoſo-her's maxims.

Hierocl. in præf. ad carm. aurea.

But his notions of the nature of God were very mperfect. * He believed that God is a ſoul dif-uſed into all the beings of nature, and from which uman ſouls are derived: an opinion which Virgil †, n the fourth book of the Georgics, has expreſſed n perfectly fine verſes. Velleius, in Cicero, refutes his opinion in an agreeable but ſolid manner. "If 'this were ſo, ſays he, God would be divided and 'torn to pieces, when theſe ſouls were taken from 'his ſubſtance. He would ſuffer, and God is 'not capable of ſuffering, in a part of himſelf, 'whenever they ſuffer, as frequently happens. Be-'ſides which, how comes it that the mind of man 'ſhould be ignorant of any thing, if it were God?"

The Metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls, vas the principal maxim of Pythagoras's philoſo-hy. He had borrowed it either from the Egyp-ians, or the Brachmans, thoſe antient ſages of In-lia. This opinion ſubſiſts ſtill among the idolaters f India and China, and is the fundamental princi-le of their religion. According to it, Pythago-as believed, that the ſouls of men at their death aſſed into other bodies, and, if they had been wicked, that they were confined in unclean and mi-ſerable beaſts, to expiate the faults of their paſt lives;

Laert.

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* Pythagoras cenſuit Deum animum eſſe per naturam rerum mnem intentum & commeantem, ex quo animi noſtri caperentur. 1. *de Nat. deor.* n. 27.

† Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, & hauſtus
Æthereos dixere. Deum namque ire per omnes
Terraſque tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.

and that, after a certain revolution of years or ages they returned to animate other men.

This philoſopher boaſted, in this reſpect, of a privilege entirely ſingular: for he ſaid * he remembered in what bodies he had been before he was Pythagoras. But he went no farther back than the ſiege of Troy. He had firſt been Æthalides, the ſuppoſed ſon of Mercury, and, having had permiſſion to aſk whatever he pleaſed of that god, excep immortality, he deſired that he might remember al things even after death. Some time after he wa Euphorbus, and received a mortal wound fro Menelaus at the ſiege of Troy. His ſoul paſſe afterwards into Hermotimus, at which time he entered the temple of Apollo in the country of th Branchidæ, where he ſaw his buckler eaten u with ruſt, which Menelaus on his return from Tro had conſecrated to that god in token of his victory He was afterwards a fiſherman of Delos, name Pyrrhus; and, laſtly, Pythagoras.

He affirmed that, in a voyage which he had mad to hell, he had ſeen the ſoul of the poet Heſio faſtened with chains to a pillar of braſs, and ſuffering great torments. That, as for that of Home he had ſeen it hanging on a tree, ſurrounded wit ſerpents, upon account of the many falſhoods h had invented and aſcribed to the gods; and tha the ſouls of the huſbands, who had lived amiſs wit their wives, were ſeverely tormented in that region

To give more weight and credit to theſe fabulou tales, he had made uſe of induſtry and artifice Upon arriving in Italy, he ſhut himſelf up in a ſubterraneous place, after having deſired his mother t

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* ———————— Habentque
Tartara Panthoïden iterum Orco
Demiſſum; quamvis clypeo Trojana refixo
Tempora teſtatus, nihil ultra
Nervos atque cutem morti conceſſerat atræ,
Judice te non ſordidus auctor
Naturæ. *Hor.* Od. 28. l. 1.

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keep an exact journal of all that ſhould paſs. When he had continued there as long as he judged proper, his mother, as they had agreed before, gave him her notes, wherein he found the dates and other circumſtances of events. He quitted this place with a viſage pale and wan. In an aſſembly of the people he aſſured them, that he was juſt returned from hell; and, to convince them of what he ſaid, he began with relating all that had paſſed during his abſence. All he hearers were moved and ſurpriſed with that account, and nobody doubted but that there was ſomehing divine in Pythagoras. Fears and cries enſued on all ſides. The people of Crotona conceived an extraordinary eſteem for him, received his leſſons with great eagerneſs, and begged of him that he would vouchſafe to inſtruct their wives alſo.

There muſt have been a very blind credulity or rather groſs ſtupidity amongſt the people to have believed ſuch wild chimæras, which often even contradicted themſelves. For it does not ſeem very eaſy to reconcile the tranſmigration of ſouls into different bodies with the pains Pythagoras ſuppoſed hat the ſouls of the wicked ſuffered in hell; and till leſs with his doctrine upon the nature of ſouls. For, as the learned tranſlator of Cicero's books upon the nature of the gods obſerves, the ſouls of men, and thoſe of beaſts, according to Pythagoras, are of the ſame ſubſtance; that is to ſay, a particle of that univerſal Soul, which is God himſelf. When therefore it is ſaid, that the ſoul of Sardanapalus, as a puniſhment for his exceſſes, paſſes into the body of an hog, it is preciſely the ſame thing as to ſay, God modifies himſelf into an hog, in order to puniſh himſelf for not having been wiſe and temperate, whilſt he was modified in Sardanapalus.

Divinæ particulam auræ. *Horat.*

Lactantius * has reaſon for treating Pythagoras as an old dotard, and for ſaying he muſt have thought that he had talked to infants and not t men, to vent ſuch abſurd fables and old women' ſtories to them with a grave and ſerious air.

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* Videlicet ſenex vanus (ſicut otioſæ aniculæ ſolent) fabulas tanquam infantibus credulis finxit. Quòd ſi bene ſenſiſſet de iis quibus hæc locutus eſt, ſi homines eos exiſtimaſſet, nunquam ſibi tam petulanter

Empedocles, his diſciple, roſe upon his maſter' ravings, and compoſed a genealogy of his ſoul ſtil more extravagant and various; for, according t Athenæus, he gave out, that he had been a girl, a boy, a ſhrub, a bird, and a fiſh, before he wa Empedocles. Athen. l. 8. p. 365.

But how could ſo great a philoſopher as Pythagoras, and one ſo valuable for abundance of excellent qualities, conceive ſo ſtrange a ſyſtem? Ho could he draw ſo great a number of followers afte him, whilſt he advanced opinions capable of ſhocking every man of common ſenſe? How happens it that whole nations, in other reſpects not void o knowledge, and civiliſed, have retained this doctrine down to our days?

It is moſt certain that Pythagoras, and all th antient philoſophers, when they began to philoſophiſe, found *the doctrine of the immortality of th ſoul generally received by all nations*; and it was upon that principle Pythagoras, as well as the reſ founded his ſyſtem. But, when the queſtion was t fix what became of that ſoul after its brief offic of animating an human body, Pythagoras, and a the philoſophers with him, were at a loſs and i confuſion, without being able to reſolve upon an thing capable of ſatisfying a rational mind. The could not reconcile themſelves to the Elyſian fiel for the virtuous, nor Styx for the wicked, me fictions of the poets. Thoſe amuſements for th ſouls of the bleſſed ſeemed very inſipid to them and could they be believed to exiſt without end and to endure throughout all eternity? But th ſouls of thoſe, who had done neither good nor hur

tulanter mentiendi licentiam vindicaſſet. Sed deridenda homin leviſſimi vanitas. *Lactant. divin. Inſtitut.* l. 3. c. 18.

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as of infants, what became of them? What was to be their lot, their condition? What were they to do to all eternity?

To extricate themſelves from this very difficult objection, ſome philoſophers deſtined the ſouls of the wiſe and ingenious to the contemplation of the courſe of the ſtars, the harmony of the ſpheres, the origin of winds ſtorms, and other meteors, as Seneca and ſome other philoſophers teach. But the generality of the world could have no part in the learned and ſpeculative joys of this philoſophical paradiſe. What occupation then were they to have throughout futurity? They perceived, that it did not conſiſt with ſo wiſe a being as God to create beings purely ſpiritual every day, only to animate bodies for ſome ſhort ſpace, and to have no other employment during the reſt of eternal duration. Why create ſo many ſouls of infants, that die in their births, and at their mother's breaſts, without ever being able to make the leaſt uſe of their reaſon? Does it conſiſt with the wiſdom of God to produce ſo many thouſands of new ſouls every day, and to continue creating them every day throughout all eternity, without either uſe or purpoſe? What is to be done with thoſe infinite millions of uſeleſs inactive ſouls? What could be the end of forming thoſe inceſſantly increaſing numbers of ſpirits without either function or end?

Theſe were unſurmountable difficulties to all the ſects of philoſophers. In the impoſſibility of getting over them, ſome went ſo far as to doubt and even deny the immortality of the ſoul. Others, who could not reſolve to renounce a maxim, which God has impreſſed too deeply on the heart of man for him to be able to diſown it, found themſelves reduced to make them paſs from one body into another: and, as they could not conceive eternal puniſhments, they believed that they ſufficiently puniſhed the wicked, in confining them within the bodies of beaſts. And from thence they fell into all the abſurdities with which they are juſtly reproached. But the other Sects ſcarce defended themſelves better from the abſurdities to which their different Syſtems gave birth.

Metam. l. 15. But to return to Pythagoras. In neceſſary conſequence of the Metempſychoſis he concluded, and one of the capital points of his moral doctrine was, that man committed a great crime, when he killed and eat animals; becauſe, all animals, of whatſoever kind they are, being animated with the ſame ſoul, it was an horrid cruelty to cut the throat of another ſelf. This is what Ovid, where he feigns that Pythagoras inſtructs king Numa in his maxims, wittily deſcribes after his manner in theſe three verſes:

Heu! quantum ſcelus eſt in viſcera viſcera condi,
Congeſtoque avidum pingueſcere corpore corpus,
Alteriuſque animantem animantis vivere letho.

But, obſerves again with abundance of wit the tranſlator already cited, what would Pythagoras have anſwered to a man who ſhould have aſked him conformably to his own principles: "What "injury do I do a fowl in killing it? I only make "it change its form, and it is much more likely "to gain than loſe by that change, Perhaps that "ſoul immediately after quitting its body, will go "to animate ſome embryo, who will one day be a "great monarch or philoſopher: and, inſtead of "ſeeing itſelf confined to a fowl, which uncharitable men leave in a yard to ſuffer the injuries "of the weather, and a thouſand other inconveniencies, it will find itſelf ſeated in an aſſemblage "of corpuſcles, that, forming the body, ſometimes "of an Epicure, ſometimes of a Cæſar, will glut "itſelf with pleaſures and honours."

Satyr. 6. l. 2. The ſame philoſopher forbade his diſciples to eat beans; from whence Horace calls them the relations or allies of Pythagoras: *faba Pythagoræ cognata.*

Different reaſons are given for this prohibition; amongſt others, that* beans, by the great wind they occaſion, excite vapours very contrary to the tranquillity of ſoul neceſſary to thoſe, who devote themſelves to inquiring after truth.

I ſhould never have done, if I undertook to relate circumſtantially all the wonders aſcribed to Pythagoras. If we may believe Porphyry, that declared enemy of Chriſtianity, and Iamblichus his diſciple, (for they are the worthy authorities for all theſe miracles) Pythagoras made even the beaſts underſtand and obey him. He commanded a bear that made great ravages in Daunia to be gone, and it diſappeared. He forbade an ox, after having whiſpered a word in his ear, to eat beans: and never more did he touch a bean. It is affirmed that he had been ſeen and heard at the ſame time diſputing in the public aſſemblies of two cities very remote from each other; the one in Italy, and the other in Sicily. He foretold earthquakes, appeaſed tempeſts, expelled peſtilence, and cured diſeaſes. His golden thigh ought not to be omitted. He ſhewed it to his diſciple Abaris, the prieſt of Apollo Hyperboreus, to prove to him that himſelf was that Apollo; and he had alſo ſhewn it, ſays Iamblichus, in a public aſſembly at Crotona. What wonders does not the ſame Iamblichus relate of this Abaris? Borne upon a dart as upon a Pegaſus, he could paſs a great way through the air in a ſhort time, without being ſtopt or retarded in his courſe by rivers, ſeas, or places inacceſſible to other men. Would one believe, that the miracles and cures aſcribed to Pythagoras could be quoted on the teſtimony of ſuch authors, as things of a real nature? *Credat Judæus Apella.* People of ſenſe, even amongſt the Pagans, openly laughed at them.

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* Ex quo etiam Pythagoricis interdictum putatur, ne faba veſcerentur; quòd habet inflationem magnam is cibus, tranquillitati mentis quærentis vera contrariam. *Cic.* l. 1. *de Divinat.* n. 62.

It is time to make an end of his hiſtory. The circumſtances of his death are very differently related, which I ſhall not enter into particularly. Juſtin. l. 20. c. 4. Juſtin obſerves, that he died at Metapontum, whither he had retired after having continued twenty years at Crotona; and the people's admiration of him roſe ſo high, that they converted his houſe into a temple, and honoured him as a god. He lived to a very advanced age.

EMPEDOCLES.

A. M. 3560. Empedocles, a Pythagorean philoſopher, was of Agrigentum, a city of Sicily. He flouriſhed in the LXXXIVth Olympiad. He travelled much, as was the cuſtom of thoſe times, in order to inrich his mind with curious knowledge. On his return into his country, he frequented the ſchools of the Pythagoreans. Some make him Pythagoras's diſciple: but he is believed to have lived many years after him.

Diog. Laert. He applied himſelf not only to compoſing works, but reforming the manners of his country; and Empedocles ſpared no pains to do at Agrigentum what Pythagoras had done at Crotona. The city of Agrigentum was abandoned to luxury and debauch. Its inhabitants, according to Diogenes Laertius, amounted to eight hundred thouſand: which is to be underſtood of its territory as well as city. I have mentioned its power and riches elſewhere. Empedocles uſed to ſay that the people of Agrigentum abandoned themſelves to feaſting and pleaſure, as if they believed they were to die to-morrow; and applied themſelves in building, as if they thought they were never to die.

Diod. l.13.p.205. Nothing ſhews the luxury and effeminacy of the Agrigentines better, than the order given thoſe who were to defend the city in the night againſt the attacks of the Carthaginians. By this order each man was to have only one camel's ſkin, one tent bed, one woollen quilt, and two pillows. The Agrigentines thought this diſcipline highly ſevere, and could not be brought into ſubmitting to it without difficulty. Amongſt theſe citizens abandoned to luxury, there were however perſons of merit, who made a very good uſe of their riches, as I have ſhewn elſewhere.

The authority, which Empedocles had acquired Diog. at Agrigentum, he employed ſolely in making Laert. peace and good order take place as much as poſſible. The ſupreme command was offered him, which he tenaciouſly refuſed. His principal care was to put an end to the diviſions that prevailed amongſt the Agrigentines, and to perſuade them to conſider themſelves as all equals, and members of one and the ſame family. His next attention Plut. adv. was to reform the inſolence of the principal per- Col. p. ſons of the city, and to prevent the diſſipation of 1126. the public revenues. As to himſelf, he employed his own eſtate in marrying the young women that had no portions.

In order to eſtabliſh equality as much as poſſible Diog. amongſt the citizens of Agrigentum, he cauſed the Laert. Council, which conſiſted of a thouſand perſons choſen out of the richeſt citizens, to be aboliſhed. He rendered it triennial, from perpetual, as it was before; and prevailed that the people ſhould be admitted into it, or at leaſt ſuch of them as favoured democratical government.

When Empedocles went to the Olympic games, Diog. nothing was talked of there but him. His praiſes Laert. were the common ſubject of all converſations. It Athen. was an antient cuſtom to ſing the verſes of the l.14.p.620. great poets in public, as thoſe of Homer, Heſiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and others. The ſame honour was done to thoſe of Empedocles. The ſinger Cleomenes ſung his *Purifications* Καθαρμοί.

in the Olympic games. This was a moral poem of three thouſand hexameters, compoſed by our philoſopher upon the duties of civil life, the worſhip of the gods, and the precepts of morality. It took its name from containing maxims, which taught the means for purifying and improving the ſoul. The *golden verſes* are believed to have been part of this poem.

Carmen aureum.

Idem.

Empedocles was at the ſame time a philoſopher, poet, hiſtorian, phyſician, and even, according to ſome, magician. It is very probable that his magic was only the profound knowledge he had acquired in whatever was moſt abſtruſe in nature. The important ſervice he had done the people of Agrigentum, in making certain periodical winds ceaſe to blow, which by their pernicious nature did great damage to the fruits of the earth, was aſcribed to magic: as was alſo that he did for the inhabitants of Selinontum, in curing them of a peſtilence occaſioned by the ſtench of the waters of a river tha ran through their city. His magic, as to the firſt was his having filled up an opening of a mountain from whence iſſued the infected exhalations, whic a ſouth wind drove upon the territory of Agrigentum; and, as to the ſecond, it was his having cauſe two ſmall rivers to empty themſelves into that o Selinontum, which ſweetened the water, and removed its bad quality.

Laert.

The moſt wonderful effect of Empedocles's magic, and which made him be conſidered as a god was the pretended reſurrection of an Agrigenti woman, named Panthea. Pliny ſpeaks of it as wel as Origen. Hermippus, who contents himſel with ſaying, that, having been given over by th phyſicians, and probably taken for dead, ſhe wa cured by Empedocles, reduces that miracle to reality; and Galen ſeems to give into the ſam opinion.

L. 6. c. 52.

L. 2. cont. Celſ.

De locis affect. l. 6.

I

It is ſaid that Empedocles, * in order to confirm the world in the opinion they had conceived of his divinity by diſappearing ſuddenly, threw himſelf into the gulph of mount Ætna. But this extravagance has much the air of being the invention of ſuch as have pleaſed themſelves either with throwing the Marvellous into the lives of theſe philoſophers, or, on the contrary, with rendering them ridiculous. Authors of greater gravity tell us, that he retired into Peloponneſus, where he died at the age of ſixty, according to Ariſtotle, about the beginning of the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. Diog. Laert. A. M. 3576.

ARTICLE. II.

Diviſion of the Italic Sect into four ſects.

THE Italic or Pythagorean ſect divided itſelf into four others: that of Heraclitus, which took his name; the Eleatic, of which Democritus was the chief; the Sceptic, founded by Pyrrho; and the Epicurean, inſtituted by Epicurus.

SECT. I.

Sect of Heraclitus.

LITTLE is known of this philoſopher. He was a native of Epheſus, and lived in the LIXth Olympiad. He is ſaid to have had no maſters, and to have become learned by continual meditation. A. M. 3460. Laert.

Amongſt many treatiſes of his compoſing, that concerning nature, which included his whole philoſophy, was the moſt eſteemed. Darius, king of Perſia, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, having ſeen this work, wrote a moſt obliging Letter to Heraclitus, to deſire him to come to his court, where his virtue and knowledge would be more conſidered than in Greece. The philoſopher, little affected with offers ſo gracious and ſo full of goodneſs, replied bluntly, That he ſaw nothing amongſt men but injuſtice, knavery, avarice, and ambition; and, that contenting himſelf with little, as he did, the court of Perſia ſuited ill with him. He was not in the wrong at bottom. It is not ſurpriſing, that a Greek, born free and an enemy to the pride of Barbarian kings, and the ſlavery and vices of courtiers, ſhould ſet an high value upon poverty with independence, and eſteem it infinitely more than the greateſt fortunes he could expect from a monarch living in the midſt of pomp, pride, effeminacy, and pleaſures, in a nation devoted ſolely to luxury. He might indeed have expreſſed his refuſal in more polite terms.

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* ——————— Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Inſiluit. *Horat. de Art. Poët.*

He was a true man-hater. Nothing ſatisfied him; every thing gave him offence. * Mankind were the objects of his pity. Seeing all the world abandoned themſelves to a joy, of the falſhood of which he was ſenſible, he never appeared in public without ſhedding tears, which occaſioned his being called *the Weeper*. Democritus, on the contrary, who ſaw nothing ſerious in the moſt ſerious occupations of men, could not forbear laughing at them. The one could find nothing in life but miſery, the other nothing but folly and trifle. Both in ſome ſenſe were in the right.

Heraclitus, diſguſted and tired with every thing, at laſt conceived ſo great an averſion for mankind, that he retired to a mountain, where he lived upon herbs in company with wild beaſts. A dropſy, which that kind of life occaſioned, obliged him to return to the city, where he died ſoon after.

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* Heraclitus quoties prodierat, & tantum circa ſe malè viventium, imo malè pereuntium viderat, flebat, miſerebatur omnium, qui ſibi læti feliceſque occurrebant. Democritum contrà aiunt nunquam ſine riſu in publico fuiſſe: adeo nihil illi videbatur ſerium eorum, quæ ſeriò agebantur. *Senec. de Ira*, l. 2. c. 10.

Huic omnia, quæ agimus, miſeriæ; illi ineptiæ videbantur. *De Tranq. anim.* c. 15.

SECT. II.

Sect of Democritus.

DEMOCRITUS, author of this ſect, one of Laert. the greateſt philoſophers of the antient world, was of Abdera in Thrace. Xerxes, king of Perſia, having lodged in the houſe of Democritus's father, left him ſome Magi, to be his ſon's preceptors, and to inſtruct him in their pretended Theology and Aſtronomy. He afterwards heard Leucippus, and learnt from him the ſyſtem of Atoms and Void.

His extraordinary inclination for the ſciences induced him to travel into all the countries of the world, where there were hopes of finding learned men. He viſited the prieſts of Egypt, the Chaldeans, and the Perſian philoſophers. It is even ſaid that he went as far as Ethiopia and India, to confer with the Gymnoſophiſts.

He * neglected the care of his eſtate, and left his lands uncultivated, in order to apply himſelf with leſs interruption to the ſtudy of wiſdom. Some go ſo far as to ſay, but with little probability, that he put out his eyes in hopes of meditating more profoundly, when the objects of ſight ſhould not divert the intellectual powers of his ſoul. It was in ſome meaſure blinding himſelf to ſhut himſelf up in a tomb, as it is ſaid he did, in order to apply more freely to meditation.

What ſeems moſt certain, is, that he expended Laert. his whole patrimony in his travels, which amounted Athen. l. 4. p. 168.

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[*] Democritus, verè falsòve, dicitur oculis ſe privaſſe, ut quàm minimè animus à cogitationibus abduceretur. Patrimonium neglexit, agros deſeruit incultos, quid quærens aliud niſi beatam vitam? *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 87.

Miramur, ſi Democriti pecus edit agellos
Cultaque, dum peregrè eſt animus ſine corpore velox.
Horat. Epiſt. 12. lib. 1.

to

to above an hundred talents (an hundred thouſand crowns.) At his return he was cited before the judges, for having ſpent his eſtate in that manner. By the laws of his country, thoſe who had ſquandered their patrimony were not to be interred in the tombs of their family. He pleaded his cauſe himſelf, and produced, as a proof of the juſt uſe he had made of his fortune, the moſt finiſhed of his works, which he read to the Judges. They were ſo charmed with it, that they not only acquitted him, but cauſed as much money as he had expended in his travels, undoubtedly out of the public treaſury, to be repaid him, erected ſtatues in honour of him, and decreed that after his death the public ſhould charge itſelf with the care of his funeral: which was accordingly executed. He travelled as a great perſon, for the ſake of inſtruction, not to inrich himſelf. He went to the remoteſt parts of India in queſt of the riches of erudition, and ſcarce regarded the treaſures which he found almoſt at his door, in a country abounding with mines of gold and gems.

He * paſſed ſome time at Athens, the centre of the ſciences, and the abode of wit and learning. But, far from endeavouring to diſplay his merit and curious knowledge there, he affected to remain unknown: a circumſtance very remarkable in a man of learning and a philoſopher!

A fact ſingular enough is related concerning him, but with no other foundation than Hippocrates's letters, which the Learned believe ſpurious. The Abderites, ſeeing Democritus their countryman regard nothing, laugh at and ridicule every thing, ſay that the air was full of images, endeavour to know what the birds ſaid in their ſongs, and inhabit tombs almoſt perpetually, apprehended that his brain was

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* Veni Athenas, inquit Democritus neque me quiſquam ibi agnovit. Conſtantem hominem & gravem, qui glorietur à gloria ſe abfuiſſe! *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 5. n. 104.

urned, and that he would entirely run mad, which hey conſidered as the greateſt misfortune that could appen to their city. They therefore wrote to Hipocrates, to deſire him to viſit Democritus. The reat concern they expreſſed for the health of ſo lluſtrious a citizen does them honour. The illuſrious phyſician they had ſent for, after ſome conerſations with the ſuppoſed ſick man, judged very ifferently of him, and diſpelled their fears, by delaring that he had never known a wiſer man, nor ne more in his ſenſes. Diogenes Laertius alſo menions this journey of Hippocrates to Abdera.

Nothing certain is ſaid either of his birth, or the ime of his death. Diodorus Siculus makes him A. M. ie at the age of ninety, the firſt year of the XCth 3584. lympiad.

Democritus had a fine genius, with a vaſt, ex- Laert. enſive, penetrating wit, which he applied to the whole circle of curious knowledge. Phyſics, ethics, mathematics, polite learning, liberal arts, all came within the ſphere of his activity.

It is ſaid, that, having foreſeen a certain year would prove bad for olives, he bought at a very low rate a great quantity of oil, by which he gained immenſely. * Every body was amazed with reaſon, that a man who had never ſeemed to regard any thing but ſtudy, and who had always ſet ſo much value upon poverty, ſhould on a ſudden throw himſelf into commerce, and entertain thoughts of amaſſing ſuch great riches. He ſoon explained the myſtery himſelf, in reſtoring to all the merchants of whom he had bought oil, and who were in deſpair on account of the bargain they had made with him, all the ſurplus he had acquired, contenting himſelf with ſhewing, that to become rich was

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* Mirantibus qui paupertatem & quietem doctrinarum ei ſciebant in primis cordi eſſe. Atque, ut apparuit cauſa, & ingens divitiarum curſus, reſtituiſſe mercedem (*or rather* mercem) anxiæ & avidæ dominorum pœnitentiæ, contentum ita probaſſe, opes ſibi in facili, cum vellet, fore. *Plin.* l. 18. c. 28.

at his own option. There is ſomething of a lik nature in the hiſtory of Thales.

Epicurus is obliged to Democritus for almoſt hi whole ſyſtem; and, to render * the elegant Lati expreſſion, he is the ſource from which the ſtream that water the gardens of Epicurus flow. The la ter was in the wrong, in not confeſſing his obliga tions to Democritus, and in treating him as dreamer. We ſhall ſhew in the ſequel his opinio concerning the ſupreme good of man, the worl and the nature of the gods.

Laert. It was Democritus alſo that ſupplied the Sceptic with all they ſaid againſt the evidence of the ſenſe. For, beſides its being his cuſtom to ſay, that trut lay hid at the bottom of a well, he maintained th there was nothing real except atoms and vacuit and that all elſe was only opinion and appearance.

Plato is ſaid to have been the declared enemy Democritus. He had collected all his books wit care, and was going to throw them into the fir when two Pythagorean philoſophers repreſente that doing ſo would ſignify nothing, becauſe the were then in the hands of many. Plato's hatre for Democritus appears in his having never cite him, even in places where to refute him was t queſtion, though he has mentioned almoſt all t reſt of the antient philoſophers.

SECT. III.

Sceptic or Pyrrhonic ſect.

PYRRHO, a native of Elis in Peloponneſu was the diſciple of Anaxarchus, and accom panied him to India. It was undoubtedly in t train of Alexander the Great, from whence we ma collect in what time he flouriſhed. He had prac

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* Democritus vir magnus in primis, cujus fontibus Epicurus ho tulos ſuos irrigavit. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 121.

ſed the art of painting, before he applied himſelf
o philoſophy.

His opinions differed little from thoſe of Arceſi-
aus, and terminated in the incomprehenſibility of
ll things. He found, in all things, reaſons for af-
rming, and reaſons for denying: and therefore he
id aſſent after having well examined both ſides of
queſtion, concluding only that hitherto he ſaw
othing clear and certain in it, *non liquet*; and that
he ſubject in queſtion required farther diſcuſſion.
ccordingly he ſeemed during his whole life in
ueſt of truth; but he took care always to contrive
ubterfuges, to avoid conſenting that he had found
: That is to ſay, in reality he would not find it;
nd that he concealed ſo hideous a turn of mind
nder the ſpecious outſide of inquiry and examina-
ion.

Though he was not the inventor of this method
f philoſophiſing, it however bears his name: the
rt of diſputing upon all things, without ever go-
ng farther than to ſuſpend one's judgment, is called
yrrhoniſm. The diſciples of Pyrrho were called
lſo *Sceptics*, from a Greek word which ſignifies *to* σκέπτομαι.
onſider, *to examine*; becauſe their whole application
erminated in that.

Pyrrho's indifference is aſtoniſhing; and, if all Laert.
iogenes Laertius relates of it be true, it roſe even
o madneſs. That hiſtorian ſays he did not prefer
ne thing to another; that a waggon or a precipice
id not oblige him to go a ſtep out of his way;
nd that his friends who followed him often ſaved
is life. However, he one day ran away from a Ariſtocles
og that flew at him. When he was raillied upon apud Euſeb. Præp.
fear ſo contrary to his principles, and ſo unworthy Evang.
f a philoſopher: *It is hard*, replied he, *to diveſt* l. 14. c. 18.
ne's ſelf entirely of the man.

His maſter Anaxarchus having fallen into a ditch Laert.
n his company, he walked on without ſo much as
ffering him his hand. Anaxarchus, far from taking
it

it amiſs, blamed thoſe who reproached Pyrrho wit ſo inhuman a behaviour, and praiſed his diſcipl for his indifference of mind, which argued his lovin nothing. What would become of ſociety, and th commerce of life, with ſuch philoſophers ?

Stobæus, ſermone 118. Pyrrho maintained that life and death were equall indifferent. *Why don't you die then?* ſomebody aſke him. *For that very reaſon*, replied he, *becauſe li and death are equally indifferent.*

Laert. He taught an abominable doctrine, that open the way for crimes of every kind: That the honour and infamy, the juſtice and injuſtice of action depended ſolely upon human laws and cuſtom: i a word, that there was nothing honeſt or diſhoneſ juſt or unjuſt, in itſelf.

Laert. His country conſidered him highly, conferre the dignity of Pontiff upon him, and granted a philoſophers an exemption from taxes upon his account: a very ſingular conduct in regard to a ma who merited only puniſhments, whilſt they loade him with honours.

SECT. IV.

Epicurean ſect.

Laert. EPICURUS, one of the greateſt philoſophe of his age, was born at Gargettium in Attic

A. M. 3663. the third year of the CIXth Olympiad. His fathe Neocles, and his mother Chereſtrata, were of th number of the inhabitants of Attica ſent by th Athenians into the iſland of Samos. This occaſioned Epicurus's paſſing his infancy in that iſland.

Laert. He did not return to Athens till the eighteent year of his age. It was not to fix there: for ſom years after he went to his father, who lived at Colophon; and afterwards reſided in different place

A. M. 3699. He did not ſettle at Athens for good, till about th thirty-ſixth year of his age.

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He there erected a ſchool in a fine garden which e had purchaſed. An incredible throng of hearers on came thither from all parts of Greece, Aſia, nd even Egypt. to receive his leſſons. If we may elieve Torquatus, the warmeſt aſſertor of the Epi- urean ſect, upon this head, the diſciples of Epi- urus lived in common with their maſter in the noſt perfect friendſhip. Though throughout all ntiquity, at leaſt for many ages, ſcarce three couple f true friends had appeared, * Epicurus had known ow to unite great numbers of them in one houſe, nd that a ſmall one. The philoſopher Numenius, vho lived in the ſecond century, obſerves that, midſt the diſcord and diviſions which prevailed mongſt each of the other ſects, the diſciples of Epicurus had continued in union down to his time. His ſchool was never divided, but always followed his doctrine like an oracle. His birth-day was ce- ebrated in the time of Pliny the Naturaliſt, that s to ſay, above four hundred years after his death: hey even feaſted the whole month in which he was born. His picture was to be ſeen every-where.

De Finib. l. 1. n. 65.
Euſeb. Præp. Evangel. l. 14. c. 5.
Plin. l. 34. c. 2.

Epicurus compoſed a great number of books, which are made to amount to above three hundred; and piqued himſelf upon quoting nothing, and deriving every thing from his own fund. Though none of them are come down to us, no philoſopher's opinions are better known than his. We are moſt indebted for them to the poet Lucretius, and Diogenes Laertius, not to mention Cicero in his philoſophical works. The learned Gaſſendi has collected with great exactneſs all that is to be found in antient writers concerning the doctrine and perſon of Epicurus.

He placed the Atomical ſyſtem in exceeding reputation. We ſhall ſee that he was not the inventor of it, but that he only changed ſome things in

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* Epicurus una in domo, & ea quidem anguſta, quàm magnos, quantaque amoris conſpiratione conſentientes tenuit amicorum greges? *Cic.*

it. His doctrine upon the ſupreme good of man which he makes to conſiſt in pleaſure, contribute very much both to decry his ſect, and to make i gain ground: it will alſo be ſpoken of in the ſequel as well as his opinions concerning the nature of th gods, providence, and deſtiny.

The praiſe given Epicurus by Lucretius, his faithful interpreter, ſhews what we ought to think o that philoſopher's ſyſtem. He repreſents him a the firſt of mortals who had the courage to riſ up againſt the prejudices that blinded the univerſe and to ſhake off the yoke of religion, which ti him had held mankind ſubjected to its empire and that without being awed either by reſpect fo the gods, their fame, their thunders, or any othe motive:

Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret
In terris oppreſſa gravi ſub relligione——
Primùm Graius homo mortales tollere contrà
Eſt oculos auſus, primuſque obſiſtere contrà:
Quem nec fama deûm, nee fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compreſſit cælum.

Laert. Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. Epicurus is praiſed for having never departe from his zeal for the good of his country. He di not quit it when beſieged by Demetrius Poliorcete and determined to ſhare in the miſeries it ſuffere He lived upon beans, and gave his diſciples th ſame food. He deſired good ſovereigns, but ſubmitted to thoſe who governed ill. A maxim o Tacit. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 8. great importance to the tranquillity of States. Tacitus expreſſes it in theſe terms: *Bonos Imperatore voto expetere, qualeſcumque tolerare.* "To pray fo "good Emperors, and ſuffer them, of whatſoeve "kind they be."

Epicurus died in the torments of a retentio of urine, which he ſupported with extraordinar patience and conſtancy, the ſecond year of th CXXVIIt

XXVIIth Olympiad, at the beginning of his venty-ſecond year.

A. M. 3733.

eneral reflection upon the ſeveral ſects of philoſophers.

I have endeavoured to ſet the hiſtory of the dif-rent ſects of the heathen philoſophers in as clear light as poſſible. Before I take my leave of that ıbject, and proceed to explain the various opini-ns of thoſe ſects, I think it incumbent on me to prize the reader, that he would be deceived, if e expected any conſiderable change or reformation the manners of men from the different inſtructions all thoſe philoſophers. The wiſdom, ſo much aſted by the moſt learned amongſt the many ſects to which the univerſe were divided, could deter-ine no queſtion, and multiplied errors. All hu-an philoſophy pretended to was to inſtruct men living in a manner worthy of men; becauſe it ſcovered in men no qualities but ſuch as were hu-an, and allotted to them only the enjoyment of man things. Its inſtructions are not uſeleſs in is point, as they at leaſt diſſuade men from the utal life that diſhonours the excellency of their ture, and makes them ſeek their happineſs in e vileſt part of their being, which is the body. ut all the reformation they effect extends to very w things. What progreſs have the ſects of phi-ſophers made, though indued with ſo much elo-uence, and ſupported with ſo much ſubtilty? Have ey not left mankind where they found them, in e ſame perplexities, prejudices, and blindneſs?

And indeed how could they labour for the refor-ation of the human heart, as they neither knew herein it was irregular, nor the ſource of its irre-ularity? Without the revelation of the ſin of dam, what could be known of man, and of his al ſtate? Since his Fall he abounds with amazing ntrarieties. He retains of his firſt origin charac-rs of greatneſs and elevation, which his degradation

Mr. Du Guet. J C. crucifié,

Vol. I. c. 5. *d'après Mr. Paſchal.*

tion and meanneſs have not been able to extin
guiſh. He wills, he aſpires at every thing. Hi
deſire of glory, immortality, and an happineſs th
includes all good, is infinite. A nothing emplo
him, a nothing afflicts or conſoles him. On a tho
ſand occaſions he is an infant; weak, fearful, an
dejected; without mentioning his vices and pa
ſions, which diſhonour, debaſe, and ſometim
make him inferior to the beaſts of the field, t
which he approaches nearer than to man by his u
worthy inclinations.

Principes de la Foi. Vol. I. c. 9.

The ignorance of theſe two conditions threw t
philoſophers into two equally abſurd extreme
The Stoics, who made an idol of their chimeric
wiſdom, were for inſpiring man with ſentiments
pure and perfect greatneſs: which is not his co
dition. The Epicureans, who had degraded hi
by reducing him to mere matter, inculcated ſent
ments of pure and abſolute meanneſs into him; an
that is alſo as little his condition. Philoſophy w
not capable of diſcerning things ſo near and at th
ſame time ſo remote from each other; ſo near, b
cauſe united in the ſtate of humanity; and ſo r
mote, becauſe they belong by their nature to ſtat
entirely different. A diſtinction of this kind w
not made before JESUS CHRIST, or independent
of JESUS CHRIST. Before him man neither kne
nor was capable of knowing himſelf. He eith
exalted or debaſed himſelf too much. His teache
always deceived him, either in flattering a pride
was neceſſary to depreſs, or augmenting a meanne
it was neceſſary to exalt. Hence I comprehend ho
neceſſary revelation was to me, and how precious
ought to think the gift of the faith.

It is true the manner, in which the ſin of Ada
extended down to me, is covered with obſcuritie
But, from that very point wrapt up in darkne
iſſues the light which makes all clear, and diſpe
all my difficulties. I am therefore far from refuſi

o believe one only thing, of which the belief is ewarded by the underſtanding of ſo many others: nd chuſe rather to ſubmit my reaſon a ſingle article, hich it does not comprehend, but which is reveal-d, than to make it fly out againſt an infinity of thers it comprehends as little, and of which di-ine revelation neither forbids us the examination, or removes the difficulties.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

INTRODUCTION.

BY the hiſtory of philoſophy I underſtand the doctrines taught by each Sect of the antient hiloſophers.

Philoſophy, amongſt the antients, conſiſted of hree parts: Dialectics or Logic, which directs e operations of the mind, and the formation of rgument; Phyſics (that included alſo metaphy-cs) which conſiders the ſtructure of the world, he effects of nature, the exiſtence and attributes of he Divinity, and the nature of the ſoul; and laſtly thics, which lays down morals, and treats of he duties of life.

This is an ample ſubject, and the reader muſt ot expect that I ſhould treat it to the bottom. I ave already declared more than once, that I do ot write for the learned. Stoics, Peripatetic, and picureans are frequently mentioned in books and onverſation. I thought it proper therefore to give he generality, and perſons of no great reading, me knowledge of the principal queſtions diſcuſſed y thoſe philoſophers, but without entering into an exact detail of their diſputes, which are often very knotty and diſagreeable.

Before I proceed to my ſubject, I cannot help obſerving the wonderful taſte that prevailed amongſt the moſt conſiderable perſons for all the ſciences, and in particular for the ſtudy of philoſophy. I do not ſpeak only of the Greeks. We have ſeen how much the famous ſages of Greece were eſteemed in the court of Crœſus; the value Pericles ſet upon, and the uſe he made of, the leſſons of Anaxarchus; what paſſion the moſt illuſtrious citizens o Athens had for the converſation of Socrates; i what a manner Dion, notwithſtanding the allurements of a court abandoned to pleaſure, devote himſelf to Plato; with what a taſte even for th moſt abſtracted knowledge Ariſtotle inſpired hi pupil Alexander the Great; and laſtly, how highl Pythagoras and his diſciples were conſidered by th princes of that part of Italy called Great Greece.

The Romans did not give place in this reſpect t the Greeks, from the time that learning and th polite arts were introduced amongſt them. Paulu Æmilius, after the conqueſt of Macedonia, though one of the moſt grateful fruits of his victory th having brought a philoſopher from Greece to Rom to inſtruct his children who were then in the arm and to converſe with himſelf at his leiſure hour Scipio Africanus, * who deſtroyed Carthage an Numantia, thoſe formidable rivals of Rome, i the † midſt of the moſt important affairs both war and peace, knew how to procure himſelf m ments of repoſe and retirement, for enjoying th

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* Africanus duos terrores imperii Romani, Carthaginem Numa tiamque deleverat. *Pro Mur.* n. 58.

† Ille, requieſcens à reip. pulcherrimis muneribus, otium ſ ſumebat aliquando, & à cœtu hominum frequentiaque interdu tanquam in portum ſe in ſolitudinem recipiebat. *De offic.* l. 3. n. 2

Scipio tam elegans liberalium ſtudiorum omniſque doctrinæ auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellent ingenio viros, domi militiæque ſemper ſecum habuerit. *Vell. Pater* l. 1. c. 13.

converſation of Polybius and the philoſopher Panætius, whom he had always along with him. Lælius, that model of virtue, more worthy of reſpect for his mild wiſdom than his dignities, the intimate friend of Scipio, ſhared with him in the pleaſure of thoſe learned and agreeable converſations. The * friendſhip of thoſe two great men for Panætius roſe to a great degree of familiarity, and Cicero ſays the philoſopher highly deſerved it. What honours did not Pompey render Poſidonius, going expreſsly to Rhodes, on his return from his glorious campaigns againſt Mithridates, to ſee and hear that philoſopher! † Lucullus, even whilſt in the field, where a General has ſcarce time to breathe, found moments of leiſure however for gratifying his taſte for polite learning, and in particular for philoſophy, and to hear the philoſopher Antiochus, who was the companion of all his expeditions.

The Abbé Gedoyn, in reſpect to a letter of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, obſerves upon the uſe which the great men of the Roman commonwealth made of their leiſure. The excellent education of the Romans, ſays he, made them learned almoſt from their infancy. They were perfectly inſtructed in their own and the Greek tongues: to learn thoſe two living languages coſt them little. They were inſpired very early with a taſte for the moſt excellent writers. That taſte, inſtilled ſo ſoon into their infant minds, grew ſtrong with years, and inclined them to cultivate the ſociety of learned men, whoſe converſation might ſupply the place of reading, of which their employments deprived them. Thence it followed that the Romans, whoſe

Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres. Tom. V. p. 126.

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* Homo inprimis ingenuus & gravis, dignus illa familiaritate Scipionis & Lælii, Panætius. *De Finib.* l. 4. n. 23.

† Majore ſtudio Lucullus cùm omni literarum generi, tum philoſophiæ deditus fuit, quàm qui illum ignorabant arbitrabantur. Nec verò ineunte ætate ſolùm, ſed & quæſtor aliquot annos, & in ipſo bello, in quo ita magna rei militaris eſſe occupatio ſolet, ut non multum imperatori ſub ipſis pellibus otio relinquatur.——Antiochum ſecum habuit. *Academ. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 4.

minds were all improved by Letters, lived together in a continual commerce of erudition! And what muſt have been the converſation of a great number of Romans, when they happened to meet in the ſame company! Hortenſius, Cicero, Cotta, Cæſar, Pompey, Cato, Brutus, Atticus, Catullus, Lucullus, Varro, and many others!

But never did any one carry the taſte and ardour, eſpecially for philoſophy, higher than Cicero. It is not eaſy to conceive how a man, ſo much taken up as he was between the affairs of the bar and thoſe of the ſtate, could find time to make himſelf maſter, as he had done, of all the queſtions diſcuſſed in his days amongſt the philoſophers. That time, as he tells us himſelf in reſpect to polite learning, was what others beſtowed on walking, pleaſure, the public ſhews, and gaming, and which he employed either in his cloſet, or in familiar converſation with friends of the ſame taſte as himſelf. Pro Arch. poet. n. 13. * He was convinced that ſuch ſtudies and recreation perfectly ſuited ſenators and ſtateſmen, when they did not interfere with what they owed the public. Were it better, ſays he, that their meetings were in ſome meaſure paſſed in ſilence, or turned upon trifles and inſignificant matters?

The philoſophical books he has left us, which are not the leaſt eſtimable part of his works, ſhew how far he had carried his application in that way. Without ſpeaking of all the reſt, he lays down excellent rules in them for thoſe who write upon controverted ſubjects, and who undertake to refute

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* Si quodam in libro vere eſt a nobis philoſophia laudata, profecto ejus tractatio optimo atque ampliſſimo quoque digniſſima eſt: nec quidquam aliud videndum eſt nobis, quos populus Romanus hoc in gradu collocavit, niſi ne quid privatis ſtudiis de operâ publicâ detrahamus.——Quaſi vero clarorum virorum aut tacitos congreſſus eſſe oporteat, aut ludicros ſermones, aut rerum colloquia leviorum. *Academ. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 6.

their adverſaries.[*] He is for engaging in diſputes only from the love of truth, without prejudice, and without deſire either of diſplaying one's wit, or of carrying one's point. He baniſhes all paſſion, anger, heat, inſult, and reproaches from them. [†] *We are*, ſays he ſpeaking of himſelf, *ready to refute our adverſaries without tenaciouſneſs in error, and to be refuted by them without reſentment.*

How amiable is this character! How beautiful is it to ſeek in diſputes, not to overcome our opponents, but ſolely to make truth triumphant! What advantage would not ſelf-love itſelf, if it were allowable to hearken to it, find in ſuch a conduct, to which it is not poſſible to refuſe one's eſteem, which adds new force to argument, which, whilſt it gains the heart, prepares the mind for conviction, and by politeneſs and modeſty ſpares the mortifying confeſſion of being miſtaken, the ſecret pain, with which, through a vicious ſhame, it is almoſt always attended. When will this taſte for ſtudy, and this moderation in diſputes, revive amongſt us?

We muſt however own for the honour of our times, that we have perſons of extraordinary merit, who diſtinguiſh themſelves particularly by theſe two qualities. I ſhall only mention the Preſident Bouhier in this place. His learned remarks upon the text of ſeveral of Cicero's books would alone ſuffice to ſhew the great extent of that illuſtrious magiſtrate's knowledge. The Abbé Olivet, in his preface to the new edition of the Tuſculan Queſtions, tranſlated partly by the Preſident Bouhier, and partly by himſelf, with a ſucceſs that does equal honour to them both, ſays very well; "Perhaps "the example of a man of his rank and merit "may revive the taſte for critical learning in "France: a taſte ſo common heretofore, that the "celebrated Lambinus, when he devoted his labours to Cicero, was aſſiſted by the greateſt perſons of his times. For, to make a tranſient "obſervation, the liſt which he has left us of them, "and which may be ſeen at the end of his preface, "proves, that this ſame Cicero, who in our days "is baniſhed into the colleges, was two hundred "years ago the delight of all the moſt conſiderable "perſons either of the bar or church."

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[*] Ego, ſi oſtentatione aliqua inductus, aut ſtudio certandi, ad hanc potiſſimùm philoſophiam me applicavi, non modo ſtultitiam meam, ſed etiam mores & naturam contemnendam puto. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 65.

Differentium inter ſe reprehenſiones non ſunt vituperandæ. Maledicta, contumeliæ, tum iracundiæ, contentiones, concertationeſque in diſputando pertinaces, indignæ mihi philoſophia videri ſolent. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 27.

[†] Nos & refellere ſine pertinacia, & refelli ſine iracundia parati ſumus. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 2. n. 5.

But I admire the character of modeſty and wiſdom, which prevail in the writings of the P. Bouhier, ſtill more than his vaſt erudition. Mr. Davies had made ſome obſervations in England upon the ſame text of Cicero as himſelf. *The career of us both*, ſays the magiſtrate, *in this kind of literary amuſement, does not reſemble thoſe in which rivals ought only to aſpire at the honour of overcoming. The true glory of critics conſiſts in ſeeking the truth, and in doing juſtice to thoſe who have found it. I am therefore charmed with doing it to the learned Engliſhman.* He even thanks him for ſetting him right in reſpect to certain miſtakes. What a difference there is between ſo moderate and rational a diſpoſition, and the warmth of thoſe authors who are ſo jealous of their reputation, as not to be able to ſuffer the ſlighteſt criticiſm!

To return to my ſubject. The diviſion of philoſophy into three parts, logic, ethics, and phyſics, ſupplies me with what I am to follow in the enſuing brief account of them.

CHAPTER I.

Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon logic.

DIALECTICS, or LOGIC, is the ſcience that lays down rules to direct the operations of the mind in inquiries after the true, and * to teach us to diſcern it from the falſe. I have obſerved with ſufficient extent, in the fourth volume of my treatiſe upon the ſtudy of polite learning, of what advantage this part of philoſophy was, and the uſe to be made of it.

Ariſtotle, among the antients, is the moſt excellent author of logic. Beſides ſeveral other works, we have his four books *De analyſi*, wherein he lays down all the principles of reaſoning. "This "genius, ſays Rapin the Jeſuit in his compariſon "of Ariſtotle and Plato, ſo replete of reaſon and "underſtanding, fathoms the abyſs of the human "mind in ſuch a manner, that he penetrates into "all its ſprings by the exact diſtinction he makes "of its operations. The vaſt fund of the thoughts "of man had not before been ſounded, in order "to know its depth. Ariſtotle was the firſt who "diſcovered this new method for attaining know"ledge by the evidence of demonſtration, and for "proceeding geometrically to demonſtration by the "infallibility of ſyllogiſm, the moſt accompliſhed "work, the greateſt effort of human wit."

This is a praiſe, to which nothing can well be added: and indeed Ariſtotle cannot be denied the glory of having carried the force of reaſoning very far, and of having traced out the rules and principles

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* Dialectica veri & falſi diſceptatrix & judex. *Acad. Quaſt. l. 4. n.* 91.

ciples of it with abundance of ſubtilty and diſcernment.

* Cicero ſeems to acknowledge this philoſopher the author and inventor of logic: he aſcribes that honour himſelf to Zeno of Elæa, according to Diogenes Laertius. In Zenon. Hence it is believed that Zeno was the firſt who diſcovered the natural ſeries and dependence of principles and conſequences, of which he formed an art, that till then had nothing fixed and regular. But Ariſtotle, without doubt, roſe exceedingly upon him.

† This ſtudy was the principal occupation of the Stoics, who acknowledged another Zeno for their founder. They piqued themſelves upon excelling in this kind of philoſophy. And indeed their manner of reaſoning was warm, vigorous, cloſe, and proper to dazzle and perplex their opponents; but obſcure, dry, and void of all ornament, often degenerating into minuteneſs, ſophiſm, and captious ‡ wreſted arguments, to uſe Cicero's term.

Though the queſtion, Whether there be any thing certain in our knowledge, ought to be conſidered only as preliminary to logic, it was however made the principal object of it, and what the philoſophers diſputed with moſt warmth. Their difference of opinion upon this ſubject conſiſted in its being believed by ſome, that it was poſſible to know and to judge with certainty; and on the contrary by others, that nothing could be certainly known, nor conſequently affirmed, as poſitive.

Acad. Quæſt. n. 15. Socrates's manner of diſputing might have made way for this latter method of philoſophiſing. Every body knows that he never expreſſed his opinion; that he contented himſelf with refuting that of others without affirming any thing poſitively, and that he declared he only knew that he knew nothing; and it was, even for this, he believed that he deſerved the praiſe given him by Apollo, of being the wiſeſt of mankind. Many think that Plato followed the ſame method; but authors do not agree about it.

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* Ariſtoteles utriuſque partis dialecticæ princeps. *Topic. n. 6.*

† Stoicorum in dialecticis omnis cura conſumitur. *Brut. n. 118.*

‡ Contortulis quibuſdam ac minutis concluſiunculis —— effic volunt non eſſe malum dolorem. *Tuſc. l. 2. n. 42.*

But it is certain, that the two moſt celebrated of Plato's diſciples, Speuſippus, his nephew, and Ariſtotle, who formed two famous ſchools, the firſt that of the Academics, the other that of the Peripatetics, abandoned Socrates's cuſtom of never ſpeaking but with doubt, and of affirming nothing. Reducing the manner of treating queſtions to certain rules and a certain method, they compoſed, of thoſe rules and method, an art, a ſcience known, under the name of the dialectics, or logic, which makes one of the three parts of philoſophy. Though theſe two ſchools had a different name, they had at bottom the ſame principles with ſome very little difference, and are generally confounded under the name of the antient academy. Acad. Quæſt. n. 17.

The opinion of the antient academy was, that, though our knowledge has its origin in the ſenſes, the ſenſes do not judge of truth, but the mind, which alone deſerves to be believed, becauſe the mind alone ſees things as they really are in themſelves, that is to ſay, it ſees what Plato calls the ideas, which always ſubſiſt in the ſame ſtate, without ſuffering any change.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, who was of Citium, a ſmall town of Cyprus, granted ſomething more to the evidence of the ſenſes, * which he pretended to be certain and clear, but under certain conditions, that is, if they were perfect and in good health, and without any obſtacle to prevent their effect. Acad. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 30.

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* Ita tamen maxima eſt in ſenſibus veritas, ſi & ſani ſunt & valentes, & omnia removeantur quæ obſtant & impediunt. *Lib. 4. n. 19.*

Epicurus went ſtill farther. He gave ſo great a certainty to the evidence of the ſenſes, that he * conſidered them as an infallible rule of truth: ſo that by his doctrine objects are preciſely what they appear: that the ſun, for inſtance, and the fixed ſtars, had really no greater magnitude than they ſeem to have to our eyes. He admitted another means of diſcerning truth, that is, the ideas we have of things, without which we can neither form any queſtion, nor paſs any judgment; *Antecepta animo quædam informatio, ſine qua nec intelligi quicquam, nec quæri, nec diſputari poteſt.* Lib. de nat. deor. n. 43.

Zeno made uſe of the ſame principle, and inſiſted particularly upon the clear, evident, and certain ideas, which we naturally have of certain principles relating to morals and the conduct of life. "† The good man, ſays he, is determined to ſuffer every thing, and to periſh in the moſt cruel torments, rather than depart from his duty, and betray his country. I aſk why he impoſes upon himſelf a law ſo cruel, and ſo contrary in appearance to his intereſts, and whether it be poſſible for him to take ſuch a reſolution, if he had not a clear and diſtinct idea in his mind of juſtice and fidelity, which evidently ſhew him, that he ought to expoſe himſelf to every kind of infliction, rather than act what is contrary to juſtice and fidelity."

This argument, which Zeno founds upon the certainty of clear and evident ideas, ſhews the falſhood of the principle generally received in the ſchool of the

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* Epicurus omnes ſenſus veri nuncios dixit eſſe. *Lib.* 1. *de nat. deor. n.* 70.

† Quæro etiam, ille vir bonus, qui ſtatuit omnem cruciatum perferre, intolerabili dolore lacerari potiùs, quam aut officium prodat aut fidem, cur has ſibi tam graves leges impoſuerit, cum, quamobrem ita oporteret, nihil haberet comprehenſi, percepti, cogniti, conſtituti? Nullo igitur modo fieri poteſt, ut quiſquam tanti æſtimet æquitatem & fidem, ut ejus conſervandæ cauſa nullum ſupplicium recuſet, niſi iis rebus aſſenſus ſit, quæ falſæ eſſe non poſſunt. *Acad. Quæſt. l.* 4. *n.* 23.

Peripatetics, *That all our ideas are derived from our* *enſes.* For, as the logic of Port-Royal obſerves, here is nothing that we conceive more diſtinctly han our thought itſelf, nor any propoſition more clear than this, *I think, therefore I am.* Now we could have no certainty of this propoſition, if we did not conceive diſtinctly what it is *to be*, and what it is *to think.* And we muſt not be aſked to explain thoſe terms, becauſe they are of the number of thoſe which are ſo well underſtood by all he world, that endeavouring to explain them would render them obſcure. If it cannot be denied, that we have in us the ideas of being and hinking, I would know by which of the ſenſes hey entered into our minds. It muſt then be admitted that they do not in any manner derive their origin from the ſenſes.

Nihil eſt in intellectu, quod non prius fuerit in ſenſu.

* Zeno ſhewed alſo the falſhood and ridicule of he opinion of the Academics by another reflection. n the ordinary conduct of life, ſaid he, it is impoſſible to make any choice, or determine upon any thing, without firſt having a fixed and certain principle in the mind, to determine us to chuſe one hing rather than another: For without that we hould continue always in uncertainty and inaction. The followers of the antient academy, and the Stoics, agreed therefore with each other, as both maintained, though upon different principles, that there were certain means for knowing truth, and conſequently evident and certain knowledge.

Arceſilaus roſe up with great vivacity againſt this opinion, confining himſelf particularly to oppoſing Zeno; and formed a ſect, which was called the Middle academy, and ſubſiſted down to Carneades, the fourth ſucceſſor of Arceſilaus, who founded the

Academ. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 44.

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* Si, quid officii ſui ſit, non occurrit animo, nihil unquam omnino aget, ad nullam rem unquam impelletur, nunquam movebitur. Quod ſi aliquid aliquando acturus eſt, neceſſe eſt id ei verum, quod occurrit, videri. *Ibid. n.* 24.

ſect called the New Academy. As it deviated onl in ſome ſmall alterations from the Middle one they are confounded with each other, and both in cluded in the name of *the New Academy.* Thi ſect was in great reputation. Cicero embraced i openly, and declared himſelf its defender.

Academ. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 44. If we may believe him, it was neither throug obſtinacy, nor the frivolous deſire of overcoming that Arceſilaus attacked Zeno, but through the ob ſcurity of all knowledge, which had obliged Sc crates, as well as Democritus, Anaxagoras, Em pedocles, and almoſt all the antient philoſopher to confeſs their ignorance, and to agree, that ther was nothing to be known, nothing determine with certainty, not even what Socrates had excepte in ſaying, *I know only one thing, which is, that know nothing.*

The main point in diſpute between Zeno an Arceſilaus was the evidence of the ſenſes. Zen affirmed, that truth might be certainly known b Ibid. n. 66, &c. their aid: Arceſilaus denied it. The latter's pri cipal reaſon was, that there is no certain mark t diſtinguiſh falſe and deluſive objects from ſuch are not ſo. There are ſome, which either are, appear ſo perfectly like each other, that it is i poſſible to diſcern the difference. Hence, in judg ing and affirming any thing of them, one is liab to err, and to take the true for the falſe, and t falſe for the true, which is entirely unworthy of wiſe man. * Conſequently, to act with prudenc he ought to ſuſpend his judgment, and decide n thing. And this was what Arceſilaus did: for h paſſed whole days in diſputing with others, and i refuting their opinions, without ever expreſſing h own.

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* Ex his illa neceſſariò nata eſt ἐποχὴ, id eſt, aſſenſionis retenti *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 59.

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The Academics, by his example, acted ever after in the ſame manner. We have ſeen that Carneades, when he went to Rome with two other deputies, ſpoke one day for, and the next againſt, juſtice, with equal force and eloquence. * They pretended, that the end of theſe diſcourſes, wherein they maintained both ſides of a queſtion, was, by ſuch inquiries, to diſcover ſomething true, or at leaſt that came near the truth. The only difference, ſaid they, between us, and thoſe who believe they know ſomething, is, that thoſe other philoſophers boldly advance what they maintain for true and inconteſtable, and we have the modeſty to affirm our poſitions only as probable and like truth. They added, that their doctrine was accuſed, without foundation, of reducing mankind to inaction, and of oppoſing the duties of life; as probability and the likeneſs to truth ſufficed to determine their choice of one thing rather than another. We have an excellent treatiſe of Cicero's intitled *Lucullus*, which is reckoned as the fourth book of the Academic Queſtions; wherein Cicero makes Lucullus defend the opinion of the antient academy, That there are things which a man is capable of knowing and comprehending; and for himſelf he maintains the contrary opinion, which is that of the new academy, That man's knowledge extends no farther than appearances, and that he can have none but probable opinions. Lucullus, in concluding his diſſertation, which is of conſiderable length and very eloquent, apoſtrophiſes in theſe terms to Cicero: "Is it poſſible, after the magnificent praiſes "you have given philoſophy, that you can em-"brace a ſect which confounds the true with the "falſe, which deprives us of the uſe of reaſon and

Academ. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 108, &c.

Ibid. l. 4. n. 61, 62.

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* Neque noſtræ diſputationes quidquam aliud agunt, niſi ut, in utramque partem dicendo & audiendo eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum ſit, aut ad id quàm proxime accedat. *Lib.* 4. *n.* 7, 8.

" judgment, which forbids us to approve any " thing, and diveſts us of all our ſenſes? The " Cimmerians themſelves, who are ſaid never to " ſee the ſun, have ſome fires, ſome twilight, to " illuminate them. But the philoſophers, for " whom you declare, in the midſt of the profound " darkneſs with which they ſurround us, leave us " no ſpark of light to guide us. They keep us " hampered in chains, which will not ſuffer us to " make the leaſt motion. For, to conclude, to " forbid us, as they do, to give our conſent to " any thing whatſoever, is actually to deprive us " entirely of the uſe of our minds, and at the " ſame time to prohibit us all manner of action." It were hard to refute the doctrine of the new academy better, which really ſeems to degrade man, confining him to a ſtate of abſolute ignorance, and in leaving nothing to guide him but doubt and uncertainty.

Father Mallebranche, in his inquiry after truth, lays down with great extent an excellent principle concerning the ſenſes. It is, that the ſenſes were given us by God, not to inable us to know the nature of objects, but their relation to us; not what they are in themſelves, but whether they are advantageous or hurtful to our bodies. This principle is highly luminous, and deſtroys all the little gloſſes and chicane of the antient philoſophers. As to objects in themſelves, we know them by the ideas we have of them.

Logic of Port-Royal. Part IV. c. 1.

I have ſaid that the new Academics contented themſelves with denying certainty, and admitting probability. The ſect of Pyrrho, which was a branch that ſprung from the Academics, even denied that probability, and pretended, that every thing was equally obſcure and uncertain.

But the truth is, that all theſe opinions, which have made ſo much noiſe in the world, never ſubſiſted except in diſcourſe, diſputation, or writing;

whilſt nobody ever was ſeriouſly convinced by them. They were the diverſions and amuſements of perſons of wit and leiſure: but they were never opinions by which thoſe perſons were inwardly much affected, and conſequently willing to direct their conduct. They pretended that ſleeping could not be diſtinguiſhed from waking, nor madneſs from reaſon: but, notwithſtanding all their arguments, could they doubt whether they ſlept, or whether they were in their ſenſes? But, if there had been any body capable of theſe doubts, at leaſt no man could doubt whether he is, whether he thinks, or whether he lives. For, whether he ſleeps or wakes, whether he is in or out of his ſenſes, whether he does, or does not err, it is at leaſt certain, becauſe he thinks, that he is and that he lives; it being impoſſible to ſeparate being and life from thought, and to believe that what thinks is not, and does not live.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

Opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning Ethics, or morality.

MORAL philoſophy or ETHICS, whoſe object is the regulation of manners, is, properly ſpeaking, the ſcience of man. All other knowledge is in ſome meaſure external and without him, or at leaſt may be ſaid not to extend to what is more immediately perſonal and himſelf, I mean the heart: for it is in that the whole man conſiſts, and is what he is. They may render him more learned, more eloquent, more juſt in his reaſonings, more knowing in the myſteries of nature, more fit to command armies, and to govern ſtates: but they neither make him better, nor wiſer. Theſe however are the only things that concern him nearly, in which he is perſonally intereſted, and without which all the reſt ought to appear next to perfectly indifferent.

It was this induced Socrates to believe, that the regulation of manners was to be preferred to all other ſciences. Before him the philoſophers almoſt wholly devoted themſelves to inquiring into the ſecrets of nature, to meaſuring the extent of lands and ſeas, and in ſtudying the courſe of the ſtars. * He was the firſt † that placed Ethics in honour, and, to uſe the terms of Cicero, brought philoſophy down from heaven ‡ into cities, introduced her alſo into houſes, and familiariſed her with individuals, in obliging her to give them precepts upon the manners and conduct of life.

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* A Socrate omnis, quæ eſt de vita & moribus, philoſophia manavit. *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* l. 3. n. 8.

† *The more antient philoſophers, and eſpecially Pythagoras, ha given their diſciples good precepts of morality, but did not make them their principal doctrine like Socrates.*

‡ Socrates primus philoſophiam devocavit è cœlo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit, & coegit de vita & moribus, rebuſque bonis & malis quærere. *Ibid.* l. 5. n. 10.

She did not confine herſelf to the care of particulars. The government of ſtates was always the principal object of the reflections of the moſt celebrated philoſophers. Ariſtotle and Plato have left us ſeveral tracts of great extent upon this ſubject, which have always been highly eſteemed, and contain excellent principles. This part of moral philoſophy is called *Politics*. I ſhall not treat it ſeparately in this place; and ſhall content myſelf in the ſequel, where I ſhall ſpeak of duties, with making ſome extracts from Plato and Cicero, which will ſhew what noble ideas they had of the manner of governing ſtates.

Moral philoſophy ought to inſtruct mankind principally in two things. It ought, in the firſt place, to teach them in what that ſupreme good, *or happineſs*, conſiſts, at which they all aſpire; then to ſhew them the virtues and duties, by which they may attain it. It is not to be expected that Paganiſm ſhould lay down the pureſt and moſt perfect maxims upon matters of ſuch importance. We ſhall find a mixture of light and darkneſs in it, which will amaze us, and is at the ſame time highly capable of inſtructing us.

I ſhall add a ſhort diſcourſe upon civil law to my account of Ethics, or moral philoſophy.

ARTICLE I.

Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon the ſupreme good, or happineſs, of man.

IN all moral philoſophy there is not a more important ſubject, than that which relates to the ſupreme Good of man. Many queſtions are diſcuſſed in the ſchools indifferent enough with reſpect to the generality of men, and in which they might

diſpenſe

diſpenſe with inſtructing themſelves, without any great detriment to the manners and conduct of life. * But the ignorance of what conſtitutes his ſupreme good leads man into infinite error, and occaſions his walking always by chance, without having any thing fixed and determinate, and without knowing either where he goes, or what paths he ought to take: whereas, that principle once well eſtabliſhed, he knows all his duties clearly, and to what he is to adhere in every thing elſe.

† Philoſophers are not the only perſons that take pains to inquire wherein this ſupreme good conſiſts; but all men, the learned, the ignorant, the wiſe, the ſtupid: there is nobody that does not ſhare in this important queſtion. And, though the head ſhould continue indifferent about it, the heart could not avoid making its choice. It raiſes this ſecret cry of itſelf in regard to ſome object: Happy is he who poſſeſſes that!

Man has the idea and deſire of a ſupreme good implanted in his nature: and that idea and deſire are the ſource of all his other deſires, and of all his actions. Since his Fall, he retains only a confuſed and general notion of it, which is inſeparable from his being. He cannot avoid loving and purſuing this good, which he knows only confuſedly: but he knows not where it is, nor wherein it conſiſts, and the purſuit of it precipitates him into an infinity of errors. For, finding created good things which ſatisfy ſome ſmall part of that infinite avidity which engroſſes him, he takes them for the ſupreme good, directs all his actions to them, and thereby falls into innumerable crimes and errors.

* Summum bonum ſi ignoretur, vivendi rationem ignorari neceſſe eſt. Ex quo tantus error conſequitur, ut, quem in portum ſe recipiant, ſcire non poſſint. Cognitis autem rerum finibus, cùm intelligitur quid ſit & bonorum extremum & malorum, inventa vitæ via eſt, conformatioque omnium officiorum.—Hoc conſtituto, in philoſophia, conſtituta ſunt omnia. *De Finib. bon & mal.* l. 5. n. 15.

† Omnis auctoritas philoſophiæ conſiſtit in beata vita comparanda. Beatè enim vivendi cupiditate incenſi omnes ſumus. *Ibid.* n. 86.

This we ſhall ſee evidently in the different opinions of the philoſophers upon this head. Cicero has treated it with abundance of extent and erudition in his five books *De Finibus bonorum & malorum*, in which he examines wherein real good and evil conſiſt. I ſhall confine myſelf to the plan he has followed, and ſhall relate after him what the Epicureans, Stoics, and Peripatetics, the three moſt celebrated ſects of philoſophy, thought upon this ſubject.

The two laſt will from time to time afford us excellent maxims upon different ſubjects, but often mixed with falſe principles and groſs errors. We are not to expect to find any thing inſtructive in them concerning future good. Human philoſophy does not exalt man above himſelf, but confines him to the earth. Though many of the philoſophers were convinced of the immortality of the ſoul, and in conſequence that this life is but a moment in reſpect to the eternal duration of our ſouls, they have however devoted their whole ſtudy and attention to this life of a moment. What was to happen hereafter, in the other, was only the ſubject of ſome barren converſations, from which they deduced no conſequence either for their own conduct, or that of others. Thus theſe pretended ſages, who knew all things except themſelves, and to what every particular thing was deſtined except man, may be juſtly conſidered as ignorant and ſenſeleſs. For not to know what one is, and whither one goes; to be ignorant of one's end, and of the means for attaining it; to be learned in what is ſuperfluous and foreign, and blind to what is perſonal and neceſſary, is certainly to be void of ſenſe.

SECT. I.

Opinions of Epicurus concerning the ſupreme good.

THE name alone of Epicurus ſuffices to inform us, that in the preſent queſtion * we are not to expect to be inſpired by him with noble and generous ſentiments.

De Finib. l. 1. n. 29, 30. According to all the philoſophers, That is called the ſupreme Good, upon which all other Good depends, and which depends itſelf upon no other. Epicurus makes this ſupreme Good conſiſt in pleaſure, and, by neceſſary conſequence, ſupreme Evil in pain. Nature herſelf, ſays he, teaches us this truth, and prompts us from our birth to purſue whatever gives us pleaſure as our ſupreme good, and to avoid whatever gives us pain as our ſupreme evil. There is no more occaſion for ſtudied arguments to eſtabliſh this truth, than there is to prove that fire is hot, ſnow white, and honey ſweet: which are ſelf-evident. Let us ſuppoſe, on one ſide, a man enjoying the greateſt pleaſures both of body and mind, without fear of their being interrupted; and on the other, a man ſuffering the ſharpeſt pains without any hope of relief: can we doubt on which ſide to place ſupreme good and ſupreme evil?

De Finib. l. 2. n. 93. Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 2. n. 44, 45. As it does not depend upon man to exempt himſelf from pain, Epicurus oppoſes that inconveniency with a remedy founded upon a reaſoning, which he believes very perſuaſive. *If pain be great*, ſays he, *it will be ſhort*; *if long*, *it will be ſlight.* As if a diſeaſe did not often happen to be at the ſame time both long and painful, and reaſoning had any power over the ſenſe of feeling.

Id. l. 3. n. 33, &c. He propoſed another remedy of no greater efficacy, againſt the ſharpneſs of pain; which was, to divert the mind from the evils we ſuffer, by turning

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* Epicurus, in conſtitutione finis, nihil generoſum ſapit atque magnificum. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 23.

ing our whole attention upon the pleaſures we have formerly enjoyed, and upon thoſe we are in hopes of taſting hereafter. * How! might one reply to him, whilſt the violence of pain racks, burns, and agoniſes me, without a moment's intermiſſion, do you bid me forget and diſregard it? Is it in my power then to diſſemble, and forget in that manner? Can I ſtifle and ſilence the voice of nature at ſuch a time?

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 2. n. 17.

When he was obliged to give up all theſe falſe and wretched reaſonings, he had no other evaſion than to admit, that his wiſe man might be ſenſible of pain, but that he would perſiſt in believing himſelf happy during it; and to this he adhered. Cicero tells us, that, whilſt he talks in this manner, he found it ſcarce poſſible to forbear laughing. If the ſage be tortured, if he be burnt, (one would imagine Epicurus was going to ſay, that he would bear it with conſtancy, and not ſink under it: but that is not enough for him, he goes ſtill farther) If the † ſage were in the burning bull of Phalaris, he would cry out with joy: *How grateful is this! How little I value it!* It is ſurpriſing to hear ſuch words from the idolater of voluptuouſneſs, the man who makes ſupreme good conſiſt in pleaſure, and ſupreme evil in pain. ‡ But we are ſtill more ſurpriſed when we ſee Epicurus ſuſtain this generous character to the laſt, and to hear him, in the midſt of the acuteſt pangs of the ſtone, and the exceſſive torments of the moſt terrible cholic, cry out: *I*

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* Non eſt in noſtra poteſtate, fodicantibus iis rebus quas malas eſſe opinemur diſſimulatio vel oblivio. Lacerant, vexant, ſtimulos admovent, ignes ad hibent, reſpirare non ſinunt; & tu obliviſci jubes, quod contra naturam eſt? *Cicer.*

† In Phalaridis tauro ſi erit, dicet: *Quàm ſuave eſt hoc! Quàm hoc non curo!* Cicer.

‡ Quid porro? Non æquè incredibile videtur, aliquem in ſummis cruciatibus poſitum, dicere: *Beatus ſum?* Atqui hæc vox in ipſa officina voluptatis eſt audita: *Beatiſſimum*, inquit, *hunc & ultimum diem ago*, Epicurus; cùm illum hinc urinæ difficultas torqueret, hinc inſanabilis exulcerati dolor ventris. *Senec.* Epiſt. 92.

am happy. This is the laſt and the moſt fortunate day of my life.

Cicero aſks, how it is poſſible to reconcile Epicurus with himſelf? * As for him, who does not deny pain to be pain, he does not carry the virtue of the wiſeman to ſo high a pitch. "To me it "is enough, ſays he, if he ſupports evils with "patience. I do not require that he ſhould ſuffer "them with joy. For undoubtedly pain is a ſad, "ſharp, bitter thing, contrary to nature, and ex"ceedingly hard to undergo." This is thinking and ſpeaking reaſonably. The language of Epicurus is that of pride and vanity, which ſeeks to exhibit itſelf as a ſight, and, whilſt it diſplays a falſe courage, proves a real weakneſs.

For the reſt, theſe abſurd conſequences of Epicurus, were inevitably neceſſary conſequences of his erroneous principles. For, if the wiſeman muſt be happy as long as he is wiſe, pain, not depriving him of his wiſdom, cannot deprive him of his happineſs. Thus he is reduced to affirm himſelf happy in the midſt of the moſt exquiſite torments.

It muſt be owned, that Epicurus has maxims and even actions aſcribed to him, which are dazzling and ſurpriſing, and which give a quite different idea of his perſon and doctrine to what is generally formed of them. And from hence many learned and celebrated perſons have taken upon them his defence, and wrote his apology.

He declares loudly, ſays Cicero †, that one cannot live joyouſly, except with wiſdom, honeſty, and juſtice; and that one cannot live with wiſdom, honeſty, and juſtice, otherwiſe than joyouſly. What does not ſuch a principle include!

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* Tullius dolorem, dolorem eſſe non negat—Ego, inquit, tantam vim non tribuo ſapientiæ contra dolorem. Sit fortis in perferendo, officio ſatis eſt: ut lætetur etiam, non poſtulo. Triſtis enim res eſt ſine dubio, aſpera, amara, inimica naturæ, ad patiendum tolerandumque difficilis. *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* l. 2. n. 33. & 18.

† Clamat Epicurus, non poſſe jucundè vivi, niſi ſapienter, honeſtè, juſtèque vivatur: nec ſapienter, honeſtè, juſtè, niſi jucundè. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 57.

Upon moral ſubjects, and rules of duty, he advances maxims no leſs noble and ſevere.

Seneca repeats many of his ſayings, which are certainly very laudable: *I was never ſtudious of pleaſing the people: for what I know the multitude do not approve, and what the multitude do approve I don't know.* Senec. Ep. 29.

Inſtead of the whole people * Epicurus ſubſtitutes ſome man of great virtue and reputation, whom he is for having us ſet perpetually before our eyes, as our guardian and inſpector, in order to our acting in all things, as if he were the eye-witneſs and judge of our actions. And, indeed, it were to retrench the greateſt part of one's faults, to give them a witneſs one reſpects: of whom the authority and idea only would make our moſt ſecret actions more prudent and blameleſs. Id. Epiſt. 11.

† If you would make Pythocles truly rich, ſaid Epicurus, you muſt add nothing to his eſtate, but only retrench his deſires and appetites.

I ſhould never have done, ſhould I repeat his many other maxims of morality equally juſt. Does Socrates himſelf talk better than Epicurus? And ſome pretend that his life ſuited his doctrine.

Though the gardens of Epicurus had this inſcription, *Pleaſure is here the ſupreme good*, the maſter of them, though very courteous and polite, received his gueſts with bread and water. Id. Epiſt. 21.

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* Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus eſt, ac ſemper ante oculos habendus, ut ſic tanquam illo ſpectante vivamus, & omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus. Hoc, mi Lucili, Epicurus præcepit, cuſtodem nobis & pædagogum dedit: nec immeritò. Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, ſi peccaturis teſtis adſiſtat. Aliquem habeat animus, quem vereatur, cujus auctoritate etiam ſecretum ſuum ſanctius faciat.

† Si vis, inquit, Pythoclea, divitem facere, non pecuniæ adjiciendum, ſed cupiditatibus detrahendum. *Senec.* Ep. 21.

Senec. Ep. 18. Himſelf, this teacher of voluptuouſneſs, had certain days, when he ſatisfied his hunger with great ſobriety. He ſays in a letter, that he did not ſpend quite an *as*, that is, a penny, upon a meal; and that Metrodorus, his companion, who was not ſo old, ſpent an whole *as*.

We have ſeen with what courage he ſuffered the ſharpeſt and moſt cruel pains in his laſt moments. What can be ſaid of theſe facts, and many of the like nature? for many ſuch are related of him.

What ſhall we ſay alſo, on the other ſide, of facts in great number directly the reverſe, and his being reproached with abandoning himſelf to drunkenneſs and the moſt ſhameful debauches, as Diogenes Laertius informs us?

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 46, 47. But Cicero cuts the queſtion ſhort in one word, and reduces it to a ſingle point: "Do you believe, "ſays ſomebody to him, that Epicurus was the "man ſome are for having him paſs for, and "that his deſign was to inculcate irregularity and "debauch? No, replies Cicero: for I find he "alſo advances very fine maxims, and moſt ſevere "morality. But here, not his life and manners, "but his doctrine and opinions are the queſtion. "Now he explains himſelf upon what he under"ſtands by pleaſure and happineſs in a manner by "no means obſcure. * *I underſtand by that word,* "ſays Epicurus, *the pleaſures of the taſte, the plea*"*ſures of love, the view of ſuch objects as delight the eye,* "*diverſions and muſic.* Do I add to his words? Have "I annexed any thing falſe to them? If ſo, pray cor"rect me; for I have no view but to clear up the "truth."

De Finib. l. 2. n. 7. The ſame † Epicurus declares, *He cannot ſo much*

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* Non verbo ſolùm poſuit voluptatem, ſed explanavit quid diceret. *Saporem,* inquit, *& corporum complexum, & ludos, atque cantus, & formas has quibus oculi jucundè moveantur.*

† Teſtificatur, ne intelligere quidem ſe poſſe, ubi ſit aut quid ſit ullum bonum, præter illud, quod cibo, aut potione, & aurium delectatione, & obſcœna voluptate capiatur. *De Finib.* l. 2. n. 7.

as

us conceive that there is any other good, except what De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 111. *onſiſts in drinking, eating, harmonious ſounds that deight the ear, and obſcene pleaſures.* Are not theſe his own terms, ſays Cicero? *An hæc ab eo non dicuntur?*

If we ſuppoſe that he maintained ſuch a maxim, what regard is to be had for his fineſt diſcourſes elſewhere upon virtue and purity of manners? The Ibid. l. 1. n. 116 and 123. ſame judgment was paſſed on them as on the books he wrote upon the Divinity. People were convinced, that in reality he believed there were no gods. He however ſpoke of the veneration due to them in the moſt magnificent terms, in order to ſcreen his real ſentiments and perſon, and to avoid drawing the Athenians upon him. He had the ſame intereſt in covering ſo ſhocking a doctrine, as that which makes the ſupreme good conſiſt in voluptuouſneſs.

Torquatus urged extremely in favour of Epicurus, De Finib. l. 2. n. 51. &c. whoſe doctrine he defended, the paſſage where that philoſopher ſaid, that, without wiſdom, honeſty, and juſtice, it was impoſſible to lead an happy life: *non poſſe jucundè vivi, niſi honeſtè, & ſapienter, & juſtè vivatur.* Cicero does not ſuffer himſelf to be dazzled by an empty glitter of words, with which Epicurus took pains to cover the turpitude of his maxims. He proves at large that wiſdom, honeſty, and juſtice, were irreconcileable with pleaſure, in the ſenſe that Epicurus gives it, which is a diſgrace to philoſophy, and a diſhonour to nature itſelf. He aſks Torquatus, if, when he Ibid. n. 74. ſhould be elected conſul, which was ſoon to happen, he would venture, in his ſpeech to the people or ſenate, to declare, that he entered upon office fully reſolved to propoſe to himſelf no other view or end in all his actions but voluptuouſneſs? And wherefore would he not venture it, except becauſe he well knows that ſuch language is infamous?

I ſhall conclude this article with a fine contraſt Ibid. l. 2. n. 63, 64. made here by Cicero. On the one ſide he repreſents L. Thorius Balbus Lanuvinus, one of thoſe men ſo expert and delicate in voluptuouſneſs, tha make it their buſineſs and merit to refine upon every thing which bears the name of pleaſure: who void of all chagrin for the preſent, and all uneaſineſs about the future, did not abandon himſelf brutally to the exceſſes of eating and drinking, nor to other groſs diverſions; but, attentive to his health and certain rules of decency, led an eaſy life of ſoftneſs and delight, entertained a company of choſen friends every day at his houſe, had his table always covered with the fineſt and moſt exquiſite diſhes, denied himſelf nothing that could flatter his ſenſes agreeably, nor any of thoſe pleaſures, without which Epicurus did not conceive how the ſupreme good could ſubſiſt; in a word, who was induſtrious in culling every-where, to uſe the expreſſion, the quinteſſence of joy and delight, and whoſe roſy complexion argued the extraordinary fund of health and good plight which he enjoyed. This is the man, ſays Cicero, addreſſing himſelf to Torquatus, who, according to your eſtimate, is ſupremely happy.

* I am afraid to name the perſon I deſign to oppoſe to him; but virtue itſelf will do it for me: it is M. Regulus, who, of his own accord, with no other force than his word given the enemy, returned from Rome to Carthage, where he knew what torments were prepared for him, and where he was actually put to death by hunger and being kept perpetually awake. It is in thoſe very torments that

virtue itſelf loudly declares him infinitely more happy than your Thorius on his bed of roſes, and wallowing in voluptuouſneſs. Regulus had commanded in great wars, had been twice conſul, and received the honour of a triumph: but he deemed all thoſe advantages nothing in compariſon with this laſt event of his life, which his fidelity to his word and his conſtancy had drawn upon him: an event, of which the mere repetition afflicts and frightens us, though the reality was matter of joy and pleaſure to Regulus.

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* Ego, huic quem anteponam, non audeo dicere: dicet pro me ipſa virtus. nec dubitabit iſti veſtro beato M. Regulum anteponere. Quem quidem, cùm ſua voluntate, nulla vi coactus præter fidem quam dederat hoſti, ex patria Carthaginem revertiſſet, tum ipſum, cùm vigiliis & fame cruciaretur, clamat virtus beatiorem fuiſſe, quàm potantem in roſa Thorium. Bella magna geſſerat, bis conſul fuerat, triumpharat: nec tamen ſua illa ſuperiora tam magna nec tam præclara ducebat, quàm illum ultimum caſum, quem propter fidem conſtantiamque ſuſceperat; qui nobis miſerabilis videtur audientibus, illi perpetienti erat voluptarius. *De Finib.* l. 2.

Put but a Chriſtian ſuffering for the truth in the place of Regulus, and nothing can be more concluſive than Cicero's reaſoning. Without which it is only refuting one abſurdity by another, and oppoſing a falſe idea of happineſs to an infamous happineſs.

SECT. II.

Opinions of the Stoics concerning the ſupreme good.

We now quit the ſchool of leaſt repute amongſt the antient philoſophers for its doctrine and manners, but which however had abundance of authority, and whoſe dogma's were almoſt univerſally followed in practice, the attraction of pleaſure being far more efficacious than the fineſt reaſonings. We now proceed to another ſchool much extolled by the Pagan world, from which it derived abundance of honour, and in which it pretended that virtue was taught and practiſed in all its purity and perfection. It is plain that I ſpeak of the Stoics.

It was a common principle with all the philoſophers, that the ſupreme good conſiſted in living according to nature: *ſecundum naturam vivere, ſummum bonum eſſe.* De Finib. l. 4. n. 14. The different manner in which they explained this conformity to nature occaſioned the diverſity of their opinions. Epicurus placed it in pleaſure: others in exemption from pain: and ſome in other objects. Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, made it conſiſt ſolely in virtue. According to him, to live according to nature, in which alone happineſs conſiſts, is to live honeſtly and virtuouſly. Behold what nature inſpires, to what ſhe inclines us, honeſty, *decency*, and virtue: and ſhe inſpires us at the ſame time with a ſupreme horror for all that is contrary to honeſty, *decency*, and virtue.

[*] This truth is evidently ſeen in children, in whom we admire candour, ſimplicity, tenderneſs, gratitude, compaſſion, purity, and ignorance of all evil and artifice. From whence do they derive ſuch excellent virtues, if not from nature herſelf, who paints and ſhews herſelf in infants as in a mirror? In a more advanced [†] age, who can forget the Man ſo much as to refuſe his eſteem to wiſe, ſober, and modeſt youth: and with what eye on the contrary do we look on young perſons abandoned to vice and depravity? When we read in hiſtory, on one ſide, of goodneſs, generoſity, clemency, and, gratitude; and on the other, of violence, injuſtice, ingratitude, and cruelty: however remote in time we are from the perſons ſpoken of, are we maſters of our opinions, can we forbear loving the one and deteſting the other? Obſerve, ſays Zeno, the voice of nature, which cries aloud, that there is no real good but virtue, no real evil but vice.

The Stoics could not reaſon either more juſtly or with apter conſequence in their principles, which were however the ſource of their errors and miſakes. On the one ſide, convinced that man is made for happineſs, as the ultimate end to which he is deſtined; and on the other, confining the whole being and duration of man to this life, and finding nothing, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, more great, more eſtimable, and more worthy of a man than virtue; it is not to be wondered that they ſhould place man's ultimate end and happineſs in it? As they had no knowledge either of another life, or of the promiſes of eternity, they could not do better in the narrow ſphere wherein they confined themſelves through the ignorance of revelation. They roſe as high as it was poſſible for them to riſe. They were under the neceſſity of taking the means for the end, the way thither for being there. For want of knowing better, they took nature for their guide: They applied themſelves to the conſideration of it, by what it has of great and ſublime, whilſt the Epicurean conſidered it only by what it has of earthly, animal, and corrupt. Hence they neceſſarily made man's happineſs to conſiſt in virtue.

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[*] Id indicant pueri, in quibus, ut in ſpeculis, natura cernitur.—Quæ memoria eſt in his bene merentium! quæ referendæ gratiæ cupiditas! Atque ea in optima quaque indole maximè apparent. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 61.

[†] In iis vero ætatibus quæ jam confirmatæ ſunt, quis eſt tam diſſimili homini, qui non moveatur & offenſione turpitudinis, & comprobatione honeſtatis? Quis eſt qui non oderit libidinoſam, protervam adoleſcentiam? Quis contra in illa ætate pudorem, conſtantiam, etiamſi ſua nihil interſit, non tamen diligat?—Cui Tubuli nomen odio non eſt? Quis Ariſtidem mortuum non diligit? An obliviſcamur, quantopere in audiendo legendoque moveamur, cùm piè, cùm amicè, cum magno animo aliquid factum cognoſcimus? *Ibid.* n. 62.

takes.

As to what regards health, riches, reputation, and the like advantages; or diſeaſes, poverty, ignominy, and the other inconveniencies of this kind; Zeno did not place them in the number either of goods or evils, nor make the happineſs or miſery of mankind depend upon them. He therefore maintained, that * virtue alone and of itſelf ſufficed to their happineſs; and that all the wiſe, in whatſoever condition they might happen to be, were happy. He however ſet ſome, though ſmall, value upon thoſe external goods and evils, which he defined in a manner different, as to the terms, from that of other philoſophers, but which at bottom came very near the ſame opinions.

We may judge of all the reſt by a ſingle example. The other philoſophers conſidered pain as a real

De Finib. l. 3. n. 43. 45.

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* Virtutis tantam vim eſſe, ut ad beatè vivendum ſe ipſa contenta ſit.—Sapientes omnes eſſe ſemper beatos. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 77.

real and ſolid evil, which extremely incommoded the wiſe man, but which he endeavoured to ſupport with patience; which did not hinder him from being happy, but rendered his happineſs leſs complete. Hence, according to them, a good action, exempt from pain, was preferable to one united with it. The Stoics believed, that ſuch an opinion degraded and diſhonoured virtue, to which all external goods joined together added no more than the ſtars to the luſtre of the ſun, a drop of water to the vaſt extent of the ocean, or a mite to the innumerable millions of Crœſus; to uſe their own compariſons. A wiſe Stoic therefore reckoned pain as nothing, and, however violent it might be, he was very far from calling it an evil.

Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 61. Pompey, in his return from Syria, paſſed expreſsly by the way of Rhodes to ſee the celebrated Stoic Poſidonius. When he arrived at the houſe of that philoſopher, he forbade his lictor to ſtrike the door with his wand, as was the cuſtom. * The perſon, ſays Pliny, to whoſe power the Eaſt and Weſt were in ſubjection, was pleaſed that the *faſces* of his lictor ſhould pay homage to the dwelling of a philoſopher. He found him in bed very ill of the gout, which tormented him cruelly. He expreſſed his concern to ſee him in that condition, and that he could not hear him as he had promiſed himſelf. That, replied the philoſopher, depends upon yourſelf; it ſhall never be ſaid that my illneſs occaſioned ſo great a perſon to come to my houſe in vain.

He then began a long and grave diſcourſe, wherein he undertook to prove, that there was nothing good but what was honeſt † And, as he was in ex-

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* Pompeius, confecto Mithridatico bello, intraturus Poſidonii ſapientiæ profeſſione clari domum, fores percuti de more à lictore vetuit; & faſces lictorios januæ ſubmiſit is, cui ſe Oriens Occidenſque ſubmiſerat. *Plin.* l. 7. c. 30.

† Cumque ei quaſi faces doloris admoverentur, ſæpe dixit: *Nihil agis, dolor; quamvis ſis moleſtus, nunquam te eſſe confitebor malum.*

ceſſive

eſſive pain all over whilſt he ſpoke, he often re-
eated : *Pain, you do nothing ; though you are trouble-
ome, you ſhall never make me own you an evil.*

Another Stoic was of a better faith. This was Tuſc.
ionyſius of Heraclea, Zeno's diſciple, whoſe doc- Quæſt.
rine he had long and warmly maintained. * In n. 69.
he torments of the ſtone, which made him cry out
erribly, he diſcovered the falſhood of all he had
ught in reſpect to pain. *I have devoted many years,*
id he, *to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and cannot bear*
ain. Pain is therefore an evil.

It is not neceſſary to aſk the reader's judgment
f theſe two philoſophers. The character of theſe
alſe ſages of the Pagan world is painted in the
oſt lively colours, in the words and actions of
he firſt. They exhibited themſelves as ſpectacles,
nd fed themſelves up with the attention of others,
nd the admiration which they believed they occa-
oned. They bore up againſt their inward ſenſe
hrough the ſhame of appearing weak, whilſt they
oncealed their real deſpair under the appearance of
falſe tranquillity.

It muſt be confeſſed that pain is the moſt dread-
ul proof of virtue. It plunges its ſharpneſs into
he inmoſt ſoul : it racks, it torments it, without
s being poſſible to ſuſpend the ſenſe of it : it keeps
in ſpite of it employed by a ſecret and deep
ound, that engroſſes its whole attention, and ren-
ers time inſupportable to it, whilſt every inſtant
eems whole years. In vain does human philoſophy
ndeavour, in this condition, to make her wiſe man
ppear invulnerable and inſenſible : ſhe only blows
im up with vain preſumption, and fills him with
force, which is indeed but cruelty. True Reli-
ion does not inſtruct her diſciples in this manner.
he does not diſguiſe virtue under fine but chime-

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* Cùm ex renibus laboraret, ipſo in ejulatu clamitabat, falſa eſſe
la, quæ antea de dolore ipſe ſenſiſſet.—*Plurimos annos in philoſo-*
ia conſumpſi, nec ferre poſſum (dolorem) malum eſt igitur dolor.

rical appearances. She raiſes mankind to a ſtate of real greatneſs; but that is by making them diſcern and confeſs their own weakneſs.

Let us hear Job, the man put to the rudeſt trial that ever was. He was told by meſſenger after meſſenger, almoſt without any interval, that his flocks and herds were deſtroyed, his ſlaves killed or taken, and at laſt that all his children were cruſhed to death and buried under the ruins of an houſe where they were eating together. In the midſt of ſo many heavy unforeſeen ſtrokes, ſo ſuddenly reiterated, and ſo capable of ſhaking a ſoul of the greateſt fortitude, no complaint eſcaped him. Solely intent upon the duty of that precious moment, he ſubmits to the decrees of providence *Naked came I into the world, and naked ſhall I go out of it: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* He ſhews the ſame ſubmiſſion and conſtancy after Satan had ſtruck him with biles all over his body, and ulcers to his very marrow, whilſt he ſuffers the moſt acute pains.

Does Job, in this condition, exhibit himſelf as a ſight, or ſeek to attract admirers by a vain oſtentation of courage? He is far from it. He confeſſes that his fleſh is weak, and himſelf nothing but weakneſs. He does not diſpute ſtrength with God, and owns that of himſelf he has neither ſtrength, counſel, nor reſource. *Is my ſtrength the ſtrength of ſtones, or is my fleſh of braſs? Is there help in me? And is not wiſdom driven quite from me?* This is not the language of Pagan philoſophy, which is nothing but pride and vanity.

Job vi. 12, 13.

The Stoics made their ſage a man abſolutely perfect and void of paſſion, trouble, and defect. It was a vice with them to give the leaſt ſenſe of pity and compaſſion entrance into the heart. They deemed it the ſign of a weak and even bad mind: *Miſeratio eſt vitium puſilli animi, ad ſpeciem alienorum malorum*

Senec. de Clement. l. 2. c. 5.

malorum ſuccidentis: itaque peſſimo cuique familiariſſima eſt. * Compaſſion, continues the ſame Seneca, is a trouble and ſadneſs of the mind, occaſioned by the miſeries of others: now the wiſe man is ſuſceptible neither of trouble nor ſadneſs. His ſoul enjoys always a calm ſerenity, which no cloud can ever diſcompoſe. How can he be moved with the miſeries of others, as he is not moved with his own?

The Stoics reaſoned in this manner, becauſe they did not know what man is. They deſtroyed nature, whilſt they pretended to reform it. They reduced their ſage to an idol of braſs or marble, in hopes to render him firm and conſtant in his own misfortunes and thoſe of others. For they were for having him equally inſenſible in both, and that compaſſion ſhould not make him conſider that as a misfortune in his neighbour, which he ought to regard as indifferent in reſpect to himſelf. They did not know, that the ſentiments they ſtrove to extinguiſh, were part of the nature of man, and that to root out of his heart the compaſſion, tenderneſs, and warm concern with which nature itſelf inſpires us for what happens to our neighbour, was o deſtroy all the ties of human and civil ſociety.

The chimerical idea which they formed of the upreme perfection of their wiſe man, was the ſource rom whence flowed the ridiculous opinion they aid down, that all faults were equal. I have ſhewn he abſurdity of that maxim elſewhere.

They maintained another no leſs abſurd, but nuch more dangerous, and which was a conſequence of their opinion upon what conſtituted the upreme good of man; a juſt and ſolid opinion in ome ſenſe, but from which they made a bad in-ference. They [*] pretended, that the ſupreme goo of man ought not to be made to conſiſt in any o thoſe things of which he is capable of being di veſted againſt his will, and which are not in hi power; but in virtue alone, which depends ſolel upon himſelf, and of which no foreign violenc can deprive him. It was very clear, that mankin could neither procure for themſelves, nor preſerv health, riches, and the other advantages of th nature: accordingly they implored the gods fo the attainment and preſervation of them. The advantages therefore could not compoſe part of th ſupreme good. Virtue alone had that privileg becauſe man is abſolutely maſter of that, and de rives it ſolely from himſelf. He gives it to hi ſelf, according to them; he preſerves it himſel and has no occaſion to have recourſe to the gods fo De nat. deor. l. 3. n. 86—88. that, as for other good things. *Hoc quidem omn mortales ſic habent, externas commoditates——à di ſe habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam d retulit.* Never, ſaid they, did any man take it i to his head to thank the gods, that he was a go man, as he thanks them for riches, honours, an the health he enjoys. *Num quis, quòd bonus v eſſet, gratias diis egit unquam? at quòd dives, qu honoratus, quòd incolumis.* In a word, it is th opinion of all men, that we ought to aſk God fo the goods of fortune, but, as to wiſdom, we deri that only from ourſelves. *Judicium hoc omnium mo talium eſt, fortunam à deo petendam, à ſe ipſo ſumenda eſſe ſapientiam.*

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* Miſericordia eſt ægritudo animi, ob alienarum miſeriarum peciem. Ægritudo autem in ſapientem virum non cadit. Serena us mens eſt, nec quidquam incidere poteſt quod illam obducat.—oc ſapienti ne in ſuis quidem accidet calamitatibus, ſed omnem ortunæ iram reverberabit, & ante ſe franget.

They carried their frantic pride ſo high as ſet [†] their ſage in this view above God; becau God is virtuous and exempt from paſſion by th

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[*] Hoc dabitis, ut opinor, ſi modo ſit aliquid eſſe beatum, oportere totum poni in poteſtate ſapientis. Nam ſi amitti vita bea poteſt, beata eſſe non poteſt. *De Finib.* l. 2. n. 86.

[†] Eſt aliquid quo ſapiens antecedat Deum. Ille naturæ benefic non timet, ſuo ſapiens. *Senec.* Epiſt. 53.

neceſſi

eceſſity of his nature, whereas their wiſe man is ſo
y his own choice and will.

I ſhall not ſtop here to obſerve to the reader,
rom what I have now ſaid, and what preceded it,
nto what abſurdities the moſt eſteemed and reſpect-
d ſect amongſt the antients, and indeed in ſome
enſe the moſt worthy of eſteem and reſpect, gave
nto. Behold what human wiſdom is capable of,
hen abandoned to its own ſtrength and lights, or
ather its own impotence and darkneſs!

It remains for me to relate the opinion of the Pe-
patetics concerning the ſupreme good of man.

SECT. III.

pinion of the Peripatetics concerning the ſupreme good.

IF we may believe Cicero upon this head, the dif-
ference between the Stoics and the Peripatetics,
pon the queſtion of the ſupreme good, conſiſts leſs
things than words, and that the opinions of both
mounted to the ſame ſenſe at bottom. He often re-
roaches the Stoics with having introduced rather a
ew language, than new doctrines, into philoſophy,
at they might ſeem to vary from thoſe who had
receded them; which reproach appears to have
fficient foundation.

Both the one and the other agreed as to the prin-
iple, upon which the ſupreme good of man ought
be founded, that is, to live according, or con-
ormably, to nature: *Secundùm naturam vivere.* The
eripatetics began by examining what the nature of
an is, in order to laying down their principle well.
an, ſay they, is compoſed of body and ſoul: ſuch
his nature. To render him perfectly happy, it is
eceſſary to procure him all the goods both of the
ody and the ſoul: that is, to live according to na-
ure, in which both ſects agree the ſupreme good con-
ſts. In conſequence they reckoned health, riches, re-
utation, and the other advantages of that kind, in

the number of goods; and, in that of evils, ſickneſs poverty, ignominy, &c. leaving however an infinit diſtance between virtue and all other goods, and vic and all other evils. * Theſe goods which we plac amongſt thoſe of the body, ſaid they, make the feli city of man perfect, and render his life completel happy; but in ſuch a manner that he is capable o being happy, though not ſo entirely, without them

The Stoics thought very near the ſame, and gav theſe advantages and inconveniencies of the body ſom weight, but they could not bear that they ſhould b called goods and evils. If once, ſaid they, pain we to be admitted an evil, it would follow, that t wiſe man, when in pain, is not happy: for felicity incompatible with a life wherein there is any evi People do not reaſon ſo, replied the Peripatetics, i any other reſpect. An eſtate covered with fine co in abundance does not ceaſe to be deemed fertile, b cauſe it produces ſome few bad weeds. Some ſma loſſes, with conſiderable gains, do not hinder com merce from being reckoned very advantageous. every thing, the more outweighs the leſs, and the rule of judging. It is thus in reſpect to virtu † Put it into one ſcale, and the whole world in the other, virtue will always be infinitely the mo weighty: a magnificent idea of virtue this!

De Finib. l. 5. n. 91, 92.

I ſhould think it abuſing the reader's patience, I beſtowed more time in refuting theſe ſubtlet and bad chicane of the Stoics. I only deſire hi to remember what I have obſerved from the begi ning, that, in this queſtion concerning the ſuprem good of man, the philoſophers, of whatever ſe they were, conſidered that good only in reſpect this life. The goods of eternity were either u known, or indifferent to them.

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* Illa, quæ ſunt à nobis bona corporis numerata, complent quidem beatiſſimam vitam, ſed ita, ut ſine illis poſſit beata v exiſtere. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 71.

† Audebo——virtutis amplitudinem quaſi in altera libræ la ponere. Terram, mihi crede, ea lanx & maria deprimet.

ARTICL

ARTICLE II.

pinions of the antient philoſophers upon the virtues and duties of life.

Offic. l. 3. n. 5.

“THOUGH philoſophy, ſays Cicero, be a region wherein there are no uncultivated lands, and though it is fertile and abundant from one end to the other, there is no part of it richer than that which treats of the duties of life, and lays down rules and precepts for giving our manners a certain and conſtant tenor, and making us live according to the laws of reaſon and virtue.” It is true that excellent maxims, and ſuch s might make us bluſh, are to be found upon this ead amongſt the Pagans. I ſhall repeat ſome of hem from Plato and Cicero, confining myſelf more o the thoughts than expreſſions of the former.

he end of government is to make the governed happy, in making them virtuous.

Plat. de Leg. l. 12. p.961,963.

The firſt care of every man charged with the overnment of others, (which includes all perſons n general, whoſe function it is to command, kings, rinces, generals, miniſters, governors of provinces, agiſtrates, judges, and fathers of families:) the rſt care I ſay of whoever is in any kind of authoity, is to lay down well the end he ought to prooſe to himſelf in the uſe of that authority.

In Alcib. p. 134. De Legib. l. 5. p. 742.

What is the end of a man charged with the goernment of a ſtate? It is not, ſays Plato in more han one place, to render it rich, opulent, and owerful; to make it abound with gold and ſilver; o extend its dominion far and wide; to keep up reat fleets and armies in it, and thereby render it uperior to all others by ſea and land. It is eaſy o perceive that Athens is intended here. He prooſes ſomething much greater and more ſolid to imſelf: that is, to make it happy by making it virtuous; and it can only be ſo by ſincere piety and profound ſubmiſſion in regard to God.

De Legib. l. 5. p. 420. When we ſpeak, ſays he elſewhere, of an happy city or republic, we do not pretend to confine tha felicity only to ſome particulars, its principal perſons, nobility, and magiſtrates: we underſtand that all the members of ſuch city or republic ar happy, each in their ſeveral conditions and degrees and in this the eſſential duty of a perſon charge with the government of it conſiſts.

Ib. p. 964. It is the ſame with a city or ſtate, as with th human body. This compariſon is entirely juſt, an abounds with conſequences. The body conſiſts o the head and the members, amongſt which members ſome are more noble, more conſpicuous, an more neceſſary than others. Can the body be ſaid t be in health, and good condition, when the leaſt an meaneſt of the members is diſeaſed and out of order

De Rep. l. 2. p. 369, 374. Between all the inhabitants of a city, there is mutual relation of wants and aſſiſtance, that form an admirable tye of dependence amongſt them The prince, the magiſtrates, and the rich have occaſion for food, cloaths, and lodging. What woul they do, if there were not an inferior order of people to ſupply them with all thoſe neceſſaries? Thi Providence has taken care of, ſays Plato, in eſtabliſhing the different orders and conditions of me by the means of neceſſity. If all were rich, ther would be neither huſbandmen, maſons, nor artificers: and, if all poor, there would be no princes magiſtrates, and generals of armies, to govern an defend the reſt. It was this mutual dependence tha formed ſtates, and within the compaſs of the ſam walls aſſembled and united a multitude of men o different trades and occupations, all neceſſary to th public good, and of whom in conſequence non ought to be neglected, and ſtill leſs deſpiſed by hin who governs. From this multiplicity of talents conditions, trades, and employments, reduced i

ſom

ſome meaſure to unity by this mutual communication and tendency to the ſame end, reſults an order, harmony, and concert of wonderful beauty, but which always ſuppoſes, that, for the perfection of the whole, it is neceſſary that each part ſhould have its perfection and ornament.

To return to the compariſon of a city or ſtate to the human body, the prince is as the head or ſoul of it; the miniſters, magiſtrates, generals of armies, and other officers appointed to execute his orders, are his eyes, arms, and feet. It is the prince who is to animate them, put them in motion, and direct their actions. The head is the ſeat of the underſtanding; and it is the underſtanding that regulates the uſe of the ſenſes, moves the members, and is watchful for their preſervation, well-being, and health. Plato uſes here the compariſon of a pilot, in whoſe head alone lies the knowledge of ſteering the veſſel, and to whoſe ability the ſafety of all on board is confided. How happy is a ſtate, whoſe prince ſpeaks and acts in this manner!

De Rep. l. 2. p. 961, 964.

Whoever is charged with the care of others, ought to be firmly convinced, that he is deſigned for inferiors, and not inferiors for him.

To be convinced of this principle, we have only in my opinion to conſult good ſenſe, right reaſon, and even common experience. It however ſeldom happens that ſuperiors are truly convinced of it, and make it the rule of their conduct.

Plato, to ſet this principle in full light, begins by introducing one Thraſymachus into the dialogue, who pleads the cauſe, or rather makes the apology, of a corrupt government. This man pretends, that, in every government, That ought to be conſidered as juſt, which is for the advantage of the government: That he who commands, and is in office, is not ſo for others, but for himſelf: That his

Ibid. l. 2. p. 338, &c.

his will ought to be the rule of all under him: That if ſtrict juſtice were to be obſerved, Superiors of all men were the moſt to be pitied, having for their lot only the cares and anxieties of government, without being in a condition to advance their families, ſerve their friends, or comply with any recommendation, as they would be bound to act in all things according to the principles of exact and ſevere juſtice.

There are few, or rather none, who talk in this manner: but only too many reduce it to practice, and make it the rule of their conduct.

Plato refutes at large all this wretched reaſoning, and, according to his cuſtom, makes uſe of compariſons taken from the common uſes of life: I ſhall content myſelf here with the following ſingl proof, to ſhew that thoſe who command are deſigned for their inferiors, and not their inferiors fo thoſe who command.

A pilot takes upon himſelf the care of a ſhi with a great number of perſons on board, whor different views and intereſts induce to go to a foreign country. Did it ever enter into the thought of any reaſonable man to imagine, that the paſſengers were for the pilot, and not the pilot for th paſſengers? Would any one venture to ſay, tha the ſick whom a phyſician takes care of are fo him? And is it not evident that phyſicians, as wel as the art of phyſic, are intended ſolely for reſtoring health to the ſick? Princes are often repreſented by the antients under the idea of *the ſhepherds of the people.* The ſhepherd is certainly fo his flock, and nobody is ſo unreaſonable to pretend, that the flock is for the ſhepherd.

Ποιμένε λαῶν.

It is from this doctrine of Plato, that the Roman orator borrowed the important maxim, which he ſtrongly inculcates to Quinctus Cicero his brother, in the admirable letter wherein he gives him advice for his good conduct in the government of

Aſia, which had been confided to his care. * *As for me*, ſays he, *I am convinced that the ſole end and attention of thoſe in authority ought to be to render all under them as happy as poſſible——And not only*, adds he, *thoſe who govern citizens and allies, but whoever has the care of ſlaves, and even of beaſts, ought to procure them all the good and convenience they can, and make their advantage their whole care.*

The natural conſequence of this principle, That all ſuperiors, without exception, are eſtabliſhed for the good of thoſe under them, is, that their ſole view in the uſe of their power and authority ought to be the public good. Hence alſo it follows, that only perſons of worth ſhould have great employments; that they ſhould even enter upon them againſt their will; and that it ſhould be neceſſary to uſe a kind of violence to oblige them to accept ſuch offices, And indeed places, wherein nothing is to be ſeen but pains, labour, and difficulty, are not ſo deſirable as to be ſought or ſollicited. However, ſays Plato, nothing is more common in our days than to make intereſt for poſts, and to pretend to the higheſt employments, without any other merit, than an ambition that knows no bounds, and a blind eſteem for one's ſelf: and this abuſe it is that occaſions the misfortunes of ſtates and kingdoms, and terminates at length in their ruin.

Plat. de Rep. l. 1. p. 347. Ibid. l. 7. p. 520, 521.

Juſtice and the faith of engagements are the foundations of ſociety. Sanctity of oaths.

The firmeſt tie of ſociety is juſtice, and the foundation of juſtice is fidelity to engagements, which faith conſiſts in the inviolable obſervance of promiſes given, and treaties made.

Cic. Offic. l. 1. n. 20, 21.

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* Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia eſſe referenda ab iis qui præſunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperiis erunt ſint quàm beatiſſimi——Eſt autem, non modò ejus qui ſociis & civibus, ſed etiam ejus qui ſervis, qui mutis pecudibus præſit, eorum quibus præſit commodis utilitatique ſervire. *Cic. Epiſt.* 1 *ad Q. Fratr.*

Injuſtice

Offic. l. 1. n. 41. Injuſtice can aſſume only two different forms, of which the one reſembles the fox, and is that of artifice and fraud; and the other the lion, which is that of violence. Both the one and the other are equally unworthy of man, and contrary to his nature: but the moſt odious and deteſtable is that of fraud and perfidy, eſpecially when it covers the blackeſt practices with the outſide of probity.

* All kinds of fraud and artifice ſhould be baniſhed from the commerce of mankind, with that malignant cunning of addreſs, that covers and adorns itſelf with the name of prudence, but which in reality is infinitely remote from it, and ſuits † only double-dealing, dark, knaviſh, malicious, artificial, perfidious people: for all thoſe odious and deteſtable names ſcarce ſuffice to expreſs the character of ſuch as renounce ſincerity and truth in the commerce of life.

By what name then muſt we call thoſe who make a jeſt of the ſanctity of oaths, ‡ which are ſolemn and religious affirmations, made in the preſence, and before the eyes of God, whom we call to witneſs to them, whom we render in ſome meaſure the guarantee for their truth, and who will undoubtedly avenge the ſacrilegious abuſe of his name?

The regard, due to the Divinity, could not, according to Plato, be carried too far in this reſpect. De Leg. l. 12. p. 948, 949. It was from this principle he deſired that, in trials wherein only temporal intereſts were concerned, the judges ſhould not require any oath from the parties, in order that they might not be tempted to take falſe ones, as it happens, ſays he, with more than half thoſe who are obliged to ſwear; it being very uncommon and difficult for a man, when his eſtate, reputation, or life are at ſtake, to have ſo great a reverence for the name of God, as not to venture to take it in vain. This delicacy is remarkable in a Pagan, and well worth our ſerious reflection.

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* Quocirca aſtutiæ tollendæ ſunt, eaque malitia, quæ vult illa quidem ſe eſſe prudentiam, ſed abeſt ab ea, diſtatque plurimum. *Lib.* 3. *n.* 71.

† Hoc genus eſt hominis verſuti, obſcuri, aſtuti, fallacis, malitioſi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri. *Ibid. n.* 57.

‡ Eſt jusjurandum affirmatio religioſa. Quod autem affirmatè, quaſi Deo teſte, promiſeris, id tenendum eſt. *Ibid. n.* 104.

Plato goes ſtill farther. He declares, that not only to ſwear ſlightly, and without any important reaſon, but to uſe the name of God in familiar diſcourſe and converſation, is to diſhonour, and to be wanting in the reſpect due to the divine Majeſty. He would therefore have been far from approving a cuſtom, now very common even amongſt perſons of worth, of calling frequently upon the name of God, when nothing is leſs in queſtion than religion. De Leg. l. 12. p. 917.

Different duties of civil life. Fine maxims upon virtue.

Every one ought to conſider the common good as the great end of his actions. For, ſhould men know no good but private intereſt, and be for engroſſing every thing to themſelves, no kind of ſociety could ſubſiſt amongſt them. Offic. l. 3. n. 26.

Every thing upon earth was created for the uſe of man, and men themſelves were formed for one another, and for the aid of each other by reciprocal ſervices. Hence we are not to believe, that we were born only for ourſelves. Our country, our fathers, mothers, and friends, have a right to whatever we are, and it is our duty to procure them all the advantages in our power.

It is upon theſe principles of our duty to juſtice and ſociety, that the Stoics determine many queſtians of moral philoſophy, in a manner that condemns abundance of Chriſtian caſuiſts.

At the time of a famine, a merchant arrives firſt in a port laden with corn, followed by many others with the ſame freight. Ought he to declare, that the reſt will ſoon be there; or is it allowable for him to be ſilent about them, in order to make the better market for himſelf? The deciſion is, that he ought Ibid. n. 50. &c.

ought to declare it; becauſe ſo the good of human ſociety for which he is born requires.

Offic. l. 3. n. 91. A man receives bad money in payment. May he give it to others for good, knowing it to be counterfeit? He cannot, as an honeſt man.

Ibid. n. 92. Another ſells an ingot of gold, taking it for braſs. Is the buyer obliged to tell the ſeller that it is gold, or may he take the advantage of the other's ignorance, and buy that for a crown, which is perhaps worth a thouſand? He cannot in conſcience.

Plat. in Criton. p. 49. * It is an indiſputable maxim, ſays Plato, which ought to ſerve as a foundation for the whole conduct of civil life, that it is never allowable to hurt any one, nor conſequently to return evil for evil, injury for injury, or to take revenge of our enemies, and to make the ſame misfortunes fall upon them, which they have made us ſuffer. And this is what right reaſon teaches us. But the Pagans are not ſteady upon this refined point of morality. "He "is a good man, ſays Cicero, who does all the "good in his power, and hurts nobody, unleſs provoked by injury." *Virum bonum eſſe, qui proſit quibus poſſit; noceat nemini, niſi laceſſitus injuria.* Offic. l. 3. n. 76.

De Legib. l. 5. p. 742. One of the laws of Plato's commonwealth is, that money ſhould never be lent with uſury.

Ib. l. 11. p. 913. The goods of another are never to be appropriated to one's own uſe. "If I had found a treaſure, "ſays Plato, I would not touch it, though the augurs upon being conſulted ſhould aſſure me that "I might apply it to my own uſe. That treaſure "in our coffers is not of ſo much value as the progreſs we make in virtue and juſtice, when we "have the courage to deſpiſe it. Beſides, if we "appropriate it to our own uſe, it is a ſource of "curſes to our family."

De Legib. l. 5. p. 914. He judges in the ſame manner of a thing found in one's way.

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* Ἀρχώμεθα ἐντεῦθεν βουλευόμενοι, ὡς οὐδέποτε ὀρθῶς ἔχοντος οὔτε τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, οὔτε κακῶς πάσχοντα ἀμύνεσθαι ἀντιδρῶντας κακῶς.

All other good things, without virtue, ought to be regarded as real evils. And * this virtue is neither the gift of nature, the fruit of ſtudy, nor the growth of human wit, but an ineſtimable bleſſing, which God confers on whom he pleaſes. In Menex. p. 246. In Menon, p. 99.

Contraſt between a good man under a load of evils, and a wicked man in the higheſt affluence and good fortune.

Plato ſuppoſes two men very different in the world's thoughts and treatment of them. The one conſummately wicked, without either faith, probity, or honour, but wearing the maſk of all thoſe virtues; the other a perfectly good man, (I mean according to the idea of the Pagans) who has no thoughts but to be, not to ſeem, juſt.

† The firſt, for the attainment of his ends, ſpares neither fraud, injuſtice, nor calumny, and reckons the greateſt crimes as nothing, provided he can but conceal them. With an outſide of religion, he affects to adore the gods with pomp and ſplendor, offering preſents and ſacrifices to them in greater number, and with more magnificence than any body. By this means deceiving the dim ſight of men, that cannot pierce into the heart, he ſucceeds in heaping up riches, honours, eſteem, reputation,

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* Εἰ καλῶς ἐζητήσαμεν, ἀρετὴ ἂν εἴη οὔτε φύσει οὔτε διδακτὸν· ἀλλὰ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ παραγιγνομένη ἄνευ νοῦ, οἷς ἂν παραγίγνηται.

† Quæro, ſi duo ſint, quorum alter optimus vir, æquiſſimus, ſumma juſtitia, ſingulari fide; alter inſignis ſcelere & audacia: &, ſi in eo errore ſit civitas, ut bonum illum virum ſceleratum, facinoroſum, nefarium putet: contrà autem qui ſit improbiſſimus, exiſtimet eſſe ſumma probitate ac fide; proque hac opinione omnium civium, bonus ille vir vexetur, rapiatur, manus ei denique auferantur, effodiantur oculi, damnetur, vinciatur, uratur, exterminetur, egeat, poſtremò jure etiam optimo omnibus miſerrimus eſſe videatur; contrà autem, ille improbus laudetur, colatur, ab omnibus diligatur; omnes ad eum honores, omnia imperia, omnes opes, omnes denique copiæ conferantur; vir denique optimus omnium exiſtimatione, & digniſſimus omni fortuna judicetur: quis tandem erit tam demens, qui dubitet utrum ſe eſſe malit? *Cic. apud Lactant. divin. Inſtit.* l. 5. c. 12.

powerful eſtabliſhments, and multiplying advantageous marriages for himſelf and his children; in a word, whatever the moſt ſplendid fortune includes of what is moſt ſoothing and beneficial.

The ſecond, in a ſupreme degree the good man, ſimple, modeſt, reſerved, ſolely intent upon his duty, inviolably attached to juſtice, far from being honoured and rewarded as he would deſerve, (in which caſe, ſays Plato, it could not be diſcerned whether virtue itſelf, or the honours and rewards conſequential upon it, were his motives) is univerſally in diſgrace, blackened with the moſt odious calumnies, looked upon as the vileſt of wretches * abandoned to the moſt cruel and ignominious treatment, *thrown into priſon, ſcourged, wounded, and at laſt nailed to a croſs*; whilſt he chuſes rather to undergo the moſt cruel torments, than to renounce juſtice and innocence. Is there any one, cries Cicero, ſo ſtupid as to heſitate one moment, which of theſe two he would rather chuſe to reſemble?

We are ſurpriſed to find ſentiments ſo noble, ſo exalted, and ſo conformable to right reaſon and juſtice, amongſt the Pagans. We ſhould remember, that, notwithſtanding the general corruption and darkneſs which had overſpread the Pagan world, the light of the Eternal Word did not fail to ſhine out to a certain degree in their minds: John i. 5. *And the light ſhineth in darkneſs.* It is that light which diſcovers and makes known to them various truths, and the principles of the law of nature. It is that light which writes it in their hearts, and gives them the diſcernment of many things juſt and unjuſt: which makes St. Auguſtine ſay, *Let the wicked ſee in* THE BOOK OF THE LIGHT *in what manner they ought to live.* In libro lucis.

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* Οὗτο διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τὼ ὀφθαλμώ· τελευτῶν, πάντα κακὰ παθὼν, ἀνασχινδιλευθήσεται. Id eſt, ſuſpenditur.

Now, when we ſee in Greece crowds of learned men, a people of philoſophers, who ſucceed one another during four entire ages; who employ themſelves ſolely in inquiring after truth; who moſt of them, for ſucceeding the better therein, renounce their fortunes, country, ſettlement, and all other employments except that of applying to the ſtudy of wiſdom: Can we believe ſo ſingular and even unexampled an event, which never happened in any other part or time of the world, the effect of chance, and that Providence had neither any ſhare in it, nor intended it for any end? It had not deſtined the philoſophers to reform the errors of mankind. Thoſe great wits diſputed four hundred years almoſt, without agreeing upon and concluding any thing. None of their ſchools undertook to prove the unity of the Godhead, none of them ever ſo much as thought of advancing the neceſſity of a Mediator. But how uſeful were their moral precepts upon the virtues and duties, in preventing the inundation of vice? What horrid diſorders had taken place, had the Epicureans been the prevailing and only ſect? How much did their inquiries contribute to the preſervation of the important doctrines of the diſtinction between matter and mind, of the immortality of the ſoul, and the exiſtence of a Supreme Being? Many of them had admirable principles upon all theſe points *which God had made known unto them*, Rom. i. 19. preferable to ſo many other people whom he left in barbarity and ignorance.

As this knowledge of theirs, and the virtuous actions conſequential upon it, may be conſidered under a double point of view; it ought alſo to produce two quite different effects in us. If we conſider it as an emanation of that eternal light, *which ſhineth even in darkneſs*, who can doubt whether it be worthy of our eſteem and admiration? But if we conſider it in the principle from whence it proceeded, and the abuſe made of it by the Pagans, it cannot be praiſed without reſerve and exception. It is by the ſame rule we are to judge of all that we read in profane hiſtory. The moſt ſhining actions of virtue which it relates are always infinitely remote from pure and real virtue, becauſe not directed to their principle, and having their root in cupidity, that is to ſay, pride and ſelf-love. *Radicata eſt cupiditas: ſpecies poteſt eſſe bonorum factorum, verè opera bona eſſe non poſſunt.* The root is no judged by the branches, but the branches by the root. The bloſſoms and even fruit may ſeem like; but their root is highly different. *Noli attendere quod floret foris, ſed quæ radix eſt interna.* Not wha theſe actions have of real, but what is defective in them ought to be condemned. It is not what they have but what they want, that makes them vicious. And what they want is Charity, that ineſtimable gift, o which the want cannot be ſupplied by any other and which is not to be found out of the Chriſtian Church and the true religion. Accordingly we ſee that none of the Pagans, who in other reſpects have laid down very fine rules of duty between man and man, have made the love of God the fundamenta principle of their morality: none of them have taught the neceſſity of directing the actions of human probity to him. They knew the branches, but not the ſtem and trunk of moral perfection.

St. Auguſtin.

ARTI-

ARTICLE. III.

Of Juriſprudence, or the Civil Law.

I Annex the knowledge of laws to moral philoſophy, of which it is a part, or at leaſt to which t has a great relation. It is a ſubject of great exent, but I ſhall treat it very ſuccinctly. The memoirs with which an able profeſſor of law, Mr. Lorry, one of my very good friends, has ſupplied me, have been of great uſe to me.

By the knowledge of the law, I mean the knowedge of Right, of Laws in general. Every people have had their particular laws and legiſlators. Moſes is the moſt antient of them all: God himſelf dictated the laws it was his will that his people ſhould obſerve. Mercurius Triſmegiſtus amongſt the Egyptians, Minos amongſt the inhabitants of the iſland of Crete, Pythagoras amongſt the cities of Great Greece, Charondas and Zaleucus in the ſame country, Lycurgus at Sparta, and Draco and Solon at Athens, are the moſt celebrated Legiſlators of Pagan antiquity. As I have ſpoken of them with ſufficient extent in the courſe of this hiſtory, I proceed directly to the Romans.

The beginnings of the Roman civil law were little extenſive. Under the kings, Rome had only a ſmall number of laws, which were propoſed at firſt by the ſenate, and afterwards confirmed in the aſſembly of the people. Papirius, who lived in the time of Tarquinius Priſcus, was the firſt that collected the laws made by the kings into one body. That collection was called, from the name of its author, *Jus Papirianum, The Papirian law.*

The commonwealth, after having aboliſhed the power of kings, retained their laws for ſome time: but they were afterwards expreſsly aboliſhed by the Tribunitian law, in hatred to the name of kings.

From that time it uſed an uncertain kind of Right till the twelve tables, which were prepared by the Decemviri, and compoſed out of the laws of Athens and the principal cities of Greece, into which deputies had been ſent to collect ſuch as they ſhould judge the wiſeſt and beſt adapted to a republican government. * Theſe laws were the foundation and ſource of the whole Roman civil law; and Cicero † is not afraid to prefer them infinitely to all the writings and books of the philoſophers, as well in reſpect to the weight of their authority, as the extent of the utility deducible from them.

The brevity, and at the ſame time the ſeverity, of the law of the twelve tables, made way for the interpretation of the learned, and the prætor's Edicts. The firſt employed themſelves in explaining their ſpirit and intention: the ſecond in ſoftening their rigour, and ſupplying what might have been omitted.

The laws, in proceſs of time, having multiplied to infinity in a manner, the ſtudy of them became abſolutely neceſſary, and at the ſame time very difficult. Perſons of birth, capacity, learning, and love for the public good, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Civilians, applied wholly to this ſtudy. The young Romans, who deſigned to open themſelves a way to the great offices of the commonwealth by the talent of eloquence, which was the firſt ſtep to them, went to the houſes of theſe civilians in order to acquire their firſt knowledge of the law, without which it was not poſſible for them to ſucceed at the

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* Qui nunc quoque in hoc immenſo aliarum ſuper alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique eſt juris. *Liv. l.* 3. *n.* 34.

† Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod ſentio. Bibliothecas mehercule omnium philoſophorum unus mihi videtur XII tabularum libellus, ſi quis legum fontes & capita viderit, & auctoritatis pondere, & utilitatis ubertate ſuperare. *De Orat. l.* 1. *n.* 195.

bar. ‡ Private perſons in all their affairs had recourſe to them, and their houſes were regarded as the oracles of the whole city, from whence anſwers were brought, which determined doubts, calmed diſquiefs, and directed the methods it was neceſſary to take in the proſecution of all ſuits.

Theſe anſwers were no more than opinions, which might inform the judes, but impoſed no neceſſity upon them of following them. Auguſtus was the firſt who gave them more authority, in appointing civilians himſelf, that were no longer limited to ſerve as council to particulars, but were held the emperor's officers. From thenceforth, their opinions reduced to writing, and ſealed with the public authority, had the force of laws, to which the Emperors obliged the judges to conform.

The civillians publiſhed various works under different titles, which have contributed exceedingly to reducing the knowledge of the civil law into art and method.

Theſe laws, in proceſs of time, multiplied extremely, and made way for doubts and difficulties by contradictions ſuppoſed or real. In ſuch caſes recourſe was had to the prince, who gave the ſolution of them. He adjudged alſo by decrees the cauſes referred to him by appeal, and anſwered by reſcripts all the conſultations addreſſed to him by petition or memorial. And from thence partly came the Conſtitutions of the Emperors, ſo full of wiſdom and equity, from which the body of the Roman or Civil law has been formed.

To form theſe deciſions with the greater maturity; they called in the aſſiſtance of the moſt learned civilians. and did not give their anſwers, till after having concerted them well with all the perſons in the empire who were beſt verſed in the laws and rights of the public.

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* Eſt ſine dubio domus juriſconſulti totius oraculum civitatis, *unde cives ſibi conſilium expetant ſuarum rerum incerti : quos ego* (it is Craſſus that ſpeaks) *mea ope ex incertis certos compoteſque conſilii dimitto, ut ne res temerè tractent turbidas.* De Orat. l. 1. n. 199, 200.

I ſhall ſay a few words in this place upon the moſt celebrated civil lawyers of the later times.

A.D. 205. PAPINIAN (*Æmilius*) was in great conſideration with the emperor Severus, whom he had ſucceeded in the office of Fiſcal advocate. He was looked upon as the aſylum of the laws, and the repoſitory of the whole knowledge of them. The emperor Valentinian III. raiſed him above all the civilians, in ordaining, by his law of the 7th of November 426, that, when they were divided upon any point, they ſhould follow the opinion eſpouſed by that eminent genius, as he calls him. And indeed Cujas judges him the moſt profound civilian that ever was, or ever will be.

Cod. Th. 1.T.4.l.1.

Cuj. in Cod. Th.

The Emperor Severus, being willing to raiſe his great merit to equal dignity, made him *Præfectus prætorio*, of which one of the principal functions was to judge cauſes jointly with the emperor, or in his name. Papinian, to acquit himſelf the better in that office, took Paulus and Ulpian for his counſellors and judges aſſiſtant, whoſe names are alſo very famous amongſt the civilians.

Dio. l. 77. p. 870, &c. Severus, at his death, left two ſons, Caracalla and Geta. Though they had both the name, Dion aſſures us that only Caracalla had the power, of emperor, who ſoon ridded himſelf of his colleague in the moſt cruel and barbarous manner conceivable; for he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated in the arms of their common mother, and, according to ſome, killed him with his own hands.

Caracalla murdered all whom his brother had loved, and who had either ſerved or retained to him, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality; and Dion ſays, that he began with twenty thouſand of his domeſtics and ſoldiers. To mention or write the name of Geta ſufficed for being immediately butchered;

Cæſariani.

butchered; ſo that the poets dared not uſe it even in comedies, where it was commonly given to ſlaves.

Papinian could not eſcape his cruelty. It is ſaid, that Caracalla would have obliged him to compoſe a diſcourſe to excuſe the death of Geta either to the ſenate or people, and that he generouſly replied: *It is not ſo eaſy to excuſe, as to commit, parricide*; and, *To accuſe an innocent perſon, after having deprived him of his life, is a ſecond parricide.* He remembered without doubt, that Seneca had been very much blamed, for having compoſed a letter for Nero to the ſenate, to juſtify the aſſaſſination of his mother. The ſon of Papinian, who was then quæſtor, and had three days before exhibited magnificent games, was alſo killed.

Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 11.

Fabius Sabinus. The Emperor Heliogabalus having ordered a centurion to go and kill Sabinus, that officer, who was a little deaf, believed that he had bade him make Sabinus quit the city. The centurion's error ſaved the life of Sabinus, who paſſed for the Cato of his times. The Emperor Alexander, who ſucceeded Heliogabalus, placed him in the number of thoſe next his perſon, and whoſe counſel he took for governing wiſely.

A. D. 221.

Ulpian *(Domitius Ulpianus)* deſcended originally from the city of Tyre. He had been counſellor, and judge aſſiſtant to Papinian, in the time of Severus. When Alexander came to the empire, he placed him near his perſon, in quality of counſellor of ſtate, and to take care of all things referred to his judgment, which employment is evidently that ſince called Great Referendary. He afterwards made him *Præfectus prætorio.*

A. D. 222.

Scriniorum magiſter.

Lampridius places him at the head of thoſe wiſe, learned, and faithful perſons, who compoſed Alexander's council; and aſſures us that prince paid him greater deference than any body elſe, upon account of his extraordinary love of juſtice; that he converſed only with him in private; that

In Alex. vit.

he looked upon him as his tutor; and that he proved an excellent emperor, from making great uſe of Ulpian's counſels in the government of the empire.

As Ulpian endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh diſcipline amongſt the Prætorian ſoldiers, they roſe againſt him, and demanded his death of Alexander. Inſtead of granting their requeſt, he often covered him with his purple robe, to defend him againſt the effects of their fury. At length, having attacked him in the night, he was obliged to fly to the palace to implore the aid of Alexander and Mammæa. But all the awe of the imperial authority could not ſave him, and he was killed by the ſoldiers, even in the ſight of Alexander. Several of Ulpian's works are ſtill extant.

In Alex. vit.

PAULUS. (*Julius Paulus.*) He was of Padua, where his ſtatue is ſtill to be ſeen. He was nominated conſul under Alexander, and then *Præfectus prætorio.* He, as well as Sabinus and Ulpian, was of the council formed by Mammæa the mother, and Mæſa the grandmother of Alexander, to adminiſter the public affairs during the minority of that prince. Every body knows the great ſervices they did, and the reputation they acquired, him. The Roman empire had at that time every thing that could render a ſtate happy, a very good prince, and excellent miniſters: for the one is of ſmall utility without the other; and perhaps it is even more dangerous to the people to have a prince good of himſelf, but who ſuffers himſelf to be deceived by bad men, than to have one more wicked, who however inſpects into the conduct of his officers, and obliges them to do their duty. Alexander always ſet great value upon the merit of Paulus, who is ſaid to have written more than any other civilian.

POMPONIUS was alſo of Alexander's court and council. How happy was this reign! As he lived to the age of ſeventy-eight, he compoſed a great number of works. Amongſt the reſt, he made a collection of all the famous civilians down to the Emperor Julian.

Modestinus *(Herennius)* lived alſo in the reign of Alexander, who raiſed him to the conſulſhip. He, as well as the four preceding lawyers, was Papinian's diſciple, whoſe care formed them all in the knowledge of the civil law. What ſervices does a ſingle man ſometimes render a ſtate by his learning and pupils!

Trebonian was of Pamphylia. He was honoured with the firſt employments at Conſtantinople by the emperor Juſtinian. It was under that prince, and by his care, that the civil law took a new form, and was reduced into an order that ſtill ſubſiſts, and will for ever do him honour.

Before him, there were many *Codes*, which were either compiled from, or abridgments of, the Roman laws. Gregorius and Hermogenes, two civilians, made a collection of laws, which from their names was called *The Gregorian and Hermogenian Code.* It was a collection of the Conſtitutions of the Emperors, from Adrian down to Diocleſian and Maximin in 306. This work was of no uſe, for want of authority to cauſe it to be obſerved. The Emperor Theodoſius the Younger was the firſt who compoſed a *Code* in ſixteen books, conſiſting of the Conſtitutions of the Emperors from Conſtantine the Great down to him; and he abrogated all laws not compriſed in this ſyſtem, which is called *The Theodoſian Code*, and was publiſhed in 438.

And, laſtly, the Emperor Juſtinian, ſeeing the authority of the Roman law much weakened in the Weſt, from the decline of the empire, reſolved to cauſe the whole body of the Roman law to be compiled a-new. He charged Trebonian with this commiſſion, who called in the aid of the moſt learned civilians then in being. He choſe the fineſt of the Imperial Conſtitutions from Adrian down to his own time, and publiſhed this new *Code* in 529.

He afterwards undertook a new work by order of the emperor: this was to extract the fineſt deciſions from the two thouſand volumes of the antient civilians, and to reduce them into one body, which was publiſhed in 533, under the name of *The Digeſt.* The Emperor gave this collection the force of law by the letter which he placed in front of the work, and which ſerves it for a preface. It is called alſo *The Pandect.* The Digeſt conſiſts of fifty books.

The ſame year appeared the *Inſtitutes* of Juſtinian, a book which contains the elements and principles of the Roman or civil law.

The year following, that is to ſay in 534, the emperor made ſome alterations in his firſt Code, which he aboliſhed, and ſubſtituted a new one in its ſtead, to which alone he gave the authority of law.

And, laſtly, after this reviſal, Juſtinian publiſhed an hundred and ſixty-five conſtitutions, and thirteen edicts, which are called *Novellæ*, *the Novels*, either becauſe they make a conſiderable change in the antient law; or, according to Cujas, becauſe they were made upon new caſes, and compiled after the reviſal of the Code by the order of that emperor. Moſt of the *Novels* were written in Greek, and were tranſlated into Latin.

The body of the civil law therefore conſiſts of four parts, the Code, the Digeſt, the Inſtitutes, and the Novels. By the *Civil Law*, the Inſtitutes underſtand the laws peculiar to each city or people. But at preſent it is properly the Roman law, contained in the Inſtitutes, the Digeſt, and the Code. It is otherwiſe called *the Written Law.*

From all that I have now ſaid may be ſeen, what ſervices a prince may render his people, who applies himſelf ſeriouſly to the cares of government, and who is well convinced of the extent and importance of his duties. Juſtinian had been very ſucceſsful in the wars he had undertaken, and had * the wiſdom to aſcribe that ſucceſs neither to the number of his troops, the courage of his ſoldiers, the experience of his generals, nor his own talents and abilities; but ſolely to the protection with which God had vouchſafed to favour his arms. But, had he contented himſelf with this military glory, he would have thought, that he had only half diſcharged the functions of ſovereignty, which was principally eſtabliſhed for rendering juſtice to the people in the name and place of God himſelf. Accordingly he declares expreſsly in a public edict, that the † Imperial Majeſty ought not to be adorned with arms only, but armed alſo with laws, for the good government of the people, as well in peace as war.

Accordingly, after having reſtored peace to the provinces of the empire as a warrior, he turned his thoughts to the regulation of its polity as a legiſlator, by inſtituting an univerſal body of law, to ſerve as the rule of all tribunals: a work which had been much the object of the wiſhes of his predeceſſors, as himſelf obſerves in more than one place, but which ſeemed attended with ſo many difficulties, that they had always believed it impracticable. He ſurmounted them all with a conſtancy that nothing was capable of diſcouraging.

For ſucceeding in this important enterpriſe he employed all the moſt learned civilians in the whole extent of the empire, ‡ preſiding himſelf in the work, and

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* Ita noſtros animos Dei omnipotentis erigimus adjutorium, ut neque armis confidamus, neque noſtris militibus, neque bellorum ducibus, vel noſtro ingenio; ſed omnem ſpem ad ſolam referamus ſummæ providentiam Trinitatis. *Epiſt. ad Trebon.*

† Imperatoriam majeſtatem non ſolùm armis decoratam, ſed etiam legibus oportet eſſe armatam, ut utrumque tempus, & bellorum & pacis, rectè poſſit gubernari. *Epiſt. ad cupidam legum juventutem.*

‡ Noſtra quoque majeſtas ſemper inveſtigando & perſcrutando ea quæ ab his componebantur, quicquid dubium & incertum inveniebatur

and reviſing exactly all they compoſed. Far from aſcribing the honour of it to himſelf, as is uſual enough, he does them all juſtice; he mentions them with praiſes, he extols their erudition, he treats them almoſt as his colleagues, and recommends it, as a duty, to thank the Divine Providence for having ſupplied him with ſuch aids, and for having honoured his reign by the compoſition of a work ſo long deſired, and ſo uſeful and neceſſary for the due adminiſtration of juſtice. An emperor, of leſs zeal for the public good, and leſs liberality, than Juſtinian, would have left all thoſe civilians in obſcurity and inaction. How many excellent talents of all kinds remain buried, for want of patrons to produce them! The learned are not wanting to princes, but princes to the learned.

The great qualities and actions of Juſtinian would have recommended him for ever to the veneration o mankind, if his conduct, in reſpect to Eccleſiaſtical affairs, had not ſullied his glory.

I ſhall conclude this article upon the knowledg of civil law, with ſome extracts from laws, tha may give the reader an idea of the beauty and ſolidity of the different Inſtitutions of which I hav been ſpeaking.

Digna vox eſt majeſtate regnantis, legibus alligatu ſe Principem profiteri: adeo de auctoritate juris noſtr pendet auctoritas. Et, re vera, majus imperio eſt ſummittere legibus principatum; *& oraculo præſentis Edicti quod nobis licere non patimur, aliis indicamus.* “ It i
“ worthy of the majeſty of a prince to declare him-
“ ſelf bound and limited by the laws: ſo muc
“ does our authority depend on Right and Juſtice
“ And indeed to ſubmit the ſovereign power to th
“ laws is greater than to exerciſe it; wherefore w
“ are well ſatisfied to make known to others, b
“ the preſent edict, what we do not think lawfu

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batur——emendabat, & in competentem formam redigebat. *Epiſt ad ſenat. & omnes populos.*

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" for us to do." It is an Emperor, maſter of almoſt the univerſe, who ſpeaks thus, and who is not afraid of hurting his authority, by declaring the juſt bounds by which it is limited.

Reſcripta contra jus elicita ab omnibus Judicibus refutari præcipimus; niſi fortè ſit aliquid, quod non lædat alium, & proſit petenti, vel crimen ſupplicantibus indulgeat. " We ordain, that no judge ſhall have any " regard to reſcripts obtained from us contrary to " juſtice, unleſs they tend to granting ſome grace " to petitioners not to the hurt of others, or to re" mitting ſome puniſhment to ſuppliants." It is very uncommon for princes either to own that they have deceived themſelves, or been deceived by others, and to retract in conſequence what they have once decreed. Nothing however does them more honour than ſuch an acknowledgment, as we ſee in the example of Artaxerxes, who publicly revoked the unjuſt Decree he had been miſled into paſſing againſt the Jews.

Scire leges non hoc eſt verba earum tenere, ſed vim ac poteſtatem. " To know the laws is not only to " underſtand the words of which they are com" poſed, but their force and efficacy."

Non dubium eſt in legem committere eum, qui verba legis amplexus, contra legis nititur voluntatem; nec pœnas inſertas legibus evitabit, qui ſe contra juris ſententiam ſæva prærogativa verborum fraudulenter excuſat. " It is not to be doubted, but that he acts con" trary to the law, who, confining himſelf to the " letter, acts contrary to the ſpirit and intent of " it; and whoever, to excuſe himſelf, endeavours " fraudulently to elude the true ſenſe of a law by " a rigorous attachment to the words of it, ſhall " not eſcape its penalties by ſuch prevarication."

Nulla juris ratio, aut æquitatis benignitas patitur, ut, quæ ſalubriter pro utilitate hominum introducuntur, ea nos duriore interpretatione contra ipſorum commodum producamus ad ſeveritatem. " It is contrary to all

" juſtice and equity, that thoſe things which have
" been wiſely inſtituted for the good of mankind,
" ſhould be wreſted to their prejudice by a miſtaken
" ſeverity, and a too rigid interpretation."

Obſervandum eſt jus reddenti, ut in adeundo quidem facilem ſe præbeat, ſed contemni non patiatur. Unde mandatis adjicitur, ne in ulteriorem familiaritatem provinciales admittant: nam ex converſatione æquali contemptio dignitatis naſcitur. Sed & in cognoſcendo, neque excandeſcere adverſus eos quos malos putat, neque precibus calamitoſorum illachrymari oportet. Id enim non eſt conſtantis & recti Judicis, cujus animi motum vultus detegit; & ſummatim ita jus reddi debet, ut auctoritatem dignitatis ingenio ſuo augeat. " The per-
" ſon who adminiſters juſtice ought indeed to be
" eaſy of acceſs, but ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to
" be deſpiſed by making himſelf too cheap. Hence
" it is, that, in the inſtructions given to provincial
" governors and magiſtrates, it is recommended to
" them, not to admit the people of their provinces
" into too great a degree of familiarity, becauſe
" converſing as equals induces contempt of dig-
" nity. In rendering juſtice, he ought alſo nei-
" ther to expreſs great indignation againſt ſuch as
" he believes criminal, nor ſuffer himſelf to be
" ſoftened too much by the prayers of the unfor-
" tunate. For it does not become the conſtancy
" and gravity of an upright judge to diſcover the
" ſentiments of his heart in his countenance: in a
" word, he ought to diſpenſe juſtice in ſuch a
" manner as to exalt the authority of his office by
" the wiſdom and moderation of his conduct."

Ulpianus. *Quæ ſub conditione jurisjurandi relinquuntur, à Prætore reprobantur. Providit enim is qui ſub jurisjurandi conditione quid accepit, aut omittendo conditionem perderet hæreditatem legatumve, aut cogeretur turpiter, accipiendo conditionem, jurare. Voluit ergo eum, cui ſub jurisjurandi conditione quid relictum eſt, ita capere, ut capiunt hi, quibus nulla talis jurisjurandi conditio inferitur;*

itur : & rectè. Cùm enim faciles ſint nonnulli homi-
um ad jurandum contemptu religionis, alii perquam ti-
idi metu divini Numinis uſque ad ſuperſtitionem: ne
el hi, vel illi, aut conſequerentur, aut perderent quod
elictum eſt, Prætor conſultiſſimè intervenit. The ten-
ency of this law is admirable. It diſpenſes with
perſon's taking an oath, to whom an eſtate or
gacy has been left, upon condition of taking ſuch
ath; and ordains, that he ſhall enjoy ſuch eſtate or
gacy, as if ſuch condition had not been inſerted,
ſt it ſhould occaſion him either to ſwear contrary
o his conſcience, or to renounce his right through
n over-ſcrupulous or ſuperſtitious delicacy of con-
cience. It were to be wiſhed, that the ſpirit of
his law ſhould occaſion the abundance of uſeleſs
aths to be aboliſhed, which bad cuſtom has intro-
uced into all the trading ſocieties and companies
f France.

Advocati, qui dirimunt ambigua fata cauſarum, ſuæ-
ue defenſionis viribus in rebus ſæpe publicis ac privatis
pſa erigunt, fatigata reparant, non minùs provident
umano generi, quàm ſi præliis atque vulneribus patriam
arenteſque ſalvarent. Nec enim ſolos noſtro imperio
ilitari credimus illos, qui gladiis, clypeis, & thora-
bus nituntur, ſed etiam advocatos. Militant namque
atroni cauſarum, qui glorioſæ vocis confiſi munimine, la-
rantium ſpem, vitam, ac poſteros defendunt. “ Ad-
vocates, who terminate cauſes, of which the
events are always uncertain, and who by the
force of their eloquence, whether in reſpect to
the public, which often happens, or private per-
ſons, reinſtate ruinous affairs, render no leſs ſer-
vice to mankind, than if they defended their
country and parents in battle, at the expence
of their blood and wounds. For we rank, in
the number of thoſe who fight for our empire,
not only ſuch as act for it with ſword, harneſs,
and ſhield, but thoſe alſo who lend our ſubjects

"the noble aid of eloquence, in defence of their "lives, intereſts, and poſterity."

It is with reaſon that the prince beſtows ſuch fine praiſes on a profeſſion which makes ſo ſalutary an uſe of the talents of the mind, and that he equals it with whatever is greateſt in the ſtate. But at the ſame time he recommends to advocates the exerciſ of ſo illuſtrious a profeſſion with a noble diſintereſtedneſs, and not to diſgrace it by a baſe devotio to ſordid intereſt: *Ut non ad turpe compendium ſtipemque deformem hæc arripiatur occaſio, ſed laudi per eam augmenta quærantur. Nam ſi lucro pecuniaque capiantur, veluti abjecti atque degeneres inte viliſſimos numerabuntur.* He alſo exhorts them no to abandon themſelves to the inhuman itch an pleaſure of bitter raillery and groſs invective, whic only leſſen the weight of the advocate's diſcourſe i the eſteem of his hearers; but to confine themſelve ſtrictly to what the neceſſity and ſucceſs of cauſ requires: *Ante omnia autem univerſi advocati ita pra beant patrocinia jurgantibus, ut non ultra quàm litiu poſcit utilitas, in licentiam convitiandi & maledicen temeritate prorumpant. Agant quod cauſa deſidera temperent ab injuria. Nam ſi quis adeo procax fueri ut non ratione ſed probris putet eſſe certandum, opinion ſuæ imminutionem patietur.*

CHAPTER III.

Opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning METAPHYSICS *and* PHYSICS.

I HAVE already obſerved that Metaphyſics were included in the Phyſics of the antients. I ſhall examine four points in them. The exiſtence and attributes of the Divinity; the formation of the World; the nature of the Soul; and the effects of Nature.

ARTICLE I.

Of the exiſtence and attributes of the Divinity.

THE opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning the Divinity may be reduced to three principal points or queſtions. 1. Whether the Divinity exiſts? 2. What is his nature? 3. Whether he preſides over the government of the world, and makes the affairs of mankind his care?

Before I enter into the chaos of philoſophical pinions, it will not be improper to explain in few words the ſtate of the belief of the whole world in eſpect to the Divinity, as the philoſophers found t, when they firſt began to introduce their maxims pon this point by the ſole method of *reaſoning*; and o ſlight the common and popular belief of all the ations of the univerſe, even to the moſt barbarous, which had ſupported itſelf in a conſtant and uniform manner by *tradition* alone.

Before the philoſophers, the whole world agreed n believing a Supreme Being, omnipreſent, and ttentive to the prayers of all who invoked his ame, in whatſoever condition they might be, in the midſt of deſarts, in the violence of ſtorms at ſea, and in the gloom of dungeons; ſo good as to concern himſelf for the misfortunes of men, with power to deliver them out of them: the diſpenſer of victory, ſucceſs, abundance, and every kind of proſperity: the arbiter of the ſeaſons, and of the fecundity of man and beaſt: preſiding at the conventions and treaties made either between kings or private perſons: receiving their oaths, exacting the execution, and puniſhing with inexorable ſeverity the leaſt violation of them: giving or taking away courage, preſence of mind, expedients, good counſel, and attention and docility to wiſe advice: protecting the innocent, the weak, and the injured, and declaring himſelf the avenger of oppreſſion, violence, and injuſtice: judging kings and nations, deciding their lot and deſtiny, and aſſigning with abſolute power the extent and duration of kingdoms and empires.

Such were part of the thoughts which men generally had of the Divinity, even in the midſt o the darkneſs of Paganiſm, which may ſerve as summary of the ideas they had derived from an univerſal and perpetual tradition, undoubtedly a antient as the world, upon this head. That this i true, we have inconteſtable proofs in the poems o Homer, the moſt venerable monument of Paga antiquity, and which may be conſidered as th archives of the religion of thoſe remote times.

SECT. I.

Of the exiſtence of the Divinity.

THE philoſophers were much divided co cerning different points of philoſophy, b they all agreed in reſpect to the exiſtence of th Divinity, except a very ſmall number, of whom ſhall ſoon ſpeak. Though theſe philoſophers, b their inquiries and diſputes, added nothing at bo tom to what all nations believed before them upo th this head, thoſe inquiries and diſputes cannot however be ſaid to be uſeleſs. They ſerved to confirm mankind in their antient belief, and to obviate the pernicious ſubtilties of thoſe who would attack it. The union of ſo many perſons generally eſteemed for the ſolidity of their ſenſe, their indefatigable application to ſtudy, and the vaſt extent of their knowledge, added new weight to the common and antiently received opinion concerning the exiſtence of the Divinity. The philoſophers ſupported this opinion with many proofs, ſome more ſubtile and abſtracted, and others more popular and obvious to the underſtanding of the vulgar. I ſhall content myſelf with pointing out ſome few of the latter kind.

The conſtant and general concurrence of men of all ages and countries in the firm belief of the exiſtence of the Divinity ſeemed to them an argument, to which it was impoſſible to object any thing with ſenſe or reaſon. The opinions that have no other foundation but vulgar error and credulous prejudice, may indeed continue for ſome time, and prevail in certain countries: but ſoon or late they give way, and loſe all belief. * Epicurus founded the proof of the exiſtence of the gods upon nature's having ſtampt the idea of them on every mind. Without the idea of a thing, ſaid he, we can neither conceive, ſpeak of, nor diſpute about it. Now what people, what kind of men, have not an idea, a notion of gods, independently of all learning? That is not an opinion derived from education,

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* Epicurus ſolus vidit primùm eſſe deos, quòd in omnium animis eorum notionem impreſſiſſet ipſa natura. Quæ eſt enim gens, aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat ſine doctrina anticipationem quandam deorum? quam appellat πρόληψιν Epicurus, id eſt anteceptam animo quandam informationem, ſine qua nec intelligi quidquam, nec quæri, nec diſputari poſſit—Cùm ergo non inſtituto aliquo, aut more, aut lege ſit opinio conſtituta, maneatque ad unum omnium firma conſenſio, intelligi neceſſe eſt eſſe deos: quoniam inſitas eorum, vel potiùs innatas cognitiones habemus. De quo autem omnium natura conſentit, id verum eſſe neceſſe eſt. *Ibid.* l. 1. n. 43, 44.

cuſtom, or any human law; but the firm and unanimous belief of all mankind: it is therefore from notions implanted in our ſouls, or rather innate, that we conceive there are gods. Now all judgments of nature, when univerſal, are neceſſarily true.

Another argument, which the philoſophers more frequently uſed, becauſe evident to the moſt ſimple, is the contemplation of nature. The leaſt practiſed in reaſoning may at a ſingle view diſcover him, who paints himſelf in all his works. The wiſdom and power he has ſhewn, in all he has done, ſhew themſelves, as in a glaſs, to ſuch as cannot contemplate him in his proper idea. This is an obvious and popular philoſophy, of which every man void of paſſion and prejudice is capable. The heavens, earth, ſtars, plants, animals, our bodies, our minds, all argue a mind ſuperior to us that exiſts as the ſoul of the whole world. When we conſider with ſome attention the frame and architecture of the univerſe, and the juſt proportion of all its parts, we diſcover at the firſt glance the foot-ſteps of the divinity, or, in better terms, the ſeal of God himſelf impreſſed upon all things called the works of nature.

De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 4, 5.

" Can one, ſaid Balbus in the name of the " Stoics, behold heaven, and contemplate what " paſſes there, without diſcerning with all poſſible " evidence, that it is governed by a ſupreme divine intelligence? Whoever ſhould doubt it " might as well doubt, whether there be a ſun. " The former is more viſible than the latter. This " conviction, without the evidence that attends it, " would never have been ſo fixed and permanent: " it would not have acquired new force by length " of time; it would not have been able to reſiſt " the torrent of years, and to have paſſed through " all ages down to us.

Ib. l. 2. n. 16.

" If there be, ſaid Chryſippus, things in the uni" verſe, that the wit, reaſon, ſtrength, and power of man are not capable of effecting, the Being that produces them is certainly better than man. Now man could not form the heavens, nor any thing of what we ſee invariably regular. There is however nothing better than man, becauſe he alone poſſeſſes reaſon, which is the moſt excellent thing he can poſſeſs. In conſequence the Being that made the univerſe is better than man. Wherefore then ſhould we not ſay, that Being is a God?"

To what blindneſs, or, more properly, to what exceſs of ſtupidity muſt men have been abandoned, who could chuſe to attribute ſuch ſtupendous and inconceivable effects to mere chance, and a fortuitous concourſe of atoms, rather than to the infinite wiſdom and power of God?

"Is it not amazing," cries Balbus in ſpeaking of Democritus, "that there ever ſhould be a man who could perſuade himſelf, that certain ſolid and individual bodies ſet themſelves in motion by their natural weight, and that from their fortuitous concourſe a world of ſuch great beauty was formed? Whoever believes this poſſible, might as well believe, that, if a great number of characters of gold, or any other ſubſtances, repreſenting the * one and twenty letters, were thrown upon the ground, they might fall diſpoſed in ſuch order, as to form the annals of Ennius legibly."

De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 93.

The ſame thing may be ſaid of Homer's Iliad. Who could believe, ſays the Archbiſhop of Cambray, in his admirable treatiſe upon the exiſtence of God, that a poem ſo perfect was not compoſed by the efforts of a great poet's genius; but that, the

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* *The preſident Bouhier, in his learned diſſertation,* De priſcis Græcor. & Latin. literis, *printed at the end of Montfaucon's Antiquities, has ſhewn, that the antient Romans had only theſe ſixteen letters:* A. B. C. D. E. F. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. R. S. T. *The five others, added in the time of Cicero, were* G. Q. U. X. Z. *without reckoning* H, *which was leſs a letter, than a note of aſpiration.*

characters of the alphabet having been thrown in confuſion, a caſt of mere chance, like one of dice, diſpoſed all the letters exactly in the order neceſſary for deſcribing ſo many great events in verſes full of harmony and variety; for placing and connecting them all ſo well together; for painting each object in the moſt graceful, moſt noble, and moſt affecting colours conceivable; and, laſtly, for making each perſon ſpeak according to his character in ſo natural and pathetic a manner? Let a man reaſon and ſubtiliſe ever ſo long, he will never perſuade a perſon of ſenſe, that the Iliad had no other author but chance. Wherefore then ſhould this man of ſenſe believe of the univerſe, which without doubt is ſtill more wonderful than the Iliad, what his reaſon would never permit him to believe of that poem?

In this manner all the moſt famous ſects explained themſelves. Some philoſophers, as I have ſai before, but very few, undertook to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt by peculiar opinions upon thi ſubject. Abandoned to the feeble force of reaſon, in their attempts to fathom the nature and eſſenc of the Divinity, and to explain his attributes, an without doubt dazzled with the luſtre of an object of which the human eye cannot ſuſtain the radiance they loſt themſelves in their inquiries, and, fro doubting at firſt the exiſtence of the Divinity, proceeded ſo far by degrees as to deny it. But th people, who did not enter into theſe philoſophica ſubtilties and refinements, and adhered ſolely to immemorial tradition, and the natural notion implanted in the hearts of all men, roſe up vigorouſl againſt theſe teachers of atheiſm, and treated the as the enemies of mankind.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 63.

PROTAGORAS having begun one of his book with theſe words: *I neither know whether there ar gods, nor what they are*; the Athenians baniſhe hi him not only from their city, but their territory, and cauſed his works to be publicly burnt.

Diagoras did not confine himſelf to doubting: he plainly denied that there were gods; which occaſioned his being ſurnamed *the Atheiſt.* He lived in the XCIſt Olympiad. It is ſaid that the fondneſs of an author, an exceſſive tenderneſs for one of his productions, drew him into impiety. He had proſecuted a poet for ſtealing a compoſition of his in verſe. The latter ſwore he had robbed him of nothing, and ſoon after publiſhed that work in his own name, which acquired him great reputation. Diagoras, ſeeing his adverſary's crime not only unpuniſhed, but honoured and rewarded, concluded that there was no providence and no gods, and wrote books to prove it.

A. M. 3588. Heſych. in Διαγόρας.

The Athenians cited him to give an account of his doctrine; but he fled, upon which they ſet a price upon his head. They cauſed a talent (about 150l. ſterling) to be promiſed by ſound of trumpet to whoever ſhould kill him, and two to ſuch as ſhould bring him alive, and cauſed that decree to be engraved upon a pillar of braſs.

Theodorus of Cyrene denied alſo the exiſtence of gods without reſtriction. He would have been brought to the tribunal of the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus, who at that time ruled every thing at Athens, had not favoured his eſcape. His moral tenets were worthy of an atheiſt. He taught that all things are indifferent, and that there is nothing in its own nature either vice or virtue. His impiety drew him into trouble wherever he went, and he was at laſt condemned to poiſon himſelf.

A. M. 3684. Diog. Laert. l. 2. in Ariſtip.

The juſt * ſeverity of the Athenians, who puniſhed even doubting upon this head, as we have ſeen in the caſe of Protagoras, highly contributed to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of opinions, and the progreſs of impiety. The Stoics * carried their reſpect for religion ſo far in this point, that they treated the cuſtom of diſputing againſt the exiſtence of the gods as criminal and impious, whether it was done ſeriouſly, or merely for the ſake of converſation, and againſt one's opinion.

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* Ex quo equidem exiſtimo, tardiores ad hanc ſententiam profitendam multos eſſe factos, quippè cùm pœnam ne dubitatio quidem effugere potuiſſet. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 63.

SECT. II.

Of the nature of the Divinity.

A Brief enumeration of all the chimeras advanced by the philoſophers upon this ſubject will convince us better than any other arguments of the incapacity of human reaſon to attain to ſuch ſublime truths by its own ſtrength. I ſhall extract this detail from Cicero's books *upon the nature of the gods.* The remarks and reflections with which the Abbé Olivet of the French academy has interſperſed his excellent tranſlation of thoſe books of Cicero, will be great helps to me, and I ſhall ſcarce do more than copy and abridge them.

As the antient philoſopers ſtudied the nature of the gods only with relation to ſenſible things, whoſe origin and formation they endeavoured to comprehend, and as the different manners, in which they diſpoſed the ſyſtem of the univerſe, occaſioned their different beliefs concerning the Divinity, we muſt not be ſurpriſed to find thoſe two ſubjects often united and confounded in this place.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 25.

THALES of Miletus ſaid, *That water was the principle of all things, and that God is that intelligence, by whom all things are formed out of water.* He ſpoke of an intelligence, that making only one whole with matter directed its operations; in the ſame manner as the ſoul, which united with the body makes only one and the ſame man, is ſaid to direct the actions of man.

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* Mala & impia conſuetudo eſt contra deos diſputandi, ſive animo id fit ſive ſimulatè. *Ibid.* l. 2. n. 168.

ANAXIMANDER believed, *That the gods receive being, that they are born and die at remote periods of time, and that they are innumerable worlds.* Theſe gods of Anaximander were the ſtars. De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 25.

ANAXIMENES affirmed, *That the air is god, that it is produced, that it is immenſe and infinite, and that it is always in motion.* This opinion of Anaximenes, at bottom, differs in nothing from thoſe that precede it. He retained the idea of a ſole, and infinitely extended, ſubſtance from his maſter Anaximander: but he called it air, as Thales had called it water. Ibid. n. 26.

ANAXAGORAS, the pupil of Anaximenes, was the author of this opinion, *That the ſyſtem and order of the univerſe were to be attributed to the power and wiſdom of an infinite mind.* Anaxagoras lived only an age after Thales. The notions of philoſophy began to clear up. The neceſſity of an efficient cauſe, ſubſtantially diſtinct from the material one, was perceived. But to this infinite mind he attributes only the order and motion, not the creation of the univerſe. The co-eternity of the two principles independent of each other, as to their exiſtence, is the rock, on which he with all the antient philoſophers ſplit. Ibid.

PYTHAGORAS believed, *that God is a ſoul diffuſed throughout all the beings of nature, and from which the ſouls of men are derived.* Virgil has admirably deſcribed the doctrine of this philoſopher: Ibid. n. 27.

Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, & hauſtus
Æthereos dixere: deum namque ire per omnes
Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cælumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.
Georg. l. 4.

Pythagoras lived at leaſt fifty years before Anaxagoras. The latter therefore is not the firſt who had the idea of a pure ſpirit; or Pythagoras muſt be ſaid to have confounded it with matter.

De nat. deor. l. 1. 28. Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 118.

Xenophanes ſaid, *That God is an infinite whole, to which he adds an intelligence.* The ſame philoſopher ſays elſewhere, *That God is an eternal ſubſtance —and of a round figure*, by which he underſtands the world. He therefore believed this God material.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 28.

Parmenides did not differ in his opinions from his maſter Xenophanes, though he expreſſed himſelf in different terms.

Ibid. n. 29.

Empedocles. According to him, *the four elements, of which he affirms all things to be compoſed, are divine*, that is to ſay, gods. It is however manifeſt, that they are mixed, that they have a beginning and periſh, and that they are void of thought.

Ibid.

Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 73.

Democritus *gives the quality of gods as well to the images of ſenſible objects, as to nature which ſupplies thoſe images, and to our knowledge and underſtanding.* What he called gods were atoms. To ſpeak properly, he believed nothing. *I deny*, ſaid he, *that we either know any thing, or nothing. I deny that we know even whether we know that. I deny that we know whether any thing exiſts, or whether nothing exiſts.* A worthy member of the Eleatic ſect, whoſe favourite maxim was the *Acatalepſy*, or the abſolute incomprehenſibility of all things. This ſect, which acknowledged Xenophanes for its founder, formed unbelieving Protagoras, and gave birth to that of Pyrrho.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 30.

Plato. It appears from all his works, that he had very juſt thoughts of the Divinity, but that he was afraid to explain himſelf freely in a city, and at a time, wherein it was dangerous to claſh with the prevailing opinions. *In the Timæus* he ſays, *that the father of the world could not be named; and in his books* de legibus, *that we ſhould not be curious to know properly what God is. He ſuppoſes him incorporeal.*

Ie attributes the formation of the univerſe to him: *)pificem ædificatoremque mundi.* He ſays alſo, *that he world, the heavens, the ſtars, the earth, ſouls, and hoſe to whom the religion of our forefathers aſcribes)ivinity*; *all this, he ſays, is God.* Plato's opinion t bottom, notwithſtanding the appearance of Poly-heiſm, is, that there is but one moſt good and moſt erfect God, who made all things according to the dea of the beſt work poſſible.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 18.
Ibid. n. 30.

ANTISTHENES ſays, *That there are many gods dored by the nations of the earth, but that there is but ne natural God*, that is to ſay, as Lactantius ex-lains it, author of all nature.

Ibid. n. 32.
Inſtit. divin. l. 1. n. 33.

ARISTOTLE differs exceedingly from himſelf. *ometimes he affirms that the whole Divinity reſides in itelligence*, that is to ſay, in the intelligent prin-iple, by which all thinking beings think. *Some-mes that the world is God. He afterwards diſcovers me other being, who is above the world, and who kes care to direct and preſerve its motion. He elſe-here teaches that God is nothing elſe but the fire that ines in the heavens.*

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 33.

XENOCRATES ſays, *that there are eight gods. The lanets are five of them, and all the fixed ſtars together, s ſo many ſcattered members of the ſame body, make ut one. The ſun is the ſeventh*; *and, laſt of all, the oon the eighth.*

Ibid. n. 34.

THEOPHRASTUS *in one paſſage attributes ſupreme)ivinity to intelligence*; *in another to the heavens in eneral*; *and afterwards to the planets in particular.*

Ibid. n. 35.

STRATO ſays, *that there is no other God but na-ure: and that nature is the principle of all productions nd all mutations.*

Ibid.

ZENO, the founder of the famous ſect of the toics. We ought to expect ſomething great con-erning the Divinity from him. The following is he ſum of his theology, extracted principally from icero's ſecond book *De natura deorum*, in which is opinions are explained with great extent.

That the four elements alone compoſe the whol Univerſe. That theſe four elements make but on continued nature, without diviſion. That abſolutely no other ſubſtance exiſts, beſides theſe fou elements. That the ſource of intelligence, and c all ſouls, is the fire united in the Æther, wher its purity ſuffers no alteration, becauſe the oth elements do not mingle with it. That this intelligent, active, vital fire penetrates the whole univerſe. That, as intelligence is its property diſtinctl from the other elements, it is deemed to operate a things. That it proceeds methodically to generation, that is to ſay, it produces all things, n blindly and by chance, but according to certai rules always the ſame. That, being the ſoul of th univerſe, it cauſes it to ſubſiſt, and governs it wit wiſdom, becauſe it is the principle of all wiſdon That conſequently it is God. That he gives t ſame denomination to Nature, with which it is o and the ſame, and to the Univerſe, of which it part. That the ſun, moon, and all the ſtars, they are bodies of fire, are gods. That all thing wherein any ſingular efficacy reſides, and where this active principle manifeſts itſelf clearly, deſer the name of Divinities. That the ſame title oug alſo to be given to great men, in whoſe ſouls th divine fire brightens with uncommon luſtre. An laſtly, that in whatſoever manner this ſoul of t univerſe is repreſented to us, and whatever nam cuſtom has given it in reſpect to the different par it animates, religious worſhip is due to it.

I am tired with repeating ſo many abſurditie and the reader no doubt as much as me, if he h had patience enough to read them to the end. H ought not to expect to ſee living lights ſhine o from the darkneſs of Paganiſm, upon a ſubject infinitely ſuperior to the weakneſs of human wit, the nature of the Divinity. The philoſophers mig indeed, by the pure ſtrength of reaſon, have co vince vinced themſelves of the neceſſity and exiſtence of a divine Being. Some of them, however, as * Epicurus, have been ſuſpected of concealing real atheiſm under the veil of ſpecious words: at leaſt they diſhonoured the Divinity almoſt as much by the mean deas they conceived of him, as they would have done, had they abſolutely denied him.

As to what regards the eſſence of the divine naure, they were all widely miſtaken. And how hould it have been otherwiſe, as men know no more of God, than he is pleaſed to reveal to them? The Abbé Olivet, in his diſſertation upon the theoogy of the philoſophers, reduces their ſentiments o three general ſyſtems, which include all the paricular opinions given us by Cicero in his books upon the nature of the gods. The different manner, in which thoſe philoſophers diſpoſed the ſyſtem of the univerſe, occaſioned their different beliefs concerning the Divinity.

Some of them believed, that mere matter alone, without thought or reaſon, was capable of forming he world: whether one of the elements produced all the reſt by different degrees of rarefaction and condenſation, as it appears that Anaximenes beieved, or that, matter being divided into an infinity of moving corpuſcles, thoſe corpuſcles aſſumed regular forms in conſequence of fluttering accidentally to and fro in the Void, as Epicurus believed: or that all the parts of matter had an intrinſic gravity, which gave them a neceſſary direction, according to Strato's opinion. Now the atheiſm of theſe philoſophers is manifeſtly of the greateſt kind, becauſe they acknowledge no other firſt cauſe but nanimate matter.

Others roſe to this notion, that the order of the world was too exquiſite not to be the effect of an

De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 28.

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* Nonnullis videtur Epicurus, ne in offenſionem Athenienſium caderet, verbis reliquiſſe deos, re ſuſtuliſſe. *Lib.* 1. *de nat. deor.* n. 85.

Intelligent Cauſe. But, not conceiving any thing immaterial, they believed Intelligence a part of matter, and aſcribed that perfection to the fire of the Æther, which they conſidered as the ocean of all ſouls. This was the opinion of the Stoics; with whom may be joined Thales, and even Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Democritus, who admitted, as well as they, an univerſal intelligent matter.

And, laſtly, others comprehended, that intelligence could not be material, and that it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh it abſolutely from whatever is corporeal. But at the ſame time they believed, that bodies exiſted independently of that intelligence, and that its power extended no farther than to diſpoſe them in order, and to animate them. This was the opinion of Anaxagoras and Plato: an opinion much leſs imperfect than that of the others, as it includes the idea of ſpirit, and really diſtinguiſhes the cauſe from the effect, the agent from matter; but ſtill infinitely remote from truth.

As to the other two claſſes of philoſophers, who admitted no principles but ſuch as were material, they are abſolutely inexcuſable, and differ only in their blindneſs, as being more or leſs blind. What we read in the book of Wiſdom may be well applied to them:—*Vain are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and could not, out of the good things that are ſeen, know him that is: neither, by conſidering the works, did they acknowledge the workmaſter, but deemed either fire, or wind, or the ſwift air, or the circle of the ſtars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world.* Wiſd. xiii. 1, 2.

I ſpeak here only of the gods peculiarly acknowledged as ſuch by the philoſophers. Varro diſtinguiſhed three kinds of theologies. *The Fabulous*, which was that of the poets: *The Natural*, taught by the philoſophers: and *the Civil* or political, which was that eſtabliſhed by the ſtate, and in uſe amongſt S. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei l. 6. c. 5.

amongſt the people. The firſt and the laſt either aſcribed, or ſuffered to be aſcribed to the gods, all the paſſions and vices of men, and the moſt abominable crimes. The ſecond ſeemed leſs void of reaſon, but at bottom was ſcarce any thing more religious, and included abſurdities that diſgrace human underſtanding.

Cicero, * in his third book upon the nature of the gods, ſets all theſe abſurdities in their full light. He did not know enough to eſtabliſh true religion; but he knew enough to refute the Stoics and Epicureans, the only perſons that roſe up againſt St. Paul, when he preached at Athens. The mere light of nature might ſuffice him for ſubverting falſhood, but could not guide him to the diſcovery of the truth. We here diſcern the weakneſs of human reaſon, and the vain efforts that it makes alone, to raiſe itſelf up to the exact knowledge of a God truly † hidden, and who dwells ‡ in inacceſſible light. What progreſs in this reſpect has this proud reaſon been capable of making, during above four ages, in the beſt heads of Greece, in the moſt illuſtrious of the Pagans for their learning, and the chiefs of their moſt famous ſchools? There is ‖ nothing ſo abſurd, that has not been advanced by ſome philoſopher.

And farther. Such of them as profeſſed an higher degree of wiſdom, and to whom God had manifeſted his unity, did they not keep this knowledge a ſecret through an ungrateful and abject cowardice? Did one of them riſe up againſt the impiety,

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* Tullius, tertio de natura deorum libro, diſſolvit publicas religiones: ſed tamen veram, quam ignorabat, nec ipſe, nec alius quiſquam potuit inducere. Adeo & ipſe teſtatus eſt falſum quidem apparere, veritatem tamen latere. *Lactant. de ira Dei, c.* 11.

† *Verily thou art a God that hideſt thyſelf, O God of Iſrael the Saviour.* Iſai. xlv. 15.

‡ *Dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto.* 1 Tim vi. 16.

‖ Neſcio quomodo nihil tam abſurdè dici poteſt, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philoſophorum. *Cic. Divin.* l. 2. n. 19.

Scholas habebant privatas, & templa communia. *S. Auguſt.*

Socrates.

Xenophon.

Epiſt. Plat. ad Dion.

Plat. de Repub. l. 3.

piety, which had ſubſtituted mute idols, and figures not only of men, but of beaſts and reptiles, to the true and living God? Did one of them refrain from going to the temples, though he did not approve in his heart the ſuperſtitious worſhip, which he authoriſed by his preſence and example? The only one, whoſe religion was put to the trial, did he not treat thoſe, who accuſed him of not adoring the gods worſhipped by the Athenians, as falſe accuſers? His Apologiſt, who was alſo his diſciple and friend, does he defend him in any other manner, than by affirming, that he always acknowledged the ſame divinities as the people? And is not Plato himſelf obliged to own, that this mean prevaricator ordered an impious ſacrifice even when certain of immediate death? A ſmal extract from one of Plato's letters ſhews us how much he was afraid to explain himſelf upon the nature and unity of God, and in conſequence how fa he was from rendering him thanks, from confeſſing him before men, and from expoſing himſelf to the leaſt danger in bearing witneſs of him. The ſhameful actions attributed to the falſe gods made him bluſh: but he contented himſelf with ſaying, that either they were not guilty of thoſe crimes, or were not gods if they had committed them; without daring to ſay, that there was but ONE GOD, and without having the courage to riſe up againſt the public worſhip, founded upon the very crimes he conſidered with horror.

It muſt be ſaid, to the ſhame of Paganiſm, and the glory of the Goſpel, that a child amongſt us, with the leaſt inſtruction in the cathechiſm, is more certain and more knowing in reſpect to every thing neceſſary for us to know of the Divinity, than all the philoſophers together.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Whether the Divinity preſides over the government of the world? Whether mankind be his peculiar care?

THE diſpute of the antient philoſophers concerning providence was, whether the gods reſided in the government of the world in general, nd whether they deſcended to a particular care of very individual of mankind. Epicurus was almoſt he only one that denied this truth.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 51, 54.

“ It is aſked, ſaid he, in what manner do the “ gods live, and how do they employ themſelves? “ Their life is the moſt happy, and the moſt deli- “ cious imaginable. A god does nothing: he di- “ ſturbs himſelf with no kind of care: he under- “ takes nothing. His wiſdom and virtue form his “ joy. The pleaſures he taſtes, pleaſures that “ can admit of no increaſe, he is ſure of enjoying “ for ever.

The ſyſtem of the Stoics.

“ This,” continues he, addreſſing himſelf to Balbus, who ſuſtained the opinion of the Stoics, “ this is an happy god. But, as for yours, he is “ overwhelmed with cares and labour. For, if “ you believe, that this god is the world itſelf, “ turning inceſſantly as it does round the axis of “ the heavens, and that too with ſurpriſing rapi- “ dity, is it poſſible for him to have a moment's “ reſt? Now, without reſt, there is no felicity. “ To pretend that there is a God in the world who “ governs it, who preſides over the courſe of the “ ſtars, and the revolutions of the ſeaſons, who “ regulates and diſpoſes all things, who has his “ eye upon the land and ſea, who makes the lives “ of men his concern, and who provides for their “ occaſions; all this is certainly giving him very “ ſevere and laborious employments. Now to be “ happy, according to us, it is neceſſary to poſ- “ ſeſs tranquillity of mind, and to be entirely at

Plato's ſyſtem.

" leiſure. * Beſides, you ſet an eternal maſte over our heads, of whom we are to be day and night continually in dread. For how is it poſſible not to fear a God, who foreſees all things, whoſe thoughts extend to all things, who obſerves all things, who believes all things relate to him, who interferes in all things, and who is never without employment?" The great maxi of Epicurus was therefore, † *That an happy an immortal being had neither any thing to do himſelf, no occaſioned employment for others.*

So impious a doctrine, which openly denies providence, deſerved an Epicurus for its advocate an defender. And it muſt be owned, that what h ſays of a god who ſees and knows all things, an who in conſequence muſt puniſh whatever is contrary to the law of heaven, is the ſole reaſon whic to this day induces ſome perſons to believe, the is no providence that watches over all the actions o men, or rather to deſire it.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 115, 116. " It is not without reaſon that this doctrine occaſioned Epicurus to be conſidered as a declare enemy of the gods, who undermined all religion and who, by his reaſonings, as Xerxes by hi troops, levelled their temples and altars. For after all, what reaſon, ſays Cotta, ſhould oblig us to have any thoughts of the gods, as the have none of us, and abſolutely neither take car of, nor do, any thing?—To be bound to expreſ piety for them, would it not be neceſſary to hav received graces from them? For wherein is perſon obliged to thoſe who have done nothin for him? Piety is a juſtice paid by man to th

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* Itaque impoſuiſtis in cervicibus noſtris ſempiternum domin quem dies & noctes timeremus. Quis enim non timeat omni providentem, & cogitantem & animadvertentem, & omnia ad ſe pertinere putantem, curioſum & plenum negotii deum?

† Quod æternum beatumque ſit, id nec habere ipſum negoti quidquam, nec exhibere alteri. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 45.

" gods. Now, as your gods have no relation to " us, what can they require from us?"

The prayers made to the Divinity in diſtreſs and danger, the vows made to him for the attainment of certain graces, the promiſes and oaths of which he is taken for witneſs, uſes common to all nations and practiſed in all times, ſhew that mankind had always Providence in their thoughts. To conſult only our own reaſon, ſuch as ſin has left it, that is to ſay, our pride and darkneſs, we ſhould be tempted to believe, that it is not treating the Divinity with ſufficient reſpect to make him deſcend thus to little circumſtances, in repreſenting to him all our wants; to ſtipulate conditions with him, if he vouchſafes to hear them; and to make him intervene in our tranſactions and engagements. God has thought fit by theſe different methods to preſerve in the minds of all people a clear idea of his Providence, of the care he takes of all mankind in particular, of the ſupreme authority that he retains over all the events of their lives, of his attention in examining whether they have faithfully kept their promiſes, and of that he will have in puniſhing the violation of them.

And indeed we ſee that theſe truths have always been conſidered as the firmeſt foundations of human ſociety. * *Above all*, ſays Cicero, in laying down rules for a wiſe government, *we ought to be fully convinced, that the gods are the ſupreme lords and rulers of all things; that whatever paſſes in the univerſe, is directed by their will and power: that they delight in doing good to mankind; that they attentively examine what every one is, what he thinks, how he acts, and with what piety, and what ſentiments, he*

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* Sit igitur hoc jam à principio perſuaſum civibus. dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores deos; eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine: eoſdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; &, qualis quiſque ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. *De Leg.* l. 2. n. 15.

practiſes the duties of religion: and laſtly, that they make a great difference between the good and the wicked.

* This paſſage ſhews us, that the Pagans not only attributed the univerſal government of the world to the Divinity, but were convinced, that he deſcended to the moſt minute particulars, and that not any of mankind, not an action, or even a thought, eſcaped his attention and knowledge.

The Epicureans could not ſupport the idea of a God ſo near, ſo attentive to them, and of ſuch piercing ſight. He is ſupremely happy, ſaid they, and conſequently enjoys infinite tranquillity. He is void of anger and paſſion. Every thing is indifferent to him, except repoſe. This is what perſons abandoned to their pleaſures are ſtill fond of perſuading themſelves, in order to avoid the importunate reproaches of conſcience. They are willing to allow in God a general care of his creatures, and a goodneſs like that of princes, who govern their dominions with wiſdom, but who do not enter into particulars, nor deſcend to love their ſubjects, and diſtinguiſh any of them by their peculiar regard.

Pſ. xxxiii. v. 13, 14. David did not think in this manner: *The Lord looketh from heaven: he beholdeth all the ſons of men. From the place of his habitation, he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He faſhioneth their hearts alike: he conſidereth all their works.* Mr. Du Guet. In beholding all mankind from heaven, he does not examine them with a general and confuſed view. Every individual is as preſent to him, as if he were attentive to no other object. He does not ſee him as from a great diſtance, but as immediately before his eyes. He does not conſider only his outſide, but penetrates into whatever is moſt ſecret and retired within him. He does not only interrogate his heart, but dwells in it, and is more preſent and intimate there, than the heart itſelf. In the infinite multitude of men, that have been and now are, nothing eſcapes either his ſight or his remembrance. This knowledge and attention, which are as incomprehenſible as his being, are natural effects of his being the Creator of all things, and of the heart as well as all the reſt: *Who faſhioneth their hearts,—who conſidereth all their works.*

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* Nec verò univerſo generi hominum ſolùm, ſed etiam ſingulis à diis immortalibus conſuli & provideri ſolet. *De nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 163.

ARTICLE II.

Of the formation of the world.

I Shall not tire the reader a ſecond time with a particular account in this place of the various ſyſtems of the antient philoſophers concerning the formation of the world, which vary infinitely, and are ſome more abſurd than others. I ſhall ſcarce ſpeak of any of them, except thoſe of the Stoics and Epicureans, whoſe ſyſtems upon this ſubject are moſt known and celebrated. It is not my deſign to enter very deeply into them, but to give only a general idea of them.

SECT. I.

Syſtem of the Stoics concerning the formation of the world.

ACCORDING to the Stoics, the intelligent part of nature only ſet the material and non-intelligent part of it in motion, which as well as itſelf had exiſted from all eternity. This appears very clearly from one paſſage of Cicero, not to mention abundance more. To obviate and remove the objections that might be made againſt Providence, in reſpect to ſeveral things either uſeleſs or pernicious, with which the world abounds, the Stoics replied: * *Nature has made the beſt uſe ſhe could of*

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* Ex iis naturis quæ erant, quod effici potuit optimum, effectum eſt. *De nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 86.

the elements that exiſted. Could the pre-exiſtence of matter be more expreſsly implied? Ariſtotle, and many other philoſophers, were alſo of the ſame opinion. * What the Stoics called *the ſoul of the world*, was that Intelligence, that Reaſon, which they believed diffuſed throughout nature. And what was this intelligent, ſenſitive, rational principle? Why, nothing but the Ætherial fire, which penetrates all bodies: or rather nothing but mechanic laws, which they aſcribed principally to the celeſtial fire, and according to which every thing was formed, and every thing acted neceſſarily. Ariſt. Phyſic. l. 8.

Accordingly † Zeno defined nature *a fire of ſubtle art, which proceeded methodically to generation.* For he believed the action of *creating* and generating peculiar to art.

Cicero uſes the term *create* in this place, which might give reaſon to believe, that he knew and admitted the action of producing out of nothing, which is *creation* in the ſtrict ſenſe of the term. ‡ But he uſes the ſame word in many other places to expreſs a ſimple production; and none of his works give the leaſt room to believe, that he had ſo ſingular a notion, as that of *creation* properly ſo called. As much may be ſaid of all the antients who have treated on Phyſics, as Cicero expreſsly ſhews: *Exit aliquid quod ex nihilo oriatur, aut in nihilum ſubito occidat? Quis hoc Phyſicus dixit unquam?* It was a received principle with all the philoſophers, Lib. 2. de Divinit.

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* In natura ſentiente ratio perfecta ineſt, quam vim animum dicunt eſſe mundi. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 28, 29.

† Zeno ita naturam definit, ut eam dicat *ignem eſſe artificioſum ad gignendum progredientem via.* Cenſet enim artis maximè proprium eſſe *creare* & gignere. *De nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 57.

‡ Natura fingit homines & *creat* imitatores & narratores facetos. 2. *de Orat.* n. 219.

Omnium rerum quas & *creat* natura & tuetur, ſummum bonum eſt in corpore. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 38.

Quæ in terris gignuntur omnia ad uſum hominum *creantur. Offic.* l. 1. n. 22.

that matter neither could be produced from, nor reduced to, nothing:

De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil poſſe reverti.
Perſ. Sat. 3.

Epicurus in expreſs terms denies this power to the Divinity:

Nullam rem è nihilo gigni divinitus unquam.

Lactantius has preſerved a fragment of Cicero's books *De natura Deorum*, which cannot be applied with certainty to the ſyſtem of the Stoics; becauſe, as it is detached, it does not entirely appear of which ſect of philoſophers it is to be underſtood. However it ſeems very proper to explain what they thought concerning the formation of the world. I ſhall inſert it here at length. * *It is not probable*, ſays the ſpeaker, *that matter, from which all things derived their origin, was itſelf formed by the divine Providence; but rather, that it has, and always had an intrinſic and natural force*, which renders all its modifications poſſible to it. *As a workman therefore, when he works upon a building, does not produce the matter for it himſelf, but uſes that he finds ready made; and as he who forms a figure of wax, finds the wax produced to his hand: ſo the divine Providence muſt have had a matter, not that it had produced itſelf, but which it found in a mannner at hand*, and prepared for its deſigns. *That, if God did not produce the* firſt *matter, it cannot be ſaid that he produced either earth, air, fire, or water.* Lact. Div. Inſtit. l. 2. c. 8.

The compariſon of the architect and the ſtatuary is entirely proper for explaining the ſyſtem of the

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* Non eſt probabile, eam materiam rerum, unde orta ſunt omnia, eſſe divina providentia effectam; ſed habere & habuiſſe vim & naturam ſuam. Ut igitur faber, cùm quid ædificaturus eſt, non ipſe facit materiam, ſed ea utitur quæ ſit parata, fictorque item cera: ſic iſti providentiæ divinæ materiam præſto eſſe oportuit, non quam ipſe faceret, ſed quam haberet paratam. Quòd ſi non eſt à Deo materia facta, ne terra quidem, & aqua, & aer, & ignis à Deo factus eſt.

Stoics. Their god, (whom Cicero calls the divine Providence in this place) and which is only the *Æther*, as we have obſerved, did not create, that is, produce the matter of which the world is formed out of nothing; but he modified it, and, in diſpoſing the parts of matter before in confuſion, he made earth, air, water, and that groſs fire which we know: that is to ſay, he gave them the form and diſpoſition in which we ſee them.

The * workman, ſays Lactantius in the paſſage I have juſt cited, cannot build without wood, becauſe he is not capable of producing it of himſelf; and of that he is incapable as he is man, that is to ſay, weakneſs itſelf. But God produces all that he pleaſes out of nothing, becauſe he is God, that is to ſay, power itſelf that knows neither meaſure nor bounds. For, if he is not omnipotent, he is not God.

SECT. II.

Syſtem of the Epicureans concerning the formation of the world.

Plut. de placit. Philoſ. l. 2. c. 1.

IN the ſyſtem of the Epicureans (and the Stoics were of the ſame opinion in this point) theſe two words, *World and Univerſe*, had a different ſignification. By the *World* they underſtood the heavens and the earth, and all they contained; and by the *Univerſe*, not only the heavens and the earth with all they contain, but alſo the infinite void, which they ſuppoſed beyond the world. For they believed the world full and limited, *(or a limited plenum:)* but they ſuppoſed it ſurrounded on all ſides with an infinite,

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* Faber ſine ligno nihil ædificabit, quia lignum ipſum facere non poteſt: non poſſe autem, imbecillitatis eſt humanæ. Deus verò facit ſibi ipſe materiam, quia poteſt; poſſe enim, Dei eſt: nam, ſi non poteſt, Deus non eſt. Homo facit ex eo quod eſt, quia per mortalitatem imbecillis eſt; per imbecillitatem, definitæ ac modicæ poteſtatis. Deus autem facit ex eo quod non eſt, quia per æternitatem fortis eſt, per fortitudinem poteſtatis immenſæ, quæ fine ac modo caret ſicut vita factoris. *Lactant.* ibid. c. 10.

finite, and abſolutely void, ſpace. Accordingly [*] they divided all nature, the whole univerſe, into two parts: bodies and *ſpace*, or *void:*

Omnis ut eſt igitur per ſe Natura duabus
Conſiſtit rebus, quæ Corpora ſunt & Inane.
Lucret. l. 2.

This diſtinction is neceſſary for underſtanding the ſyſtem of the Epicureans. For they ſuppoſed, as a certain principle, that, without the *Vacuum*, there could not have been any motion or even production in the world:

Quæ, ſi non eſſet Inane,
Non tam ſollicito motu privata carerent,
Quàm genita omnino nulla ratione fuiſſent:
Undique materies quoniam ſtipata fuiſſet. Ib. l. 1.

According to the Epicureans, the fortuitous concourſe of atoms formed the world.

Atom is a Greek word, which ſignifies *indiviſible*. It is a corpuſcle of every kind of figure, from numbers of which all other bodies are formed. Atoms are not the objects of the ſenſes through their extreme ſmallneſs, which makes them imperceptible.

Moſchus the Phœnician, Leucippus, [†] and Democritus, were the firſt philoſophers, who advanced the doctrine of atoms. They ſuppoſe that, of theſe little corpuſcles, ſome are ſmooth, ſome rough, ſome round, ſome angular, and others curve, and in a manner hooked; and that heaven and earth were formed by the fortuitous concourſe of theſe atoms.

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[*] Sunt qui omnia Naturæ nomine appellent, ut Epicurus, qui ita dividit: Omnia, quæ ſecundùm Naturam, eſſe Corpora & Inane. 2. *De nat. deor.* n. 82.

[†] Iſta flagitia Democriti, ſive etiam antè Leucippi, eſſe corpuſcula quædam lævia, alia aſpera, rotunda alia, partim autem angulata, curvata quædam & quaſi adunca: ex his effectum eſſe cœlum atque terram, nulla cogente natura, ſed concurſu quodam fortuito. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 66.

But Epicurus particularly inſiſted upon this doctrine, which he placed in honour, * introducing however ſome alterations in it, by which Cicero affirms, that he only ſpoiled the doctrine of Democritus, inſtead of correcting and improving it.

De Finib. l. 2. n. 17—18.

Democritus places atoms in an infinite ſpace, without either middle or extremities. There, in motion from all eternity, they unite and adhere to each other, and, by ſuch meeting and concourſe, form the world as we ſee it. Cicero cannot bear that a philoſopher, in explaining the formation of the world, ſhould ſpeak only of the Material, without ſaying a word of the Efficient cauſe. And, indeed, what an abſurdity is it to ſuppoſe, that certain ſolid and indiviſible bodies move of themſelves from all eternity by their natural weight! This Democritus holds as well as Epicurus; for the latter alſo gave his atoms a natural and intrinſic activity, which ſufficed to put them in motion: but he differed from the former in other points.

De Finib. l. 2. n. 18—20.

“ Epicurus pretends indeed, that atoms tend of “ themſelves directly downwards, which motion “ he ſays is that of all bodies. Afterwards coming “ to reflect, that, if all atoms tended continually “ downwards in a direct line, and by a perpendicular motion, it would never be poſſible for one “ of them to touch another, he ſubtly imagined “ a declination or obliquity in their motion, by the “ means of which the atoms, ſtriking againſt each “ other, blend and hook themſelves together, and “ form the world, with all the parts that compoſe “ it. Thus, by a mere fiction, he gives them, at “ the ſame time, a ſlight declination or obliquity “ of motion, without alledging any cauſe for it, “ which is ſhameful to a natural philoſopher; and “ deprives them alſo without any cauſe of the di“rect motion downwards, which he had advanced

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* Democrito adjicit, perpauca mutans, ſed ita ut ea, quæ corrigere vult, mihi quidem depravare videatur. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 17.

“ as the law or tendency of all bodies. However, “ with all the ſuppoſitions he invents he does not “ effect what he pretends. For, if all atoms have “ an equal declination or obliquity of motion, they “ will never adhere to each other. And if ſome “ have it, and not others, to give theſe a direct, and “ thoſe an oblique, motion, is giving them different employments upon truſt and at a venture. “ With all this, it would not ceaſe to be impoſſible “ for ſuch a fortuitous claſh or concourſe of atoms “ ever to produce the order and beauty of the “ univerſe.

“ If the fortuitous concourſe of atoms, ſays Cicero elſewhere, is capable of forming the world, “ why will it not as well form a portico, a temple, “ an houſe, or a city; works of much leſs difficulty? * To reaſon in ſo abſurd a manner, one “ would think, that theſe philoſophers had never “ once looked up towards the heavens, nor beheld “ all their wonderous and various beauties.” De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 94.

The doctrine of void had induced Epicurus, as well as ſome other philoſophers, to ſuppoſe a plurality of worlds, formed, as well as this we inhabit, by the fortuitous concourſe of atoms:

Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare neceſſe eſt
Eſſe alios alibi congreſſus materiaï,
Qualis hic eſt, avido complexu quem tenet æther.
Lucret. l. 2.

Gaſſendi conſiders this opinion as contrary not only to the holy Scriptures, which mention no plurality of worlds, and ſeem to ſuppoſe only one; but alſo to that of the greateſt philoſophers, as Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Plato, Ariſtotle, Zeno the Stoic, and many others. He owns however it cannot be demonſtrated, that there are not other worlds beſides this, becauſe it is in the power of God to create as many as he pleaſes: but that it would be contrary to reaſon to affirm actually that there are more, becauſe God has not revealed that to us.

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* Certe ita temerè de mundo effutiunt, ut mihi quidem nunquam hunc admirabilem cœli ornatum, qui locus eſt proximus, ſuſpexiſſe videantur.

SECT. III.

Plato's fine thought of the formation of the world.

I Do not undertake to examine what Plato's opinions were concerning the formation of the world, which would require infinite diſcuſſion. He ſometimes calls matter *eternal*; by which he does not underſtand that it ſubſiſted viſibly from all eternity, but that it ſubſiſted intellectually in the eternal idea of God. This is what he means, when Plat. in Timæo. p. 38. he ſays, *the * Exemplar or Model of the world is from all eternity.*

Ibid. p. 37. Some lines before he has the thought of which I ſpeak in this place: † *God, conſidering his work, and finding it perfectly conformable to his idea and original, rejoiced and in ſome meaſure applauded himſelf.*

What Plato ſays here, that God formed the world according to the exemplar he had conceived of it in himſelf, is very remarkable. As a ſkilful workman has the whole diſpoſition and form of his work in his head before he begins it, and works according to thoſe ideas, ſo that what he executes may be ſaid to be only a copy of the original he has before imagined, every work that ſubſiſts being pure imitation; in like manner God, in creating the world, only executed the idea he had conceived of it from all eternity. For the world, and all that it contains, exiſted intellectually in God, before it exiſted really in nature. Theſe are Plato's ideas, which he might very poſſibly have extracted from the * Scriptures, where we find that God gives Moſes models of all the works it is his will that prophet ſhould execute. What is ſaid in Geneſis of God's firſt approbation of his works as they came from his hands, and afterwards of them all in general, when he had finiſhed them, might more immediately have ſupplied Plato with that ſublime idea of the eternal exemplars upon which the world was formed. For theſe words, *And God ſaw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good,* ſignify, as the new interpreter of Geneſis obſerves, "That God, conſidering all his works at one view, "and comparing them with each other, and with "the eternal model of which they are the expreſ"ſion, found their beauty and perfection moſt ex"cellent." Gen. i. 31. Mr. du Guet.

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* Τὸ παράδειγμα, πάντα αἰῶνα ἐςὶν ὄν.

† Ἠγάσθη τε, ϗ εὐφρανθεὶς, ἔτι δὴ μᾶλλον ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐπενόησεν ἀπεργάσασθαι.

In the little I have now ſaid of Plato's opinions concerning the formation of the world, may be ſeen how much he roſe upon the phyſical principles which he might before have taken from Heraclitus.

The deſign of God, in ſetting before our eyes the infinite wonders of the world, was to make us diſcern, in the motion of all the parts of the univerſe, their relation to each other, and the concert between them, HIM who has created, and who governs them. He has every-where placed footſteps of himſelf. He has concealed and veiled himſelf under the objects of nature; but thoſe objects are ſo beautiful and grand, that they reveal the wiſdom which formed, and directs them in a thouſand different manners. How therefore could it poſſibly happen, that men, conſidered as the ſole Sages of the earth, ſhould be ſo blind and ſtupid as to attribute ſuch wonderful effects to chance, deſtiny, matter, and the ſimple combination of the laws of motion without God's having any other part in them, than to obey thoſe laws? What is the wit of man abandoned to its own darkneſs? The firſt words in the moſt antient book in the world reveal to us this great truth: *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* Theſe few words fix plainly, by the authority of Revelation, all the doubts, and diſpel all the difficulties, which ſo long perplexed the philoſophers upon one of the moſt eſſential points of religion. They were not capable of knowing it perhaps with entire certainty by the ſole light of reaſon, but they at leaſt might and ought to have had ſome idea of it. For either God muſt neceſſarily have created the heavens, the earth, and mankind; or they muſt have been eternal, which is far more inconceivable. Can a rational and unprejudiced mind ever be convinced in earneſt, that Matter, brute and void of intelligence in itſelf, could form Beings that wear the ſtamp of Perfect Wiſdom. Faith ſhortens the way very much, and ſpares us abundance of pains. There are ſubjects, in which reaſon, unaided by that light, can make no progreſs with any certainty.

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* *Some have believed, that he had ſeen them during his travels.*

ARTICLE III.

Of the nature of the ſoul.

THERE is hardly any queſtion, about which the philoſophers are more divided, than that which relates to the nature of the ſoul; and there is hardly one, which ſhews more ſenſibly, of what human weakneſs is capable, when guided ſolely by its own lights. They diſpute much with each other about what the ſoul is, where it reſides, from whence it derives its origin, and what becomes of it after death. Some believe the heart itſelf to be the ſoul. Empedocles ſays, it is the blood which is mingled in the heart; and others that it is a certain part of

Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 18, 22.

of the brain. Many affirm, that neither the heart, nor the brain, are the ſoul itſelf, but only the ſeat of the ſoul; and that it is a breath or elſe a fire. This laſt is the opinion of Zeno the Stoic. Ariſtoxenus the muſician, who was alſo a philoſopher, makes it conſiſt in a certain harmony of the different parts of the body: Xenocrates places it in numbers, as Pythagoras had thought before him. Plato diſtinguiſhes three parts in the ſoul. He places the principal, which is reaſon, in the head: and makes the two others, choler and cupidity, reſide, the firſt in the breaſt, and the other under the heart. Ariſtotle, perceiving that not one of the four principles, of which, according to him, all things are made, was ſuſceptible of the properties of the ſoul, as thinking, knowing, loving, hating, *&c.* * ſuppoſes a fifth, to which he gives no name; calling the ſoul by a new term, that, according to Cicero, ſignifies a continued and uninterrupted motion, but a term in effect, of which the moſt learned neither underſtand nor can explain the force.

This is the enumeration Cicero gives us of the various opinions of the philoſophers concerning the nature of the ſoul. For as to that of Democritus, who makes it conſiſt of atoms, he does not think it worth repeating. He concludes this detail with theſe words, which ſeem to expreſs a great indifference for ſo important a ſubject: † *Which of all theſe opinions is true, ſome god may know; we content ourſelves with inquiring which is the moſt probable.* The ſyſtem of the Academy, which he eſpouſed, was, that the falſe is univerſally mingled in ſuch a manner with the true, and reſembles it ſo much, that there is no certain mark to diſtinguiſh them from each other.

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* Quintum genus adhibet, vacans nomine; & ſic ipſum animum ἐντελέχειαν appellat novo nomine, quaſi quandam continuatam motionem, & perennem. *Cic. ibid.*

† Harum ſententiarum quæ vera ſit, deus aliquis viderit: quæ veriſimillima, magna quæſtio eſt.

Accordingly Cicero, in the places where he mentions the immortality of the ſoul, ſpeaks of it almoſ always with doubt, and as one who ſuppoſes th ſyſtems for and againſt it equally poſſible and rational. And would to God that only the antien philoſophers were to be reproached with this wa of thinking! It certainly argues a deplorable blindneſs in them, and a renunciation of all light an reaſon. But this doubt, when voluntary and confirmed, is abſolutely monſtrous and inconceivabl in a Chriſtian. “The immortality of the ſoul
Chap. 1. “ ſays M. Paſcal in his Thoughts, is a thing o
“ ſuch importance to us, and concerns us ſo highly
“ that one muſt have loſt all reaſon to be indifferen
“ about it. All our actions and thoughts muſ
“ have ſo different a bent according to our belie
“ that there are or are not eternal good things t
“ be hoped, that it is impoſſible to take any ſte
“ with ſenſe and judgment, without regulating i
“ with a view to this point, which ought to b
“ our final object.” Is there any ſtupidity, could almoſt ſay brutality, like that of daring t riſque an eternity of happineſs or miſery, upon mere doubt?

Many of the philoſophers, of whom I have bee ſpeaking, admitted only bodies, and no pure ſpirits diſtinct from matter; even the Stoics, whoſ moral doctrine in other reſpects included ſuch fin principles, were of this number. * They did no believe that, the ſoul was abſolutely immortal, bu only made it live a great while, *like crows*, ſay
Lib. 1. c. 10. Cicero. Voſſius, in his treatiſe upon idolatry, believes, that by that *great while*, they underſtoo the whole duration of the world, till the genera
De nat. deor. l. n. 118. conflagration. For, according to the Stoics, by a ultimate revolution, the whole world was to becom only fire. Particular ſouls were then, with all th

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* Stoici uſuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus: diu man ſuros aiunt animos, ſemper negant. *Tuſc. Quæſt. l.* 1. n. 77.

reſt, to be reſolved into, and blended with the univerſal ſoul, their firſt principle. Till then they were to inhabit in the upper region, where they would have nothing to do but to philoſophiſe at their eaſe, ſupremely happy in the clear viſion of the univerſe.

Cicero deſcribes this philoſophical beatitude with a kind of enthuſiaſm. "Certainly, ſays he, we "ſhall be happy, when, with our bodies, we ſhall "have thrown off all paſſion and diſquiet. What "now conſtitutes our joy, when free from all care "we apply ourſelves ardently to ſome object that "engages and delights us, we ſhall then do with "far greater liberty; abandoning ourſelves entirely "to the contemplation of all things, which it will "be given us to know perfectly. The ſituation "itſelf of the places to which we ſhall have at-"tained, in facilitating to us the view of celeſtial "objects, and in kindling in us the deſire of pe-"netrating their beauties, will enable us fully to "ſatisfy the inſatiable ardour natural to us for "knowing truth.——* And it will diſcover itſelf "more or leſs to us, in proportion as we ſhall "have been more or leſs ſollicitous to nouriſh our-"ſelves with it during our abode upon earth.—— "What a ſight will it be, when we ſhall be able, "at one view, to behold the whole earth, its ſitu-"ation, figure, limits, and all its regions, whe-"ther inhabited, or deſert and void through ex-"ceſs of heat and cold!"

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 44, 45.

Behold here then the extent of philoſophic beatitude! What blindeſs and miſery! We ſee however, through this darkneſs, an admirable and very inſtructive principle: That, in the other life, Truth will reveal itſelf to us in proportion as we have ſought after and loved it in this.

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* Præcipuè verò fruentur eâ, qui tum etiam, cùm has terras incolentes circumfuſi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis diſpicere cupiebant.

The philoſophers, who admit the immortality of the ſoul, give it a more noble employment after death. I do not examine whether Ariſtotle is to be ranked in that number. That queſtion has exerciſed and divided the Learned, and is not for his honour, from only continuing dubious. As to Plato, we ſee in all his works, that as well as Socrates his maſter, and Pythagoras who preceded them, he believed the ſoul to be immortal. Cicero, after having repeated many of his proofs, adds, that Plato * ſeems to endeavour to perſuade others of this truth, but to be fully convinced of it himſelf.

Plato, treading in the ſteps of Socrates, opens † two ways for ſouls after death: one of theſe leads ſuch as have ſullied themſelves with crimes and violence upon earth to the place of torments; and by the other aſcend to the auguſt aſſembly of the gods, the pure and innocent ſouls, that, during their abode in bodies, have had as little commerce as poſſible with them, and have induſtriouſly imitated the life of the gods, from whom they derive their origin, by practiſing every kind of virtue. Right reaſon alone made theſe great philoſophers perceive, that, to juſtify Providence, it was neceſſary, that there were rewards for the good, and puniſhments for the wicked, after this life.

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* Plato pro immortalitate animæ tot rationes attulit, ut velle cæteris, ſibi certè perſuaſiſſe, videatur. *Tuſc. Quæſt. l.* 1. *n.* 49.

† Ita cenſebat (Socrates) duas eſſe vias duplicesque curſus animorum è corpore excedentium. Nam qui ſe humanis vitiis contaminaſſent, & ſe totos libidinibus dediſſent, quibus cæcati velut domeſticis vitiis atque flagitiis ſe inquinaſſent, vel in rep. violanda fraudes inexpiables concepiſſent, iis demum quoddam iter eſſe ſecluſum à concilio deorum. Qui autem ſe integros caſtoſque ſervaviſſent, quibuſque fuiſſet minima cum corporibus contagio, ſeſeque ab his ſemper ſevocaſſent, eſſentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum; his ad illos, à quibus eſſent profecti, reditum facilem patere. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 72.

ARTI-

ARTICLE. IV.

Of the effects of nature.

THIS is properly the place where I ſhould treat on Phyſics at large, and enumerate the principal queſtions it conſiders, in order to ſhew the origin and progreſs of this ſcience, and the different opinions of the antients and moderns concerning it. But this ſubject, beſides exceeding my ability, is too vaſt and extenſive to be contained within the narrow limits of an abridgment. The reader may find it treated with great perſpicuity in the work of F. Reynault the Jeſuit, intitled, *The antient origin of modern phyſics*, of which I have made great uſe. He retains a very extraordinary moderation in it, whilſt he does equal juſtice to the antients and moderns. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with ſome general reflections.

The Phyſics alone, or almoſt alone, were for many ages the employment and delight of the learned of Greece. They were the reigning ſcience there during about * four hundred years. The philoſophers were divided into two famous ſchools, the Ionic, of which Thales was the founder; and the Italic, who followed Pythagoras, as I have obſerved before. But the philoſophers, who acquired moſt fame in reſpect to phyſics, were Democritus and Leucippus, becauſe Epicurus adopted their ſyſtem, which we have extenſively from Lucretius.

This ſyſtem, as I have already obſerved, admitted no principles but Matter and Void; two points, of which the one, I mean Void, is ſcarce conceivable; and the other repugnant to reaſon, eſpecially in reſpect to the *Inclination* or obliquity, which Epicurus gives his Atoms. Notwithſtanding the abſurdities of this ſyſtem, the Epicureans, properly ſpeaking, were the only natural philoſophers of antiquity. They at leaſt ſaw, that the Cauſes of what happens to Bodies, were to be ſought only in Bodies, as well as their properties, motion, reſt, and figure: and, with this principle, they do not explain certain particular effects amiſs, though they err groſsly in reſpect to Firſt Cauſes.

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* *From Thales to Hipparchus, with whom the natural philoſophers of antiquity end, very near that number of years are computed.*

Ariſtotle treated Phyſics, or rather ſpoiled them, in explaining corporeal effects by terms that can relate only to Mind, as *Sympathy*, *Antipathy*, *Horror*, &c. and in defining things only by ſome of their effects, often ill choſen, expreſſed in an obſcure manner, and almoſt always without ſhewing their cauſes.

It was not till an age before the birth of JESUS CHRIST, that Phyſics began to appear at Rome, and to ſpeak the Roman language there by the mouth of Lucretius. "At length, ſays that "philoſophical poet, the ſecrets of nature are no "longer myſteries: and I can boaſt of being the "firſt that taught them to ſpeak the language of "our country:"

Lucr. l. 5. *Denique natura hæc rerum ratioque reperta eſt*
Nuper; & hanc primus cum primis ipſe repertus
Nunc ego ſum, in patrias qui poſſim vertere voces.

Seneca* ſays, that the cauſes of the eclipſes of the moon, and of many other Phænomena in nature, were but lately known at Rome; with what reaſon I cannot ſay. † Long before Pliny's time, the day and hour of eclipſes were foretold; and ‡ Cicero aſſures us, that in his time the hour and magnitude of all eclipſes, either of ſun or moon, had been calculated for all ſucceeding ages. Sulpitius Gallus, the evening before Paulus Æmilius was to give Perſeus battle, foretold an eclipſe of the moon, that was to happen the ſame night, and gave the army the reaſons of it. The eclipſe began exactly at the hour he had mentioned, which made the troops conſider him as a perſon of more than human knowledge. *Editâ hora luna cùm defeciſſet, Romanis militibus Galli ſapientia prope divina videri.* This laſt example proves, that this kind of knowledge was very rare amongſt the Romans in thoſe days, who never applied themſelves very much either to the ſtudy of Phyſics, or the other Superior ſciences.

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* Cur luna deficiat, hoc apud nos quoque nuper ratio ad certum perduxit. *Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. 7. c* 25.

† Inventa eſt jampridem ratio prænuntians horas, non modò dies ac noctes, ſolis lunæque defectuum. *Plin. l.* 20, *c.* 2.

‡ Defectiones ſolis & lunæ cognitæ prædictæque in omne poſterum tempus, quæ, quantæ, quando futuræ ſint. *Cic. de nat. deor. l.* 2. *n.* 135.

Liv. l. 44. n. 37.

The Greeks differed much from them in this point. They cultivated them during a great length of time, and, if the honour of inventing them be not their due, no-body can deny them that of having exceedingly improved them. It is not eaſy to find a ſyſtem of the world applauded in our days, of which the antients have not at leaſt had ſome knowledge. If we fix the earth with Tycho Brahe, in order to make the ſun, circled with Mercury and Venus, turn round it, that ſyſtem was known to Vitruvius. Some fix the ſun and ſtars, to make the earth turn round from Weſt to Eaſt exactly upon its centre: and this is the ſyſtem, at leaſt in part, of Ecphantus the Pythagorean, and of Nicetas the Syracuſan. The ſyſtem now in vogue is that which places the ſun in the centre of a vortex, and the earth in the number of the planets; and which makes the planets turn round the ſun in the following order: Mercury, neareſt the ſun; Venus; the earth turning upon its centre, with the moon revolving round it; Mars; Jupiter; and Saturn laſt of all. This ſyſtem of Copernicus is not new: it is that of * Ariſtarchus, and part of the mathe-

Vitruv. de Archit. l. 9. p. 284 & 287.

Plut. de placit. philoſ. l. 3. p. 895.

Cic. Acad. Quæſt. l. 4.

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* Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 54 & 56.

mathematicians of antiquity; of* Cleanthes of Samos; of † Philolaus; of the ‡ Pythagoreans, and very probably of Pythagoras himſelf.

And indeed it had been a wonder if this ſyſtem of Copernicus, which ſeems ſo rational, had never entered into the thoughts of any of the antient philoſophers. This ſyſtem, I ſay, appears very rational. For, if the earth did not move, the ſun and all the ſtars, which are very great bodies, muſt make an immenſe revolution round the earth in twenty-four hours; and the fixed ſtars which would be in the greateſt circle, where the motion is always the ſtrongeſt, would in one day take a compaſs of three hundred millions of leagues, and go farther than from hence to China, in the time one could pronounce theſe words, *Go to China*. For all this muſt happen, if the earth does not turn round upon its own axis every twenty-four hours. It is not difficult to conceive, that it does turn round in this manner, which at moſt is not above nine thouſand leagues, a trifle in compariſon with three hundred millions.

Amongſt the Moderns, rational phyſics had made little progreſs till the time of Deſcartes. He took from the Epicureans the principle, That, to explain the effects of bodies, recourſe was to be had only to bodies. But religion taught him to reject their impious principles of Neceſſity and Chance. For the principle of his phyſics he lays down a God the Creator and Firſt Mover. He alſo proſcribed the *Vacuum* as inconceivable, and *Atoms*, admitting matter to be diviſible *ad infinitum*, or, as he terms it himſelf, *ad indefinitum*.

With matter and motion, which, he owns, could proceed only from the hands of God, he had the boldneſs to create a world; and, inſtead of tracing effects to their cauſes, he pretended to eſtabliſh cauſes, and to deduce effects from them. From thence flows his hypotheſis of *Vortices*, which is the moſt probable opinion hitherto advanced upon the Cauſes of the univerſe, though, in a great number of particular conſequences, Deſcartes, in effect of the weakneſs inſeparable from human nature, is frequently enough miſtaken.

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* Plut. de facie in orbe lunæ, p. 923.

† Plut. de placit. philoſ. p. 896.

‡ Ariſtot. de cœlo, l. 2. c. 13. p. 658.

His Phyſics reigned in peace, when Newton undertook to dethrone them. He ſet the Vacuum on foot again, and pretended to demonſtrate the impoſſibility of vortices; in a word, to ſubvert entirely the Carteſian Phyſics. Hence enſued a great war in the learned world, which has been carried on with abundance of warmth and vigour on both ſides. Whether the learned Engliſhman has ſucceeded, or not, is a queſtion that does not concern me, and will not ſoon be decided. He has at leaſt been more circumſpect than Deſcartes, in having propoſed to himſelf to proceed from known effects to the diſcovery of their cauſes.

It muſt be owned in general, that, in reſpect to phyſics, the Moderns have very much improved the learning of the Antients, and have added many new diſcoveries to them of great importance. And it could not have happened otherwiſe. Could it be poſſible, for ſo many fine geniuſſes, as ſucceſſively applied themſelves to the obſervation of Nature, during the courſe of ſo many ages, not to have inriched phyſics, eſpecially ſince they have diſcovered extraordinary aids which the antients had not? Nature is an inexhauſtible fund, and curioſity has ſcarce any bounds. Hence it was no illuſion, when Seneca foreſaw, that poſterity would diſcover abundance of ſecrets in nature unknown in his time. “Nature *, ſaid that great man, does not diſcloſe

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* Rerum natura ſacra ſua non ſimul tradit——Veniet tempus, quo iſta, quæ nunc latent, in lucem dies extrahat——quo poſteri noſtri

"all her myſteries at once. The time will come, "when much that is now hid will appear in full "light. Poſterity will wonder how ſuch evident "things eſcaped us; and even the vulgar know "what we are ignorant of." This opinion is entirely reaſonable, and rich in ſenſe. Many things have conduced to the conſiderable progreſs of phyſics amongſt the moderns.

They may be ſaid to have entirely changed face, and ſoared to new heights, ſince the learned have made it a law to themſelves to ſtudy Nature in nature itſelf, to make uſe of their own eyes and reaſon for diſcovering its myſteries, and no longer ſubject themſelves blindly and without examination to the judgment of others; in a word, ſince they have thrown off the yoke of authority, which in Phyſical matters ought not to inſlave our minds, and is only proper to keep them, through weak reſpect, in a ſtate of idle and preſumptuous ignorance. What progreſs did Phyſics make during the courſe of the fourteen or fifteen ages, in which the authorities of Ariſtotle and Plato were alternately the law? That method ſerved only to excite vain diſputes, to prevent generous efforts, and to extinguiſh all curioſity and emulation; whilſt the lives of philoſophers moſt capable of improving phyſics paſſed in knowing what had already been thought, rather than what one ought to think.

I always diſliked a maxim of Cicero's, which however pleaſed him much, and which he repeats more than once. It is, that he had rather err with Plato, than think aright with the other philoſophers. *Errare mehercule malo cum Platone——quam cum iſtis vera ſentire.* I don't ſee how this thought can conſiſt with good ſenſe. Is it ever juſt to prefer error to truth, under whatever fine name or ſpecious form it may conceal itſelf? We ſee here

Tuſcul. l. 1. n. 39.

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noſtri tam aperta neſciſſe nos mirentur——Multa venientis ævi populus ignota nobis ſciet.

the tendency of this kind of idolatry for great men. Only Religion has a right to captivate our minds in this manner, becauſe it has God himſelf for its voucher, and there is no fear of erring with it.

Every body knows how much nature ſeems to affect concealing her ſecrets from us. To diſcover her myſteries, it is neceſſary to follow her ſtep by ſtep; we muſt, to uſe the expreſſion, ſurpriſe her in her operations; we muſt make obſervations and experiments; we muſt have a due number of phænomena, in order to eſtabliſh a juſt principle for explaining them; and experiments muſt verify conjectures. The Antients practiſed all I have now ſaid to a certain degree, and not without ſucceſs. But the ſagacity of the Moderns, aſſiſted by the invention of many new inſtruments, has roſe exceedingly upon their knowledge. The principal of theſe new inventions are the teleſcope, the microſcope, the Torricellian tube, or the barometer, and the air-pump.

One Zachariah Janſen invented the teleſcope and microſcope about the end of the ſixteenth century; Torricelli the tube, which bears his name, otherwiſe called the barometer, about the middle of the ſeventeenth century; and Otho Guerick the air-pump, ſome time after.

Zachariah Janſen was an Hollander of Middleburg in Zeland, by trade a ſpectacle-maker. Chance, by which a great number of the fineſt diſcoveries are made, and under which divine Providence delights to conceal itſelf, had a great ſhare in this of Janſen. Without any premeditated deſign, he placed two ſpectacle-glaſſes at a certain diſtance oppoſite to each other, and perceived, that the two glaſſes in that ſituation magnified objects conſiderably. In conſequence he fixed glaſſes in that manner, and from the year 1590 made one of the length of twelve inches. Such was the origin of the teleſcope, which was afterwards greatly improved.

The inventor of the teleſcope did in little almoſt what he had done in large; and from thence came the microſcope. To the former of theſe inſtruments we are indebted for the knowledge of the heavens, at leaſt in part; and to the latter for that of a new little world. For we muſt not believe that we ſee every thing that inhabits the earth. There are as many ſpecies of inviſible as viſible animals. We ſee them from the elephant to the mite. And there our ſight ends. But at the mite begins an infinite multitude of animals, of which that inſect is the elephant, and which our eyes cannot diſcern without aid. By the help of the microſcope we ſee thouſands of inſects, ſwimming and darting to and fro, in the hundredth part of a drop of water. Lewenhoeck ſays, that he has ſeen fifty thouſand in a very ſmall drop of liquor.

Theſe glaſſes may be ſaid to be a new organ of ſight, which one could not have preſumed to expect from the hands of Art. How much would the antients have been ſurpriſed, if it had been foretold to them, that, by the means of certain inſtruments, their poſterity ſhould one day ſee an infinity of objects not ſeen by them: an heaven unknown to them, and plants and animals, of which they did not ſo much as ſuſpect the poſſibility!

Torricelli was Mathematican to the Duke of Florence, and Galileo's ſucceſſor. Galileo was for having the efficacy of the horror of a Vacuum occaſion water to riſe in pumps, to about two and thirty feet, and to ſupport it there, where he fixed that famous efficacy. In 1643, Torricelli tried the efficacy of this imaginary horror in quickſilver. He cauſed a glaſs tube of three or four feet to be made and ſealed at the end hermetically. This he filled with quickſilver, and turned it upſide down as is ſtill practiſed. The quickſilver came down, but ſtopped, as of itſelf, at the depth of between twenty-ſeven and twenty-eight inches.

Otho Guerick, conſul of Magdeburg, formed the deſign of trying a much greater kind of Vacuum than that of the tube of Torricelli. Accordingly he cauſed a large round veſſel of glaſs to be made, with a ſufficiently ſmall opening at bottom, and a pump and ſucker to draw the air out of the veſſel. And this was the origin of the air-pump. Wonders came from his hands, that amazed philoſophers, no leſs than other people. With what aſtoniſhment, for inſtance, did they not ſee two braſs baſons, made exactly in the form of demi-ſpheres, and applied to each other at their edges, that could not be ſeparated by eight horſes on a ſide made faſt to each of them, and drawing different ways!

It is eaſy to conceive how much theſe machines, and others of a like nature, invented by the moderns, and much improved by uſe itſelf, and length of time, muſt have conduced to the progreſs of Phyſical Obſervations.

But what has contributed moſt to it is the eſtabliſhment of Academies. The laſt age gave birth to four of the moſt famous almoſt at the ſame time. *The Academy del Cimento*, at Florence; *the Royal Society*, at London; *the Royal Academy of Sciences*, at Paris; *and the Academy of the Curious in the ſecrets of nature*, in Germany. The deſire of ſupporting the reputation of a body of which one is a member, and of diſtinguiſhing one's ſelf by important works, is a powerful incentive with the learned, which keeps them almoſt continually in action. Beſides which, only ſocieties, and ſocieties protected by the prince, are capable of making the neceſſary collection of obſervations and well atteſted facts, for eſtabliſhing a future ſyſtem. Neither the learning, pains, life, nor faculties of a ſingle perſon ſuffice for that. Too great a number of experiments, of too many different kinds, all too frequently repeated in too many various manners, and purſued with the ſame ſpirit for too great a length of time, are neceſſary to that effect.

I admire the wiſdom and modeſty of the Academy of Sciences, that, notwithſtanding the many learned Works with which it has inriched the public, and the many uſeful diſcoveries that are the fruits of its labours and obſervations, conſiders the ſciences, at leaſt phyſics, as ſtill in their cradle. But I admire ſtill more the religious uſe it makes of ſuch curious knowledge, which, according to it, ought to inſpire us with an high regard for the Author of nature, from the admiration of his works. "One can ſcarce help repeating often, ſay its memoirs, that in reſpect to the phyſics, the moſt common objects become ſo many miracles, as ſoon as we conſider them with certain eyes." And in another place, "The ſublime reflections into which phyſics lead us upon the Author of the univerſe, are not to be ranked amongſt its ſimple curioſities. That great work, always the more wonderful the more it is known, gives us ſo high an idea of the artificer, that we find ourſelves loſt in admiration and reverence of him, as often as we look into it. True Phyſics riſe ſo high as to become a kind of Theology."

Before I proceed to the mathematics, I ſhall touch lightly upon Phyſic or Medicine, Anatomy, Botany, and Chymiſtry, all which are either parts of, or relate to, phyſics in general or natural philoſophy. Tertullian calls the phyſician's art *the ſiſter of philoſophy*; and every body knows the three others depend on Phyſic.

CHAPTER IV.

I Treat what relates to Phyſic in a ſeparate chapter, to which I add Botany, Chymiſtry, and Anatomy, which are parts of it, but of which I ſhall ſay very little.

SECT. I.

OF PHYSIC.

PHYSIC is undoubtedly of the ſame date with diſeaſes, for men have endeavoured to rid themſelves of them, ever ſince they knew them; and diſeaſes are almoſt as antient as the world itſelf, becauſe they were the effect and puniſhment of ſin. Men were long each his own phyſician, and it is hard to fix the time when Phyſic was firſt made an art and profeſſion. Neceſſity and experience made way for them. In certain countries, thoſe who had been cured of ſome diſeaſe, wrote down how, and by what remedies it had been effected, and depoſited thoſe accounts in the temples, for the inſtruction of others in like caſes. In other places, as in Egypt and Babyloni the ſick were expoſed in public, in order that ſuch as paſſed by, who might have been ſick and cured of the ſame diſtemper, might give them advice.

Plin. l. 29. in Proœm.

Her. l. 1. c. 197. Strab. l. 1. p. 155. & l. 16. p. 746.

The Egyptians conſidered their god Hermes, that is to ſay, Mercury, as the inventor of medicine. It is certain that they cultivated it both more antiently and more learnedly than any other people.

The Greeks diſputed that glory with them, or at leaſt followed them very cloſe in it. They will ſupply us with all the phyſicians, of whom I ſhall ſpeak: for the Romans applied themſelves little to this ſcience. Before the Trojan war, Chiron the Theſſalian, ſurnamed the Centaur, who was Achilles's governor, made himſelf famous in phyſic by the cure of wounds, and the knowledge of ſimples, which he imparted to that hero, and his friend Patroclus.

Æſculapius, Chiron's diſciple, did not give place to his maſter. Pindar repreſents him as extremely verſed in all the parts of phyſic. Fable tells us, Jupiter, inraged that he had reſtored Hippolytus the ſon of Theſeus to life, killed him with thunder. Which intimates, that by his ſkill he cured ſuch deſperate diſeaſes, that he was ſaid to reſtore the dead to life.

Pindar. Pythior. Od. 3.

Having been placed in the number of the immortals, temples were erected to him in different places as the god of health. The moſt famous was that of Epidaurus. It was from thence, in conſequence of a famous deputation, at the head of which was Q. Ogulnius, that he is pretended to have come to Rome in the form of a ſerpent, and to have delivered the city from the plague in the year 461, from its foundation. A temple was afterwards built for him without the walls. That of Cos, the country of Hippocrates, was alſo very famous. In it were ſeveral tables or paintings, on which were written down the remedies the god had directed many ſick perſons to take, who had been cured in effect.

Homer gives Æſculapius two ſons, both famous phyſicians, of whom mention is made in the Iliad; the one called Machaon, very expert in chirurgical operations, which in thoſe times, as well as in ſucceeding ages, was not diſtinct from the practice of phyſic; the other Podalirius, more verſed in the kind of phyſic called afterwards λογικὴ, that is to ſay, founded upon principles and reaſonings. On his return from the Trojan war, Podalirius was driven by a tempeſt upon the coaſts of Caria, where he cured a daughter of king Damæthus, by bleeding her in both arms. The father, by way of reward, gave

Steph. Byzant. in voce *Syrna*

gave her to him in marriage. Amongſt other children, he had one called Hippolochus, from whom Hippocrates ſaid he was deſcended.

Pliny ſuppoſes an interval of ſix or ſeven hundred years between the ſiege of Troy and the Peloponneſian war, that is to ſay, the time of Hippocrates: which is not entirely exact. Celſus places Pythagoras, who lived in the time of Cyrus and his two ſucceſſors, and ſome other philoſophers, as Empedocles and Democritus, in the number of celebrated phyſicians.

Plin. l. 29. c. 1.

Celſ. in Præf.

Phyſicians are diſtinguiſhed into different claſſes and ſects. Some are called *Empirics*, becauſe they followed experience almoſt entirely in their practice. Others, of whom Hippocrates was the chief, joined reaſon with experience, which kind of phyſic took the name of *Dogmatic* or *Rational* from them. Some affected to depart from all other phyſicians, and to follow a peculiar method of their own: theſe were called the *Methodiſts*. I ſhall not confine myſelf ſcrupulouſly to this diviſion. I ſhall only follow the order of time, and ſpeak of ſuch phyſicians as were moſt known. All the different ſects of phyſicians, for there is a great number of them, are learnedly treated on in Mr. Daniel le Clerc's hiſtory of phyſic, a work of profound erudition.

A. M. 3485. Ant. J. C. 519.

Her. l. 3. p. 124, 133.

Democedes of Crotona gave proofs of his ſkill, in reſtoring ſleep and health to king Darius, whom ſprain of the foot, occaſioned by a fall from his horſe, kept perpetually awake, and in exceſſive pain, which the phyſicians of the country were not able to remove. He afterwards cured the queen Atoſſa of an ulcer, which ſhe had long concealed out of modeſty. I have related this phyſician's hiſtory, with that of Darius.

A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300.

Galen. Comment. 11 in lib. Hippoc.

Herophilus acquired alſo great fame by phyſic. He made much uſe of botany, and ſtill more of anatomy, in which he made great improvements. The princes permitted him to diſſect the living bodies of condemned criminals, of whom a great number paſſed through his hands. * This made Tertullian call him an executioner rather than a phyſician.

A. M. 3540. Ant. J. C. 464. Euſtath. in Iliad.

Herodicus of Sicily flouriſhed under Artaxerxes Longimanus. The ſect called Διαιτητικὴ, from uſing ſcarce any remedy except diet and a regimen of life, acknowledged him their chief; as well as that called *Gymnaſtic* ſect, from making great uſe of the exerciſe of the body for reſtoring and confirming health. He was the brother of the famous rhetorician Gorgias, but is beſt known by one of his diſciples.

A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460.

Hippocrates, of the iſland of Cos, is that illuſtrious diſciple. His birth is dated the firſt year of the LXXXth Olympiad. He is ſaid to have deſcended from Æſculapius by Heraclides his father, and from Hercules by his mother Praxitea. He firſt applied himſelf to the ſtudy of natural things in general, and afterwards to that of the human body in particular. His own father was his firſt maſter. He alſo received leſſons from another celebrated phyſician, Herodicus, of whom I ſpoke laſt. He made a great proficiency in all the parts of phyſic, and carried the knowledge of it as high as was poſſible in thoſe days.

I have already ſaid that he was born at Cos. That iſland was conſecrated to the god Æſculapius, who was adored there in a particular manner. It was a cuſtom for all, who had been cured of any diſtemper, to make an exact memorandum of the ſymptoms that had attended it, and the remedies by which they had been relieved. Hippocrates had cauſed all theſe accounts to be copied, which were of no ſmall advantage to him, and ſerved him inſtead of a great length of experience.

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* Herophilus ille medicus, aut lanius, qui ſexcentos execuit, ut naturam ſcrutaretur: qui homines odit, ut noſſet. *Tertul. lib. de anima*, c. 10.

His

A. M. 3574. Ant. J. C. 430.

Ant. Hiſt. Vol. III.

His vaſt capacity appeared in a peculiar manner during the plague, that raged particularly in the city of Athens and throughout Attica during the Peloponneſian war. I have related elſewhere his great zeal and devotion for the preſervation of his country, the noble diſintereſtedneſs which induced him to refuſe the advantageous offers of the king of Perſia, and the extraordinary honours with which Greece thought it incumbent upon itſelf to reward the important ſervices he had rendered it.

The people of Abdera are ſaid to have written to Hippocrates to deſire him to come thither to viſit Democritus. They ſaw that philoſopher regardleſs of every thing, laugh at every thing, ſay that the air was full of images, and boaſt that he made voyages into the vaſt immenſe of things. Conſidering all this as ſo many ſymptoms and beginnings of phrenzy, they were afraid he would run mad, and that his great learning would entirely turn his brain. Hippocrates ſet them right and judged very differently of Democritus's condition. It is not certain that the letters aſcribed to Hippocrates, from whence this fact is taken, are genuine.

The writings which he left behind him in great number, have always been and ſtill are conſidered, as the moſt perfect in this kind, and as the beſt and moſt proper foundation for the ſtudy of phyſic. He has preſerved the remembrance of an event in them, which does him ſtill more honour than all learning and capacity. It is the ſincere confeſſion of an error, which he had committed in dreſſing a wound in the head: for antiently, as we have obſerved, phyſic, ſurgery, and pharmacy, were not diſtinct profeſſions. * He is not aſhamed to own, at the

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* De ſuturis ſe deceptum eſſe Hippocrates memoriæ prodidit, more magnorum virorum, & fiduciam magnarum rerum habentium. Nam levia ingenia, quia nihil habent, nihil ſibi detrahunt. Magno ingenio, multaque nihilominus habituro, convenit etiam veri erroris confeſſio, præcipuè in eo miniſterio, quod utilitatis cauſa poſteris traditur, ne qui decipiantur eadem ratione qua quis deceptus eſt. *Celſ.* l. 8. c. 4.

expence in ſome meaſure of his glory, that he was miſtaken; leſt others, after him, and by his example, ſhould fall into the ſame error. Little minds, ſays Celſus, and men of vulgar abilities, do not act in this manner, but are much more careful of the ſmall reputation they have, becauſe they can loſe nothing without impoveriſhing themſelves. Only great geniuſſes, conſcious to themſelves of the abundance they otherwiſe poſſeſs, are capable of ſuch a confeſſion, and of neglecting the little loſſes that diminiſh nothing of their riches and opulence.

He makes alſo another confeſſion, that argues an admirable ſpirit of candour and ingenuity. Of forty-two patients, whoſe diſtempers he deſcribes in his firſt and third books *upon epidemical diſeaſes* he owns that he cured only ſeventeen, that the reſt died under his hands. In the ſecond book of the ſame work, ſpeaking of a kind of quinſey, attended with dangerous ſymptoms, he ſays, that all his patients recovered. *Had they died*, adds he, *I ſhould have ſaid ſo with the ſame freedom.*

Lib. de arte.

In another place, he complains modeſtly of the injuſtice of thoſe who cry down phyſic, under the pretence, that many people die in the hands of phyſicians. As if, ſays he, the death of the patient might not be imputed to the unſurmountable violence of the diſtemper, as much, or rather more than to the fault of the phyſician.

Lib. præceptionum.

He declares, that it is no diſhonour to a phyſician, when he is at a loſs how to act in certain difficult caſes, to call in other phyſicians, in order to conſult with them upon what is neceſſary to be done for the patient's good. From whence we ſee that ſuch conſultations are an antient cuſtom.

The character of a truly honeſt man, and one of the greateſt probity, appears in the oath of Hippocrates, with which he introduces his works. He calls the gods, who preſide over phyſic, to witneſs the ſincere deſire he has to diſcharge exactly all the duties of his ſtation. He expreſſes a warm and reſpectful gratitude for him who taught him the art of phyſic, and declares that he ſhall always conſider him as his father, and his children as his own brothers, whom he ſhall make it his duty to aſſiſt upon all occaſions, both with his fortune and advice. He proteſts, that, in the regimen which he ſhall preſcribe for the ſick, he ſhall take great care to conſult what may be beſt for them, and to avoid whatever may be to their prejudice. He propoſes to himſelf the leading of a pure and irreproachable life, and not to diſhonour his profeſſion by any action worthy of blame. He ſays that he ſhall never undertake to cut for the ſtone, and ſhall leave that operation to perſons whom long experience has rendered dexterous at it. He proteſts that, if in viſiting his patients or otherwiſe, he ſhall diſcover any thing which ought to be concealed, that he will never reveal it, but will inviolably obſerve the ſacred law of ſecrecy. And laſtly he hopes, by his punctual attachment to all theſe rules, that he ſhall acquire the eſteem of poſterity, and conſents to forfeit the good opinion of the world for ever, if he is ſo unfortunate as to depart from them.

He is highly praiſed for his diſintereſtedneſs, a moſt eſtimable virtue in a phyſician. What he ſays upon this ſubject is worthy of remark. He is for having the phyſician act, in reſpect to his fees, with honour and humanity, and regulate them by the patient's power to reward them more or leſs liberally. There are even occaſions, ſays he, on which a phyſician ought neither to aſk nor to expect reward; as in the caſes of ſtrangers and the poor, whom all the world are obliged to aſſiſt.

In Lib. præreptionum.

He appears to have been full of reſpect for the Divinity. "Thoſe, ſays he, who firſt diſcovered "the manner of curing diſeaſes, believed it an art, "of which the invention ought to be attributed to "God."

De priſc. medic.

" God." I have already obſerved elſewhere, that Cicero was of the ſame opinion : *Deorum immortalium inventioni conſecrata eſt ars medica.* Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3.

Nothing is particularly known of the death of Hippocrates. He died at a very advanced age, and left two ſons, THESSALUS and DRACO, who acquired great reputation amongſt the phyſicians, as well as POLYBIUS, his ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor.

I have ſpoken, in the hiſtory of Philip, of the ridiculous vanity of a phyſician called MENECRATES, whom that prince treated as he deſerved.

A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333. PHILIP of Acarnania is known from the ſalutary draught he gave Alexander the Great, which ſaved his life, at a time when endeavours had been uſed to render that phyſician ſuſpected.

A. M. 3722. Ant. J. C. 282. Val. Max. l. 5. c. 7. Vol. VII. ERASISTRATUS made himſelf known and eſteemed by his addreſs in diſcovering the cauſe of the ſickneſs of Antiochus Soter, the ſon of Seleucus king of Syria. I have related the fact in its place. Plin. l. 29. in Proœm. If Pliny may be believed, that wonderful cure which reſtored a tenderly beloved ſon to his father, was rewarded with an hundred talents, that is to ſay, an hundred thouſand crowns.

A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Vol. VIII. APOLLOPHANES, phyſician to Antiochus ſirnamed the Great, was very learned in his profeſſion ; but became ſtill more famous by the important ſervice which he rendered his maſter. Hermias, the firſt miniſter of that prince, committed unheard of extortions and oppreſſions, and had rendered himſelf ſo terrible, that no-body dared lay their complaints before the court. Apollophanes had ſo much love for the public good, as not to fear riſquing his fortune for it. He diſcovered the general diſcontent of the kingdom to the king, and left that leſſon to phyſicians, upon the uſe they ought to make of their freedom of acceſs to princes.

A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. MITHRIDATES, who was ſo long the terror of the Romans, diſtinguiſhed himſelf highly in phyſic, not only by the invention of the antidote that ſtill bears his name, but the compoſition of ſeveral learned works, which Pompey made Lenæus his freed-man tranſlate into Latin.

Asclepiades of Bithynia, who at firſt taught eloquence at Rome, quitted the profeſſion of a rhetorician to take up that of a phyſician, which he believed more profitable than the other, and was not miſtaken. He introduced an entire change in the practice obſerved before him, and departed almoſt in every thing from the principles and rules of Hippocrates. To ſolid and profound knowledge he ſubſtituted the inſinuation and repute of a fine ſpeaker, which often paſs for merit with the ſick. He alſo made it his buſineſs to flatter their taſte, and gratify their deſires to the utmoſt of his power, a certain means for gaining their confidence. His maxim was, that a phyſician ought to cure his patients, * *ſafely, ſoon, and agreeably.* This practice is much to be deſired, ſays Celſus. But the misfortune is, that to endeavour to cure too ſoon, and to preſcribe nothing but what is agreeable, are generally attended with great danger. What contributed moſt to bring him into vogue was his luckily meeting a man, that his friends were going to inter, in whom he found ſome remains of life, and whom he reſtored to perfect health. Pliny often mentions this phyſician, but with very little eſteem.

A. M. 3920. Ant. J. C. 84. Plin. l. 26. c. 3.

Apul. l. 4. Florid.

Themison, the diſciple of Aſclepiades, was a native of Laodicæa. He made ſome alteration in his maſter's ſyſtem, when he was old. The ſect which he formed, was called the *Methodic ſect*, becauſe he thought proper to eſtabliſh a method for rendering phyſic more eaſy to learn and practiſe. Juvenal does not ſpeak in his favour:

A. M. 4000. Ant. J. C. 4.

> Quot Themiſon ægros autumno occiderit uno. Sat. 10. l. 4.

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* Aſclepiades officium eſſe medici dicit, ut tutò, celeritèr, & jucundè curet. Id votum eſt; ſed fere periculoſa eſſe nimia & feſtinatio & voluptas ſolet. *Celſ.* l. 3. c. 4.

——————*As many, with his pills*
As in one autumn learn'd Themiſon kills.

Cicero and Horace mention CRATERUS as a learned phyſician.

A. D. 66. DIOSCORIDES (*Pedacius*) a phyſician of Anazarba, a city of Cilicia, afterwards called Cæſarea. Voſſius, after Suidas, ſays, that he was phyſician to Antony and Cleopatra. It is believed that they confound him with another Dioſcorides, ſirnamed *Phacas*. The perſon meant here might live in Veſpaſian's time. Some of the Learned have diſputed, whether Pliny copied Dioſcorides, or the latter extracted his work from Pliny. Theſe two authors wrote at the ſame time, and upon the ſame ſubjects, without ever citing each other. The ſubject treated by Dioſcorides is the *Materia Medica*, the matter or elements of medicine. All bodies uſed in phyſic are ſo called, and are principally reduced to three ſpecies: plants, animals, and minerals, or things of the nature of the earth.

Sueton. in Aug. c. 81. Dion. Caſſ. l. 53. p. 517. ANTONIUS MUSA, the freedman, phyſician of the emperor Auguſtus, cured him of a dangerous diſtemper, which had reduced him to the laſt extremity, by treating him in a manner quite different from what had been uſed before, and making him uſe cold baths, and refreſhing draughts. This happy cure, beſides the great preſents made him by the emperor and the ſenate, acquired Muſa the privilege of wearing a gold ring, which till then had been granted only to perſons of the firſt condition. All phyſicians, on Muſa's account, were exempted from all taxes for ever. The Roman people, to expreſs their gratitude, cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him near that of Æſculapius. * He took the ſame method with Horace, Epiſt. 15. l. 1.

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* ——————Nam mihi Baias
Muſa ſupervacuas Antonius, & tamen illis
Me facit inviſum, gelida cùm perluor unda
Per medium frigus.

and made him uſe the cold bath in the midſt of winter.

Cornelius Celsus is believed to have lived in the reign of Tiberius. He was very learned, and had written upon all kinds of ſubjects. Quintilian, L. 12. c. 11. who highly extols his erudition, terms him however only an indifferent genius: *Cornelius Celſus, mediocri vir ingenio.* I don't know whether the phyſicians agree with him in this point. We have eight books of his upon phyſic, which are wrote in very good Latin.

Galen, the moſt celebrated of phyſicians next A.D. 131. to Hippocrates, was of Pergamus. He lived in the reigns of Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and ſome other emperors. He was educated with great care in the ſtudy of polite learning, philoſophy, and the mathematics. When he had made choice of the profeſſion of phyſic, he devoted himſelf entirely to it, went to many of the cities of Greece, to receive leſſons from the moſt famous maſters in that ſcience, and continued particularly at Alexandria in Egypt, where the ſtudy of phyſic flouriſhed at that time, more than in any other part of the world. When he returned into his own country, he knew how to make great uſe of the precious treaſures of learning which he had collected in his travels. His principal application was in ſtudying Hippocrates, whom he always conſidered as his maſter, and in whoſe ſteps he thought it his honour and duty to tread. He received his principles in all their force, which had been neglected and left in oblivion above ſix hundred years.

He went to Rome at the age of thirty-four, where he acquired great reputation, and at the ſame time drew upon himſelf no leſs envy from the other phyſicians. His extraordinary cures of patients abſolutely given over, his ſagacity in diſcovering the true cauſes of diſtempers that had eſcaped others, the certainty with which he often foretold all the ſymptoms that were to happen, the effect his remedies would produce, and the time in which a perfect cure would be effected; all this occaſioned his being conſidered, on the one ſide, by the unprejudiced, as a phyſician of extraordinary learning and talents; and on the other, by his jealous brethren, as a man who performed all his operations by the aſſiſtance of magic. At leaſt they ſpread that report to depreciate him, if poſſible, in the opinion of the people and the Great.

A.D. 166. The plague, which happened ſome years after, and which made horrible ravages throughout Italy and in many other provinces, determined him to return into his country. If it was to take care of the people, his deſign was very generous and laudable.

A.D. 170. He did not continue long there. M. Aurelius, at his return from his expedition againſt the Germans, ordered him to Aquileia, from whence he afterwards brought him in his train to Rome. The emperor repoſed great confidence in him. The rigid life which that prince led had very much impaired his health. He took a preparation of treacle every day to ſtrengthen his ſtomach and lungs, which were very weak: this Galen made up for him. To this remedy the health he generally enjoyed, notwithſtanding his great weakneſs, was attributed.

That prince, intending to return into Germany, was extremely deſirous of carrying Galen thither with him, whoſe great abilities, and perfect knowledge of his conſtitution, made him more capable of ſerving him than any other phyſician. Galen, however, having deſired him to leave him at Rome, the emperor, who was all goodneſs, complacency, and humanity, complied. I admire this condeſcenſion; but cannot conceive, how a phyſician in ſuch a conjuncture could refuſe himſelf to the deſires of a prince ſo worthy of conſideration.

Perhaps the deſign he had formed of writing upon phyſic, and which he might have already begun to put in execution, might occaſion this refuſal. And indeed it was after this expedition of M. Aurelius till his death, and during the reign of Commodus, his ſon and ſucceſſor, that Galen compoſed and publiſhed his writings upon phyſic, whether during his abode at Rome, or after his retirement into his own country. Part of his writings were loſt in the conflagration which deſtroyed whole quarters of Rome and many libraries, in the reign of the emperor Commodus. The place and time of Galen's death are not exactly known.

A fact, which Galen relates himſelf, ſhews us both his vaſt ability, and the eſteem which M. Aurelius had for him. "That prince, ſays he, having been ſuddenly ſeized in the night with a "cholic and looſeneſs, which made him feveriſh, "his phyſicians ordered him to lie ſtill, and gave "him only a little broth in the ſpace of nine hours. "The ſame phyſicians, returning afterwards to the "emperor, where I happened to be, judged from "his pulſe, that he had a fever coming on him: "for my part, I continued ſilent, and even with"out feeling his pulſe in my turn. This induced "the emperor to aſk me, turning towards the ſide "where I was, why I did not come to him? To "which I anſwered, that his phyſicians having al"ready felt his pulſe twice, I came into what they "had done, not doubting but that they were better "judges of his pulſe than me. The prince how"ever offering me his arm, I then felt his pulſe, "and having examined it with abundance of at"tention, I declared that there was not the leaſt "ſign of the acceſs of a fever, but that his ſto"mach was clogged with ſome indigeſted food "which occaſioned his being feveriſh. M. Aure"lius was ſo well convinced of what I ſaid, that "he cried out: *That's it; you have hit it exactly:* "*I feel my ſtomach clogged*; and repeated the ſame "two or three times over. He afterwards aſked

Gal. de Præcognitione, c. 11.

" me, what was to be done to relieve him? I replied, if any other perſon except the emperor " were in the ſame condition, I ſhould give him " a little pepper in wine, as I have often done upon " the like occaſion. But, as it is the cuſtom to " give no remedies to princes, but what are very " gentle, it will ſuffice to apply ſome wool ſteeped " in oil of ſpike very hot to the emperor's ſtomach. " M. Aurelius, continues Galen, did not fail to " take both thoſe remedies, and addreſſing himſelf " afterwards to Pitholaus, his ſon's governor: *We* " *have but one phyſician*, ſaid he, ſpeaking of me. " *He's the only man of value we have.*"

The manners of that illuſtrious phyſician ſuited his ability and reputation. He expreſſes great reſpect for the Divinity in abundance of places; and ſays, " That piety does not conſiſt in offering in- " cenſe or ſacrifices to him; but in knowing and " admiring the wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, that " ſhines forth in all his works one's ſelf, and in " making others know and admire them. He had " the misfortune of not knowing, and even of con- " demning the true religion."

In lib. de uſu corp. hum.

He never mentions his father, or his maſters, but with the warmeſt and moſt reſpectful gratitude, eſpecially when he ſpeaks of Hippocrates, to whom he aſcribes the whole honour of all he knew or practiſed. If he departs ſometimes from his opinion, for he reſpected truth above all things, it is with ſuch precautions and reſervations, as argue the ſincere eſteem he had for him, and how much he conſidered himſelf below him in every thing whatſoever.

His aſſiduity about the ſick, the time which he beſtowed upon knowing their condition exactly, the care which he took of the poor, and the relief he procured them, are fine models for the imitation of perſons of the ſame profeſſion.

Plin. l. 25. c. 1.

We read in Pliny, that ARCHAGATUS of Peloponneſus was the firſt phyſician who came to

A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 215.

Antiq. Rom. l. 10. p. 677.

Rome: this was in the conſulſhip of L. Æmilius and L. Julius, the 535th year from the foundation of the city. It would be ſurpriſing if the Romans were ſo long without phyſicians. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, ſpeaking of a plague, which ſwept off almoſt all the ſlaves and half the citizens in the 301ſt year of Rome, ſays, that there were not phyſicians enough for the number of the ſick. There were phyſicians then at that time. But it is probable, that the Romans, till the arrival of Archagathus, uſed only the natural, or the ſimple Empiric kind of phyſic, ſuch as we may ſuppoſe it practiſed by the firſt men. That phyſician was treated very honourably at firſt, and rewarded with the freedom of the city: but the violent remedies which he was obliged to uſe, for his principal excellency conſiſted in ſurgery, ſoon diſguſted the people both of him and of phyſic in general. It ſeems however, that many phyſicians came from Greece to Rome to practiſe their art, though Cato, during his life, oppoſed it with his whole power. For, in the decree, by which, many years after the death of that celebrated cenſor, the Greeks were obliged to quit Rome, the phyſicians are mentioned expreſsly. * Till Pliny's time, of all profeſſions, that of phyſic, as gainful as it was, was the only one no Roman had followed, becauſe they believed it below them; and, if any did practiſe it, it was, to uſe the expreſſion, only in going over to the Grecian camp, and ſpeaking their language: for ſuch was the folly and madneſs of the Romans, and even of the loweſt of the people, that they would confide only in ſtrangers, as if their health and lives had

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* Solam hanc artium Græcarum nondum exercet Romana gravitas in tanto fructu: pauciſſimi Quiritium attigere, & ipſi ſtatim ad Græcos transfugæ. Imò verò auctoritas aliter, quàm Græcè eam tractantibus, etiam apud imperitos experteſque linguæ, non eſt: ac minùs credunt, quæ ad ſalutem ſuam pertinent, ſi intelligunt. *Plin.* l. 29. c. 1.

been moſt ſafe in the hands of thoſe, whoſe very language they did not underſtand.

It is difficult, and indeed foreign to my ſubject, to determine in reſpect to the merit of the antient and modern phyſic, and to give the one the preference to the other. They have each their peculiar advantages, which render both highly eſtimable. It is natural to conceive, that the experience of many ages muſt have added conſiderable lights to the knowledge of the antients. I deſired a learned phyſician, one of my brethren in the college royal and the academy of Belles Letters, and my particular friend, to favour me with a few lines upon what I might ſay with reaſon upon a ſubject abſolutely unknown to me. I ſhall content myſelf with inſerting them here, without any addition:

M. Burette.

" The new diſcoveries which have inriched the
" phyſic of the moderns, and which may give it
" the preference to that of the antients, are:

" 1. Thoſe of anatomy, which have made it
" more perfectly acquainted with the ſtructure of
" the human body, and the wonders of the animal
" œconomy; amongſt others, the circulation of
" the blood, with all its relations and dependences:
" which has given it a great inſight into the cauſes
" of diſeaſes, and the manner of treating them.

" 2. Thoſe of ſurgery, which, beſides many very
" ſalutary operations added to thoſe of the antients,
" have rendered the modern practice more ſafe and
" and expeditious, and leſs painful.

" 3. Thoſe of pharmacy, which conſiſts in the
" knowledge and uſe of many ſpecific remedies for
" the cure of certain diſeaſes; as *Quinquina* for the
" ague, *Ipecacuanha* for the dyſentery, &c. without
" reckoning thoſe which chymiſtry has rendered
" more efficacious and leſs diſguſting.

" 4. The opening of bodies that have died of
" diſeaſes an abundant ſource of the moſt impor-

" tant obſervations, for improving the practice of " phyſic in the treatment of the ſame diſeaſes.

" The phyſic of the antients is perhaps to be " preferred to that of the moderns, in being leſs " profuſe of medicines in ſickneſs, and leſs deſirous " to precipitate cures; in obſerving the motions of " nature with more attention, and aſſiſting them " with greater confidence; and in being contented " to divide the honour of the cure with nature, " without arrogating the whole glory of it to itſelf, &c."

Phyſic, however uſeful and ſalutary, has had the misfortune to be the butt, almoſt in all times, even of great and highly eſtimable perſons, eſpecially amongſt the Romans. * Cato, to whoſe authority a triumph and the cenſorſhip add nothing, ſo much was his perſonal merit ſuperior to all titles, was one of thoſe who declared himſelf moſt ſtrongly againſt the phyſicians, as we ſee in a letter to his ſon, preſerved by Pliny. But we muſt obſerve, that he means in it only the phyſicians from Greece, to which nation he has abundance of ill-will. " You † " may depend upon what I am going to ſay as a " certain prediction. If ever that nation (meaning " Greece) ſhould impart to us their taſte for letters, " we are undone; and eſpecially if they ſend us " their phyſicians. They have ſworn amongſt them" ſelves to deſtroy all the Barbarians with their art." The Greeks called all other nations by that name. So exceſſive an exaggeration refutes itſelf, and ſufficiently explains what we ought to think of it.

Pliny the Naturaliſt was much in the ſame way of thinking. He ſeems to have made it his buſi-

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* Quod clariſſimè intelligi poteſt ex M. Catone, cujus auctoritati Triumphus atque Cenſura minimum conferunt: tanto plus in ipſo eſt. *Plin.* l. 29. c. 1.

† Nequiſſimum & indocile genus illorum. Et hoc puta Vatem dixiſſe: Quandocumque iſta gens ſuas literas dabit, omnia corrumpet. Tum etiam magis, ſi medicos ſuos huc mittet. Jurarunt inter ſe barbaros necare omnes medicina. *Ibid.*

neſs to decry the phyſicians, by throwing together all that could make them contemptible and even odious. He taxes them with avarice, upon account of the conſiderable rewards they received from princes: but ought the generous gratitude of the latter to be imputed to phyſicians? He reports the depravity of manners into which ſome of them fell: but were not theſe faults perſonal, and ought they not to be atoned for by the infinite ſervices which others of the ſame profeſſion have done mankind in all ages? He takes pains to turn the conſultations of phyſicians into ridicule: he repeats an antient inſcription upon a tomb, in which the deceaſed ſaid, that he died of a multitude of phyſicians: TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERIISSE. He complains that of all the arts phyſic is allowed to be practiſed without undergoing any examination, or giving any proofs of its ability. "They learn it, * ſays he, at our "hazard, and acquire experience at the price of "our lives. No law puniſhes their ignorance; nor "is there any example of its being chaſtiſed. Only "a phyſician can murder with abſolute impunity." Pliny has reaſon for theſe complaints; but they extend only to Empirics, that is to ſay, perſons of no repute, authority, or learning, who take upon them to practiſe that, of all the arts, which ſtands the moſt in need of theſe qualifications.

Ecclesiaſt. xxix. 1—14.

Extremes are not to be admitted upon this head, in which blind confidence, and ill-grounded contempt, may be equally dangerous. The holy ſcripture, which is the rule of our opinions, preſcrbes both to the patient and phyſician how they ought to think and act: "Honour the phyſician with "the honour due unto him, for the uſes which "you may have of him: for the Lord hath created

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* Nulla lex quæ puniat inſcitiam: capitale nullum exemplum vindictæ. Diſcunt periculis noſtris, & experimenta per mortes agunt: medicoque tantùm hominem occidiſſe impunitas ſumma eſt. *Plin.* l. 29. c. 1.

‘ him—The Lord hath created medicines out of
‘ the earth, and he that is wiſe will not abhor
‘ them—Was not the water made ſweet with wood,
‘ that the virtue thereof [*of plants*] might be
‘ known? And he hath given men ſkill, that he
‘ might be honoured in his marvellous works—
‘ My ſon, in thy ſickneſs be not negligent; but
‘ pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee
‘ whole: Then give place unto the phyſician; for
‘ the Lord hath created him: let him not go from
‘ thee, for thou haſt need of him. There is a
‘ time when in their hands there is good ſucceſs;
‘ for they ſhall alſo pray unto the Lord, that he
‘ would proſper that which they give, for eaſe and
‘ remedy to prolong life.” Only the Spirit of God
s capable of giving ſuch wiſe and reaſonable advice.

SECT. II.

OF BOTANY.

BOTANY is a ſcience which treats of plants. This branch of knowledge has been eſteemed in all ages and nations. Mankind are generally enough convinced, that all phyſic is included in Simples; * and there is great reaſon to believe, that it had its beginning in theſe remedies, which are ſimple, natural, of no expence, always at hand, and within the capacity of the pooreſt perſon. Pliny cannot bear that, inſtead of uſing them, people ſhould go at a great expence to the moſt remote countries in queſt of medicines. Accordingly we ſee, that the moſt antient phyſicians diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the knowledge and uſe of ſimples: Æſculapius, who, if we may believe fable, reſtored Hippolytus to life by the uſe of them; Chiron, the maſter of Achilles, ſo ſkilful in phyſic; Jaſpis, to whom his father

Pæoniis revocatum herbis. *Virg.*

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* Hinc nata Medicina. Hæc ſola naturæ placuerat eſſe remedia, parata vulgo, inventu facilia, ac ſine impendio—Ulceri parvo medicina à Rubro mari imputatur, cùm remedia vera quotidie pauperrimus quiſque cœnet. *Plin.* l. 24. c. 21.

father Apollo, the god of phyſic, granted, as a rare gift, the knowledge of Simples :

Scire poteſtates herbarum, uſumque medendi.
Æn. l. 12. v. 396.

To know the pow'rs of herbs, and arts of cure.

Botany is one of the parts of natural philoſophy: it calls in the aid of chymiſtry; and is of great uſe in phyſic. Natural philoſophy, or phyſics in general, conſiders the internal ſtructure of plants, their vegetation, generation, and multiplication. Chymiſtry reduces them to their principles or elements. Phyſic derives from theſe elemental principles, and ſtill more frequently from the experience of the effects of plants, when employed in ſubſtance, the uſe to be made of them for the health of an human body. The union of theſe ſeveral branches of knowledge in the ſame perſon forms an excellent character, but is not neceſſary to Botany properly ſo called, whoſe bounds are leſs extenſive, within which it may confine itſelf with honour. To make plants a peculiar ſtudy, to know their moſt eſſential marks, to be able to name them in a ſhort and eaſy method, that reduces them to their proper and reſpective kinds and claſſes, to deſcribe them in terms ſo as to be known to thoſe who never ſaw them; theſe are preciſely the functions of a botaniſt conſidered as ſuch.

In the earlier times, the knowledge of plants ſeems to have been purely medicinal: which is what rendered the catalogue of them ſo ſhort and ſo limited, that Theophraſtus, the beſt hiſtorian of antiquity come down to us upon this ſubject, names only ſix hundred, though he had collected not only thoſe of Greece, but of Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia. Dioſcorides and Pliny, though they might have had better and ampler memoirs upon this head, have ſcarce cited more. But, far from having eſtabliſhed any order amongſt them, they have not deſcribed thoſe of which they ſpeak, in a proper manner to diſtinguiſh and make them known; and have many, even of the moſt important in their collection, that are not now to be found.

The ages which ſucceeded that of Dioſcorides, added little riches to Botany. And indeed at length all the ſciences were eclipſed, and did not appear again till the fifteenth century, when every body was intent upon hearing the antients, in order to retrieve the learning which had been ſo long buried in oblivion. Pope Nicholas V. commiſſioned Theodore Gaza to tranſlate Theophraſtus, as the only man capable of making him underſtood. Soon after other learned men laboured ſucceſſively in tranſlating Dioſcorides. Theſe verſions, though very eſtimable in other reſpects, ſerved only to excite diſputes between many very learned phyſicians.

The ſearch after plants in the books of the Greeks and Latins was from that time conceived not the beſt method of making any great progreſs in the knowledge of them. Accordingly reſolutions were taken to go in queſt of it to the places where the antients had written. With this view voyages were made to the iſlands of the Archipelago, Syria, Meſopotamia, Paleſtine, Arabia, and Egypt. Theſe excurſions were uſeleſs enough with reſpect to their principal deſign, the underſtanding of the antient authors: but, the Learned having brought back a great number of plants which they diſcovered themſelves, botany began to appear in its true form, and to change what before was only citation and comment into natural obſervations and a regular ſcience. About the end of the Fifteenth Century, they confined themſelves ſolely to deſcribing the plants of their own countries, or of thoſe into which greater curioſity had carried the lovers of botany; and they began to point out the places where each plant grew, the time of its coming up, its duration and maturity, with figures, that conſtitute the principal value of this kind of works, from the clearneſs they give them. Various collections which appeared at that time, inſtead of the five or ſix hundred extracted by Matthiolus from the antients, included in the beginning of the ſixteenth century more than ſix thouſand, all deſcribed with their figures.

There was ſtill wanting however a general order, or ſyſtem, to the knowledge of plants, which might make it a ſcience properly ſo called, by giving it principles and a method. Upon this ſeveral of the Learned employed themſelves afterwards, with a ſucceſs, not indeed perfect hitherto, (for ſciences attain their ultimate perfection only from ſucceſſion of time) but which afforded great views and inſight for arriving at that perfection.

The Syſtem of botany at length received its laſt form from Monſieur Tournefort. His inſtitutions, attended with the deſcription and deſigns of an immenſe number of plants, will be an eternal monument of the vaſtneſs of his views, and his laborious inquiries, which coſt him incredible fatigues, indiſpenſably neceſſary to the deſign he propoſed. For botany, ſays Mr. Fontenelle in his oration in praiſe of Mr. Tournefort, is not a ſedentary and inactive ſcience, that may be attained in the repoſe and ſhade of a cloſet, like geometry or hiſtory; or which, at moſt, like chymiſtry, anatomy, and aſtronomy, requires operations of no great pains and application. To ſucceed in it, the ſtudent muſt range over mountains and foreſts, muſt climb ſteep rocks, and expoſe himſelf upon the brinks of precipices. The only books, that can inſtruct him fully in this ſubject, are ſprinkled over the face of the whole earth, and, to peruſe and collect them, he muſt reſolve upon fatigue and danger.

To ſucceed in the deſign of carrying botany to the greateſt perfection, or at leaſt to approach it, it would be neceſſary to ſtudy Theophraſtus and Diſcorides in Greece, Aſia, Egypt, Africa, and in all the places where they lived, or with which they were more particularly acquainted. Monſieur Tournefort received the king's orders, in 1700, to make the tour of thoſe provinces, not only in order for knowing the plants of the antients, and perhaps alſo ſuch others as might have eſcaped them, but for making obſervations upon natural hiſtory in general. Theſe are expences worthy of a prince of Lewis XIVth's magnificence, and will do him infinite honour throughout all ages. The plague, which then raged in Egypt, abdridged Mr. Tournefort's travels to his great regret, and made him return from Smyrna into France in 1702. He arrived, as a great poet ſays upon a more pompous but leſs uſeful occaſion, *laden with the ſpoils of the Eaſt.* Beſides an infinity of various obſervations, he brought back thirteen hundred and fifty-ſix new ſpecies of plants, without including thoſe which he had collected in his former travels. What vaſt riches!

Spoliis Orientis onuſtus. *Virg.*

It was neceſſary to diſpoſe them in an order that might facilitate the knowledge of them. This Mr. Tournefort had before laboured in his firſt work, publiſhed in the year 1694. By the new order which he eſtabliſhed, the whole were reduced into fourteen figures of flowers, by the means of which we deſcend to ſix hundred and ſeventy-three kinds, or diſtinct Genuſſes, that contain under them eight thouſand eight hundred and forty-ſix Species of Plants.

Since Monſieur Tournefort's death, botany has been greatly augmented, and new additions are every day made to it by the pains and application of thoſe who have the care of this part of phyſic in the royal garden of France, eſpecially ſince the direction of it has been given to the Count de Maurepas, ſecretary of ſtate, who not only delights, but thinks it his duty, to protect learning and learned men.

I ought here to expreſs my gratitude to * Monſieur Juſſieu ſenior, who communicated one of his memoirs upon botany to me.

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* *Doctor-regent in the faculty of phyſic in the univerſity of Paris, profeſſor and demonſtrator of plants in the garden-royal, &c.*

SECT. III.

OF CHYMISTRY.

CHYMISTRY is an art which teaches to ſeparate by fire the different ſubſtances contained in mixed bodies, or, which is the ſame thing, in vegetables, minerals, and animals; that is to ſay, to make the analyſis of natural bodies, to reduce them into their firſt principles, and to diſcover their hidden virtues. It may be of uſe both to phyſicians in particular for the diſcovery of medicines, and natural philoſophers in general for the knowledge of nature. It does not appear, that the antients made much uſe of it, though perhaps it was not unknown to them.

Paracelſus, who lived in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and taught phyſic at Baſil, acquired great reputation there, by curing many perſons of diſeaſes believed incurable with chymical remedies. He boaſted, that he could preſerve a man's life during many ages, and died himſelf at fourſcore and eight.

Mr. Lemery, ſo expert and famous in chymiſtry, declared almoſt all analyſes to be no more than the curioſity of philoſophers, and believed that, in reſpect to phyſic, chymiſtry, in reducing mixed bodies to their principles, reduced them often to nothing. I ſhall relate one of his experiments, which is curious, and intelligible to every body.

Mem. de l'acad. des ſciences, *an.* 1700.

He made an Ætna or Veſuvius, by burying at the depth of a foot in the ground, during the ſummer, fifty pounds of filings of iron and ſulphur pulveriſed in equal quantities, the whole made into a paſte with water. In about eight or nine hours time, the earth ſwelled, and opened itſelf in ſeveral places; and emitted hot and ſulphurous vapours, and at length flames.

It is eaſy to conceive, that a greater quantity of this mixture of iron and ſulphur with a proportionate depth of earth was all that was wanting to form a real mount Ætna: That the ſulphurous vapours would, in endeavouring a paſſage, have occaſioned an earthquake more or leſs violent, according to their force and the obſtacles in their way: That, when they either found or made themſelves a vent, they would break out with an impetuoſity to occaſion an hurricane: That, if they made their way through a part of the earth under the ſea, they would occaſion thoſe water-ſpouts ſo dangerous to ſhips: And, laſtly, that, if they roſe to the clouds, they would carry their ſulphur thither along with them, which would produce thunder.

There is a kind of chimerical chymiſtry that propoſes the tranſmutation of metals as its object, and is called *Alchymy*, or *Seeking the philoſopher's ſtone.*

SECT. IV.

OF ANATOMY.

ANATOMY is a ſcience that teaches the knowledge of the parts of an human body, and of other animals, by diſſection. Thoſe who have written upon anatomy amongſt the antients, are Hippocrates, Democritus, Ariſtotle, Eraſiſtratus, Galen, *Herophylus, and many others, who perfectly knew the neceſſity of it, and conſidered it as the moſt important part of phyſic, without which it was impoſſible to know the uſe of the parts of an human body, and conſequently the cauſes of diſeaſes. It was, however, entirely renounced for many ages, and was not re-inſtated till the ſixteenth century. The diſſection of an human body was held ſacrilege till the reign of Francis I, and there is a conſultation extant, which the Emperor Charles V. cauſed the profeſſors of Theology at Salamanca to hold, in order to inquire whether an human body might be diſſected for the knowledge of its ſtructure with a ſafe conſcience. Veſal, a Flemiſh phyſician, who died in 1564, was the firſt who revived and methodiſed what is called anatomy.

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* *According to Tertullian, this Herophylus, in order to know the human body, diſſected a very great number of bodies.*

Since him, anatomy has made a great progreſs, and been much improved. One of the diſcoveries, which have done moſt honour to the moderns, is the circulation of the blood. The motion by which the blood is carried ſeveral times a day from the heart into all the parts of the body by the arteries, and returns from thoſe parts to the heart by the In 1628. veins, is ſo called. HARVEY, a celebrated Engliſh doctor, is ſaid to have been the firſt who diſcovered this circulation, which is now admitted by all phyſicians. There are ſome, however, who deny him this glory, and even pretend that Hippocrates, Ariſtotle, and Plato knew it before him. That may be: but they made ſo little uſe of it, that it is almoſt the ſame as if they had been ignorant of it; and as much may be ſaid of them in reſpect to many other phyſical matters.

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS, &c.

OF THE MATHEMATICS.

THE MATHEMATICS hold the firſt place amongſt the ſciences, becauſe they alone are founded upon infallible demonſtrations. And this undoubtedly gave them their name. For *Matheſis* in Greek ſignifies ſcience.

I ſhall conſider particularly in this place only Geometry and Aſtronomy, which are the principal branches of mathematical knowledge; to which I ſhall add ſome other parts, that have an eſſential relation to them.

I muſt confeſs, to my ſhame, that the ſubjects I am going to treat on are abſolutely unknown to me, except the hiſtorical part of them. But, by the privilege I have aſſumed, with which the public does not ſeem to be offended, it is in my power to apply the riches of others to my own uſe. What treaſures have I not found upon this occaſion in the memoirs of the academy of ſciences! If I could have taken all I have ſaid upon ſuch ſublime and abſtracted ſubjects from them, I ſhould have no occaſion to fear for myſelf.

CHAPTER I.

OF GEOMETRY.

Herod. l. 2. c. 109. Strab. l. 17. p. 787.

THE word *Geometry* ſignifies, literally, *the art of meaſuring the earth.* The Egyptians are ſaid to have invented it, on account of the inundations of the Nile. For, that river carrying away the land-marks every year, and leſſening ſome eſtates to enlarge others, the Egyptians were obliged to meaſure their country often, and for that purpoſe to contrive a method and art, which was the origin and beginning of geometry. This reaſon might have induced the Egyptians to cultivate geometry with the more care and attention, but its origin is undoubtedly of a more antient date.

However that be, it paſſed from Egypt into Greece, and Thales of Miletus is believed to have carried it thither, at his return from his travels. Pythagoras alſo placed it in great honour, and admitted no diſciples who had not learnt the principles of geometry.

Geometry is to be conſidered in two different views, either as a ſpeculative, or a practical ſcience.

Geometry, as a ſpeculative ſcience, conſiders the figure and extent of bodies according to three different dimenſions, length, breadth, and thickneſs, which form three ſpecies of extent, lines, ſuperficies, and ſolids, or ſolid bodies. Accordingly it compares the different lines with each other, and determines their equality or ineaquality. It ſhews alſo how much greater the one is than the other. It does the ſame in reſpect to ſuperficies. For inſtance, it demonſtrates that a triangle is the half of a parallelogram of the ſame baſe and height: that two circles are in proportion to each other as the ſquares of their diameters; that is to ſay, that, if the one be three times as large as the other, the firſt will contain nine times as much ſpace as the latter. And, laſtly, it conſiders Solids or the quantities of bodies in the ſame manner. It ſhews, that a pyramid is the third of a priſm of the ſame baſe and height: that a ſphere or globe is two thirds of a cylinder circumſcribed, that is to ſay, a cylinder of the ſame heighth and breadth: that globes are in the ſame proportion with each other as the cubes of their diameters. If, for example, the diameter of one globe be four times as large as that of another, the firſt globe is ſixty-four times as much in quantity as the ſecond. Accordingly, if they are of the ſame matter, the former will weigh ſixty-four times as much as the other, becauſe 64 is the cube of 4.

Practical geometry, founded upon the theory of the ſpeculative, is ſolely employed in meaſuring the three ſpecies of extent, lines, ſuperficies, and ſolids. It teaches us, for example, how to meaſure the diſtance of two objects from each other, the height of a tower, and the extent of land: how to divide a ſuperficies into as many parts as we pleaſe, of which the one may be twice, thrice, four times, &c. as large as another. It ſhews us how to gage caſks, and the manner of finding the contents of any other veſſels uſed either to hold liquids or ſolids. It not only meaſures different objects upon the ſurface of the earth, but the globe of the earth itſelf, by determining the extent of its circumference, and the length of its diameter. It goes ſo far as to ſhew the diſtance of the moon from the earth. It even ventures to meaſure that of the ſun, and its magnitude in reſpect to the terreſtrial globe.

The moſt illuſtrious philoſophers made this ſcience their peculiar ſtudy: Anaxagoras, Plato, Ariſtotle, Architas, Eudoxus, and many others, of whom I ſhall only ſpeak of the moſt known, and thoſe whoſe works are come down to us.

Ant. J. C. 300. EUCLID. We ſhall ſpeak of him in the ſequel.

ARISTÆUS the elder. He ſeems to have been Euclid's cotemporary. He wrote five books upon *ſolid places*, that is to ſay, as Pappus explains it, upon the three Conic Sections.

Ant. J. C. 250. APOLLONIUS PERGÆUS, ſo called from a city of Pamphylia. He lived in the Reign of Ptolomy Evergetes, and collected all that the moſt learned geometricians had written upon conic ſections before him, of which he made eight books, which came down entire to the time of Pappus of Alexandria, who compoſed a kind of introduction to that work. The four laſt books of Apollonius were afterwards loſt. But in 1658 the famous John Alphonſo Borelli, paſſing through Florence, found an Arabian manuſcript in the library of the Medicis, with this inſcription in Latin, *Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum Libri octo*. They were tranſlated into Latin.

ARCHIMEDES. I ſhall defer ſpeaking of him a little.

PAPPUS of Alexandria flouriſhed in the reign of Theodoſius, in the 395th year of Chriſt. He compoſed a collection upon geometrical ſubjects in eight books, of which the two firſt are loſt. The Abbé Gallois, when the academy of ſciences aſſumed a new form in 1699, undertook to work upon the geometry of the antients, and particularly upon Pappus's collection, of which he was for printing the Greek text, that had never been done, and for correcting the very defective Latin verſion. It is a misfortune for the commonwealth of letters, that this was only intended.

Of the geometricians I have mentioned, the two moſt illuſtrious, and who have done moſt honour to geometry, but in a different degree of merit, were Euclid and Archimedes. Euclid is only an author of elements: but Archimedes is a ſublime geometrician, whom even the moſt learned in the new methods admire to this day.

EUCLID.

Euclid the mathematician was of Alexandria, where he taught in the reign of Ptolomy the ſon of Lagus. We muſt not confound him, as Valerius Maximus has done, with another Euclid of Megara, the founder of the ſect of philoſophers, called the Megaric ſect, who lived in the time of Socrates and Plato, that is to ſay, above fourſcore years before the mathematician. Euclid ſeems to have made Speculative Geometry his ſole and principal ſtudy. He has left us a Work, intitled, *The elements of geometry*, in fifteen books. It is however doubted, whether the two laſt are his. His elements contain a ſeries of Propoſitions, which are the baſis and foundation of all the other parts of the mathematics. This book is conſidered as one of the moſt precious monuments come down to us from the antients, in reſpect to natural knowledge. He wrote alſo upon optics, catoptrics, muſic, and other learned ſubjects.

It hath been obſerved, that the famous M. Paſcal, at twelve years of age, without having ever read any book of geometry, or knowing any thing more of that Science, except that it taught the method of making exact figures, and of finding their proportions to each other, proceeded, by the ſtrength of his genius only, to the 32d propoſition of the firſt book of Euclid.

ARCHIMEDES.

All the world knows that Archimedes was of Syracuſe, and a near relation to king Hiero. What I have ſaid of him with ſufficient extent, in ſpeaking of the ſiege of Syracuſe by the Romans, diſpenſes with my repeating his hiſtory in this place. He was, of himſelf and by natural inclination, ſolely intent upon whatever is moſt noble, moſt exalted, and moſt abſtracted in geometry; and ſome of his works

Plut. in Marcel. p. 305.

works of this kind, of which he compoſed a great number, are come down to us. It was only at the requeſt and warm inſtances of king Hiero, his relation, that he ſuffered himſelf at length to be perſuaded to bring down his art, from ſoaring perpetually after intellectual and ſpiritual things, ſometimes to things ſenſible and corporeal, and to render his reaſonings in ſome ſort more evident and palpable to the generality of mankind, in mingling them by experiments with things of uſe. We have ſeen what ſervices he did his country at the ſiege of Syracuſe, and the aſtoniſhing machines that came from his induſtrious hands. He however ſet no value upon them, and conſidered them as paſtime and amuſement, in compariſon with thoſe ſublime reaſonings that gratified his inclination and taſte for truth in a quite different manner. The world is never more indebted to theſe great geometricians, than when they deſcend to act thus for its ſervice: it is a ſacrifice which coſts them much, becauſe it tears them from a pleaſure of which they are infinitely fond, but to which they think themſelves obliged, as indeed they are for the honour of geometry, to prefer the good of the public.

Diog. Laert. in Archim. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305.

Eudoxus and Architas were the firſt inventors of this kind of mechanics, and reduced them to practice, to vary and unbend geometry by this kind of amuſement, and to prove by ſenſible and inſtrumental experiments ſome problems, which did not appear ſuſceptible of demonſtration by reaſoning and practice: which are Plutarch's own words. He cites here the problem of the two means proportional for obtaining the duplication of the cube, which could never be geometrically reſolved before Deſcartes did it. Plutarch adds, that Plato was much offended at them on this account, and reproached them with having corrupted the excellency of geometry, in making it deſcend, like a mean ſlave, from intellectual and ſpiritual, to ſenſible, things, and in obliging it to employ matter, which requires the work of the hands, and is the object of a low and ſervile trade; and that from thenceforth thoſe Mechanics were ſeparated from geometry, as unworthy of it. This delicacy is ſingular, and would have deprived human ſociety of a great number of aids, and geometry of the only part of it, that can recommend it to mankind; becauſe, if it were not applied to things ſenſible and of uſe, it would ſerve only for the amuſement of a very ſmall number of contemplative perſons.

The two celebrated geometricians, whom I have diſtinguiſhed from the multitude, Euclid and Archimedes, univerſally eſteemed by the learned though in a different degree, ſhew how far the antients carried their knowledge in geometry. But it muſt be confeſſed, that it ſoared to a quite different height, and almoſt entirely changed its aſpect in the laſt age, by the new ſyſtem of the Infinitely ſmall, or Differential calculation, for which no doubt the particular application beſtowed till then upon this ſtudy, and the happy diſcoveries made in it, had prepared the way. The advances we make in ſcience are progreſſive. Every acquiſition of knowledge does not reveal itſelf, till after the diſcovery of a certain number of things neceſſarily previous to it; and, when it comes to its turn to diſcloſe itſelf, it caſts a light that attracts all eyes upon it. The period was arrived, wherein geometry was to bring forth the calculation of Infinites. NEWTON was the firſt that made this wonderful diſcovery, and Leibnitz the firſt that publiſhed it. All the great geometricians entered with ardour the paths that had been lately opened for them, in which they advanced with giant ſteps. In proportion as their boldneſs in treating Infinites increaſed, geometry extended her bounds. The Infinite exalted every thing to a ſublimity, and at the ſame time led on to a facility in every thing, of which no-body had ventured ſo much as to conceive any hopes before. And this is the Period of an almoſt total revolution in geometry.

I have ſaid that Newton firſt diſcovered this wonderful calculation, and that Leibnitz publiſhed it firſt. The latter, in 1684, actually inſerted the rules of the differential calculation in the acts of Leipſic, but concealed the demonſtrations of them. The illuſtrious brothers, the Bernoulli's, diſcovered them though very difficult, and uſed this calculation with ſurpriſing ſucceſs. The moſt exalted, the boldeſt, and moſt unexpected ſolutions roſe up under their hands. In 1687 appeared Newton's admirable work, upon *the mathematical principles of natural philoſophy*, which was almoſt entirely founded upon this calculation; and he had the modeſty not to exclaim againſt the Rules of Mr. Leibnitz. It was generally believed that each of them had diſcovered this new ſyſtem, through the conformity of their great talents and learning. A diſpute aroſe on this occaſion, which was carried on by their adherents on both ſides with ſufficient warmth. Newton cannot be denied the glory of having been the inventor of this new ſyſtem; but Mr. Leibnitz ought not to be branded with the infamous name of a plagiary, nor to have the ſhame of a theft laid upon him, which he denied with a boldneſs and impudence very remote from the character of ſo great a man.

In the firſt years the geometry of the Infinitely ſmall was only a kind of myſtery. Solutions frequently came out in the Journals, of which the method that produced them was not ſuffered to appear; and, even when it was diſcovered, only ſome feeble rays of that ſcience eſcaped, which were ſoon loſt again in clouds and darkneſs. The public, or more properly, the ſmall number of thoſe who aſpired at elevated geometry, were ſtruck with an uſeleſs admiration, that made them never the wiſer; and means were found to acquire their applauſe, without

out imparting the inſtruction, with which it ought to have been deſerved. Mr. l'Hopital, that ſublime genius, who has done geometry and France ſo much honour, reſolved to communicate the hidden treaſures of the new geometry without reſerve, and he did ſo in the famous book called *the Analyſis of the Infinitely ſmall*, which he publiſhed in 1696. He there unveiled all the ſecrets of the geometrical infinite, and of the infinite of infinite; in a word, all the different orders of infinites, which riſe upon one another, and form the boldeſt and moſt amazing ſuperſtructure that human wit has ever ventured to imagine. It is in this manner Sciences attain their perfection.

As, in ſpeaking of geometry, I travel in a country entirely unknown to me, I have ſcarce done any thing, beſides copying and abridging what I found upon the ſubject in the memoirs of the academy of ſciences. But I thought it incumbent on me to add the advantageous teſtimony, which Mr. l'Hopital, of whom I have juſt ſpoken, gives in a few lines of Mr. Leibnitz, on account of the invention of the calculation of infinites, in his preface to the Analyſis of the Infinitely ſmall. "His calculation, "ſays he, has carried him into regions hitherto un-"known, where he has made diſcoveries that "aſtoniſh the moſt profound Mathematicians of "Europe."

I add here another paſſage from the preface, but longer, that ſeems to me a model of the wiſe and moderate manner, with which one ought to think and ſpeak of the great men of Antiquity, even when we prefer the Moderns to them.

"What the Antients have left us upon theſe "ſubjects, and eſpecially Archimedes, is certainly "worthy of admiration. But, beſides their having "touched very little upon Curves, and that too "very ſuperficially, almoſt all they have done upon "that head are particular and detached propoſi-

“ tions that do not imply any regular and coherent
“ method. They cannot however be juſtly re-
“ proached on that account. It required exceeding
“ force of genius to penetrate through ſo many ob-
“ ſcurities, and to enter firſt into regions ſo entirely
“ unknown. If they were not far from them, if
“ they went by round-about ways, at leaſt they did
“ not go aſtray; and the more difficult and thorny
“ the paths they followed were, the more they are
“ to be admired for not loſing themſelves in them.
“ In a word, it does not ſeem poſſible for the An-
“ tients to have done more in their time. They
“ have done what our beſt Moderns would have
“ done in their places; and, if they were in ours, it
“ is to be believed they would have had the ſame
“ views with us.——

“ It is therefore no wonder that the antients went
“ no farther. But one cannot be ſufficiently ſur-
“ priſed, that great men, and no doubt as great
“ men as the antients, ſhould continue there ſo
“ long; and, through an almoſt ſuperſtitious admi-
“ ration for their works, content themſelves with
“ reading and commenting upon them, without
“ allowing themſelves any farther uſe of their own
“ talents than what ſufficed for following them,
“ and without daring to venture the crime of think-
“ ing ſometimes for themſelves, and of extending
“ their views beyond what the antients had diſco-
“ vered. In this manner many ſtudied, wrote,
“ and multiplied books, whilſt no advancements
“ at all were made. All the labours of many ages
“ had no other tendency than to fill the world with
“ obſequious comments, and repeated tranſlations
“ of originals, often contemptible enough. Such
“ was the ſtate of the mathematics, and eſpecially
“ of philoſophy, till Monſieur Deſcartes.”

I return now to my ſubject. We are ſometimes tempted to think the time very indifferently employed, that perſons of wit beſtow upon abſtracted ſtudies, which ſeem of no immediate utility, and only proper to ſatisfy a vain curoſity. To think in this manner is contrary to reaſon; becauſe we make ourſelves judges of what we neither know, nor are qualified to know.

It is indeed true, that all the ſpeculations of pure geometry or algebra are not immediately applied to uſeful things, but they either lead or relate to thoſe that do. Beſides which, a geometrical ſpeculation, which has at firſt no uſeful object, comes in time to be applicable to uſe. When the greateſt geometricians of the ſeventeenth century ſtudied a new Curve, which they called the *Cycloid*, it was only a mere ſpeculation, in which they ſolely engaged through the vanity of diſcovering difficult theorems, in emulation of each other. They did not ſo much as pretend, that they were labouring for the good of the public. The Cycloid however was found, upon a ſtrict inquiry into its nature, to be deſtined to give pendulums all poſſible perfection, and the meaſure of time its utmoſt exactneſs.

Beſides the aids which every branch of the mathematics derives from geometry, the ſtudy of this ſcience is of infinite advantage in the uſes of life. It is always good to think and reaſon right; and it has been juſtly ſaid, that there is no better practical logic than geometry. Though Numbers and Lines abſolutely tended to nothing, they would always be the only certain knowledge, of which we are capable by the light of nature, and would ſerve as the ſureſt means to give our reaſon the firſt habitude and bent of truth. They would teach us to operate upon truths, to trace the chain of them ſubtile and almoſt imperceptible as it frequently is, and to follow them to the utmoſt extent of which they are capable: in fine, they would render the True ſo familiar to us, that we ſhould be able, on many occaſions, to know it at firſt glance, and almoſt by inſtinct.

The geometrical ſpirit is not ſo much confined to geometry, that it cannot be taken off from it, and transferred to other branches of knowledge. Works of moral philoſophy, politics, criticiſm, and even eloquence, *cæteris paribus*, would have additional beauties, if compoſed by geometricians. The order, perſpicuity, diſtinction, and exactneſs, which have prevailed in good books for ſome time paſt, may very probably have derived themſelves from this geometrical ſpirit, which ſpreads more than ever, and in ſome ſort communicates itſelf from author to author, even to thoſe who know nothing of geometry. A great man is ſometimes followed by the whole age he lives in; and the perſon, to whom the glory of having eſtabliſhed a new Art of reaſoning may juſtly be aſcribed, was an excellent geometrician. Deſcartes.

OF ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA.

ARITHMETIC is a part of the mathematics. It is a ſcience which teaches all the various operations of numbers, and demonſtrates their properties. It is neceſſary in many operations of geometry, and therefore ought to precede it. The Greeks are ſaid to have received it from the Phœnicians.

The antients, who have treated arithmetic with moſt exactneſs, are Euclid, Nicomachus, Diophantus of Alexandria, and Theon of Smyrna.

It was difficult for either the Greeks or the Romans to ſucceed much in arithmetic, as both uſed only the letters of the alphabet for numbers, the multiplication of which, in great calculations, neceſſarily occaſioned abundance of trouble. The Arabic cyphers now uſed, which have not above four hundred years of antiquity, are infinitely more commodious, and contributed very much to the improvement of arithmetic.

ALGEBRA is a part of the mathematics, which upon quantity in general expreſſed by the letters of the alphabet does all the operations done by arithmetic upon number. The characters it uſes, ſignifying nothing of themſelves, may intend any ſpecies of quantity, which is one of the principal advantages of this ſcience. Beſides theſe characters, it uſes certain ſigns that infinitely abridge its operations, and render them abundantly clearer. By the help of algebra moſt of the problems of the mathematics may be reſolved, provided they are capable of ſolution. It was not entirely unknown to the Antients. Plato is believed the inventor of it. Theon, in his treatiſe upon arithmetic, gives it the name of *analyſis.*

All great mathematicians are well verſed in algebra, or at leaſt ſufficiently for indiſpenſable uſe. But this knowledge, when carried beyond this ordinary uſe, is ſo perplexed, ſo thick ſown with difficulties, ſo clogged with immenſe calculations, and, in a word, ſo hideous, that few people have heroic courage enough to plunge into ſuch dark and profound abyſſes. Certain ſhining theories, in which refinement of wit ſeems to have more ſhare than ſeverity of labour, are much more alluring. However, the more ſublime geometry is become inſeparable from algebra. Mr Rolle, amongſt the French, has carried this knowledge as high as poſſible, for which he had a natural inclination and a kind of inſtinct, that made him devour all the aſperity, and, I had almoſt ſaid, horror of this ſtudy, not only with patience but delight.

I ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial account of arithmetic and algebra, which far exceeds my capacity, and would neither be uſeful nor agreeable to the reader.

It has been, for ſome years, an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, in the univerſity of Paris, to explain the elements of theſe ſciences in the claſſes of philoſophy, by way of introduction to the phyſics. This laſt part of philoſophy, in its preſent ſtate, is almoſt a ſyſtem of enigma's to thoſe who have not at leaſt ſome tincture of the principles of the mathematics. Accordingly the moſt learned profeſſors have conceived it neceſſary to begin with them, in order to make any progreſs in the phyſics. Beſides the advantages which reſult from the mathematics, in reſpect to the phyſics, thoſe who teach them, in their Claſſes, find that the youth, who apply themſelves to them, acquire an exactneſs of mind, a cloſe way of thinking, which they retain in all the other ſciences. Thoſe two conſiderations ſuffice to ſhew our obligation to the profeſſors who firſt introduced this cuſtom, which is now become almoſt general in the univerſity.

Mr. Rivard, profeſſor of philoſophy in the college of Beauvais, has compoſed a treatiſe upon this ſubject, which contains the elements of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, wherein every thing is ſaid to be explained with ſufficient extent, and all poſſible exactneſs and perſpicuity. A ſecond edition of this work has been lately publiſhed with conſiderable additions.

OF THE MECHANICS.

THE Mechanics are a ſcience, that teaches the nature of the moving Powers, the art of deſigning all kinds of machines, and of removing any weight by the means of levers, wedges, pullies, wheels, *&c.* Many, who conſider the mechanics only on the ſide of Practice, ſet little value upon them, becauſe they ſeem to belong ſolely to workmen, and to require the hands only, and not the underſtanding: but a different judgment is paſſed upon them, when conſidered on the ſide of their Theory, which is capable of employing the moſt exalted genius. It is beſides the ſcience that guides the hands of the workman, and by which he brings his inventions to perfection. A ſlight idea, dropt even by the ignorant, and the effect of chance, is afterwards often purſued by degrees to ſupreme perfection, by perſons profoundly ſkilled in geometry and mechanics. This happened in reſpect to teleſcopes, which owe their birth to the ſon of an Hollander that made ſpectacles. Holding a convex glaſs in one hand, and a concave one in the other, and looking through them without deſign, he perceived that diſtant objects appeared much larger, and more diſtinct, than when he ſaw them only with his eyes. Galileo, Kepler, and Deſcartes, by the rules of the dioptrics, carried this invention, groſs as it was in its beginning, a great way; which has ſince been much more improved.

The moſt celebrated authors of antiquity, who have written upon the mechanics, are Architas of Tarentum; Ariſtotle; Æneas his cotemporary, whoſe Tactics are ſtill extant, in which he treats of machines of war, a work which Cineas, the friend of Pyrrhus, abridged; Archimedes particularly, of whom we have ſpoken before; Athenæus, who dedicated his book upon machines to Marcellus, that took Syracuſe; and laſtly Heron of Alexandria, of whom we have ſeveral treatiſes.

Of all the works upon the mechanics come down to us from the antients, only thoſe of Archimedes treat this ſcience in all its extent, but often with great obſcurity. The ſiege of Syracuſe ſhews, how high his abilities in mechanics roſe. It is no wonder, that the moderns, after the many Phyſical Diſcoveries made in the laſt Century, have carried that ſcience much farther than the antients. The Machines of Archimedes however ſtill amaze the moſt profound in the Mechanics of our times.

If all the advantages of the mechanics were to be particularly ſhewn, it would be neceſſary to deſcribe all the machines uſed heretofore on different times and occaſions, both in war and peace, as well as thoſe now uſed either for neceſſity or diverſion.

It is upon the principles of this ſcience that the conſtruction of wind and water mills for different uſes is founded; of moſt of the machines uſed in war, both in the attack and defence of places; of thoſe which are employed in great numbers for the raiſing of heavy weights in building, and of water by pumps, wheels, and all the various engines for that uſe; in a word, we are indebted to the mechanics for an infinity of very uſeful and curious works.

OF THE STATICS.

THE Statics are a ſcience, that makes part of the mixed mathematics. It conſiders ſolid bodies in reſpect to their weight, and lays down rules for moving them, and for placing them *in æquilibrio*.

The great principle of this ſcience is, that, when the maſſes of two unequal bodies are in reciprocal proportion to their velocities, that is to ſay, when the quantity or maſs of the one contains that of the other, as much as the ſwiftneſs of the ſecond contains that of the firſt, their quantities of motion, or powers, are equal. From this principle it follows, that with a very ſmall body a much greater may be moved: or, which is the ſame thing, that with a certain given power any weight whatſoever may be moved. In order to this, the velocity of the moving power is only to be augmented, in proportion to the weight of the body to be moved.

This appears evidently in the Lever, on which almoſt all mechanical machines depend. The point, on which it is ſupported, is called the point fixed, or point of ſupport. The extent, from that point to one of the extremities, is called the diſtance from the point of ſupport, or *radius*. The bodies at the two extremities of the lever, are called weights. If one of theſe weights be only half the other, and its diſtance twice as far from the point fixed, the two weights will be *in æquilibrio*, becauſe then the velocity of the leaſt will contain that of the greateſt, in the ſame manner as the maſs of the greateſt will contain that of the leaſt; for their velocities are in the ſame proportion to each other, as their diſtances from the point of ſupport. According to this hypotheſis, by augmenting the diſtance of the weight which is but half the other, the lighter will raiſe up the heavier.

It was upon this principle Archimedes told king Hiero, that, if he had a place off the earth, where he could fix himſelf and his inſtruments, he could move it as he thought fit at will. To prove what he ſaid, and to ſhew that prince, that the greateſt weight might be moved with ſmall force, he made the experiment before him upon one of the largeſt of his galleys, which had double the lading it uſed to carry put on board it, and which he made move forward upon the land without difficulty, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine he had prepared for that purpoſe.

The HYDROSTATICS conſiders the effects of weight in liquids, whether in liquids alone, or in liquids acting upon ſolids, or reciprocally. It was by the Hydroſtatics, that Archimedes diſcovered what a goldſmith had ſtolen from king Hiero's crown, in which he had mingled other metal with gold. His joy was ſo great for having found this ſecret, that he leaped out of the bath without conſidering he was naked, and, ſolely intent upon his diſcovery, went home in that condition, to make the experiment, crying out through the ſtreets, *I have found it, I have found it.* Plut. in Moral. p. 1094.

CHAPTER II.

OF ASTRONOMY.

Memoires de l'Academ. des Sciences, Vol. VIII.

MR. Caſſini has left us an excellent treatiſe upon the origin and progreſs of aſtronomy, which I ſhall only abridge in this place.

It is not to be doubted but aſtronomy was invented from the beginning of the world. As there is nothing more ſurpriſing than the regularity of thoſe great luminous bodies that turn inceſſantly round the earth, it is eaſy to judge that one of the firſt curioſities of mankind was to conſider their courſes, and to obſerve the periods of them. But it was not curioſity only that induced men to apply themſelves to aſtronomical ſpeculations: neceſſity itſelf may be ſaid to have obliged them to it. For, if the ſeaſons are not obſerved, which are diſtinguiſhed by the motion of the ſun, it is impoſſible to ſucceed in agriculture. If the times proper for making voyages were not previouſly known, commerce could not be carried on. If the duration of the month and year were not determined, a certain order could not be eſtabliſhed in civil affairs, nor the days allotted to the exerciſe of religion be fixed. Thus, as neither agriculture, commerce, polity, nor religion could diſpenſe with the want of aſtronomy, it is evident that mankind were obliged to apply themſelves to that ſcience, from the beginning of the world.

Ptolom. Almageſt. l. 4. c. 2.

What Ptolomy relates of the obſervations of the heavens, by which Hipparchus reformed aſtronomy almoſt two thouſand years ago, proves ſufficiently, that, in the moſt antient times, and even before the flood, this ſcience was much ſtudied. And it is no wonder, that the remembrance of the aſtronomical obſervations, made during the firſt ages of of the world, ſhould be preſerved even after the flood, if what Joſephus relates be true, that the deſcendants of Seth, to preſerve the remembrance of the celeſtial obſervations which they had made, engraved the principal of them upon two pillars, the one of brick, and the other of ſtone; that the pillar of brick withſtood the waters of the deluge, and that, even in his time, there were remains of it to be ſeen in Syria. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1.

It is agreed that aſtronomy was cultivated in a particular manner by the Chaldæans. The height of the tower of Babel, which the vanity of men erected about an hundred and fifty years after the flood, the * level and extenſive plains of that country, the nights in which they breathed the freſh air after the troubleſome heats of the day, an unbroken horizon, a pure and ſerene ſky, all conſpired to engage that people to contemplate the vaſt extent of the heavens, and the motions of the ſtars. From Chaldæa aſtronomy paſſed into Egypt, and ſoon after was carried into Phœnicia, when they began to apply its ſpeculative obſervations to the uſes of navigation, by which the Phœnicians ſoon became maſters of the ſea and of commerce.

What made them bold, in undertaking long voyages, was their cuſtom of ſteering their ſhips by the obſervation of one of the ſtars of the Little Bear, which, being near the immoveable point of the heavens, called the Pole, is the moſt proper to ſerve as a guide in navigation. Other nations, leſs ſkilful in aſtronomy, obſerved only the Great Bear in their voyages. But, as that conſtellation is too far from the pole to be capable of ſerving as a cer- Arat.

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* Principio Aſſyrii, propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cùm cœlum ex omni parte patens atque apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motuſque ſtellarum obſervaverunt—— Qua in natione Chaldæi—diuturna obſervatione ſiderum ſcientiam putantur effeciſſe, &c. *Cic. de Divin. l.* 1. *n.* 2.

tain

tain guide in long voyages, they did not dare to ſtand out ſo far to ſea, as to loſe ſight of the coaſts; and, if a ſtorm happened to drive them into the main ocean, or upon ſome unknown ſhore, it was impoſſible for them to know by the heavens into what part of the world the tempeſt had carried them.

Diog. Laert. l. 1.

Thales, having at length brought the ſcience of the ſtars from Phœnicia into Greece, taught the Greeks to know the conſtellation of the Little Bear, and to make uſe of it as their guide in navigation. He alſo taught them the theory of the motion of the ſun and moon, by which he accounted for the length and ſhortneſs of the days; determined the number of the days of the Solar year, and not only explained the cauſe of Eclipſes, but ſhewed the art of foretelling them, which he even reduced to practice, foretelling an eclipſe which happened ſoon after. The merit of a knowledge ſo uncommon in thoſe days made him paſs for the oracle of his times, and occaſioned his being given the firſt place amongſt the ſeven Sages of Greece.

Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

Strab. l. 1. p. 7.

Diog. Laert. l. 2.

Anaximander was his diſciple, to whom Pliny and Diogenes Laertius aſcribe the invention of the ſphere, that is to ſay, the repreſentation of the terreſtrial globe; or, according to Strabo, geographical maps. Anaximander is ſaid alſo to have erected a gnomon at Sparta, by the means of which he obſerved the equinoxes and ſolſtices; and to have determined the obliquity of the ecliptic more exactly than had ever been done before; which was neceſſary for dividing the terreſtrial globe into five Zones, and for diſtinguiſhing the Climates, that were afterwards uſed by geographers for ſhewing the ſituation of all the places of the earth.

Upon the inſtructions which the Greeks had received from Thales and Anaximander, they ventured into the main ſea, and, ſailing to various remote countries, planted many colonies in them.

Aſtronomy was ſoon made amends for the advantages ſhe had procured navigation. For, commerce having opened the reſt of the world to the learned of Greece, they acquired great lights from their conferences with the prieſts of Egypt, who made the ſcience of the ſtars their peculiar profeſſion. They learnt alſo many things from the philoſophers of the ſect of Pythagoras in Italy, who had made ſo great a progreſs in this Science, that they ventured to reject the received opinions of all the world concerning the order of nature and aſcribed perpetual reſt to the ſun, and motion to the earth.

Ariſt. de Cœl. l. 2. c. 13.

Meton diſtinguiſhed himſelf very much at Athens by his particular application to aſtronomy, and by the great ſucceſs with which his pains were rewarded. He lived in the time of the Peloponneſian war; and, when the Athenians were fitting out a fleet againſt Sicily, foreſeeing that expedition would be attended with fatal conſequences, he counterfeited the madman, to avoid having a ſhare in it, and ſetting out with the other citizens. It was he that invented what is called *The Golden Number*, in order to make the Lunar and Solar years agree. That Number is a revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns to the ſame place and days, and renews its courſe with the ſun, at the difference of about an hour and ſome minutes.

Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 532.

Diod. Sicul. l. 12. p. 94.

The Greeks improved alſo from their commerce with the Druids, * who amongſt many other things, ſays Julius Cæſar, which they taught their youth, inſtructed them particularly in the motion of the ſtars, and the magnitude of the heavens and the earth, that is to ſay, in aſtronomy and geography.

This kind of learning is more antient in the Gauls, than is generally imagined. Strabo has preſerved a famous obſervation, made by Pytheas at

Strab. l. 2. p. 115.

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* Multa præterea de ſideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura——diſputant, & juventuti tranſdant. *Cæſ. de Bell. Gall.* l. 6.

Marſeilles above two thouſand years ago, concerning the proportion of the ſhadow of the ſun to the length of a gnomon at the time of the ſolſtice. If the circumſtances of this obſervation were exactly known, it would ſerve to reſolve an important queſtion, which is, whether the obliquity of the ecliptic be ſubject to any change.

Strab. l. 2. p. 115. Pytheas was not contented with making obſervations in his own country. His paſſion for aſtronomy and geography made him run over all Europe, from the pillars of Hercules to the mouths of the Tanais. He went by the weſtern ocean very far towards the Arctic pole, and obſerved that, in proportion as he advanced, the days grew longer at the ſummer ſolſtice, ſo that in a certain climate there was but three hours night, and farther only two, till at laſt in the iſland of Thule the ſun roſe almoſt as ſoon as it ſet, the tropic continuing entirely above the horizon of that iſle; which happens in Iceland, and the northern parts of Norway, as modern accounts inform us. Strabo, who imagined that thoſe climates were uninhabitable, accuſes Pytheas of falſhood, and blames the credulity of Eratoſthenes and Hipparchus, who, upon Pytheas's authority, ſaid the ſame thing of the iſland of Thule. But, the accounts of modern travellers having fully juſtified Pytheas, we may give him the glory of being the firſt that advanced towards the pole to countries before believed uninhabitable, and who diſtinguiſhed Climates by the different length of days and nights.

About Pytheas's time, the Learned of Greece having conceived a taſte for aſtronomy, many great men of them applied themſelves to it in emulation of each other. Eudoxus, after having been ſome time the diſciple of Plato, was not ſatisfied with what was taught upon that ſubject in the ſchools of Athens. He therefore went to Egypt to cultivate that ſcience at its ſource, and, having obtained a letter of recommendation from Ageſilaus king of Sparta to Nectanebus king of Egypt, he remained ſixteen months with the aſtronomers of that country, in order to improve himſelf by conſulting them. At his return he compoſed ſeveral books upon aſtronomy, and amongſt others the deſcription of the conſtellations, which Aratus turned into verſe ſome time after by the order of Antigonus.

Ariſtotle, the cotemporary of Eudoxus, and alſo Plato's diſciple, made uſe of aſtronomy for improving the phyſics and geography. By the obſervations of the aſtronomers, he determined the figure and magnitude of the earth. He demonſtrated that it was ſpherical by the roundneſs of its ſhadow, which appeared upon the diſk of the moon in eclipſes, and by the inequality of the meridian altitudes which are different according to their diſtance from, or approach to, the poles. Calliſthenes, who was in the train of Alexander the Great, having had occaſion to go to Babylon, found aſtronomical obſervations there, which the Babylonians had made, during the ſpace of nineteen hundred and three years, and ſent them to Ariſtotle. Ariſt. de Cœl. l. 2. c. 14.

After Alexander's death, the princes, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Egypt took ſo much care to attract the moſt famous aſtronomers to their courts by their liberality, that Alexandria, the capital of their kingdom, ſoon became, to uſe the expreſſion, the ſeat of aſtronomy. The famous Conon made abundance of obſervations there, but they are not come down to us. Ariſtyllus and Timochares obſerved the declination of the fixed ſtars there, the knowledge of which is abſolutely neceſſary to geography and navigation. Eratoſthenes made obſervations upon the ſun in the ſame city, which ſerved him for meaſuring the circumference of the earth. Hipparchus, who reſided alſo at Alexandria, was the firſt who laid the foundation for a methodical aſtronomy, when, upon the appearance of a new Ptol. Almag. l. 7. Cleomed. l. 1. A. D. 147.

fixed ſtar, he took the number of the fixed ſtars, in order that future ages might know, whether any more new ones appeared. The fixed ſtars amounted then to a thouſand and twenty-two. He not only deſcribed their motion round the poles of the ecliptic, but applied himſelf alſo to regulate the theory of the motions of the ſun and moon. Ptol. Almag. l. 3—7.

The Romans, who aſpired to the empire of the world, took care at different times to cauſe deſcriptions of the principal parts of the earth to be made, a work which implied ſome knowledge of the ſtars. Scipio Africanus the younger, during the war with Carthage, gave Polybius ſhips, in order to view the coaſts of Africa, Spain, and the Gauls.

Plin. l. 7. c. 30. Pompey correſponded with the learned aſtronomer and excellent geographer, Poſſidonius, who undertook to meaſure the circumference of the earth by celeſtial obſervations, made at different places under the ſame meridian, in order to reduce into degrees the diſtances, which the Romans till then had meaſured only by *ſtadia* (or furlongs) and miles. Cleomed. l. 1.

In order to ſettle the difference of Climates, the difference of the length of ſhadows was obſerved, principally at the time of the ſolſtices and equinoxes. Gnomons and Obeliſks had been ſet up for this purpoſe in ſeveral parts of the world, as Pliny and Vitruvius inform us, who have tranſmitted many of thoſe obſervations down to poſterity. The greateſt obeliſks were thoſe of Egypt. Julius and Auguſtus Cæſar cauſed ſome of them to be brought from thence to Rome, as well to ſerve for ornaments of the city, as to give the exact meaſures of the proportion of ſhadows. Auguſtus cauſed one of the greateſt of theſe obeliſks to be placed in the field of Mars, which was an hundred and eleven feet high, without the pedeſtal. He cauſed foundations to be made to it as deep as the obeliſk was high; and, when the obeliſk was placed upon them, he ordered a meridian line to be drawn at bottom, of which the

Plin. l. 2. c. 72, 73. 74. Vitruv. l. 9. c. 4.

Plin. l. 36. c. 10.

the diviſions were made with plates of braſs fixed in ſtone, to ſhew the lengthening or ſhortening of the ſhadows every day at noon, according to the difference of the ſeaſons. And, to ſhew this difference with greater exactneſs, he cauſed a ball to be placed upon the point of that obeliſk, which is ſtill in the field of Mars at Rome, lying in the ground acroſs the cellars of houſes built upon its ruins. By comparing the ſhadows of this obeliſk with thoſe obſerved in ſeveral other parts of the world, the knowledge of the Latitudes ſo neceſſary to the perfection of geography, was attained.

Auguſtus in the mean time cauſed particular deſcriptions of different countries to be made, and principally that of Italy, where the diſtances were marked by miles along the coaſts, and upon the great roads. And at length, in that prince's reign, the general deſcription of the world, at which the Romans had laboured for the ſpace of two ages, was finiſhed from the memoirs of Agrippa, and ſet up in the midſt of Rome, in a great portico built for that purpoſe. Plin. l. 3. c. 3. Ibid. c. 2.

The Itinerary, aſcribed to the emperor Antoninus, may be taken for an abridgment of this great work. For this Itinerary is in effect only a collection of the diſtances which had been meaſured throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire.

In the reign of that wiſe Emperor, Aſtronomy began to aſſume a new face. For Ptolomy, who may be called the reſtorer of this ſcience, improving from the lights of his predeceſſors in it, and adding the obſervations of Hipparchus, Timocharis, and the Babylonians to his own, compoſed a complete body of aſtronomy in an excellent book, intitled, *The great Compoſition*, which contains the theory and tables of the motion of the ſun, moon, and other planets, and of the fixed ſtars. Geography is no leſs indebted to him than aſtronomy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

As great works are never perfect in their beginnings, we muſt not be ſurpriſed, that there are abundance of things to amend in Ptolomy's geography. Many ages elapſed without any body's undertaking it. But the Arabian princes, who conquered the countries where aſtronomy and geography were particularly cultivated and profeſſed, had no ſooner declared it their intention to make the utmoſt improvements in thoſe ſciences, than perſons capable of contributing to the execution of their deſign were immediately found. Almamon, Caliph of Babylon, having at that time cauſed Ptolomy's book, intitled *The great Compoſition*, which the Arabians called *Almageſt*, to be tranſlated out of Greek into Arabic, many obſervations were made by his orders; in effect of which the declination of the ſun was diſcovered to be leſs by one third of a degree than laid down by Ptolomy; and that the motion of the fixed ſtars was not ſo ſlow as he believed it. By the order of the ſame prince, a great extent of country under the ſame Meridian was meaſured, in order to determine the extent of a degree of the earth's circumference.

Thus aſtronomy and geography were gradually improved. But the art of navigation made a much more conſiderable progreſs in a ſhort time by the help of the Compaſs, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel.

Almoſt at the ſame time that the compaſs began to be uſed, the example of the Caliphs excited the princes of Europe to promote the improvement of aſtronomy. The Emperor Frederic II, not being able to ſuffer that the Chriſtians ſhould have leſs knowledge of this ſcience than the Barbarians, cauſed the Almageſt of Ptolomy to be tranſlated into Latin from the Arabic, from which verſion Johannes de Sacroboſco, profeſſor in the univerſity of Paris, extracted his work concerning the ſphere, upon which the moſt learned mathematicians of Europe have written commentaries.

In Spain, Alphonſo king of Caſtile was at a truly Royal expence for aſſembling learned aſtronomers from all parts. By his orders they applied themſelves to the reformation of Aſtronomy, and compoſed new Tables, which from his name were called the Alphonſine Tables. They did not ſucceed the firſt time in the hypotheſis of the motion of the fixed ſtars, which they ſuppoſed too ſlow; but Alphonſo afterwards corrected their Tables, which have ſince been augmented, and reduced into a more commodious form by different aſtronomers.

Calviſ. ad an. 1252.

This work awakened the curioſity of the Learned of Europe, who immediately invented ſeveral kinds of inſtruments for facilitating the Obſervations of the ſtars. They calculated Ephemeriſes, and made tables for finding the declination of the planets at all times, which, with the obſervation of the Meridian Altitudes, ſhews the Latitudes at land ſea. They laboured alſo to facilitate the calculation of Eclipſes, by obſervation of which longitudes are found.

The fruit of theſe aſtronomical labours was the diſcovery of many countries unknown before. I ſhall ſpeak of them elſewhere.

France has alſo produced many illuſtrious men, who excelled in aſtronomy, becauſe it has had great princes, from time to time, who have taken care to excite their ſubjects by rewards to apply to it. Charles V, ſurnamed the Wiſe, cauſed abundance of mathematical books to be tranſlated into French. He founded two profeſſorſhips of mathematics in the college of M. Gervais at Paris, to facilitate the ſtudy of thoſe ſciences to his ſubjects. They flouriſhed principally in the following century through Francis I's inſtitution of two profeſſorſhips in the college royal, for teaching the mathematics in the Capital city of his kingdom. This ſchool produced a conſiderable number of learned men, who inriched the public with many aſtronomical and mathematical

cal works, and formed illuſtrious diſciples, whoſe reputation almoſt obſcured that of their maſters.

Germany and the northern nations alſo produced many excellent aſtronomers, amongſt whom Copernicus diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner. But the famous Tycho Brahe much exceeded all the aſtronomers that had preceeded him. Beſides the Theory and the Tables of the ſun and moon, and abundance of fine Obſervations which he made, he compoſed a new Catalogue of the fixed ſtars with ſo much exactneſs, that the author might from that work alone deſerve the name, which ſome have given him, of Reſtorer of aſtronomy.

Whilſt Tycho Brahe was making obſervations in Denmark, ſeveral famous aſtronomers, who aſſembled at Rome under the authority of pope Gregory XIII, laboured with abundance of ſucceſs in correcting the errors which had inſenſibly crept into the antient Calendar, through the preceſſion of the equinoxes, and the anticipation of the new moons. Theſe errors would in proceſs of time have entirely ſubverted the order eſtabliſhed by the councils for the celebration of the Moveable feaſts, if the Calendar had not been reformed according to the modern Obſervations of the motions of the ſun and moon compared with the antient.

In the laſt and preſent ages, an infinity of new diſcoveries have been made, which have rendered aſtronomy incomparably more perfect than it was at its firſt beginning to be taught in Europe. The celebrated Galileo, by the good uſe he made of the invention of teleſcopes, was the firſt who diſcovered things in the heavens which had long paſſed for incredible. Deſcartes may be ranked amongſt the improvers of aſtronomy; for the book he compoſed, upon the principles of philoſophy, ſhews, that he had taken no leſs pains to know the motions of the ſtars, than the other parts of the phyſics;

but he confined himſelf more to reaſoning upon, than obſerving, them. Gaſſendi applied himſelf more to practical aſtronomy, and publiſhed abundance of very important obſervations.

The eſtabliſhment of the Royal Academy of Sciences may juſtly be conſidered as the means that has contributed moſt to the credit and improvement of aſtronomy in France, by the incredible emulation, which the deſire of ſupporting their reputation, and diſtinguiſhing themſelves, excites in a body of learned men. Lewis XIV. having cauſed the Obſervatory to be built, of which the deſign, magnificence, and ſolidity are equally admirable, the academy, to anſwer his majeſty's intention in erecting that ſuperb edifice, applied themſelves with incredible induſtry to whatever might contribute to the improvement of aſtronomy. I ſhall not particulariſe in this place the important diſcoveries that have been the fruits of this Inſtitution, the learned works of this Society, nor the great men which have done, and ſtill continue to do it ſo much honour. Their names and abilities are known to all Europe, which does their merit all the juſtice it deſerves.

The reader no doubt has obſerved, from all that has been ſaid of aſtronomy, the eſſential relation of that ſcience to Geography and Navigation: and this is the proper place to ſpeak of them. M. Danville, Geographer Royal, with whom I am particularly intimate, has been pleaſed to impart memoirs of geography to me, of which I have made great uſe.

ARTICLE I.

OF GEOGRAPHY.

SECT. I.

Of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Geographers of antiquity.

CONQUESTS and commerce have aggrandiſed geography, and ſtill contribute to its perfection. Homer, in his poems upon the Trojan war, and the voyages of Ulyſſes, has mentioned a great number of nations and countries, with particular circumſtances relating to abundance of places. There appears ſo much knowledge of Strab. l. 1. p. 2. this kind in that great Poet, that Strabo conſidered him in ſome ſort as the firſt and moſt antient of Geographers.

It is certain that geography has been cultivated from the earlieſt times; and, beſides the geographical authors come down to us, we find many others cited by them, whoſe works time has not ſpared. Laert. l. 2. The art of repreſenting the earth, or ſome particular region of it, upon geographical tables and maps, is even very antient. Anaximander, the diſciple of Thales, who lived above five hundred years before Chriſt, had compoſed works of this kind, as we have obſerved above.

Alexander's expedition, who extended his conqueſts as far as the frontiers of Scythia, and into India, opened to the Greeks a poſitive knowledge of many countries very remote from their own. Plin. l. 6. c. 17. Strab. l. 11. p. 514. Arrian lib. 1er. Indic. That conqueror had two engineers, Diognetus and Bæton, in his ſervice, who were ordered to meaſure his marches. Pliny and Strabo have preſerved thoſe meaſures; and Arrian has tranſmitted down to us the particulars of the navigation of Nearchus and Oneſicritus, who ſailed back with Alexander's ander's fleet from the mouths of the Indus into thoſe of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The Greeks, having reduced Tyre and Sidon, had it in their power to inform themſelves particularly of all the places to which the Phœnicians traded by ſea, and their commerce extended as far as the Atlantic ocean.

Alexander's ſucceſſors in the Eaſt extended their dominions and knowledge ſtill farther than him, and even to the mouths of the Ganges.

Ptolomy Evergetes carried his into Abyſſinia, as the inſcription of the throne of Adulis, according to Coſmas the hermit, proves.

Thevenot's *Travels, Vol. I.*

About the ſame time Eratoſthenes, the Librarian of Alexandria, endeavoured to meaſure the earth, by comparing the diſtance between Alexandria and Syene, a town ſituated under the tropic of Cancer, with the difference of Latitude of thoſe places, which he concluded from the Meridian ſhadow of a gnomon erected at Alexandria at the ſummer-ſolſtice.

The Romans having made themſelves maſters of the world, and united the Eaſt and Weſt under the ſame power, it is not to be doubted, but geography muſt have derived great advantages from it. It is eaſy to perceive, that moſt of the completeſt geographical works were compiled during the Roman emperors. The great roads of the empire, meaſured in all their extent, might have contributed much to the improvement of geography: and the Roman Itineraries, though often altered and incorrect, are ſtill of great ſervice in compoſing ſome maps, and in the inquiries neceſſary to the knowledge of the antient geography. *Antoninus's Itinerary*, as it is commonly called, becauſe ſuppoſed to have been compiled in his reign, is alſo aſcribed by the Learned to the coſmographer Æthicus. We have alſo a kind of *Table* or oblong *Map*, which is called the *Theodoſian* Table, from its being conjectured to have been compoſed about the time of Theodoſius. The name of *Peutinger* is alſo given this table, which is that of a conſiderable citizen of Auſburg in Germany, in whoſe library it was found, and from whence it was ſent to the famous Ortelius, the greateſt geographer of his time.

Though geography be but a very ſhort part of Pliny's natural hiſtory, he however often gives us a detail of conſiderable extent. He uſually follows the plan laid down for him by Pomponius Mela, a leſs circumſtantial, but elegant, author.

Strabo and Ptolomy held the firſt rank amongſt the antient geographers, and diſpute it with each other. Geography has more extent, and takes in a greater part of the Earth in Ptolomy; whilſt it ſeems equally circumſtantial every-where: but it is that extent itſelf that renders it the more ſuſpected, it not being eaſy for it to be every-where exact and correct. Strabo relates a great part of what he writes upon the evidence of his own eyes, having made abundance of voyages for the greater certainty of his accounts; and is very ſuccinct upon what he knows only from the reports of others. His geography is adorned with an infinity of hiſtorical facts and diſcuſſions. He affects every-where to remark, in reſpect to each place and country, the great men they have produced, and that do them honour. Strabo is a philoſopher as well as a geographer; and good ſenſe, ſolidity of judgment, and accuracy, diſplay themſelves throughout his whole work.

Ptolomy having diſpoſed his geography in general by longitudes and latitudes, the only method of attaining any certainty in it, Agathodamon, his countryman, and of Alexandria as well as himſelf, reduced the whole into geographical charts or maps.

The authors, of whom I have now ſpoken, are in a manner the principal ſources from which the knowledge of the antient geography is to be acquired. And, if the particular deſcription of the principal countries of Greece by Pauſanias be added to it, with ſome leſs works, that principally conſiſt of brief deſcriptions of ſea-coaſts, amongſt others thoſe of the Euxine and Erythrean ſeas by Arrian, and the account of cities compiled from the Greek authors by Stephanus Byzantinus, we have almoſt all that remains of the geographical works of antiquity.

It is not to be imagined, that the antients whom I have cited had no thoughts of uſing the helps aſtronomy was capable of affording geography. They obſerved the difference of the latitudes of places by the length of Meridian ſhadows at the ſummer-ſolſtice. They determined alſo that difference from the obſervation of the length of the longeſt days in each place. It was well known by the antients, that, by comparing the time of the obſervation of an eclipſe of the moon in places ſituated under different meridians, the difference of the longitudes of thoſe places might be known.

But, if the antients underſtood the theory of theſe different obſervations, it muſt be allowed that the means they employed in it were not capable of leading them to a certain degree of exactneſs, to which the moderns only attained by the help of great teleſcopes and the perfection of clocks. We cannot help perceiving the want of exactneſs in the obſervations of the antients, when we conſider, that Ptolomy, all-great Coſmographer as he was, and though an Alexandrian, was miſtaken about the fifth of a degree in the latitude of the city of Alexandria; which was obſerved in the laſt century by the order of the king of France, and the application of the Royal Academy of ſciences.

But though there is reaſon to conclude, that the art of making geographical maps was very far from being carried amongſt the antients to that degree of perfection as it is in our days; and we may believe, that, even in the time of the Romans, the uſe of thoſe maps was not ſo common as it is at preſent; an antient monument of our Gaul itſelf informs us, that young perſons were taught geography by the inſpection of maps. That monument is an oratorical diſcourſe ſpoken at Autun in the reign of Conſtantius, wherein the rhetorician Eumenes expreſsly tells us, that in the porch of the public ſchool of that city young ſtudents had recourſe to a repreſentation of the diſpoſition of all the lands and ſeas of the earth, in which the courſes of the rivers and the windings of coaſts were parcularly deſcribed: *Videat in illis porticibus Juventus & quotidie ſpectet omnes terras, & cuncta maria, & quicquid invictiſſimi Principes, urbium, gentium, nationum aut pietate reſtituunt, aut virtute devincunt aut terrore. Si quidem illic, ut ipſe vidiſti, credo inſtruendæ pueritiæ cauſa, quo manifeſtiùs oculis diſcerentur quæ difficiliùs percipiuntur auditu, omnium, cum nominibus ſuis, locorum ſitus, ſpatia, intervalla deſcripta ſunt, quicquid ubique fluminum oritur & conditur, quacumque ſe littorum ſinus flectunt, quo vel ambitu cingit Orbem, vel impetu irrumpit Oceanus.*

Inter. Vet. Panegyr.

SECT. II.

Lands known to the Antients.

TO know what part of the ſurface of the earth was known to the antients is of ſome uſe.

On the ſide of the Weſt which we inhabit, the Atlantic Ocean and the Britiſh iſles limited the knowledge of the antients.

The Fortunate iſlands, now called the Canaries, ſeemed to them as the remoteſt part of the ocean between the ſouth and the weſt; and it was for that reaſon Ptolomy reckoned the longitude of the Meridian from thoſe iſlands; in which he has been followed by many Eaſtern and Mahometan geographers, and even by the French and moſt of the Moderns.

The Greeks had ſome ſlight knowledge of Hibernia, the moſt weſtern of the Britiſh iſlands, even before the Romans had conquered Great Britain.

Ariſt. de Mundo. c. 3.

The antients had but very imperfect notions of the northern countries as far as the Hyperborean or Icy ſea. Though Scandinavia was known, that country and ſome others of the ſame continent, were taken for great iſlands.

It is hard to determine poſitively what place the antients underſtood by *ultima Thule.* Many take it for Iceland. But Procopius ſeems to make it a part of the continent of Scandinavia.

Virg. 1. Georg. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 2. c. 15.

It is certain that the knowledge, which the antients had of Sarmatia and Scythia, was very far from extending to the ſea, which now ſeems to bound Ruſſia and Great Tartary on the north and eaſt ſides. The diſcoveries of the antients went no farther than the Riphæan mountains, the chain of which actually divides Ruſſia in Europe from Siberia.

It is evident that the antients had no great knowledge of the northern part of Aſia, when we conſider that moſt of their authors, as Strabo, Mela, Pliny, imagined that the Caſpian ſea was a gulf of the Hyperborean ocean, from whence it iſſued by a long canal.

Strab. l. 2. p. 121. Mel. l. 3. Plin. l. 6. c. 13.

On the ſide of the Eaſt, the antients ſeem to have known only the weſtern frontier of China. Ptolomy ſeems to have had a glimpſe of ſome part of the ſouthern coaſt of China, but a very imperfect one.

The great iſlands of Aſia, eſpecially thoſe of Japan, were unknown to the antients. Only the famous Taprobana is to be excepted, the diſcovery of which was a conſequence of Alexander's expedition into India, as Pliny informs us.

Plin. l. 6. c. 22. It remains for me to ſpeak of the ſouthernmoſt part of Africa. Tho' many have ſuppoſed that in a voyage of extraordinary length they had ſailed round this part of the world, Ptolomy however ſeems to inſinuate, that it had eſcaped the knowledge of the antients. Every body knows that it lies almoſt entirely within the Torrid Zone, which moſt of the antients believed uninhabitable near the Equinoctial line; for which reaſon Strabo goes very little farther than Meroe in Ethiopia.

Arriani & Marciani Heracl. Peripl. Ptolomy however, and ſome others, have carried their knowledge along the eaſtern coaſt of Africa as far as the Equator, and even to the iſland of Madagaſcar, which he ſeems to intend by the name of *Menuthias*.

It was reſerved for the voyages undertaken by the Portugueſe in the fifteenth century, in order to go to India by ſea, to diſcover the greateſt part of the coaſts of Africa upon the Atlantic ocean, and eſpecially the paſſage by the ſouth of the moſt extreme cape of Africa. That paſſage having been diſcovered, ſeveral European nations, led by the hopes of rich traffic, ran over the Indian ſea that waſhes the coaſts of Aſia, diſcovered all the iſlands in it, and penetrated as far as Japan.

The conqueſts and ſettlement of the Ruſſians in the northern part of Aſia have completed our knowledge of that part of the world.

To conclude, every body knows, that, about the end of the fifteenth century, a new world, ſituated on the weſt in reſpect to ours, beyond the Atlantic ocean, was diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus under the auſpices of the crown of Caſtile.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Wherein the modern geographers have excelled the antient.

IT would be blindneſs, and ſhutting one's eyes againſt demonſtration, not to admit that the modern geography abundantly ſurpaſſes the antient. It is well known that the meaſures of the earth muſt be ſought in the heavens, and that geography depends upon aſtronomical obſervations. Now who can doubt, that aſtronomy has not made an extraordinary progreſs in later times? The invention of teleſcopes only, which is of ſufficiently recent date, has infinitely contributed to it; and that invention itſelf has been highly improved in no great number of years. It is therefore no wonder that the antients, with all the genius and penetration we are willing to allow them, were not able to attain to the ſame degree of knowledge, as they were not aſſiſted in their inquiries by the ſame aids.

Geography is ſtill far from having received its final perfection. Practical ſciences make the leaſt progreſs. Two or three great geniuſſes ſuffice for carrying Theories a great way in a ſhort time; but Practice goes on with a ſlower pace, becauſe it depends upon a greater number of hands, of which even far the greateſt part are but meanly ſkilful. Geography, which would require an infinite number of exact operations, is imperfect in proportion both to that number, and the accuracy they would require; and we may juſtly ſuppoſe that the deſcription of the terreſtrial globe, though it begins to be rectified a little, is ſtill very confuſed, and far from a true likeneſs.

It would be of ſmall conſequence to mention the faults of the antient and Ptolemaic maps, in which the Mediterranean is made to extend a good fourth more in longitude than it really does. The queſtion here is the modern maps, which, though generally the better the more modern they are, have ſtill occaſion for abundance of corrections.

Monſieur Sanſon has always been conſidered as a very good geographer, and his Maps have always been highly eſteemed. Monſieur Deliſle has however differed from them very often in his. And this is not to be imagined, as it is uſually called, jealouſy of profeſſion. Since Monſieur Sanſon's time, the earth is exceedingly changed; that is to ſay, more accurate, and a greater number of aſtronomical obſervations have greatly reformed geography. The ſame, no doubt, will happen to the maps of Monſieur Deliſle; and we ought to wiſh ſo for the good of the public.

The only method for making good geographical maps would be to have the poſition of every place from aſtronomical obſervations. But we are exceedingly far from having all theſe poſitions in this manner, and can hardly ever hope to have them. To ſupply this want, the itinerary diſtances of one place from another are uſed, as found ſet down in authors; and it is a great happineſs to find them there with any exactneſs, and without manifeſt contradictions, or conſiderable difficulties.

Hence, when our moſt ſkilful geographers were to make a map of the Roman countries, and particularly of Italy, as they had very few aſtronomical obſervations, they made the itinerary diſtances of places, as they found them in the books of the antients, their rule for their poſition.

The poſitions of many places have been ſince taken by aſtronomical obſervations. Monſieur Deliſle made uſe of them for correcting the maps of Italy, and the neighbouring countries; and he found that they not only became very different from what they were before, but that the places agreed exactly enough in reſpect to the diſtances given them by the antients: ſo that it is to be preſumed, that, in following them literally, good geographical maps might be made of the countries well known to them.

There is reaſon to be ſurpriſed at this great conformity of poſitions found by aſtronomical obſervations with thoſe taken from the itinerary diſtances as ſet down by the antients: for it is certain, that the ſituation of places taken from our itinerary diſtances are often falſe, and much ſo too.

But Monſieur Deliſle obſerves, that the Romans had advantages in this reſpect, which we have not. Their taſte for the public utility, and even magnificence (for they embelliſhed all they conquered) had occaſioned their making great roads throughout all Italy, of which Rome was the center, and which went to all the principal cities as far as the two ſeas. They made the like ways in many provinces of the Empire, of which remains, admirable for their conſtruction and ſolidity, ſubſiſt to this day. Theſe ways ran in a right line without quitting it either on account of mountains or marſhes. The marſhes were drained, and the mountains cut through. Stones were placed from mile to mile, with their numbers upon them. This rectilinear extent, and theſe diviſions into parts ſufficiently ſmall in reſpect to the whole length, rendered the itinerary meaſures very exact.

This exactneſs of the meaſures of the antients was well proved by an experiment made by Monſieur Caſſini. The meaſure of the diſtance from Narbonne to Niſmes had been included in the work of the meridian. That diſtance was ſixty-ſeven thouſand five hundred *toiſes* or fathoms of Paris. Strabo had alſo given us the diſtance of theſe two cities, which he makes eighty-eight miles. From whence it is eaſy to conclude, that an antient mile was ſeven hundred ſixty-ſeven toiſes of Paris. Beſides

ſides which, as the mile is known to have been five thouſand feet, we alſo find that the antient foot was eleven inches and $\frac{1}{25}$ of the Paris foot. The meaſure in conſequence muſt be equal to the antient diſtance, and has preſerved itſelf without change during ſo long a ſpace of time.

Monſieur Deliſle has given us a map, wherein Italy and Greece are repreſented in two different manners: the one according to the beſt modern geographers, the other according to aſtronomical obſervations for the places where they were to be had, and, for the reſt, according to the meaſures of antient authors. The difference between theſe two repreſentations would perhaps ſeem incredible. In the latter, Lombardy is very much ſhortened from South to North, Great Greece lengthened, the ſea that divides Greece and Italy made narrower, as well as that between Italy and Africa and Greece much leſſened.

Theſe laſt remarks, which are all taken from the Memoirs of the academy of ſciences, lengthen this brief head a little, but I conceived them worthy of the reader's curioſity.

ARTICLE. II.

OF NAVIGATION.

I SHALL examine only one point in this place, which is the wonderful change that an experiment, which might appear of ſmall importance, has occaſioned in navigation, and the ſuperiority we have acquired in this reſpect over the antients, by a means that ſeemed trivial in itſelf: it is eaſy to perceive that I mean the Compaſs. This inſtrument is a box that has a needle in it, touched with a loadſtone, that turns always towards the pole, except in ſome places where it has a declination.

The antients, we know, who ſteered their ſhips by the ſun in the day, and the ſtars during the night, in miſty weather could not diſcern what courſe to hold; and, for that reaſon, not daring to put out to ſea, were obliged to keep cloſe to the ſhore, and could not undertake voyages of any conſiderable length,

They knew one of the virtues of the loadſtone, which is to attract iron. One would think that the ſlighteſt attention might have occaſioned their diſcovering its other property of directing itſelf towards the pole of the world, and in conſequence have led them on to the compaſs. But he who diſpoſes all things kept their eyes ſhut to an effect which ſeemed of itſelf obvious to them.

Neither the author of this invention, nor the time when the uſe of it was firſt thought of, are preciſely known. It is however certain, that the French uſed the loadſtone in navigation long before any other nation of Europe, as may be eaſily proved from the works of ſome of our antient French authors, who ſpoke of it firſt above four hundred years ago. It is true, the invention was then very imperfect: for they ſay, that the needle was only put into a bowl, or veſſel, full of water, where it could turn itſelf towards the North, ſupported upon a pin. The Chineſe, if we may believe certain modern relations, make uſe, to this day, of the ſame kind of compaſs.

Caſſini's Aſtron. Memoirs.

Guyot de Provines.

The navigators, perceiving the importance of this invention, made many Aſtronomical Obſervations, towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, to aſſure themſelves of it, and found, that a needle, touched with a loadſtone, and ſet *in æquilibrio* upon a pivot, did actually turn of itſelf towards the pole, and that the direction of ſuch a needle might be employed for knowing the regions of the world, and the * point of the wind in which it is proper to ſail.

By other obſervations it has ſince been diſcovered, that the needle does not always point to the true North, but that it has a ſmall declination ſometimes towards the Eaſt, and ſometimes towards the Weſt; and even that this declination changes at different times and places. But they found alſo the means of knowing this variation ſo exactly by the ſun and ſtars, that the compaſs may be uſed with certainty for finding the regions of the heavens, even when clouded, provided that it has been rectified a little before by the obſervation of the ſtars.

The curioſity of the Learned of Europe began at that time to awake. They ſoon invented various inſtruments, made tables and calculations for facilitating the obſervation of the ſtars.

Never had navigation ſo many advantages for ſucceeding. The pilots did not fail to make the beſt of them. With theſe helps they croſſed unknown ſeas; and the ſucceſs of their firſt voyages encouraged them to attempt new diſcoveries. All the nations of Europe applied themſelves to them in emulation of each other. The French were the firſt in ſignaliſing their courage and addreſs: they ſeized the Canaries, and diſcovered great part of Guinea. The Portugueſe took the iſland of Madeira and that of Cape-Verd; and the Flemings diſcovered the iſlands of the Azores.

Hiſt de la Conquete des Canaries par Bethencourt.

Theſe diſcoveries were only preludes to that of the New World. Chriſtopher Columbus, founding his deſign upon his knowledge of aſtronomy, and, as it is ſaid, upon the memoirs of a Biſcayan pilot, whom a ſtorm had thrown upon an iſland of the Atlantic ocean, undertook to croſs that ſea. He propoſed it to ſeveral of the princes of Europe, of whom ſome neglected it, becauſe engaged in affairs of a more urgent nature; and

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* *Of which points there are two and thirty upon the compaſs.*

others rejected it, becauſe they neither comprehended the importance of that expedition, nor the reaſons that Columbus gave to explain the poſſibility of it. Thus the glory of the diſcovery of the new world was left to the kings of Caſtile, who afterwards acquired immenſe riches from it.

Columbus well knew, from his knowledge of the ſphere and geography, that, ſailing continually towards the Weſt under the ſame parallel or very near it, he could not fail of finding lands at length, becauſe, if he found no new ones, the earth being round, he muſt neceſſarily arrive by the ſhorteſt courſe at the extremity of the Eaſt-Indies.

In his voyages from Liſbon to Guinea, ſailing from North to South, he had been confirmed by experience that a degree of the earth's circumference contains fifty-ſix miles and two thirds, according to the meaſure eſtabliſhed by the aſtronomers of Almamon; and he had learnt in the books of Ptolomy, that, keeping always to the Weſt from the Canaries to the firſt lands of Aſia, there are only an hundred and eighty degrees. Accordingly he ſet out from the Canaries, ſteering always to the Weſt under the ſame parallel. As he did not entirely rely upon the compaſs, he always took care to obſerve the ſun by day, and the fixed ſtars by night. This precaution prevented him from miſtaking his courſe: For thoſe who have written his life ſay, that his Obſervations of the Heavens made him perceive a variation in his compaſs, which he did not know before; and that he rectified his way by them.

Ferdinand Columbus in his life of Columbus. Chap. 4.

Chap. 17.

After ſailing two months, he arrived at the Lucay iſlands, and from thence went on to Hiſpaniola, Cuba, and Saint Domingo, from whence he brought back great riches into Spain. Aſtronomy, by which he had diſcovered theſe rich countries, aſſiſted him alſo in eſtabliſhing himſelf there: For, in his ſecond voyage, his fleet being reduced

Chap. 22.

to extremities by the want of proviſions, and the inhabitants of Jamaica refuſing to ſupply him with them, he had the addreſs to threaten them he would darken the moon at a time when he knew there would be an eclipſe; and, as that eclipſe really happened the day he had foretold, the terrified Barbarians granted him whatever he pleaſed.

Whilſt Columbus was diſcovering the ſouthern part of the new world, the French diſcovered the northern part of it, and gave it the name of New France.

Veſput. navig. prim.

Americus Veſputius continued the diſcoveries of Columbus, and had the advantage of giving his name to the whole new world, which has ever ſince been called America. Aſtronomy was of great uſe to him in his voyages.

On the other ſide, the pilots of the king of Portugal, who till then had only traverſed the coaſts of Africa, doubled at this time the Cape of Good-hope, and opened themſelves a paſſage into the Eaſt-Indies, where they made very great conqueſts.

Is there in all hiſtory an event comparable to that I have now related, that is to ſay, to the diſcovery of the new world? Upon what did it depend for ſo many ages? Upon the knowledge of a property of the load-ſtone, eaſily diſcoverable, which had, however, eſcaped the inquiries of an infinite number of the Learned, whoſe ſagacity had penetrated into the moſt obſcure and moſt profound myſteries of nature. Is it poſſible not to diſcern here the finger of God?

Columbus had never thought of forming his enterpriſe, and indeed could never have ſucceeded in it, without a great knowledge of aſtronomy: for Providence delights in concealing its wonders under the veil of human operations. How important therefore is it in a well-governed ſtate to place the ſuperior ſciences in honour and reputation, which are capable of rendering mankind ſuch great ſervices, and which have actually hitherto procured them, and ſtill continue to procure them, ſuch conſiderable advantages?

The reader will permit me to ſay a few words in this place upon two voyages of the Learned, which do the king and Literature in general great honour.

Voyages to Peru and into the North, undertaken by the order of Lewis XV.

In 1672, Mr. Richer obſerved in the iſland of Cayenne, that the curvation of the ſuperficies of the earth was greater there than in the Temperate Zone. Hence it was concluded that the figure of the earth muſt be that of a ſpheroid flat towards the poles, and not elliptical, or oblong, as it was and ſtill is believed by very ſkilful aſtronomers: for the point is not yet determined.

Newton and Huygens came afterwards by their theory to the ſame concluſion. It was to be aſſured of this truth, that in the year 1735, that is to ſay, at a time when France had a war to ſupport, which has ſince terminated ſo gloriouſly for her, the king, always intent upon making the ſciences flouriſh in his dominions, ſent aſtronomers to Peru and into the North, in order to determine with certainty by accurate obſervations the figure of the terreſtrial globe. Nothing was ſpared, either in reſpect to the expences of the voyage, or to procure them all the conveniencies that might promote their ſucceſs.

We ſaw them, in conſequence, ſet out, part of them to expoſe themſelves to the burning heats of the Torrid Zone, and the reſt to fly with the ſame ardour to confront all the horrors of the frozen North. The firſt have not been heard of a great while; but great diſcoveries are expected from their inquiries. The others have been come back from the North ſome months. The particulars of what they ſuffered, in order to give their operations all the perfection of which they were capable, is ſcarce credible. They were obliged to traverſe immenſe foreſts, in which they were the firſt that ever opened themſelves away; to ſcale mountains of amazing height, and covered with wood, which it was neceſſary for them to cut down; to paſs torrents of an impetuoſity capable of aſtoniſhing ſuch as only beheld them, and that too in wretched boats, that had no other pilot but a Laplander, nor maſt or ſails but a tree with its branches. Add to this the exceſſive cold of thoſe regions remote from the ſun, of which they experienced all the rigours; and the groſs nouriſhment on which they were reduced to ſubſiſt during a very conſiderable length of time. It is eaſy to conceive the courage theſe indefatigable obſervers muſt have had to ſurmount ſo many difficulties, that ſeemed to render the execution of the project confided to them impoſſible. The late Reading of the account of this voyage in the Academy of Sciences, ſince their return, has made the Public very deſirous to ſee it * printed.

One is ſometimes tempted to treat as uſeleſs ſuch laborious and ſcrupulous obſervations, that have no end but to determine the Figure of the Earth; and there are many who will perhaps believe, that thoſe who made them might have ſpared themſelves the trouble, and made a better uſe of the money employed in them. But this proceeds from the ignorance of the relation of Obſervations of this nature to navigation, and the advantages reſulting from them to aſtronomy. This event will not a little conduce to exalt the glory of the reign of Lewis XV.

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* *It has been publiſhed, and there is a tranſlation of it printed.*

ARTICLE III.

Reflections upon aſtronomy.

I Cannot conclude the Article of Aſtronomy without making two Reflections with the authors of the learned Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences.

FIRST REFLECTION,

upon the Satellites of Jupiter.

We are naturally enough inclined, as I have already obſerved in ſpeaking of geometry, to conſider as uſeleſs, and to deſpiſe, what we do not underſtand. We have one moon to light us by night; and what ſignifies it to us, ſome object, that Jupiter has four? (The moons or ſatellites of Jupiter are the ſame thing:) And wherefore ſo many laborious Obſervations, and fatiguing calculations, for knowing their revolutions? We ſhall be never the wiſer for that, and nature, which has placed thoſe little Stars out of the reach of our eyes, does not ſeem to have made them for us.

In virtue of ſo plauſible a way of reaſoning, we ought to neglect obſerving them with the teleſcope, and ſtudying them with particular attention: And what a loſs would not that be to the public!

The method of determining the Longitudes of the places of the earth by the means of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites, which the academy royal firſt began to put in practice, was found ſo exact, that it was judged that the correction of geography in general, and the making of true Maps and Charts for the uſes of navigation, might be undertaken by this means. This could not be done before, becauſe the eclipſes of the moon had been the only means uſed for finding, but with little exactneſs,

neſs, the difference of the longitudes of ſome remote places. And theſe eclipſes that uſually happen only once or twice a year, are much leſs frequent than thoſe of the ſatellites of Jupiter, which happen at fartheſt every two days, though all of them cannot be obſerved in the ſame place, as well through the difference of the hours in which Jupiter is above the horizon, as upon account of the weather, which often prevents obſervations.

This undertaking to work, for the improvement of geography, in a new and more perfect manner than had ever been imagined before, being agreeable to his Majeſty's intentions in the Inſtitution of his Academy of Sciences, it was his pleaſure, that perſons ſhould be choſen, capable of executing the inſtructions to be given them in different places, and that proper occaſions ſhould be taken for ſending them into remote countries. The hiſtory of theſe voyages is exactly related in the memoirs of the academy of ſciences, and is, in my opinion, one of the circumſtances of the reign of Lewis XIV. which will do him moſt honour in ages to come.

When his majeſty was informed of the obſervations that the members of the academy of ſciences had taken by his order in different places out of the kingdom, he commanded them to apply themſelves in making a map of France with the utmoſt exactneſs poſſible. This had been often attempted, but withont ſucceſs, for want of the means we have at this time, which are pendulum-clocks, and the great teleſcopes now uſed for diſcovering the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites, which is the moſt certain method for determining the difference of meridians.

Had aſtronomy in all its extent no other advantage to mankind, than what is derived from the Satellites of Jupiter, it would ſufficiently juſtify thoſe immenſe calculations, thoſe aſſiduous and ſcrupulous obſervations, that great number of inſtruments wrought with ſo much pains, and the ſuperb building ſolely erected for the uſe of this ſcience. The leaſt knowledge of the principles of geography and navigation ſhews, that, ſince Jupiter's four moons have been known, they have been of more uſe in reſpect to thoſe ſciences, than our moon itſelf; that they now ſerve, and always will, for making Sea Charts exceedingly more correct than thoſe of the antients, which in all probability will ſave the lives of an infinite number of mariners.

SECOND REFLECTION,

Upon the amazing ſcene which aſtronomy opens to our view.

Though Aſtronomy were not ſo abſolutely neceſſary as it is to Geography and Navigation, it would be infinitely worthy of the curioſity of all thinking men, from the grand and ſuperb ſcene which it opens to their view. To give ſome idea of it, I ſhall only repeat, in a few words, what the obſervations of aſtronomers have taught us of the immenſe bulk of ſome of thoſe great orbs that move over our heads.

The ſtars are divided into planets and fixed ſtars.

The planets (a Greek word that ſignifies *errant*, or *wandering*) are ſo called, becauſe they are not always at an equal diſtance either from each other, or in reſpect to the fixed ſtars; whereas the latter are always at the ſame diſtance from each other. The planets have no light of their own, and are only viſible by the reflection of that of the ſun. The aſtronomers have obſerved, that they have a particular motion of their own, beſides that which they have in common with the reſt of the heavens. They have computed this motion, and, from the time which each planet employs in one revolution, have with reaſon eſtabliſhed its elevation and diſtance.

The Moon, of all the planets, is the neareſt to the earth, and almoſt ſixty times leſs.

The Sun is not a body of the ſame ſpecies as the earth, and the reſt of the planets, nor ſolid like them. It is a vaſt ocean of light, that boils up perpetually, and diffuſes itſelf with inceſſant profuſion. It is the ſource of all that light which the planets only reflect to each other after having received it from him.

The Earth is a million of times leſs than the globe of the ſun, and thirty-three millions of leagues diſtant from it. During ſo many ages the ſun has ſuffered no diminution. Its diameter is equal at this day to the moſt antient obſervations of it, and its light as vigorous and as abundant as ever.

Jupiter is five times as far from the ſun as us, that is to ſay, an hundred and ſixty-five millions of leagues. He turns round upon his own axis every ten hours.

Saturn is thirty years in his revolution round the ſun. He is twice as far from it as Jupiter, and conſequently ten times more diſtant than us, that is to ſay, three hundred and thirty millions of leagues.

The Fixed Stars are, with reſpect to the earth, at a diſtance not to be conceived by human wit. According to the obſervations of Mr. Huygens, the diſtance of the earth from the neareſt Fixed Star is, with reſpect to that of the ſun, as one to twenty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four. Now we have ſaid, that the diſtance of the earth from the ſun is thirty-three millions of leagues. The leaſt diſtance therefore of the earth from the fixed ſtars is nine hundred and two * billions, nine hundred and twelve millions of leagues, that is to

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* *A billion is ten hundred thouſand millions.*

ſay, twenty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four times the diſtance from hence to the ſun, which, as we have ſaid, is thirty-three millions of leagues.

The ſame Mr. Huygens ſuppoſes, and infallible experiments have proved him right, that a cannon-bullet flies about an hundred toiſes (above two hundred yards) in a ſecond. Suppoſing it to move always with the ſame velocity, and meaſuring the ſpace it flies according to that calculation, he demonſtrates that a cannon-bullet would be almoſt five and twenty years in arriving at the ſun; and twenty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four times twenty-five years in reaching the fixed ſtar neareſt the earth. What then muſt we think of the fixed ſtars infinitely more remote from us?

Thoſe ſtars are innumerable. The antient aſtronomers counted a thouſand and twenty-two of them. Since the uſe of aſtronomical glaſſes, millions that eſcape the eye appear.

They all ſhine by their own light, and are all, like the ſun, inexhauſtible ſources of light. And indeed, if they received it from the ſun, it muſt neceſſarily be very feebly, after a paſſage of ſo enormous a length: they muſt alſo tranſmit it to us, at the ſame diſtance, by a reflection, that would make it ſtill much weaker. Now it would be impoſſible, that a light which had undergone a reflection, and ran twice the ſpace of 902,912000000 leagues, ſhould have the force and livelineſs that the light of the fixed ſtars has. It is therefore certain, that they are luminous of themſelves, and, in a word, all of them ſo many ſuns.

But the queſtion here is only the magnitude and remoteneſs of thoſe vaſt bodies. When we conſider them together, is it poſſible to ſupport the view, or rather the idea of them? The globe of the ſun a million of times greater than the earth, and diſtant thirty-three millions of leagues! Saturn almoſt four thouſand times as big, and ten times farther from the ſun than us! No compariſon between the planets and the fixed ſtars! The whole immenſe ſpace which contains our ſun and planets is but a little parcel of the univerſe. As many of the like ſpaces as of fixed ſtars! What then muſt the immenſity of the whole firmament be, that contains all theſe different bodies within its extent? Can we ſo much as think of it, can we fix our view upon it for ſome moments, without being confounded, amazed, and terrified? It is an abyſs, in which we loſe ourſelves. What then muſt be the greatneſs, power, and immenſity of him, who, with a ſingle word, both formed theſe enormous maſſes, and the ſpaces that contain them! And theſe incomprehenſible wonders to human wit the holy Scripture, in a ſtyle that belongs only to God, expreſſes in one word, *and the ſtars*. After having related the creation of the ſun and moon, it adds, *he made the ſtars alſo*. Is there any thing requiſite, to render the incredulity and ingratitude of mankind inexcuſable, beſides this book of the firmament written in the characters of light? And has not the prophet reaſon to cry out, full of religious admiration: *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament ſheweth his handy-work.*

CONCLUSION

of the whole Work.

AFTER having made almoſt all the ſtates and kingdoms of the univerſe in a manner paſs in review before our eyes, and having conſidered circumſtantially the moſt important events that paſſed in them during the courſe of ſo many ages, it ſeems natural enough to go back a moment, before we quit this great ſcene, and to collect its principal parts into one point of view, in order to our being able to form the better judgment of it. On the one ſide we ſee princes, warriors, and conquerors; on the other magiſtrates, politicians and legiſlators; and in the midſt of both the Learned of all kinds, who, by the utility, beauty, or ſublimity of their knowledge, have acquired immortal reputation. Theſe three claſſes include, in my opinion, all that is moſt ſhining, and moſt attractive of eſteem and admiration in human greatneſs. I conſider the univerſe here only in its faireſt light, and for a moment take off my view from all the vices and diſorders that diſturb its beauty and œconomy.

Before me ſtand Princes and Kings, full of wiſdom and prudence in their counſels, of equity and juſtice in the government of their people, of valour and intrepidity in battle, of moderation and clemency in victory, ſubjecting many kingdoms, founding vaſt empires, and acquiring the love of the conquered nations no leſs than of their own ſubjects: ſuch was Cyrus. At the ſame time I ſee a multitude of Greeks and Romans, equally illuſtrious in war and peace; Generals of the moſt exalted bravery and military knowledge; Politicians of exceeding ability in the arts of government; famous Legiſlators, whoſe laws and inſtitutions ſtill amaze us, whilſt they ſeem almoſt incredible, ſo much they appear above humanity; Magiſtrates infinitely venerable for their love of the public good; Judges of great wiſdom, incorruptible, and proof againſt all that can tempt avidity; and laſtly, Citizens, entirely devoted to their country, whoſe generous and noble diſintereſtedneſs riſes ſo high as the contempt of riches, and the eſteem and love of poverty. If I turn my eyes towards the Arts and Sciences, what luſtre do not the multitude of admirable Works come down to us diſplay, in which ſhine forth, according to the difference of ſubjects, art and diſpoſition, greatneſs of genius, riches of invention, beauty of Style, ſolidity of judgment, and profound erudition.

This is the great, the ſplendid Scene, that hiſtory, the faithful regiſter of paſt events, has hitherto preſented to our view, and upon which it now remains for us to paſs our judgment. Is it poſſible to refuſe our eſteem to ſuch rare and excellent qualities, ſuch ſhining actions, and noble ſentiments? Let us call to mind the maxims of morality in the writings of the philoſophers, ſo refined, ſo conformable to right reaſon, and even ſo ſublime, as to be capable ſometimes of making Chriſtians bluſh. Do not men of ſuch profound knowledge and underſtanding deſerve the name of Sages?

The juſt Judge of all things, by whoſe judgment it is our duty to direct our own, abſolutely denies it them, as Mr. du Guet obſerves ſo juſtly in ſeveral of his works, and as I have ſaid elſewhere. Pſal. xiv. 2. *The Lord*, ſays the royal prophet, *looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to ſee if there were any that did underſtand and ſeek God.* The earth is full of perſons that excel in arts and ſciences. There are many Philoſophers, Orators, and Politicians.

There are even many Legiſlators, Interpreters of Laws, and Miniſters of Juſtice, Many are conſulted as perſons of extraordinary wiſdom, and their anſwers are conſidered as deciſions, from which it is not allowable to depart. However, amongſt ſo many wiſe and intelligent perſons in the ſight of men, God diſcerns none that are not fooliſh and mad. *They are all gone aſide, they are altogether become filthy: there is none thot doth good, no not one.* The cenſure is general and without exception.

What then is wanting in theſe pretended wiſe-men? The fear of God, without which there is no true wiſdom, *to ſee if there was any that did underſtand and ſeek God:* the knowledge of their own miſery and corruption, and their want of a Mediator, and a Reſtorer or Redeemer. Every thing is in eſteem amongſt them, except Religion and Piety. They know neither the uſe nor end of any thing. They go on without deſign, or knowing whither they ſhould tend. They are ignorant of what they are, and what will become of them. Can folly be more clear and evident?

The thoughts of God are very different from thoſe of men. The Univerſe, peopled with powerful kings, famous legiſlators, celebrated philoſophers, and learned men of all kinds, is the object of our admiration and praiſes; and God ſees nothing but diſorder and corruption in it: *The earth was corrupt before God.* The qualities, knowledge, and maxims of which I ſpeak, were, however, very eſtimable in themſelves. They were the gifts of God, from whom alone comes all good, and all knowledge: but the Pagans perverted their nature by the unworthy uſe they made of them, in conſidering themſelves as their principle and end. I ſpeak here even of thoſe amongſt them that paſſed for the beſt and wiſeſt, whoſe virtues were infected either with pride or ingratitude; or, to ſpeak more properly, with both.

I have obſerved that certain ages, which abounded with illuſtrious examples whether at Athens or Rome, exhibit a grand and noble ſcene in hiſtory: but there was at the ſame time another, which highly diſgraced the glory, and ſullied the beauty of the former; I mean, the Idolatry that generally prevailed throughout the univerſe. The whole earth was covered with thick darkneſs, and lay plunged in groſs and ſtupid ignorance. Only one country, and that of very ſmall extent, knew the true God: *In Judah is God known: his name is great in Iſrael.* Elſewhere all mouths were mute in reſpect to him, and the hymns of idolatrous ſolemnities were only invitations to crimes, which the ſeducer of mankind had made their duty. *God ſuffered all nations to walk each after their own way*, to make themſelves gods of all creatures, to adore all their own paſſions, to abandon themſelves thro' deſpair to thoſe which are moſt ſhameful, to be ignorant of their origin and end, to direct their lives by errors, and fable, and believe every thing indiſcriminately, or nothing at all.

Pſal. lxxvi. 1.

Acts xiv. 16.

One would imagine that man, ſituated in the midſt of the wonders which fill all nature, and largely poſſeſſed of the good things of God, could not forget him, nor remember him without adoration and fidelity. But in the midſt of the greateſt light he behaved like the blind. He became deaf to all the voices that proclaimed the Majeſty and Holineſs of the Creator. He adored every thing, except God. The Stars and Sun, that declared the Divinity, he honoured in his ſtead. Wood and ſtone, under a thouſand forms, which his wild imagination had invented, were become his gods. In a word, falſe religions had deluged the whole earth; and if ſome few were leſs ſtupid than the reſt, they were equally impious and ungrateful. Did not the only one of theſe, who had explained himſelf too clearly, deny in public what he believed

Socrates.

lieved in private? Whence we may obſerve, of what avail the reaſon of all mankind was, when they had no other guide.

We ſee here the principal fruits to be derived from the ſtudy of profane hiſtory, of which every page declares what mankind were during ſo many ages, and what we ourſelves ſhould ſtill be, had not the peculiar mercy, which made known the Saviour of the world to us, drawn us out of the abyſs, in which all our forefathers were ſwallowed up. *It is of the Lord's mercies we are not conſumed.* A mercy freely and entirely conferred, which we have no power to deſerve in any manner of ourſelves, and for which we ought to render eternal homage of gratitude and *praiſe to the grace of* JESUS CHRIST. Eph. i. 6.

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