

**www.e-rara.ch**

**The works of ... Lord Byron**

Child Harold's pilgrimage [canto IV]

**Byron, George Gordon**

**Zwickau, 1819**

**ETH-Bibliothek Zürich**

Shelf Mark: Rar 6519

Persistent Link: <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-26026>

Notes to Childe Harold's pilgrimage canto IV.

---

**www.e-rara.ch**

Die Plattform e-rara.ch macht die in Schweizer Bibliotheken vorhandenen Drucke online verfügbar. Das Spektrum reicht von Büchern über Karten bis zu illustrierten Materialien – von den Anfängen des Buchdrucks bis ins 20. Jahrhundert.

e-rara.ch provides online access to rare books available in Swiss libraries. The holdings extend from books and maps to illustrated material – from the beginnings of printing to the 20th century.

e-rara.ch met en ligne des reproductions numériques d'imprimés conservés dans les bibliothèques de Suisse. L'éventail va des livres aux documents iconographiques en passant par les cartes – des débuts de l'imprimerie jusqu'au 20e siècle.

e-rara.ch mette a disposizione in rete le edizioni antiche conservate nelle biblioteche svizzere. La collezione comprende libri, carte geografiche e materiale illustrato che risalgono agli inizi della tipografia fino ad arrivare al XX secolo.

---

**Nutzungsbedingungen** Dieses Digitalisat kann kostenfrei heruntergeladen werden. Die Lizenzierungsart und die Nutzungsbedingungen sind individuell zu jedem Dokument in den Titelinformationen angegeben. Für weitere Informationen siehe auch [Link]

**Terms of Use** This digital copy can be downloaded free of charge. The type of licensing and the terms of use are indicated in the title information for each document individually. For further information please refer to the terms of use on [Link]

**Conditions d'utilisation** Ce document numérique peut être téléchargé gratuitement. Son statut juridique et ses conditions d'utilisation sont précisés dans sa notice détaillée. Pour de plus amples informations, voir [Link]

**Condizioni di utilizzo** Questo documento può essere scaricato gratuitamente. Il tipo di licenza e le condizioni di utilizzo sono indicate nella notizia bibliografica del singolo documento. Per ulteriori informazioni vedi anche [Link]

~~~~~

N O T E S.

T O

CHILDE HAROLD'S PILGRIMAGE

CANTO IV.

---

Stanza XII.

*Oh, for one hour of blind old Dandolo!*  
*Th' octogenarian chief, Byzantium's conquering*  
*foe.*

THE reader will recollect the exclamation of the highlander, *Oh for one hour of Dundee!* Henry Dandolo, when elected Doge, in 1192, was eighty-five years of age. When he commanded the Venetians at the taking of Constantinople, he was consequently ninety-seven years

old. At this age he annexed the fourth and a half of the whole empire of Romania, <sup>1</sup> for so the Roman empire was then called, to the title and to the territories of the Venetian Doge. The three-eighths of this empire were preserved in the diplomas until the dukedom of Giovanni Dolfino, who made use of the above designation in the year 1357. <sup>2</sup>

Dandolo led the attack on Constantinople in person: two ships, the Paradise and the Pilgrim, were tied together, and a drawbridge or ladder let down from their higher yards to the walls. The Doge was one of the first to rush into the city. Then was completed, said the Venetians,

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gibbon has omitted the important *ae*, and has written Romani instead of Romaniae. Decline and Fall, cap. lxi. note 9. But the title acquired by Dandolo runs thus in the Chronicle of his namesake, the Doge Andrew Dandolo. *Ducali titulo addidit. „Quartae partis et dimidia totius imperii Romaniae.“* And. Dand. Chronicon. cap. iii. pars. xxxvii. ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. xii. page 331. And the Romaniae is observed in the subsequent acts of the Doges. Indeed the continental possessions of the Greek empire in Europe were then generally known by the name of Romania, and that appellation is still seen in the maps of Turkey as applied to Thrace.

<sup>2</sup> See the continuation of Dandolo's Chronicle, *ibid.* page 498, Mr. Gibbon appears not to include Dolfino, following Sanudo, who says „*il qual titolo si usò fin al Doge Giovanni Dolfino.*“ See *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. xxii. 530, 641.

the prophecy of the Erythræan sybil «A gathering together of the powerfull shall be made amidst the waves of the Adriatic, under a blind leader; they shall beset the goat — they shall profane Byzantium — they shall blacken her buildings — her spoils shall be dispersed; a new goat shall bleat until they have measured out and run over fifty-four feet, nine inches, and a half.»<sup>1</sup>

Dandolo died on the first day of June 1205, having reigned thirteen years, six months, and five days, and was buried in the church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. Strangely enough it must sound, that the name of the rebel apothecary who received the Doge's sword, and annihilated the ancient government in 1796<sup>7</sup>, was Dandolo.

### Stanza XIII.

*But is not Doria's menace come to pass?  
Are they not bridled?*

After the loss of the battle of Pola, and the

<sup>1</sup> „Fiet potentium in aquis Adriaticis congregatio, caeco praeduce, Hircum ambigent. Byzantium prophanabunt, aedificia denigrabunt; spolia dispergentur. Hircus novus balabit usque dum LIV pedes et IX pollices. et semis praemensurati ducurrant.“ (Chronicon, ibid. pars. xxxiv)

taking of Chioza on the 16th of August, 1379, by the united armament of the Genoese and Francesco da Carrara, Signor of Padua, the Venetians were reduced to the utmost despair. An embassy was sent to the conquerors with a blank sheet of paper, praying them to prescribe what terms they pleased, and leave to Venice only her independence. The Prince of Padua was inclined to listen to these proposals, but the Genoese, who, after the victory at Pola, had shouted, "to Venice, to Venice, and long live St. George," determined to annihilate their rival, and Peter Doria, their commander in chief, returned this answer to the suppliants: "On God's faith, gentlemen of Venice, ye shall have no peace from the Signor of Padua, nor from our commune of Genoa, until we have first put a rein upon those unbridled horses of yours, that are upon the Porch of your evangelist St. Mark. Wild as we may find them, we will soon make them stand still. And this is the pleasure of us and of our commune. As for these my brothers of Genoa, that you have brought with you to give up to us, I will not have them: take them back; for, in a few days hence, I shall come and let them out of prison myself, both these and all the others." <sup>1</sup> In

<sup>1</sup>, *Alla fè di Dio. Signore Veneziani, non havarete mai pace dal Signore di Padoua, nè dal nostro commune,*

fact, the Genoese did advance as far as Malamocco, within five miles of the capital; but their down danger and the pride of their enemies gave courage to the Venetians, who made prodigious efforts, and many individual sacrifices, all of them carefully recorded by their historians. Vettor Pisani was put at the head of thirty-four galleys. The Genoese broke up from Malamocco, and retired to Chioza in October; but they again threatened Venice, which was reduced to extremities. At this time the 1st of January, 1380, arrived Carlo Zeno, who had been cruising on the Genoese coast with fourteen galleys. The Venetians were now strong enough to besiege the Genoese. Doria was killed on the 22d of January by a stone bullet 195 pounds weight, discharged from a bombard called the Trevisan. Chioza was then closely invested: 5000 auxiliaries, amongst whom were some English Condottieri, commanded by one Captain Ceccho, joined the Venetians. The Genoese, in their turn, prayed for conditions, but none were granted, until, at last, they

*di Genova, se primieramente non mettemo le briglie a quelli vostri cavalli sfrenati, che sono su la Reza del Vostro Evangelista S. Marco. Imbrenati che gli havremo, vi faremo stare in buona pace. E questa e la intenzione nostra, e del nostro commune. Questi miei fratelli Genovesi che havete menati con voi per donarci, non li voglio; rimantegli in dietro perche io intendo da qui a pochi giorni venirgli a riscuoter dalle vostre prigioni, e loro e gli altri.*"

surrendered at discretion; and, on the 24th of June 1380, the Doge Contarini made his triumphal entry into Chioza. Four thousand prisoners, nineteen galleys, many smaller vessels and barks, with all the ammunition and arms, and outfit of the expedition, fell into the hands of the conquerors, who, had it not been for the inexorable answer of Doria, would have gladly reduced their dominion to the city of Venice. An account of these transactions is found in a work called the War of Chioza, written by Daniel Chinazzo, who was in Venice at the time. <sup>1</sup>

### Stanza XV.

*Thin streets and foreign aspects, such as must  
Too oft remind her who and what enthral.*

The population of Venice at the end of the seventeenth century amounted to nearly two hundred thousand souls. At the last census, taken two years ago, it was no more than about one hundred and three thousand, and it diminishes daily. The commerce and the official employments, which were to be the unexhausted

<sup>1</sup> „Chronaca della guerra di Chioza,“ etc. Script. Rer. Italic. tom. xv. pp. 699 to 8.4.

source of Venetian grandeur, have both expired. Most of the patrician mansions are deserted, and would gradually disappear, had not the government, alarmed by the demolition of seventy-two, during the last two years, expressly forbidden this sad resource of poverty. Many remnants of the Venetian nobility are now scattered and confounded with the wealthier Jews upon the banks of the Brenta, whose palladian palaces have sunk, or are sinking, in the general decay. Of the "gentil uomo Veneto," the name is still known, and that is all. He is but the shadow of his former self, but he is polite and kind. It surely may be pardoned to him if he is querulous. Whatever may have been the vices of the republic, and although the natural term of its existence may be thought by foreigners to have arrived in the due course of mortality, only one sentiment can be expected from the Venetians themselves. At no time were the subjects of the republic so unanimous in their resolution to rally round the

„Nonnullorum è nobilitate immensae sunt opes, adeo ut vix aestimari possint: it quod tribus è rebus eritur, parsimonia, commercio, atque iis emolumentis, quae è Repub. percipiunt, quae hanc ob causam diuturna fore creditur.“— See de Principatibus Italiae, Tractatus. edit. 1631.

standard of St. Mark, as when it was for the last time unfurled; and the cowardice and the treachery of the few patricians who recommended the fatal neutrality, were confined to the persons of the traitors themselves. The present race cannot be thought to regret the loss of their aristocratical forms, and too despotic government; they think only on their vanished independence. They pine away at the remembrance, and on this subject suspend for a moment their gay good humour. Venice may be said, in the words of the scripture, "to die daily;" and so general and so apparent is the decline, as to become painful to a stranger, not reconciled to the sight of a whole nation expiring as it were before his eyes. So artificial a creation having lost that principle which called it into life and supported its existence, must fall to pieces at once, and sink more rapidly than it rose. The abhorrence of slavery which drove the Venetians to the sea, has, since their disaster, forced them to the land, where they may be at least overlooked amongst the crowd of dependants, and not present the humiliating spectacle of a whole nation loaded with recent chains. Their liveliness, their affability, and that happy indifference which constitution alone can give, for philosophy aspires

to it in vain, have not sunk under circumstances; but many peculiarities of costume and manner have by degrees been lost, and the nobles, with a pride common to all Italians who have been masters, have not been persuaded to parade their insignificance. That splendour which was a proof and a portion of their power, they would not degrade into the trappings of their subjection. They retired from the space which they had occupied in the eyes of their fellow citizens; their continuance in which would have been a symptom of acquiescence, and an insult to those who suffered by the common misfortune. Those who remained in the degraded capital, might be said rather to haunt the scenes of their departed power, than to live in them. The reflection, "who and what enthral," will hardly bear a comment from one who is, nationally, the friend and the ally of the conqueror. It may, however, be allowed to say thus much, that to those who wish to recover their independence, any masters must be an object of detestation; and it may be safely foretold that this unprofitable aversion will not have been corrected before Venice shall have sunk into the slime of her choked canals.

## Stanza XX.

*But from their nature will the tannen grow  
Loftiest on loftiest and least shelter'd rocks.*

*Tannen* is the plural of *tanne*, a species of fir peculiar to the Alps, which only thrives in very rocky parts, where scarcely soil sufficient for its nourishment can be found. On these spots it grows to a greater height than any other mountain tree.

## Stanza XXVIII.

*A single star is at her side, and reigns  
With her o'er half the lovely heaven.*

The above description may seem fantastical or exaggerated to those who have never seen an Oriental or an Italian sky, yet it is but a literal and hardly sufficient delineation of an August evening (the eighteenth) as contemplated in one of many rides along the banks of the Brenta near La Mira.

## Stanza XXX.

*Watering the tree which bears his lady's name  
With his melodious tears, he gave himself to  
fame.*

Thanks to the critical acumen of a Scotchman, we now know as little of Laura as ever. <sup>1</sup> The discoveries of the Abbé de Sade, his triumphs, his sneers, can no longer instruct or amuse. <sup>2</sup> We must not, however, think that these memoirs are as much a romance as Belisarius or the Incas, although we are told so by Dr. Beattie, a great name but a little authority. <sup>3</sup> His "labour" has not been in vain, notwithstanding his "love" has, like most other passions, made him ridiculous. <sup>4</sup> The hypothesis which over-

<sup>1</sup> See An historical and critical Essay on the Life and Character of Petrarch; and a Dissertation on an Historical Hypothesis of the Abbé de Sade: the first appeared about the year 1784; the other is inserted in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and both have been incorporated into a work, published, under the first title, by Ballantyne in 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Mémoires pour la Vie de Pétrarque.

<sup>3</sup> Life of Beattie, by Sir S. Forbes, t. ii. p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Gibbon called his Memoirs "a labour of love," (see Decline and Fall, cap. lxx. note 1.), and followed

powered the struggling Italians, and carried along less interested critics in its current, is run out. We have another proof that we can be never sure that paradox, the most singular, and therefore having the most agreeable and authentic air, will not give place to the re-established ancient prejudice.

It seems, then, first, that Laura was born, lived, died, and was buried, not in Avignon, but in the country. The fountains of the Sorga, the thickets of Cabrieres may resume their pretensions, and the exploded *de la Bastie* again be heard with complacency. The hypothesis of the Abbé had no stronger props than the parchment sonnet and medal found on the skeleton of the wife of Hugo de Sade, and the manuscript note to the Virgil of Petrarch, now in the Ambrosian library. If these proofs were both incontestable, the poetry was written, the medal composed, cast, and deposited within the space of twelve hours; and these deliberate duties were performed round the carcase of one who died of the plague, and was hurried to the grave on the day of her death. These documents, therefore, are too decisive: they prove not the fact,

him with confidence and delight. The compiler of a very voluminous work must take much criticism upon trust; Mr. Gibbon has done so, though not so readily as some other authors.

but the forgery. Either the sonnet or the Virgilian note must be a falsification. The Abbé cites both as incontestably true; the consequent deduction is inevitable — they are both evidently false. <sup>1</sup>

Secondly, Laura was never married, and was a haughty virgin rather than that *tender and prudent* wife who honoured Avignon by making that town the theatre of an honest French passion, and played off for one and twenty years her *little machinery* of alternate favours and refusals <sup>2</sup> upon the first poet of the age. It was, indeed, rather too unfair that a female should be made responsible for eleven children upon the faith of a misinterpreted abbreviation, and the decision of a librarian. <sup>3</sup> It is, however,

<sup>1</sup> The sonnet had before awakened the suspicions of Mr. Horace Walpole. See his letter to Wharton in 1763.

<sup>2</sup> „Par ce petit manège, cette alternative de favours et de rigueurs bien ménagée, une femme tendre et sage amuse, pendant vingt et un ans, le plus grand poëte de son siècle, sans faire la moindre brèche à son honneur.“ Mém. pour la Vie de Pétrarque, Préface aux François. The Italian editor of the London edition of Petrarch, who has translated Lord Woodhouselee, renders the „femme tendre et sage“ „*raffinata civetta*“ *Riflessioni intorno a madonna Laura*, p. 234. vol. iii. ed. 1811.

<sup>3</sup> In a dialogue with St Augustin, Petrarch has described Laura as having a body exhausted with repeated

satisfactory to think that the love of Petrarch was not platonic. The happiness which he prayed to possess but once and for a moment was surely not of the mind, <sup>1</sup> and something so very real as a marriage project, with one who has been idly called a shadowy nymph, may be, perhaps, detected in at least six places of his own sonnets. <sup>2</sup> The love of Petrarch was neither platonic nor poetical; and if in one passage of his works he calls it "amore veementissimo ma unico ed onesto," he confesses in a letter to a friend, that it was guilty and per-

*ptubs.* The old editors read and printed *perturbationibus*; but Mr Capperonier, librarian to the French King in 1762, who saw the MS. in the Paris library, made an attestation that, "on lit et qu'on doit lire, *partibus exhaustum.*" De Sade joined the names of Messrs Boudot and Bejot with Mr Capperonier, and in the whole discussion on this *ptubs*, showed himself a downright literary rogue. See *Riflessioni*, etc. p. 267. Thomas Aquinas is called in to settle whether Petrarch's mistress was a *chaste* maid or a *continent* wife.

1. „Pigmalion, quanto lodar ti dei  
Dell' imagine tua, se mille volte  
N' avesti quel ch' i' sol una vorrei "

Sonetto 58 *quando giunse a Simon l' alto concetto*  
*Le Rime* etc. par. i pag. 189 edit. Ven. 1756.

2 See *Riflessioni*, etc. p. 291.

verse, that it absorbed him quite and mastered his heart. <sup>1</sup>

In this case, however, he was perhaps alarmed for the culpability of his wishes; for the Abbé de Sade himself, who certainly would not have been scrupulously delicate if he could have proved his descent from Petrarch as well as Laura, is forced into a stout defence of his virtuous grandmother. As far as relates to the poet, we have no security for the innocence, except perhaps in the constancy of his pursuit. He assures us in his epistle to posterity that, when arrived at his fortieth year, he not only had in horror, but had lost all recollection and image of any «irregularity.» <sup>2</sup> But the birth of his natural daughter cannot be assigned earlier than his thirtyninth year; and either the memory or the morality of the poet must have failed him, when he forgot or was guilty of this *slip*. <sup>3</sup> The weakest argument for the purity of this love has been drawn from the permanence of

<sup>1</sup> „Quella rea 'e perversa passione che solo tutto mi occupava e mi regnava nel cuore.“

<sup>2</sup> *Azion disonesta* are his words.

<sup>3</sup> „A questa confessione così incera diede forse occasione una nuova caduta ch' ei fece.“ Tiraboschi, *Storia*, etc. tom. v. lib. iv. par. ii. pag. 492.

effects, which survived the object of his passion. The reflection of Mr. de la Bastie, that virtue alone is capable of making impressions which death cannot efface, is one of those which every body applauds, and every body finds not to be true, the moment he examines his own breast or the records of human feeling.<sup>1</sup> Such apothegms can do nothing for Petrarch or for the cause of morality, except with the very weak and the very young. He that has made even a little progress beyond ignorance and pupilage, cannot be edified with any thing but truth. What is called vindicating the honour of an individual or a nation, is the most futile, tedious and unistructive of all writing; although it will always meet with more applause than that sober criticism, which is attributed to the malicious desire of reducing a great man to the common standard of humanity. It is, after all, not unlikely, that our historian was right in retaining his favorite hypothetic salvo, which secures the author, although it scarcely saves the honour of the still unknown mistress of Petrarch.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> „ *Il n'y a que la vertu seule qui soit capable de faire des impressions que la mort n'efface pas* “ M. de Bimard, Baron de la Bastie, in the *Memoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres* for 1740 and 1751. See also *Riflessioni*, etc. p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> „ Anti if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable, he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying the

## Stanza XXXI.

*They keep his dust in Arqua, where he died.*

Petrarch retired to Arqua immediately on his return from the unsuccessful attempt to visit Urban V. at Rome, in the year 1370, and, with the exception of his celebrated visit to Venice in company with Francesco Novello da Carrara, he appears to have passed the four last years of his life between that charming solitude and Padua. For four months previous to his death he was in a state of continual languor, and in the morning of July the 19th, in the year 1374, was found dead in his library chair with his head resting upon a book. The chair is still shown amongst the precious relics of Arqua, which, from the uninterrupted veneration that has been attached to every thing relative to this great man from the moment of his death to the present hour, have, it may be hoped, a better chance of authenticity than the Shakesperian memorials of Stratford upon Avon.

Arqua (for the last syllable is accented in pronunciation, although the analogy of the English language has been observed in the verse)

nymph of poetry." *Decline and Fall*, cap. lxx. p 327. vol. xii. oct. Perhaps the *if* is here meant for *although*.

is twelve miles from Padua, and about three miles on the right of the high road to Rovigo, in the bosom of the Euganean hills. After a walk of twenty minutes across a flat well wooded meadow, you come to a little blue lake, clear, but fathomless, and to the foot of a succession of acclivities and hills, clothed with vineyards and orchards, rich with fir and pomegranate trees, and every sunny fruit shrub. From the banks of the lake the road winds into the hills, and the church of Arquà is soon seen between a cleft where two ridges slope towards each other, and nearly inclose the village. The houses are scattered at intervals on the steep sides of these summits; and that of the poet is on the edge of a little knoll overlooking two descents, and commanding a view not only of the glowing gardens in the dales immediately beneath, but of the wide plains, above whose low woods of mulberry and willow thickened into a dark mass by festoons of vines, tall single cypresses, and the spires of towns are seen in the distance, which stretches to the mouths of the Po and the shores of the Adriatic. The climate of these volcanic hills is warmer, and the vintage begins a week sooner than in the plains of Padua. Petrarch is laid, for he cannot be said to be buried, in a sarcophagus of red marble, raised on four pilasters on an ele-

vated base, and preserved from an association with meaner tombs. It stands conspicuously alone, but will be soon overshadowed by four lately planted laurels. Petrarch's fountain, for here every thing is Petrarch's, springs and expands itself beneath an artificial arch, a little below the church, and abounds plentifully, in the driest season, with that soft water which was the ancient wealth of the Euganean hills. It would be more attractive, were it not, in some seasons, beset with hornets and wasps. No other coincidence could assimilate the tombs of Petrarch and Archilochus. The revolutions of centuries have spared these sequestered valleys, and the only violence which has been offered to the ashes of Petrarch was prompted, not by hate, but veneration. An attempt was made to rob the sarcophagus of its treasure, and one of the arms was stolen by a Florentine through a rent which is still visible. The injury is not forgotten, but has served to identify the poet with the country where he was born, but where he would not live. A peasant boy of Arquà being asked who Petrarch was, replied, "that the people of the parsonage knew all about him, but that he only knew that he was a Florentine."

Mr. Forsyth <sup>1</sup> was not quite correct in saying

<sup>1</sup> Remarks, etc, on Italy, p 95, note, 2nd edit

that Petrarch never returned to Tuscany after he had once quitted it when a boy. It appears he did pass through Florence on his way from Parma to Rome, and on his return in the year 1350, and remained there long enough to form some acquaintance with its most distinguished inhabitants. A Florentine gentleman, ashamed of the aversion of the poet for his native country, was eager to point out this trivial error in our accomplished traveller, whom he knew and respected for an extraordinary capacity, extensive erudition, and refined taste, joined to that engaging simplicity of manners which has been so frequently recognized as the surest, though it is certainly not an indispensable, trait of superior genius.

Every footstep of Laura's lover has been anxiously traced and recorded. The house in which he lodged is shewn in Venice. The inhabitants of Arezzo, in order to decide the ancient controversy between their city and the neighbouring Ancisa, where Petrarch was carried when seven months old, and remained until his seventh year, have designated by a long inscription the spot where their great fellow citizen was born. A tablet has been raised to him at Parma, in the chapel of St. Agatha, at the cathedral, <sup>1</sup> because

I D O M  
Francisco Petrarcae

he was archdeacon of that society, and was only snatched from his intended sepulture in their church by a *foreign* death. Another tablet with a bust has been erected to him at Pavia, on account of his having passed the autumn of 1368 in that city, with his son in law Brossano. The political condition which has for ages precluded the Italians from the criticism of the living, has concentrated their attention to the illustration of the dead.

Parmensi Archidiacono.

Parentibus praeclaris genere perantiquo

Ethices Christianae scriptori eximio

Romanae linguae restitutori

Etruscae principi

Africae ob carmen hæc in urbe peractum regibus accito

S P Q. R. laurea donato.

Tanti Viri

Juvenilium juvenis senilium senex

Studiosissimus

Comes Nicolaus Canonicus Cicognarus

Marmorea proxima ara excitata.

Ibique condito

Divae Jannariae cruento corpore

H. M. P.

Suffectum

Sed infra meritum Francisci sepulchro

Summa hac in aede efferri mandantis

Si Parmae occumberet

Extera morte heu nobis erepti.

## Stanza XXXIV.

*Or it may be with daemons.*

The struggle is to the full as likely to be with daemons as with our better thoughts. Satan chose the wilderness for the temptation of our Saviour. And our unsullied John Locke preferred the presence of a child to complete solitude.

## Stanza XXXVIII.

*In face of all his foes, the Cruscan quire;  
And Boileau, whose rash envy, etc.*

Perhaps the couplet in which Boileau depreciates Tasso, may serve as well as any other specimen to justify the opinion given of the harmony of French verse.

A Malerbe a Racan préférer Theophile

Et le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile.

Sat. ix vers 176.

The biographer Serassi, <sup>1</sup> out of tenderness to the reputation either of the Italian or the French

<sup>1</sup> La vita del Tasso, lib. iii. p. 284. tom. ii. edit. Bergamo 1790.

poet, is eager to observe that the satirist recanted or explained away this censure, and subsequently allowed the author of the Jerusalem to be a "genius, sublime, vast, and happily born for the higher flights of poetry." To this we will add, that the recantation is far from satisfactory, when we examine the whole anecdote as reported by Olivet.<sup>1</sup> The sentence pronounced against him by Bohours,<sup>2</sup> is recorded only to the confusion of the critic, whose *pa-linodia* the Italian makes no effort to discover, and would not perhaps accept. As to the opposition which the Jerusalem encountered from the Cruscan academy, who degraded Tasso from all competition with Ariosto, below Bojardo and Pulci, the disgrace of such opposition must also

<sup>1</sup> Histoire de l'Academie Françoise depuis 1652, jusqu'à 1700, par l'abbé d'Olivet, p 181, edit. Amsterdam 1730. „Mais, ensuite, venant à l'usage qu'il a fait de ses talens, j'aurois montré que le bon sens n'est pas toujours ce qui domine chez lui," p 182. Boileau said he had not changed his opinion. „J'en ai si peu changé, dit-il," etc. p 181.

<sup>2</sup> La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l'esprit, sec dial p 89, edit 1692. Philanthes is for l'asso, and says in the outset, „de tous les beaux esprits que l'Italie a portés, le Tasse est peut-être celui qui pense le plus noblement." But Bohours seems to speak in Eudoxus, who closes with the absurd comparison: „Faites valoir le Tasse tant qu'il vous plaira, je m'en tiens pour moi à Virgile," etc. *ibid* p. 102,

in some measure he laid to the charge of Alfonso, and the court of Ferrara. For Leonard Salviati, the principal and nearly the sole origin of this attack, was, there can be no doubt, <sup>1</sup> influenced by a hope to acquire the favour of the House of Este: an object which he thought attainable by exalting the reputation of a native poet at the expense of a rival, then a *prisoner of state*. The hopes and efforts of Salviati must serve to show the cotemporary opinion as to the nature of the poet's imprisonment; and will fill up the measure of our indignation at the tyrant jailer. <sup>2</sup> In fact, the antagonist of Tasso was not disappointed in the reception given to his criticism; he was called to the court of Ferrara, where, having endeavoured to heighten his claims to favour, by panegyrics on the family of his sovereign; <sup>3</sup> he was in his turn aban-

<sup>1</sup> La Vita, etc lib iii. p. 90, tom ii. The English reader may see an account of the opposition of the Crusca to Tasso, in Dr. Black, Life, etc. cap. xviii. vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> For further and, it is hoped, decisive proof, that Tasso was neither more nor less than a *prisoner of state*, the reader is referred to „HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE IVth CANTO OF CECILDE HAROLD,“ pag. 5, and following.

<sup>3</sup> Orazioni funebri . . delle lodi di Don Luigi Cardinal d'Este . . delle lodi di Donno Alfonso d'Este. See La Vita, lib. iii page 117.

doned, and expired in neglected poverty. The opposition of the Cruscans was brought to a close in six years after the commencement of the controversy, and if the academy owed its first renown to having almost opened with such a paradox; <sup>1</sup> it is probable that, on the other hand, the care of his reputation alleviated rather than aggravated the imprisonment of the injured poet. The defence of his father and of himself, for both were involved in the censure of Salvati, found employment for many of his solitary hours, and the captive could have been but little embarrassed to reply to accusations, where, amongst other delinquencies he was charged with invidiously omitting, in his comparison between France and Italy, to make any mention of the cupola of St. Maria del Fiore at Florence. <sup>2</sup> The late biographer of Ariosto seems as if willing to renew the controversy by doubting the interpretation of Tasso's self-estimation <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was founded in 1582, and the Cruscan answer to Pellegrino's *Caraffa* or *epica poesia* was published in 1584.

<sup>2</sup> „Cotanto potè sempre in lui il veleno della sua pessima volontà contro alla nazione Fiorentina.“ *La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 96, 98, tom. ii

<sup>3</sup> *La Vita di M. L. Ariosto*, scritta dall' Abate Girolamo Baruffaldi Giuniore etc, Ferrara 1807, lib. iii pag. 262. See Historical Illustration, etc p. 26.

related in Serassi's life of the poet. But Tiraboschi had before laid that rivalry at rest, by showing, that between Ariosto and Tasso it is not a question of comparison, hut of preference.

## Stanza XLI.

*The lightning rent from Ariosto's bust  
The iron crown of laurel's mimic'd leaves.*

Before the remains of Ariosto were removed from the Benedictine church to the library of Ferrara, his bust, which surmounted the tomb, was struck by lightning, and a crown of iron laurels melted away. The event has been recorded by a writer of the last century.<sup>2</sup> The transfer of these sacred ashes on the 6th of June 1801 was one of the most brilliant spectacles of the short-lived Italian Republic, and to con-

<sup>1</sup> Storia della Lett. etc. lib. iii. tom. vii. par. iii. pag. 1220. sect. 4.

<sup>2</sup> „Mi raccontarono que' monaci, ch'essendo caduto un fulmine nella loro chiesa schiantò esso dalle tempie la corona di lauro a quell' immortale poeta.“ Op. di Bianconi vol. iii. p. 176. ed Milano. 1801; lettera al Signor Guido Savini Arcifisioeritico, sull' indole di un fulmine caduto in Dresda l'anno 1759.

secrete the memory of the ceremony, the once famous fallen *Intrepidi* were revived and reformed into the Ariostean academy. The large public place through which the procession paraded was then for the first time called Ariosto Square. The author of the Orlando is jealously claimed as the Homer, not of Italy, but Ferrara. <sup>1</sup> The mother of Ariosto was of Reggio, and the house in which he was born is carefully distinguished by a tablet with the words: "*Qui nacque Ludovico Ariosto il giorno 8 di Settembre dell' anno 1474.*" But the Ferrarese make light of the accident by which their poet was born abroad, and claim him exclusively for their own. They possess his bones, they show his arm-chair, and his inkstand, and his autographs.

„ . . . . . Hic illius arma  
Hic currus fuit. . . . . “

The house where he lived, the room where he died, are designated by his own replaced memorial, <sup>2</sup> and by a recent inscription. The Fer-

<sup>1</sup> „Appassionato ammiratore ed invito apologista dell' *Omero Ferrarese*“ The title was first given by Tasso, and is quoted to the confusion of the *Tassotti*, lib. iii. pp. 262. 265. La Vita di M. L. Ariosto, etc.

<sup>2</sup> „Parva sed apta mihi, sed nulli obnoxia, sed non Sordida, parva meo sed tamen acre domus.“

rarese are more jealous of their claims since the animosity of Denina, arising from a cause which their apologists mysteriously hint is not unknown to them, ventured to degrade their soil and climate to a Boetian incapacity for all spiritual productions. A quarto volume has been called forth by the detraction, and this supplement to Barrotti's Memoirs of the illustrious Ferrarese has been considered a triumphant reply to the «Quadro Storico Statistico dell' Alta Italia.»

### Stanza XLI.

*For the true laurel wreath which Glory weaves  
Is of the tree no bolt of thunder cleaves.*

The eagle, the sea calf, the laurel <sup>1</sup>, and the white vine, <sup>2</sup> were amongst the most approved preservatives against lightning: Jupiter chose the first, Augustus Cæsar the second, <sup>3</sup> and Tiberius never failed to wear a wreath of the third when the sky threatened a thunder storm. <sup>4</sup> These su-

<sup>1</sup> Aquila, vitulus marinus, et laurus, fulmine non feriuntur Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. lv.

<sup>2</sup> Columella, lib. x.

<sup>3</sup> Sueton. in Vit. August. cap. xc.

<sup>4</sup> Id. in Vit. Tiberii, cap. lxxix.

perstitutions may be received without a sneer in a country where the magical properties of the hazel twig have not lost all their credit; and perhaps the reader may not be much surprised to find that a commentator on Suetonius has taken upon himself gravely to disprove the imputed virtue of the crown of Tiberius, by mentioning that a few years before he wrote a laurel was actually struck by lightning at Rome. <sup>1</sup>

### Stanza XLI.

*Know that the lightning sanctifies below.*

The Curtian lake and the Ruminal fig-tree in the Forum, having been touched by lightning, were held sacred, and the memory of the accident was preserved by a *puteal*, or altar, resembling the mouth of a well, with a little chapel covering the cavity supposed to be made by the thunderbolt. Bodies scathed and persons struck dead were thought to be incorruptible; <sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Note 2. pag. 409. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1667.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. J. C. Ballengier, de Terrae motu et Fulminib., lib. v. cap. xi.

a stroke not fatal conferred perpetual dignity upon the man so distinguished by heaven.

Those killed by lightning were wrapped in a white garment, and buried where they fell. The superstition was not confined to the worshippers of Jupiter: the Lombards believed in the omens furnished by lightning, and a Christian priest confesses that, by a diabolical skill in interpreting thunder, a seer foretold to Agilulf, duke of Turin, an event which came to pass, and gave him a queen and a crown.<sup>2</sup> There was, however, something equivocal in this sign, which the ancient inhabitants of Rome did not always consider propitious; and as the fears are likely to last longer than the consolations of superstition, it is not strange that the Romans of the age of Leo X. should have been so much terrified at some misinterpreted storms as to require the exhortations of a scholar who arrayed all the learning on thunder and lightning to prove the omen favourable: beginning with the flash which struck the walls of Velitrae, and including that which played upon

<sup>1</sup> Οὐδείς κεραυνωθείς ἄτιμος ἐστὶ, ὅθεν καὶ ὡς θεὸς τιμᾶται. Plut. Sympos. vid. J. C. Bulleng. ut. sup.

<sup>2</sup> Pauli Diaconi. de gestis Langobard. lib. iii. cap. xiv. fo. 15. edit. Taurin. 1527.

a gate at Florence, and foretold the pontificate of one of its citizens.<sup>1</sup>

### Stanza XLII.

*Italia, oh Italia, etc.*

The two stanzas, XLII. and XLIII. are, with the exception of a line or two, a translation of the famous sonnet of Filicaja:

„Italia, Italia, O tu cui feo la sorte.“

### Stanza XLIV.

*Wandering in youth, I traced the path of him,  
The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind.*

The celebrated letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero on the death of his daughter, describes as it then was, and now is, a path which I often traced in Greece, both by sea and land, in different journeys and voyages.

„On my return from Asia, as I was sailing

<sup>1</sup> I. P. Valeriani, de fulminum significationibus declamatio, ap. Graev. Antiq. Rom. tom. v. pag. 593. The declamation is addressed to Julian of Mediceis.

from Ægina towards Megara, I began to contemplate the prospect of the countries around me: Ægina was behind, Megara before me; Piræus on the right, Corinth on the left; all which towns, once famous and flourishing, now lie overturned and buried in their ruins. Upon this sight, I could not but think presently within myself, Alas! how do we poor mortals fret and vex ourselves if any of our friends happen to die or be killed, whose life is yet so short, when the carcasses of so many noble cities lie here exposed before me in one view. »<sup>1</sup>

### Stanza XLVI.

*And we pass  
The skeleton of her Titanic form.*

It is Poggio who, looking from the Capitoline hill upon ruined Rome, breaks forth into the exclamation. « Ut nunc omni decore nudata, prostrata jacet, instar gigantei cadaveris corrupti atque undique exesi. »<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Middleton — History of the Life of M. Tullius Cicero, sect. vii. pag. 37t. vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> De fortunæ varietate urbis Romæ et de ruinis ejusdem descriptio, ap. Sallengre, Thesaur. tom. i. pag. 50t.

## Stanza XLIX.

*There too the goddess loves in stone.*

The view of the Venus of Medicis instantly suggests the lines in the *Seasons*, and the comparison of the object with the description proves, not only the correctness of the portrait, but the peculiar turn of thought, and, if the term may be used, the sexual imagination of the descriptive poet. The same conclusion may be deduced from another hint in the same episode of Musidora; for Thomson's notion of the privileges of favoured love must have been either very primitive, or rather deficient in delicacy, when he made his grateful nymph inform her discreet Damon that in some happier moment he might perhaps be the companion of her bath:

„The time may come you need not fly.“

The reader will recollect the anecdote told in the life of Dr. Johnson. We will not leave the Florentine gallery without a word on the *Whether*. It seems strange that the character of that disputed statue should not be entirely decided, at least in the mind of any one who has seen a sargophagus in the vestibule of the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls, at Rome, where

the whole group of the fable of Marsyas is seen in tolerable preservation; and the Scythian slave whetting the knife is represented exactly in the same position as this celebrated masterpiece. The slave is not naked: but it is easier to get rid of this difficulty than to suppose the knife in the hand of the Florentine statue an instrument for shaving, which it must be, if, as Lanzi supposes, the man is no other than the barber of Julius Cæsar. Winkelmann, illustrating a bas relief of the same subject, follows the opinion of Leonard Agostini, and his authority might have been thought conclusive, even if the resemblance did not strike the most careless observer. <sup>1</sup>

Amongst the bronzes of the same princely collection, is still to be seen the inscribed tablet copied and commented upon by Mr. Gibbon.<sup>2</sup> Our historian found some difficulties, but did not desist from his illustration: he might be vexed to hear that his criticism has been thrown away on an inscription now generally recognized to be a forgery.

<sup>1</sup> See Monim Ant ined. par. i. cap. xvii. n. xlii. pag. 50; and Storia delle arti, etc. lib. xi. cap. i. tom. ii. pag. 314. not. B.

<sup>2</sup> Nomina gentesque Antiquae Italiae, p. 204. edit. oet.

## Stanza LI.

*His eyes to thee upturn,  
Feeding on thy sweet cheek.*

Ὁφθαλμοῦς ἐστιᾶν.

„Atque oculos pascat uterque suos.“  
Ovid. Amor. lib. ii.

## Stanza LIV.

*In Santa Croce's holy precincts lie.*

This name will recal the memory, not only of those whose tombs have raised the Santa Croce into the centre of pilgrimage, the Mecca of Italy, but of her whose eloquence was poured over the illustrious ashes, and whose voice is now as mute as those she sung. CORINNA is no more; and with her should expire the fear, the flattery, and the envy, which threw too dazzling or too dark a cloud round the march of genius, and forbad the steady gaze of disinterested criticism. We have her picture embellished or distorted, as friendship or detraction has held the pencil: the impartial portrait was hardly to be expected from a cotemporary. The im-

mediate voice of her survivors will, it is probable, be far from affording a just estimate of her singular capacity. The gallantry, the love of wonder, and the hope of associated fame, which blunted the edge of censure, must cease to exist. — The dead have no sex; they can surprise by no new miracles; they can confer no privilege: Corinna has ceased to be a woman — she is only an author: and it may be foreseen that many will repay themselves for former complaisance, by a severity to which the extravagance of previous praises may perhaps give the colour of truth. The latest posterity, for to the latest posterity they will assuredly descend, will have to pronounce upon her various productions; and the longer the vista through which they are seen, the more accurately minute will be the object, the more certain the justice, of the decision. She will enter into that existence in which the great writers of all ages and nations are, as it were, associated in a world of their own, and, from that superior sphere, shed their eternal influence for the control and consolation of mankind. But the individual will gradually disappear as the author is more distinctly seen: some one, therefore, of all those whom the charms of involuntary wit, and of easy hospitality, attracted within the friendly circles of Cœppet, should secure from oblivion these

virtues which, although they are said to love the shade, are, in fact, more frequently chilled than excited by the domestic cares of private life. Some one should be found to pourtray the unaffected graces with which she adorned those dearer relationships. the performance of whose duties is rather discovered amongst the interior secrets, than seen in the outward management, of family intercourse; and which, indeed, it requires the delicacy of genuine affection to qualify for the eye of an indifferent spectator. Some one should be found, not to celebrate, but to describe, the amiable mistress of an open mansion, the centre of a society, ever varied, and always pleased, the creator of which, divested of the ambition and the arts of public rivalry, shone forth only to give fresh animation to those around her. The mother tenderly affectionate and tenderly beloved, the friend unboundedly generous, but still esteemed, the charitable patroness of all distress, cannot be forgotten by those whom she cherished, and protected, and fed. Her loss will be mourned the most where she was known the best; and, to the sorrows of very many friends and more dependants, may be offered the disinterested regret of a stranger, who, amidst the sublimer scenes of the Lemman lake, received

his chief satisfaction from contemplating the engaging qualities of the incomparable Corinna.

### Stanza LIV.

*Here repose*

*Angelo's, Alfieri's bones.*

Alfieri is the great name of this age. The Italians, without waiting for the hundred years, consider him as "a poet good in law." — His memory is the more dear to them because he is the bard of freedom; and because, as such, his tragedies can receive no countenance from any of their sovereigns. They are but very seldom, and but very few of them, allowed to be acted. It was observed by Cicero, that nowhere were the true opinions and feelings of the Romans so clearly shown as at the theatre. <sup>1</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> The free expression of their honest sentiments survived their liberties. Titius, the friend of Antony, presented them with games in the theatre of Pompey. They did not suffer the brilliancy of the spectacle to efface from their memory that the man who furnished them with the entertainment had murdered the son of Pompey: they drove him from the theatre with curses. The moral sense of a populace, spontaneously expressed, is never wrong. Even the soldiers of the triumvirs joined

autumn of 1816, a celebrated improvisatore exhibited his talents at the Opera-house of Milan. The reading of the theses handed in for the subjects of his poetry was received by a very numerous audience, for the most part in silence, or with laughter; but when the assistant, unfolding one of the papers, exclaimed, "*The apotheosis of Victor Alfieri*," the whole theatre burst into a shout, and the applause was continued for some moments. The lot did not fall on Alfieri; and the Signor Sigricci had to pour forth his extemporary common-places on the bombardment of Algiers. The choice, indeed, is not left to accident quite so much as might be thought from a first view of the ceremony; and the police not only takes care to look at the papers beforehand, but, in case of any prudential after-thought, steps in to correct the blindness of chance. The proposal for deifying Alfieri was received with immediate enthusiasm, the rather because it was conjectured there would be no opportunity of carrying it into effect.

in the execration of the citizens. by shouting round the chariots of Lepidus and Plancus, who had proscribed their brothers. *De Germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant Consules*, a saying worth a record, were it nothing but a good pun. C. Vell Patereuli Hist. lib. ii. cap. lxxix. pag. 78. edit. Elzevir, 1639. Ibid. lib. ii. cap. lxxvi.)

## Stanza LIV.

*Here Machiavelli's earth returned to whence it  
rose.*

The affectation of simplicity in sepulchral inscriptions, which so often leaves us uncertain whether the structure before us is an actual depository, or a cenotaph, or a simple memorial not of death but life, has given to the tomb of Machiavelli no information as to the place or time of the birth or death, the age or parentage, of the historian.

TANTO NOMINI NVLLVM PAR ELOGIVM  
NICCOLAVS MACHIAVELLI.

There seems at least no reason why the name should not have been put above the sentence which alludes to it.

It will readily be imagined that the prejudices which have passed the name of Machiavelli into an epithet proverbial of iniquity, exist no longer at Florence. His memory was persecuted as his life had been for an attachment to liberty, incompatible with the new system of

despotism, which succeeded the fall of the free governments of Italy. He was put to the torture for being a « *libertine*, » that is, for wishing to restore the republic of Florence; and such are the undying efforts of those who are interested in the perversion not only of the nature of actions, but the meaning of words, that what was once *patriotism*, has by degrees come to signify *debauch*. We have ourselves outlived the old meaning of 'liberality,' which is now another word for treason in one country and for infatuation in all. It seems to have been a strange mistake to accuse the author of the Prince, as being a pandar to tyranny; and to think that the inquisition would condemn his work for such a delinquency. The fact is that Machiavelli, as is usual with those against whom no crime can be proved, was suspected of and charged with atheism; and the first and last most violent opposers of the Prince were both Jesuits, one of whom persuaded the Inquisition « *benchè fosse tardo*, » to prohibit the treatise, and the other qualified the secretary of the Florentine republic as no better than a fool. The father Possevin was proved never to have read the book, and the father Lucchesini not to have understood it. It is clear, however, that such critics must have objected not to the

slavery of the doctrines, but to the supposed tendency of a lesson which shows how distinct are the interests of a monarch from the happiness of mankind. The Jesuits are re-established in Italy, and the last chapter of the Prince may again call forth a particular refutation, from those who are employed once more in moulding the minds of the rising generation, so as to receive the impressions of despotism. The chapter bears for title, « Esortazione a liberare la Italia dai Barbari, » and concludes with a *libertine* excitement to the future redemption of Italy. « *Non si deve adunque lasciar passare questa occasione, acciocchè la Italia vegga dopo tanto tempo apparire un suo redentore. Nè posso esprimere con qual amore ei fusse ricevuto in tutte quelle provincie, che hanno patito per queste illuvioni esterne, con qual sete di vendetta, con che ostinata fede, con che lacrime. Quali porte se li serrerebbono? Quali popoli li negherebbono la obbedienza? Quale Italiano li negherebbe l'ossequio?* AD OGNUNO PUZZA QUESTO BARBARO DOMINIO. » <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Il Principe di Niccolò Machiavelli, etc. con la prefazione e le note istoriche e politiche di Mr. Amelot de la Houssaye e l'esame e confutazione dell' opera.... Cosmopoli, 1769.

## Stanza I.VII.

*Ungrateful Florence! Dante sleeps afar.*

Dante was born in Florence in the year 1261. He fought in two battles, was fourteen times ambassador, and once prior of the republic. When the party of Charles of Anjou triumphed over the Bianchi, he was absent on an embassy to Pope Boniface VIII, and was condemned to two years banishment, and to a fine of 8000 lire; on the non-payment of which he was further punished by the sequestration of all his property. The republic, however, was not content with this satisfaction, for in 1272 was discovered in the archives at Florence a sentence in which Dante is the eleventh of a list of fifteen condemned in 1302 to be burnt alive. *Talis percensens igne comburatur sic quod moriatur.* The pretext for this judgment was a proof of unfair barter, extortions, and illicit gains. *Baracteriarum iniquarum, extorsionum, et illicitorum lucrorum,*<sup>1</sup> and with such an accusation it is not strange that Dante should have always protested his innocence, and the injustice

<sup>1</sup> Storia della Lett. Ital. tom. v. lib. iii. par. 2. p. 448 Tiraboschi's date is incorrect.

of his fellowcitizens. His appeal to Florence was accompanied by another to the Emperor Henry, and the death of that sovereign in 1313 was the signal for a sentence of irrevocable banishment. He had before lingered near Tuscany with hopes of recal; then travelled into the north of Italy, where Verona had to boast of his longest residence, and he finally settled at Ravenna, which was his ordinary but not constant abode until his death. The refusal of the Venetians to grant him a public audience, on the part of Guido Novello da Polenta his protector, is said to have been the principal cause of this event, which happened in 1321. He was buried ("in sacra minorum æde,") at Ravenna, in a handsome tomb, which was erected by Guido, restored by Bernardo Bembo in 1483, pretor for that republic which had refused to hear him, again restored by Cardinal Corsi in 1692, and replaced by a more magnificent sepulchre, constructed in 1780 at the expense of the Cardinal Luigi Valenti Gonzaga. The offence or misfortune of Dante was an attachment to a defeated party, and, as his least favourable biographers alledge against him, too great a freedom of speech and haughtiness of manner. But the next age paid honours almost divine to the exile. The Florentines, having in vain and frequently attempted to reco-

ver his body, crowned his image in a church,<sup>1</sup> and his picture is still one of the idols of their cathedral. They struck medals, they raised statues to him. The cities of Italy, not being able to dispute about his own birth, contended for that of his great poem, and the Florentines thought it for their honour to prove that he had finished the seventh Canto, before they drove him from his native city. Fifty-one years after his death, they endowed a professorial chair for the expounding of his verses, and Boccaccio was appointed to this patriotic employment. The example was imitated by Bologna and Pisa, and the commentators, if they performed but little service to literature, augmented the veneration which beheld a sacred or moral allegory in all the images of his mystic muse. His birth and his infancy were discovered to have been distinguished above those of ordinary men: the author of the Decameron, his earliest biographer, relates that his mother was warned in a dream of the importance of her pregnancy; and it was found, by others, that at ten years of age he had manifested his precocious passion for that wisdom or theology, which, under the name of

<sup>1</sup> So relates Ficino, but some think his coronation only an allegory. See *Storia*, etc. ut sup. p. 453.

Beatrice, had been mistaken for a substantial mistress. When the Divine Comedy had been recognized as a mere mortal production, and at the distance of two centuries, when criticism and competition had sobered the judgment of Italians, Dante was seriously declared superior to Homer, <sup>1</sup> and though the preference appeared to some casuists «an heretical blasphemy worthy of the flames,» the contest was vigorously maintained for nearly fifty years. In later times it was made a question which of the Lords of Verona could boast of having patronised him, <sup>2</sup> and the jealous scepticism of one writer would not allow Ravenna the undoubted possession of his bones. Even the critical Tiraboschi was inclined to believe that the poet had foreseen and foretold one of the discoveries of Galileo. Like the great originals of other nations, his popularity has not always maintained the same level. the last age seemed inclined to undervalue him as a model and a study; and Bettinelli one day rebuked his pupil Monti, for poring over the

<sup>1</sup> By Varchi in his Ercolano. The controversy continued from 1570 to 1616. See Storia, etc. tom. vii. lib. iii. par. iii. p. 1280.

<sup>2</sup> Gio. Jacopo Dienisi canonico di Verona. Serie di Aneddoti, n. 2. See Storia, etc. tom. v. lib. i. par. i. p. 24.

harsh, and obsolete extravagances of the Commedia. The present generation having recovered from the Gallic idolatries of Cesarotti, has returned to the ancient worship, and the *Danteggiare* of the northern Italians is thought even indiscreet by the more moderate Tuscans.

There is still much curious information relative to the life and writings of this great poet which has not as yet been collected even by the Italians; but the celebrated Ugo Foscolo meditates to supply this defect, and it is not to be regretted that this national work has been reserved for one so devoted to his country and the cause of truth.

### Stanza LVII.

*Like Scipio buried by the upbraiding shore,  
Thy factions in their worse than civil war  
Proscribed, etc.*

The elder Scipio Africanus had a tomb if he was not buried at Liternum, whither he had retired to voluntary banishment. This tomb was near the seashore, and the story of an inscription upon it, *Ingrata Patria*, having given a name to a modern tower, is, if not true, an

agreeable fiction. If he was not buried, he certainly lived there. <sup>1</sup>

*In così angusta e solitaria villa  
Era 'l grand' uomo che d'Africa s'appella  
Perchè prima col ferro al vivo aprilla.* <sup>2</sup>

Ingratitude is generally supposed the vice peculiar to republics; and it seems to be forgotten that for one instance of popular inconstancy, we have a hundred examples of the fall of courtly favourites. Besides, a people have often repented — a monarch seldom or never. Leaving apart many familiar proofs of this fact, a short story may show the difference between even an aristocracy and the multitude.

Vettor Pisani, having been defeated in 1354 at Portolongo, and many years afterwards in the more decisive action of Pola, by the Genoese, was recalled by the Venetian government, and thrown into chains. The Avvogadori proposed to behead him, but the supreme tribunal was content with the sentence of imprisonment. Whilst Pisani was suffering this unmerited disgrace, Chioza, in the vicinity of the capital <sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Vitam Literni egit sine desiderio urbis. See T. Liv. Hist. lib. xxxviii. Livy reports that some said he was buried at Liternum, others at Rome. Ib. cap. LV.

<sup>2</sup> Trionfo della Castità.

<sup>3</sup> See note to stanza XIII.

was, by the assistance of the *Signor of Padua*, delivered into the hands of Pietro Doria. At the intelligence of that disaster, the great bell of St. Mark's tower tolled to arms, and the people and the soldiery of the gallies were summoned to the repulse of the approaching enemy; but they protested they would not move a step, unless Pisani were liberated and placed at their head. The great council was instantly assembled: the prisoner was called before them, and the Doge, Andrea Contarini, informed him of the demands of the people and the necessities of the state, whose only hope of safety was reposed on his efforts, and who implored him to forget the indignities he had endured in her service. « I have submitted, » replied the magnanimous republican, « I have submitted to your deliberations without complaint; I have supported patiently the pains of imprisonment, for they were inflicted at your command: this is no time to inquire whether I deserved them — the good of the republic may have seemed to require it, and that which the republic resolves is always resolved wisely. Behold me ready to lay down my life for the preservation of my country. » Pisani was appointed generalissimo, and by his exertions, in conjunction with those of Carlo Zeno, the Venetians soon recovered the ascendancy over their maritime rivals.

The Italian communities were no less unjust to their citizens than the Greek republics. Liberty, both with the one and the other, seems to have been a national, not an individual object: and, notwithstanding the boasted *equality before the laws* which an ancient Greek writer<sup>1</sup> considered the great distinctive mark between his countrymen and the barbarians, the mutual rights of fellow-citizens seem never to have been the principal scope of the old democracies. The world may have not yet seen an essay by the author of the Italian Republics, in which the distinction between the liberty of former states, and the signification attached to that word by the happier constitution of England, is ingeniously developed. The Italians, however, when they had ceased to be free, still looked back with a sigh upon those times of turbulence, when every citizen might rise to a share of sovereign power, and have never been taught fully to appreciate the repose of a monarchy. Speron Speroni, when Francis Maria II. Duke of Rovere, proposed the question, "which was preferable, the republic or the principality — the perfect and not durable, or the less perfect and

<sup>1</sup> The Greek boasted that he was *ἰσονόμος*. See — the last chapter of the first book of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

not so liable to change," replied, "that our happiness is to be measured by its quality, not by its duration; and that he preferred to live for one day like a man, than for a hundred years like a brute, a stock, or a stone." This was thought, and called, a *magnificent* answer, down to the last days of Italian servitude.<sup>1</sup>

### Stanza LVII.

*"And the crown  
Which Petrarch's laureate brow supremely wore  
Upon a far and foreign soil had grown."*

The Florentines did not take the opportunity of Petrarch's short visit to their city in 1350 to revoke the decree which confiscated the property of his father, who had been banished shortly after the exile of Dante. His crown did not dazzle them; but when in the next year they were in want of his assistance in the formation of their university, they repented of their injustice, and Boccaccio was sent to Padua to intreat the laureate to conclude his wanderings in the bosom of his native country, where

<sup>1</sup> „E intorno *alla magnifica risposta*," etc. Serassi Vita del Tasso, lib. iii. pag. 149 tom. ii. edit. 2. Bergamo.

he might finish his *immortal Africa*, and enjoy, with his recovered possessions, the esteem of all classes of his fellow-citizens. They gave him the option of the book and the science he might condescend to expound: they called him the glory of his country, who was dear, and would be dearer to them; and they added, that if there was any thing unpleasing in their letter, he ought to return amongst them, were it only to correct their style <sup>1</sup>. Petrarch seemed at first to listen to the flattery and to the intreaties of his friend, but he did not return to Florence, and preferred a pilgrimage to the tomb of Laura and the shades of Vaocluse.

### Stanza LVIII.

*Boccaccio to his parent earth bequeathed  
His dust.*

Boccaccio was buried in the church of St. Michael and St. James, at Certaldo, a small town

<sup>1</sup> „Accingiti innoltre, se ci è lecito ancor l'esortarti, a compire l'immortal tua Africa . . . . Se ti avviene d'incontrare nel nostro stile cosa che ti dispiaccia, ciò debb' essere un altro motivo ad esaudire i desiderj della tua patria.“ Storia della Lett. Ital. tom. v. par. i. lib. i. pag. 76.

in the Valdelsa, which was by some supposed the place of his birth. There he passed the latter part of his life in a course of laborious study, which shortened his existence; and there might his ashes have been secure, if not of honour, at least of repose. But the « hyæna bigots » of Cerdaldo tore up the tombstone of Boccaccio, and ejected it from the holy precincts of St. Michael and St. James. The occasion and, it may be hoped, the excuse, of this ejection was the making of a new floor for the church; but the fact is, that the tomb-stone was taken up and thrown aside at the bottom of the building. Ignorance may share the sin with bigotry. It would be painful to relate such an exception to the devotion of the Italians for their great names, could it not be accompanied by a trait more honourably conformable to the general character of the nation. The principal person of the district, the last branch of the house of Medicis, afforded that protection to the memory of the insulted dead which her best ancestors had dispensed upon all cotemporary merit. The Marchioness Lenzoni rescued the tombstone of Boccaccio from the neglect in which it had sometime lain, and found for it an honourable elevation in her own mansion. She has done more: the house in which the poet lived has been as little respected as his tomb, and is falling to ruin over the head of one

indifferent to the name of its former tenant. It consists of two or three little chambers, and a low tower, on which Cosmo II. affixed an inscription. This house she has taken measures to purchase, and proposes to devote to it that care and consideration which are attached to the cradle and to the roof of genius.

This is not the place to undertake the defence of Boccaccio; but the man who exhausted his little patrimony in the acquirement of learning, who was amongst the first, if not the first, to allure the science and the poetry of Greece to the bosom of Italy; — who not only invented a new style, but founded, or certainly fixed, a new language; who, besides the esteem of every polite court of Europe, was thought worthy of employment by the predominant republic of his own country, and, what is more, of the friendship of Petrarch, who lived the life of a philosopher and a freeman, and who died in the pursuit of knowledge, — such a man might have found more consideration than he has met with from the priest of Certaldo, and from a late English traveller, who strikes off his portrait as an odious, contemptible, licentious writer, whose impure remains should be suffered to rot without a record. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Classical Tour, cap. ix. vol. ii. p. 355. edit. 3d.  
 , Of Boccaccio, the modern Petronius, we say nothing; the abuse of genius is more odious and more contemp-

That English traveller, unfortunately for those who have to deplore the loss of a very amiable person, is beyond all criticism; but the mortality which did not protect Boccaccio from Mr. Eustace, must not defend Mr. Eustace from the impartial judgment of his successors. — Death may canonize his virtues, not his errors; and it may be modestly pronounced that he transgressed, not only as an author, but as a man, when he evoked the shade of Boccaccio in company with that of Aretine, amidst the sepulchres of Santa Croce, merely to dismiss it with indignity. As far as respects

„Il flagello de' Principi,  
Il divin Pietro Aretino,“

tible than its absence; and it imports little where the impure remains of a licentious author are consigned to their kindred dust. For the same reason the traveller may pass unnoticed the tomb of the malignant Aretino.“

This dubious phrase is hardly enough to save the tourist from the suspicion of another blunder respecting the burial place of Aretine, whose tomb was in the church of St. Luke at Venice, and gave rise to the famous controversy of which some notice is taken in Bayle. Now the words of Mr. Eustace would lead us to think the tomb was at Florence, or at least was to be somewhere recognized. Whether the inscription so much disputed was ever written on the tomb cannot now be decided, for all memorial of this author has disappeared from the church of St. Luke, which is now changed into a lamp warehouse.

it is of little import what censure is passed upon a coxcomb who owes his present existence to the above burlesque character given to him by the poet whose amber has preserved many other grubs and worms: but to classify Boccaccio with such a person, and to excommunicate his very ashes, must of itself make us doubt of the qualification of the classical tourist for writing upon Italian, or, indeed, upon any other literature; for ignorance on one point may incapacitate an author merely for that particular topic, but subjection to a professional prejudice must render him an unsafe director on all occasions. Any perversion and injustice may be made what is vulgarly called "a case of conscience," and this poor excuse is all that can be offered for the priest of Certaldo, or the author of the Classical Tour. It would have answered the purpose to confine the censure to the novels of Boccaccio, and gratitude to that source which supplied the muse of Dryden with her last and most harmonious numbers, might perhaps have restricted that censure to the objectionable qualities of the hundred tales. At any rate the repentance of Boccaccio might have arrested his exhumation, and it should have been recollected and told, that in his old age he wrote a letter intreating his friend to discourage the reading of the Decameron, for the sake of mo-

desty, and for the sake of the author, who would not have an apologist always at hand to state in his excuse that he wrote it when young, and at the command of his superiors.<sup>1</sup> It is neither the licentiousness of the writer, nor the evil propensities of the reader, which have given to the Decameron alone, of all the works of Boccaccio, a perpetual popularity. The establishment of a new and delightful dialect conferred an immortality on the works in which it was first fixed. The sonnets of Petrarch were, for the same reason, fated to survive his self-admired Africa, the *«favourite of kings.»* The invariable traits of nature and feeling with which the novels, as well as the verses, abound, have doubtless been the chief source of the foreign celebrity of both authors; but Boccaccio, as a man, is no more to be estimated by that work, than Petrarch is to be regarded in no other light than as the lover of Laura. Even, however, had the father of the Tuscan prose been known only as the author of the Decameron, a considerate writer would have been cautious to pronounce

1. Non enim ubique est, qui in excusationem meam consurgens dicat, juvenis scripsit, et majoris coactus imperio." The letter was addressed to Maghiard of Cavalcanti, marshal of the kingdom of Sicily. See Tiraboschi, Storia, etc. tom. v. par. ii. lib. iii. pag 525, ed. Ven. 1795.

a sentence irreconcilable with the unerring voice of many ages and nations. An irrevocable value has never been stamped upon any work solely recommended by impurity.

The true source of the outcry against Boccaccio, which began at a very early period, was the choice of his scandalous personages in the cloisters as well as the courts; but the princes only laughed at the gallant adventures so unjustly charged upon Queen Theodelinda, whilst the priesthood cried shame upon the debauches drawn from the convent and the hermitage; and, most probably for the opposite reason, namely, that the picture was faithful to the life. Two of the novels are allowed to be facts usefully turned into tales, to deride the canonization of rogues and laymen. Ser Ciappelletto and Marcellinus are cited with applause even by the decent Muratori.<sup>1</sup> The great Arnaud, as he is quoted in Bayle, states, that a new edition of the novels was proposed, of which the expurgation consisted in omitting the words "monk" and "nun," and tacking the immoralities to other names. The literary history of Italy particularises no such edition; but it was not long before the whole of Europe had but one opinion of the Decameron; and the absolution of the author

<sup>1</sup> Dissertazioni sopra le antichità Italiane. Diss. lviii. p. 253. tom. iii. edit. Milan, 1751.

seems to have been a point settled at least a hundred years ago: «On se feroit siffler si l'on pretendoit convaincre Boccace de n'avoir pas été honnête homme, puis qu'il a fait le Decameron.» So said one of the best men, and perhaps the best critic, that ever lived — the very martyr to impartiality.<sup>1</sup> But as this information, that in the beginning of the last century one would have been hooted at for pretending that Boccaccio was not a good man, may seem to come from one of those enemies who are to be suspected, even when they make us a present of truth, a more acceptable contrast with the proscription of the body, soul, and muse of Boccaccio may be found in a few words from the virtuous, the patriotic cotemporary, who thought one of the tales of this empure writer worthy a Latin version from his own pen. «*I have remarked elsewhere,*» says Petrarch, writing to Boccaccio, «*that the book itself has been worried by certain dogs, but stoutly defended by your staff and voice. Nor was I astonished, for I have had proof of the vigour of your mind, and I know you have fallen on that unaccommodating incapable race of mortals who, whatever they either like not, or know not, or cannot do, are sure to reprehend*

<sup>1</sup> *Eclaircissement*, etc. etc. p. 638. edit. Basle, 1741, in the Supplement to Bayle's Dictionary.

*in others; and on those occasions only put on a show of learning and eloquence, but otherwise are entirely dumb.*"<sup>3</sup>

It is satisfactory to find that all the priesthood do not resemble those of Certaldo, and that one of them who did not possess the honours of Boccaccio would not lose the opportunity of raising a cenotaph to his memory. Bevius, canon of Padua, at the beginning of the 16th century erected at Arquà, opposite to the tomb of the Laureate, a tablet, in which he associated Boccaccio to the equal honours of Dante and of Petrarch.

## Stanza LX.

*What is her pyramid of precious stones?*

Our veneration for the Medici begins with Cosmo and expires with his grandson; that stream is pure only at the source; and it is in search

1. Animadverti alicubi librum ipsum eorum dentibus factum, tuo tamen baculo egregie tuâque voce defensam. Nec miratus sum; nam et vires ingenii tui novi, et scio expertus esses hominum genus insolens et ignavum, qui quicquid ipsi vel nolunt vel nesciunt, vel non possunt, in aliis reprehendunt; ad hoc unum docti et arguti, sed clingues ad reliqua." . . . Epist. Joan. Boccaccio. opp. tom. i. p. 540. edit. Basil.

of some memorial of the virtuous republicans of the family, that we visit the church of St. Lorenzo at Florence. The tawdry, glaring, unfinished chapel in that church, designed for the mausoleum of the Dukes of Tuscany, set round with crowns and coffins, gives birth to no emotions but those of contempt for the lavish vanity of a race of despots, whilst the pavement slab simply inscribed to the Father of his Country, reconciles us to the name of Medici. <sup>1</sup> It was very natural for Corinna <sup>2</sup> to suppose that the statue raised to the Duke of Urbino in the *capella de' depositi* was intended for his great namesake; but the magnificent Lorenzo is only the sharer of a coffin half hidden in a niche of the sacristy. The decay of Tuscany dates from the sovereignty of the Medici. Of the sepulchral peace which succeeded to the establishment of the reigning families in Italy, our own Sidney has given us a glowing, but a faithful picture. «Notwithstanding all the seditions of Florence, and other cities of Tuscany, the horrid factions of Guelphs and Ghibelins, Neri and Bianchi, nobles and commons, they continued populous, strong, and exceeding rich;

<sup>1</sup> Cosmus Medicus, Decreto Publico. Pater Patriae.

<sup>2</sup> Corinne. Liv. xviii. cap. iii. page 248.

but in the space of less than a hundred and fifty years, the peaceable reign of the Medices is thought to have destroyed nine parts in ten of the people of that province. Amongst other things it is remarkable, that when Philip the Second of Spain gave Sienna to the Duke of Florence, his ambassador then at Rome sent him word, that he had given away more than 650,000 subjects; and it is not believed there are now 20,000 souls inhabiting that city and territory. Pisa, Pistoia, Arezzo, Cortona, and other towns, that were then good and populous, are in the like proportion diminished, and Florence more than any. When that city had been long troubled with seditions, tumults, and wars, for the most part unprosperous, they still retained such strength, that when Charles VIII. of France, being admitted as a friend with his whole army, which soon after conquered the kingdom of Naples, thought to master them, the people taking arms, struck such a terror into him, that he was glad to depart upon such conditions as they thought fit to impose. Machiavel reports, that in that time Florence alone, with the Val d'Arno, a small territory belonging to that city, could, in a few hours, by the sound of a bell, bring together 135,000 well-armed men; whereas now that city, with all the others in that province, are

brought to such despicable weakness, emptiness, poverty and baseness, that they can neither resist the oppressions of their own prince, nor defend him or themselves if they were assaulted by a foreign enemy. The people are dispersed or destroyed, and the best families sent to seek habitations in Venice, Genoa, Rome, Naples and Lucca. This is not the effect of war or pestilence; they enjoy a perfect peace, and suffer no other plague than the government they are under." <sup>1</sup> From the usurper Cosmo down to the imbecil Gaston, we look in vain for any of those unmixed qualities which should raise a patriot to the command of his fellow citizens. The Grand Dukes, and particularly the third Cosmo, had operated so entire a change in the Tuscan character, that the candid Florentines in excuse for some imperfections in the philanthropic system of Leopold, are obliged to confess that the sovereign was the only liberal man in his dominions. Yet that excellent prince himself had no other notion of a national assembly, than of a body to represent the wants and wishes, not the will of the people.

<sup>1</sup> On Government. chap ii sect xxvi pag. 203 edit. 1751. Sidney is, together with Locke and Hooley, one of Mr. Hume's „despicable“ writers.

## Stanza LXIII.

*An earthquake reeled unheededly away.*

« *And such was their mutual animosity, so intent were they upon the battle, that the earthquake, which overthrew in great part many of the cities of Italy, which turned the course of rapid streams, poured back the sea upon the rivers, and tore down the very mountains, was not felt by one of the combatants.* »<sup>1</sup> Such is the description of Livy. It may be doubted whether modern tactics would admit of such an abstraction.

The site of the battle of Thrasimene is not to be mistaken. The traveller from the village under Cortona to Cosa di Piano, the next stage on the way to Rome, has for the first two or three miles, around him, but more particularly to the right, that flat land which Hannibal laid waste in order to induce the Consul Flaminius to move from Arezzo. On his left, and in front

<sup>1</sup> „Tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut cum terrae motum qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit, avertitque cursu rapido amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.“ . . . Tit. Liv. lib. xxii cap. xii.

of him, is a ridge of hills, bending down towards the lake of Thrasimene, called by Livy "montes Cortonenses," and now named the Guandola. These hills he approaches at Ossaja, a village which the itineraries pretend to have been so denominated from the bones found there; but there have been no bones found there, and the battle was fought on the other side of the hill. From Ossaja the road begins to rise a little, but does not pass into the roots of the mountains until the sixty-seventh mile-stone from Florence. The ascent thence is not steep but perpetual, and continues for twenty minutes. The lake is soon seen below on the right, with Borghetto, a round tower close upon the water; and the undulating hills partially covered with wood, amongst which the road winds, sink by degrees into the marshes near to this tower. Lower than the road, down to the right amidst these woody hillocks, Hannibal placed his horse,<sup>1</sup> in the jaws of or rather above the pass, which was between the lake and the present road, and most probably close to Borghetto, just under the lowest of the "tumuli."<sup>2</sup> On a summit to

<sup>1</sup> „Equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte regentibus locat.“ T. Livii, lib. xxii. cap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> „Ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Thrasimenus subit.“ Ibid.

the left, above the road, is an old circular ruin which the peasants call "the Tower of Hannibal the Carthaginian." Arrived at the highest point of the road, the traveller has a partial view of the fatal plain which opens fully upon him as he descends the Gualandra. He soon finds himself in a vale inclosed to the left and in front and behind him by the Gualandra hills, bending round in a segment larger than a semicircle, and running down at each end to the lake, which obliques to the right and forms the chord of this mountain arc. The position cannot be guessed at from the plains of Cortona, nor appears to be so completely inclosed unless to one who is fairly within the hills. It then, indeed, appears "a place made as it were on purpose for a snare," *locus insidiis natus*. "Borghetto is then found to stand in a narrow marshy pass close to the hill and to the lake, whilst there is no other outlet at the opposite turn of the mountains than through the little town of Passignano, which is pushed into the water by the foot of a high rocky acclivity."<sup>1</sup> There is a woody eminence branching down from the mountains into the upper end of the plain nearer to the side of Passignano, and on this stands a white village called Torre. Polybius seems

<sup>1</sup> „Inde colles assurgunt.“ Ibid.

to allude to this eminence as the one on which Hannibal encamped and drew out his heavy armed Africans and Spaniards in a conspicuous position. <sup>1</sup> From this spot he dispatched his Balearic and light-armed troops round through the Gualandra heights to the right, so as to arrive unseen and form an ambush amongst the broken acclivities which the road now passes, and to be ready to act upon the left flank and above the enemy, whilst the horse shut up the pass behind. Flaminius came to the lake near Borghetto at sunset; and, without sending any spies before him, marched through the pass the next morning before the day had quite broken, so that he perceived nothing of the horse and light troops above and about him, and saw only the heavy armed Carthaginians in front on the hill of Torre. <sup>2</sup> The Consul began to draw out his

1 Τὸν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφου αὐτὸς κατελάβετο καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας καὶ τοὺς Ἰβηρας ἔχων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 83. The account in Polybius is not so easily reconcileable with present appearances as that in Livy: he talks of hills to the right and left of the pass and valley; but when Flaminius entered he had the lake at the right of both.

2 „A tergo et super caput decepere insidiae.“ T. Liv. etc.

army in the flat, and in the mean time the horse in ambush occupied the pass behind him at Borghetto. Thus the Romans were completely inclosed, having the lake on the right, the main army on the hill of Torre in front, the Gualandra hills filled with the light-armed on their left flank, and being prevented from receding by the cavalry, who, the farther they advanced, stopped up all the outlets in the rear. A fog rising from the lake now spread itself over the army of the consul, but the high lands were in the sun-shine, and all the different corps in ambush looked towards the hill of Torre for the order of attack. Hannibal gave the signal, and moved down from his post on the height. At the same moment all his troops on the eminences behind and in the flank of Flaminius, rushed forwards as it were with one accord into the plain. The Romans, who were forming their array in the mist, suddenly heard the shouts of the enemy amongst them, on every side, and before they could fall into their ranks, or draw their swords, or see by whom they were attacked, felt at once that they were surrounded and lost.

There are two little rivulets which run from the Gualandra into the lake. The traveller crosses the first of these at about a mile after he comes into the plain, and this divides the Tuscan

from the Papal territories. The second, about a quarter of a mile further on, is called "the bloody rivulet," and the peasants point out an open spot to the left between the "Sanguinetto" and the hills, which, they say, was the principal scene of slaughter. The other part of the plain is covered with thick set olive trees in corn-grounds, and is no where quite level except near the edge of the lake. It is, indeed, most probable that the battle was fought near this end of the vallay, for the six thousand Romans, who, at the beginning of the action, broke through the enemy, escaped to the summit of an eminence which must have been in this quarter, otherwise they would have had to traverse the whole plain and to pierce through the main army of Hannibal.

The Romans fought desperately for three hours, but the death of Flaminius was the signal for a general dispersion. The Carthaginian horse then burst in upon the fugitives, and the lake, the marsh about Borghetto, but chiefly the plain of the Sanguinetto and the passes of the Gualandra, were strewed with dead. Near some old walls on a bleak ridge to the left above the rivulet many human bones have been repeatedly found, and this has confirmed the pretensions and the name of the "stream of blood."

Every district of Italy has its hero. In the north some painter is the usual genius of the place, and the foreign Julio Romano more than divides Mantua with her native Virgil.<sup>1</sup> To the south we hear of Roman names. Near Thrasimene tradition is still faithful to the fame of an enemy, and Hannibal the Carthaginian is the only ancient name remembered on the banks of the Perugian lake. Flaminius is unknown; but the postilions on that road have been taught to show the very spot where *il Console Romano* was slain. Of all who fought and fell in the battle of Thrasimene, the historian himself has, besides the generals and Maharbal, preserved indeed only a single name. You overtake the Carthaginian again on the same road to Rome. The antiquary, that is, the hostler, of the post-house at Spoleto, tells you that his town repulsed the victorious enemy, and shows you the gate still called *Porta di Annibale*. It is hardly worth while to remark that a French travel writer, well known by the name of the President Dupaty, saw Thrasimene in the lake of Bolsena, which lay conveniently on his way from Sienna to Rome.

<sup>1</sup> About the middle of the XIIIth century the coins of Mantua bore on one side the image and figure of Virgil. Zecca d'Italia. pl. xvii. i. 6. . . Voyage dans le Milanais etc. p. A. Z. Millin. tom. ii. p. 294. Paris, 1817.

## Stanza LXVI.

*But thou, Clitumnus.*

No book of travels has omitted to expatiate on the temple of the Clitumnus, between Foligno and Spoleto; and no site, or scenery, even in Italy, is more worthy a description. For an account of the dilapidation of this temple, the reader is referred to Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold.

## Stanza LXXI.

*Charming the eye with dread, a matchless cataract*

I saw the « Cascata del marmore » of Terni twice, at different periods; once from the summit of the precipice, and again from the valley below. The lower view is far to be preferred, if the traveller has time for one only; but in any point of view, either from above or below, it is worth all the cascades and torrents of Switzerland put together: the Staubach, Reichenbach, Pisse Vache, fall of Arpenaz, etc. are rills in comparative appearance. Of the fall of Shaffhausen I cannot speak, not yet having seen it.

## Stanza LXXII.

*An Iris sits amidst the infernal surge.*

Of the time, place, and qualities of this kind of Iris the reader may have seen a short account in a note to *Manfred*. The fall looks so much like "the hell of waters" that Addison thought the descent alluded to by the gulf in which Alecto plunged into the infernal regions. It is singular enough that two of the finest cascades in Europe should be artificial — this of the Velino, and the one at Tivoli. The traveller is strongly recommended to trace the Velino, at least as high as the little lake, called *Pie' di Lup*. The Reatine territory was the Italian Tempe, and the ancient naturalist, amongst other beautiful varieties, remarked the daily rainbows of the lake Velinus. <sup>2</sup> A scholar of great name has devoted a treatise to this district alone. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> „Reatini me ad sua Tempe duxerunt.“ Cicer. epit. ad Attic. xv. lib. iv.

<sup>2</sup> „In eodem lacu nullo non die apparere arcus.“ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. lxi.

<sup>3</sup> Ald. Manut. de Reatina urbe agroque op. Sallengre Thesaur. tom. i. p. 773.

## Stanza LXXIII.

*The thundering lawwine.*

In the greater part of Switzerland the avalanches are known by the name of lawwine.

## Stanza LXXV.

*I abhorred*

*Too much, to conquer for the poet's sake,  
The drill dull lesson, forc'd down word by word.*

These stanzas may probably remind the reader of *Ensign Northerton's* remarks: "D—n Homo," etc. but the reasons for our dislike are not exactly the same. I wish to express that we become tired of the task before we can comprehend the beauty; that we learn by rote before we can get by heart; that the freshness is worn away, and the future pleasure and advantage deadened and destroyed, by the didactic, anticipation, at an age when we can neither feel nor understand the power of compositions which it requires an acquaintance with life, as well as Latin and Greek, to relish, or to reason upon. For the same reason we never can

be aware of the fulness of some of the finest passages of Shakespeare, ("To be or not to be," for instance), from the habit of having them hammered into us at eight years old, as an exercise, not of mind but of memory: so that when we are old enough to enjoy them, the taste is gone, and the appetite palled. In some parts of the Continent, young persons are taught from more common authors, and do not read the best classics till their maturity. I certainly do not speak on this point from any pique or aversion towards the place of my education. I was not a slow, though an idle boy; and I believe no one could, or can be more attached to Harrow than I have always been, and with reason; — a part of the time passed there was the happiest of my life; and my preceptor, (the Rev. Dr. Joseph Drury), was the best and worthiest friend I ever possessed, whose warnings I have remembered but too well, though too late — when I have erred, and whose counsels I have but followed when I have done well or wisely. If ever this imperfect record of my feelings towards him should reach his eyes, let it remind him of one who never thinks of him but with gratitude and veneration — of one who would more gladly boast of having been his pupil, if, by more closely following his injunctions, he could reflect any honour upon his instructor.

## Stanza LXXIX.

*The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now.*

For a comment on this and the two following stanzas, the reader may consult Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold.

## Stanza LXXXII.

*The trebly hundred triumphs!*

Orosius gives three hundred and twenty for the number of triumphs. He is followed by Panvinius; and Panvinius by Mr. Gibbon and the modern writers.

## Stanza LXXXIII.

*Oh thou, whose chariot rolled on Fortune's wheel, etc.*

Certainly were it not for these two traits in the life of Sylla, alluded to in this stanza, we should regard him as a monster unredeemed by any admirable quality. The atonement of his

voluntary resignation of empire may perhaps be accepted by us, as it seems to have satisfied the Romans, who if they had not respected must have destroyed him. There could be no mean; no division of opinion; they must have all thought, like Eucrates, that what had appeared ambition was a love of glory, and that what had been mistaken for pride was a real grandeur of soul. <sup>1</sup>

### Stanza LXXXVI.

*And laid him with the earth's preceding clay.*

On the third of September Cromwell gained the victory of Dunbar; a year afterwards he obtained "his crowning mercy" of Worcester; and a few years after, on the same day, which he had ever esteemed the most fortunate for him, died.

<sup>1</sup> „Seigneur, vous changez toutes mes idées de la façon dont je vous vois agir. Je croyois que vous aviez de l'ambition, mais aucun amour pour la gloire: je voyois bien que votre ame étoit haute; mais je ne soupçonnois pas quelle fût grande “

Dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate.

## Stanza LXXXVII.

*And thou, dread statue! still existent in  
The austere form of naked majesty.*

The projected division of the Spada Pompey has already been recorded by the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Mr. Gibbon found it in the memorials of Flaminius Vacca,<sup>1</sup> and it may be added to his mention of it that Pope Julius III. gave the contending owners five hundred crowns for the statue; and presented it to Cardinal Capo di Ferro, who had prevented the judgment of Solomon from being executed upon the image. In a more civilized age this statue was exposed to an actual operation: for the French who acted the Brutus of Voltaire in the Coliseum, resolved that their Caesar should fall at the base of that Pompey, which was supposed to have been sprinkled with the blood of the original dictator. The nine foot hero was therefore removed to the Arena of the amphitheatre, and to facilitate its transport suffered the temporary amputation of its right

<sup>1</sup> Memoire, num. lvii, pag. 9. ap. Montfaucon *Diarium Italicum*.

arm. The republican tragedians had to plead that the arm was a restoration: but their accusers do not believe that the integrity of the statue would have protected it. The love of finding every coincidence has discovered the true Caesarean ichor in a stain near the right knee; but colder criticism has rejected not only the blood but the portrait, and assigned the globe of power rather to the first of the emperors than to the last of the republican masters of Rome. Winkelmann <sup>1</sup> is loth to allow an heroic statue of a Roman citizen, but the Grimani Agrippa, a contemporary almost, is heroic; and naked Roman figures were only very rare, not absolutely forbidden. The face accords much better with the "*hominem integrum et castum et gravem*," <sup>2</sup> than with any of the busts of Augustus, and is too stern for him who was beautiful, says Suetonius, at all periods of his life. The pretended likeness to Alexander the Great cannot be discerned, but the traits resemble the medal of Pompey. <sup>3</sup> The objectionable globe may not have been an ill applied flattery to him who found Asia Minor the boundary, and left it the centre of the Ro-

<sup>1</sup> Storia delle arti, etc lib ix. cap. i. pag. 321, 322. tom ii.

<sup>2</sup> Ciccr. epist. ad Atticum, xi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Published by Causcus in his Museum Romanum.

man empire. It seems that Winkelmann has made a mistake in thinking that no proof of the identity of this statue, with that which received the bloody sacrifice, can be derived from the spot where it was discovered. <sup>1</sup> Flaminius Vacca says *sotto una cantina*, and this cantina is known to have been in the Vicolo de' Leutari near the Cancellaria, a position corresponding exactly to that of the Janus before the basilica of Pompey's theatre, to which Augustus transferred the statue after the *curia* was either burnt, or taken down. <sup>2</sup> Part of the Pompeian shade, <sup>3</sup> the portico existed in the beginning of the XVth century, and the *atrium* was still called *Satrum*. So says Blondus. <sup>4</sup> At all events, so imposing is the stern majesty of the statue, and so memorable is the story, that the play of the imagination leaves no room for the exercise of the judgment, and the fiction, if a fiction it is, operates on the spectator with an effect not less powerful than truth.

1 Storia delle arti, etc. *ibid.*

2 Sueton. in vit August. cap. 31, and in vit C. J. Caesar. cap. 88. Appian says it was burnt down. See a note of Pitiscus to Suetonius, p. 224.

3 „Tu modo Pompeia lenta spatia sub umbra.“  
Ovid. ar. aman.

4 Roma instaurata, lib. ii. fo. 31.

## Stanza LXXXVIII.

*And thou, the thunder-stricken nurse of Rome!*

Ancient Rome, like modern Sienna, abounded most probably with images of the foster-mother of her founder; but there were two she-wolves of whom history makes particular mention. One of these, *of brass in ancient work*, was seen by Dionysius at the temple of Romulus, under the Palatine, and is universally believed to be that mentioned by the Latin historian, as having been made from the money collected by a fine on usurers, and as standing under the Ruminal fig-tree.<sup>2</sup> The other was that which Cicero<sup>3</sup> has celebrated

<sup>1</sup> *Χάλυκα ποιήματα παλαιῆς ἐργασίας*, Antiq. Rom. lib. i.

<sup>2</sup> „Ad sicum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt“ Liv. Hist. lib. x. cap. lxix. This was in the year U. C. 455, or 457.

<sup>3</sup> „Tum statua Nattae, tum simulacra Deorum, Romulusque et Remus cum altrice belluae vi fulminis icti conciderunt.“ De Divinat. ii. 20. „Tactus est ille etiam qui hanc urbem condidit Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministis.“ In Catilin. vii. 8.

„Hic silvestris erat Romani nominis altrix  
Martia, quae parvos Mavortis semine natos  
Uteribus gravidis vitali rore rigebat.

both in prose and verse, and which the historian Dion also records as having suffered the same accident as is alluded to by the orator.<sup>1</sup> The question agitated by the antiquaries is, whether the wolf now in the conservators' pa-

Quae tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu  
Concidit, atque avulsa pedum vestigia liquit“

De Consulatu lib. ii. (lib. i. de Divinat. cap. ii)

1 Ἐν γὰρ τῷ καπητωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τὲ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραιῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν, καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε, καὶ διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἰδρυμένον, εἰκῶν τὲ τις λυκαίνης σὺν τε τῷ ῥώμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ ῥωμύλῳ ἰδρυμένη ἔπεση. Dion. Hist. lib. xxxvii.

pag. 37 edit. Rob. Steph. 1548. He goes on to mention that the letters of the columns on which the laws were written were liquified and become ἀμυδρά. All that the Romans did was to erect a large statue to Jupiter, looking towards the east: no mention is afterwards made of the wolf. This happened in A. U. C. 689. The Abate Fea, in noticing this passage of Dion, (Storia delle arti, etc. tom. i. pag. 202. note x), says, *Non ostando aggrunge Dione, che fosse ben fermata, (the wolf), by which it is clear the Abate translated the Xylandro-Leucclavian version, which puts quamvis stabilita for the original ἰδρυμένη, a word that does not mean ben fermata, but only raised, as may be distinctly seen from another passage of the same Dion: Ἡ βουλή δὲ μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὐγούστον ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαι. Hist. lib. lvi. Dion says that Agrippa „wished to raise a statue of Augustus in the Pantheon.“*

lace is that of Livy and Dionysius, or that of Cicero, or whether it is neither one or the other. The earlier writers differ as much as the moderns: Lucius Faunus <sup>1</sup> says, that it is the one alluded to by both, which is impossible, and also by Virgil, which may be. Fulvius Ursinus <sup>2</sup> calls it the wolf of Dionysius, and Marlianus <sup>3</sup> talks of it as the one mentioned by Cicero. To him Rycquius *tremblingly* assents. <sup>4</sup> Nardini is inclined to suppose it may be one of the many wolves preserved in ancient Rome; but of the two rather bends to the Ciceronian

<sup>1</sup> „In eadem porticu oenea lupa, ejus uberibus Romulus ac Remus lactantes inhiant, conspicitur: de hac Cicero et Virgilius semper intellexere. Livius hoc signum ab Ædilibus ex pecuniis quibus mulctati essent foeneratores, positum innuit. Antea in Comitibus ad Ficum Ruminalem, quo loco pueri fuerant expositi locatum pro certo est.“ Luc. Fauni. de Antiq. Urb. Rom. lib. ii. cap. vii. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 217. In his XVIIth chapter he repeats that the statues were there, but not that they were *found* there.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Nardini. Roma Vetus. lib. v. cap. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Marliani. Urb. Rom. topograph. lib. ii. cap. ix. He mentions another wolf and twins in the Vatican. lib. v. cap. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> „Non desunt qui hanc ipsam esse putent, quam adpinximus, quae è comitio in Basilicam Lateranam,

statue. <sup>1</sup> Montfaucon <sup>2</sup> mentions it as a point without doubt. Of the latter writers the decisive Winkelmann <sup>3</sup> proclaims it as having been found at the church of Saint Theodore, where, or near where, was the temple of Romulus, and consequently makes it the wolf of Dionysius. His authority is Lucius Faunus, who, however, only says that it *was placed*, not *found*, at the Ficus Ruminalis by the Comitium, by which he does not seem to allude to the church of Saint Theodore. Rycquius was the first to make the mistake, and Winkelmann followed Rycquius.

Flaminius Vacca tells quite a different story,

cum nonnullis aliis antiquitatum reliquiis, atque hinc in Capitolium postea relata sit, quamvis Marlianus antiquam Capitolinam esse maloit a Tullio descriptam, cui ut in re nimis dubia, trepidè adsentimur." Just. Rycquii de Capit. Roman. Comm. cap. xxiv. pag. 250. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1696.

<sup>1</sup> Nardini Roma Vetus. lib. v. cap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> „Lupa hodieque in capitolinis prostat aedibus, cum vestigio fulminis quo ictam narrat Cicero." Diarium. Italic. tom. i. p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Storia delle arti, etc. lib. iii. cap. iii. §. ii note 10. Winkelmann has made a strange blunder in the note, by saying the Ciceronian wolf was *not* in the Capitol, and that Dion was wrong in saying so.

and says he had heard the wolf with the twins was found near the arch of Septimius Severus. The commentator on Winkelmann is of the same opinion with that learned person, and is incensed at Nardini for not having remarked that Cicero, in speaking of the wolf struck with lightning in the Capitol, makes use of the past tense. But, with the Abate's leave, Nardini does not positively assert the statue to be that mentioned by Cicero, and, if he had, the assumption would not perhaps have been so exceedingly indiscreet. The Abate himself is obliged to own that there are marks very like the scathing of lightning in the hinder legs of the present wolf; and, to get rid of this, adds, that the wolf seen by Dionysius might have been also struck by lightning, or otherwise injured.

Let us examine the subject by a reference to the words of Cicero. The orator in two places seems to particularize the Romulus and the Remus, especially the first, which his audience remembered to *have been* in the Capitol, as

1 „Intesi dire, che l'Ercolo di bronzo, che oggi si trova nella sala di Campidoglio, fu trovato nel foro Romano appresso l'arco di Settimio; e vi fu trovata anche la lupa di bronzo che allata Romolo e Remo. e sta nella Loggia de' conservatori “ Flam. Vacca. Memor. num. iii. pag. 1. ap. Montfaucon diar. Ital. tom. i.

being struck with lightning. In his verses he records that the twins and wolf both fell, and that the latter left behind the marks of her feet. Cicero does not say that the wolf was consumed: and Dion only mentions that it fell down, without alluding, as the Abate has made him, to the force of the blow, or the firmness with which it had been fixed. The whole strength, therefore, of the Abate's argument, hangs upon the past tense; which, however, may be somewhat diminished by remarking that the phrase only shews that the statue was not then standing in its former position. Winkelmann has observed, that the present twins are modern; and it is equally clear that there are marks of gilding on the wolf, which might therefore be supposed to make part of the ancient group. It is known that the sacred images of the Capitol were not destroyed when injured by time or accident, but were put into certain underground depositaries called *favissæ*.<sup>1</sup> It may be thought possible that the wolf had been so deposited, and had been replaced in some conspicuous situation when the Capitol was rebuilt by Vespasian. Rycquius, without mentioning his authority, tells that it was transferred from the Comitium to the Lateran, and thence brought to the Capitol.

<sup>1</sup> Luc. Faun. *ibid.*

If it was found near the arch of Severus, it may have been one of the images which Orosius <sup>1</sup> says was thrown down in the Forum by lightning when Alaric took the city. That it is of very high antiquity the workmanship is a decisive proof; and that circumstance induced Winkelmann to believe it the wolf of Dionysius. The Capitoline wolf, however, may have been of the same early date as that at the temple of Romulus. Lactantius <sup>2</sup> asserts that in his time the Romans worshipped a wolf; and it is known that the Lupercalia held out to a very late period <sup>3</sup> after every other observance of the

<sup>1</sup> See Note to stanza LXXX. in Historical Illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> „Romuli nutrix Inpa honoribus est affecta divinis, et ferrem si animal ipsum fuisset, cuius figuram gerit.“ Lactant. de falsa religione. Lib 1 cap. 20. pag 101. edit. varior. 1660; that is to say, he would rather adore a wolf than a prostitute. His commentator has observed that the opinion of Livy concerning Laurentia being figured in this wolf was not universal. Strabo thought so. Rycquius is wrong in saying that Lactantius mentions the wolf was in the Capitol.

<sup>3</sup> To A. D. 496. Quis credere possit. says Baronius, [Ann. Eccle. tom viii. p. 602. in an 496] „viguisse adhuc Romae ad Gelasii tempora, quae fuere ante exordia urbis allata in Italiam Lupercalia?“ Gelasius wrote a letter which occupies four folio pages to Andromachus, the senator, and others, to shew that the rites should be given up.

ancient superstition had totally expired. This may account for the preservation of the ancient image longer than the other early symbols of Paganism.

It may be permitted, however, to remark that the wolf was a Roman symbol, but that the worship of that symbol is an inference drawn by the zeal of Lactantius. The early Christian writers are not to be trusted in the charges which they make against the Pagans. Eusebius accused the Romans to their faces of worshipping Simon Magus, and raising a statue to him in the island of the Tyber. The Romans had probably never heard of such a person before, who came, however, to play a considerable, though scandalous part in the church history, and has left several tokens of his aerial combat with St. Peter at Rome; notwithstanding that an inscription found in this very island of the Tyber shewed the Simon Magus of Eusebius to be a certain indigenal god, called Semo Sanguis or Fidius. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius has these words; καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεός, τετίμηται, ἐν τῷ τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξύ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην ἴμω Σίμωνι δέω Σάγκτωι. Ecclesi. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 40. Justin Martyr had

Even when the worship of the founder of Rome had been abandoned, it was thought expedient to humour the habits of the good matrons of the city by sending them with their sick infants to the church of Saint Theodore, as they had before carried them to the temple of Romulus.<sup>1</sup> The practice is continued to this day; and the site of the above church seems to be thereby indentified with that of the temple; so that if the wolf had been really found there, as Winkelmann says, there would be no doubt of the present statue being that seen by Dionysius.<sup>2</sup> But Faunus, in saying that it was at the Ficus

told the story before; but Baronius himself was obliged to detect this fable. See Nardini Roma Vet. lib. vii. cap. xii

1 „In essa gli antichi pontefici per toglier la memoria de' giuochi Lupercali istituiti in onore di Romolo, introdussero l'uso di portarvi Bambini oppressi da infermità occulte, acciò si liberino per l'intercessione di questo Santo, come di continuo si sperimenta.“ Rione xii. Ripa accurata e sua inta descrizione, etc. di Roma Moderna dell Ab. Ridolf. Venuti, 1766.

2 Nardini, lib v. cap. 11 convicts Pomponius Laetus *crassi erroris* in putting the Ruminal fig-tree at the church of Saint Theodore: but, as Livy says, the wolf was at the Ficus Ruminalis and Dionysius at the temple of Romulus, he is obliged, (cap. iv.) to own that the two were close together, as well as the Lupercal cave, shaded, as it were, by the fig-tree.

Ruminalis by the Comitium, is only talking of its ancient position as recorded by Pliny; and even if he had been remarking where it was found, would not have alluded to the church of Saint Theodore, but to a very different place, near which it was then thought the Ficus Ruminalis had been, and also the Comitium; that is, the three columns by the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, at the corner of the Palatine looking on the Forum.

It is, in fact, a mere conjecture where the image was actually dug up, <sup>1</sup> and perhaps, on the whole, the marks of the gilding, and of the lightning, are a better argument in favour of its being the Ciceronian wolf than any that can be adduced for the contrary opinion. At any rate, it is reasonably selected in the text of the poem as one of the most interesting relics of the ancient city, <sup>2</sup> and is certainly the

<sup>1</sup> „Ad comitium ficus olim Ruminalis germinabat, sub qua lupae rumam, hoc est, mammam, docente Varro, suxerant olim Romulus et Remus; non procul a templo hodie D. Mariae Liberatricis appellato ubi *forſan* inventa nobilis illa aenea statua lupae geminos puerulos lactantis, quam hodie in capitolis videmus.“ Olai Borrichii antiqua Urbis Romana facies, cap. x. See also cap. xii. Borrichius wrote after Nardini in 1687. Ap. Graev. Antiq. Rom. tom. iv. p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> Donatus, lib. xi. cap. 18. gives a medal representing on one side the wolf in the same position as that in the

figure, if not the very animal to which Virgil alludes in his beautiful verses:

“Geminos huic ubera circum  
Ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem  
Impavidos: illam teriti cervice reflexam  
Mulcere alternos, et fingere corpora lingua.”<sup>1</sup>

### Stanza XC.

*For the Roman's mind  
Was modell'd in a less terrestrial mould.*

It is possible to be a very great man and to be still very inferior to Julius Cæsar, the most complete character, so Lord Bacon thought, of all antiquity. Nature seems incapable of such extraordinary combinations as composed his versatile capacity, which was the wonder even of the Romans themselves. The first general — the only triumphant politician — inferior to none in eloquence — comparable to any in the attainments of wisdom, in an age made up of the

Capitol; and in the reverse the wolf with the head not reverted. It is of the time of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>1</sup>Æn. viii 631. See — Dr Middleton, in his Letter from Rome, who inclines to the Ciceronian wolf, but without examining the subject.

greatest commanders, statesmen, orators and philosophers that ever appeared in the world — an author who composed a perfect specimen of military annals in his travelling carriage — at one time in a controversy with Cato, at another writing a treatise on punning, and collecting a set of good sayings — fighting <sup>1</sup> and making love at the same moment, and willing to abandon both his empire and his mistress for a sight of the Fountains of the Nile. Such did Julius Caesar appear to his cotemporaries and to those of the subsequent ages, who were the most inclined to deplore and execrate his fatal genius.

In his tenth book, Lucan shews him sprinkled with the blood of pharsalia in the arms of Cleopatra,

Sanguine Thessalicae cladis perfusus adulter  
Admisit Venerem curis, et miscuit armis

After feasting with his mistress, he sits up all night to converse with the Ægyptian sages, and tells Achoreus,

Spes sit mihi certa videndi  
Niliacos fontes, bellum civile relinquam.

„Sic velut in tuta securi pace trahabant  
Noctis iter medium.“

Immediately afterwards, he is fighting again and defending every position,

„Sed adest defensor ubique  
Caesar et hos aditus gladiis, hos ignibus arceat

rocca nocte carinis  
Insiluit Caesar semper feliciter usus  
Præcipiti cursu bellorum et tempore rapto.“

But we must not be so much dazzled with his surpassing glory or with his magnanimous, his amiable qualities, as to forget the decision of his impartial countryman:

HE WAS JUSTLY SLAIN. <sup>1</sup>

### Stanza XCIII.

*What from this barren being do we reap?  
Our senses narrow, and our reason frail.*

“ . . . omnes pene veteres; qui nihil cognosci, nihil percepi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt; angustos sensus; imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demersam; opinionibus et institutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt.” <sup>2</sup> The eighteen hundred years which have elapsed since Cicero wrote

<sup>1</sup> „Jure coesus existemetur,” says Suetonius after a fair estimation of his character, and making use of a phrase which was a formula in Livy’s time. „Melium jure coesum pronuntiavit, etiam si regni crimine insons fuerit:” lib iv cap 48 and which was continued in the legal judgments pronounced in justifiable homicides, such as killing housebreakers. See Sueton in vit. C. J. Caesar, with the commentary of Pitiscus, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Academ, 1. 13.

this, have not removed any of the imperfections of humanity: and the complaints of the ancient philosophers may, without injustice or affectation, be transcribed in a poem written yesterday.

### Stanza XCIX.

*There is a stern round tower of other days.*

Alluding to the tomb of Cecilia Metella, called Capo di Bove, in the Appian Way. See — Historical Illustrations of the IVth Canto of Childe Harold.

### Stanza CII.

*Prophetic of the doom*

*Heaven gives its favourites — early death.*

Ὁν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος  
 Τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν οὐκ αἰσχρόν ἀλλ' αἰσχρῶς θανεῖν.

Rich. Franc. Phil. Brunck. Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231, edit. 1784.

## Stanza CVIII.

*There is the moral of all human tales;  
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,  
 First Freedom, and then Glory, etc.*

The author of the Life of Cicero, speaking of the opinion entertained of Britain by that orator and his cotemporary Romans, has the following eloquent passage: "From their raileries of this kind, on the barbarity and misery of our island, one cannot help reflecting on the surprising fate and revolutions of kingdoms, how Rome, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance and poverty, enslaved to the most cruel as well as to the most contemptible of tyrants, superstition and religious imposture: while this remote country, anciently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty and letters; flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet running perhaps the same course which Rome itself had run before it, from virtuous industry to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of discipline, and corruption of morals: till by a to-

tal degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it fall a prey at last to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing that is valuable, sinke gradually again into its original barbarism." 1

### Stanza CX.

*And apostolic statues climb*

*To crush the imperial urn, whose ashes slept  
sublime.*

The column of Trajan is surmounted by St. Peter; that of Aurelius by St. Paul. See — Historical Illustrations of the IVth Canto, etc.

### Stanza CXI.

*Still we Trajan's name adore.*

Trajan was *proverbially* the best of the Ro-

1 The History of the Life of M. Tallius Cicero, sect. vi. vol. ii. p. 102 The contrast has been reversed in a late extraordinary instance. A gentleman was thrown into prison at Paris; efforts were made for his release. The French minister continued to detain him, under the pretext that he was not an Englishman, but only a Roman. See „Interesting facts relating to Joachim Murat,“ pag. 139.

man princes: <sup>1</sup> and it would be easier to find a sovereign uniting exactly the opposite characteristics, than one possessed of all the happy qualities ascribed to this emperor. "When he mounted the throne," says the historian Dion,<sup>2</sup>

1 „Hujus dantùm memoriae delatum est ut, usque ad nostram aetatem non aliter in Senatu principibus acclamatur, nisi, FELICIOR . AVGVSTO . MELIOR . TRAJANO.“ Eutrop. Brev. Hist. Rom. lib. viii. cap. v.

2 Τῷ τε γὰρ σώματι ἔρρώτω . . . . καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἤκμαζεν, ὡς μήθ' ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἀμβλύνεσθαι . . . καὶ οὐτ' ἐφθόνηι, οὔτε καθήρει τινα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐμαγάλυνε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐφοβείτό τινα αὐτῶν, οὔτε ἐμίσει . . . διαβολαῖς τε ἤκιστα ἐπιστευε καὶ ὀργῇ ἤκιστα ἐδουλοῦτο· τῶν τε χρημάτων τῶν ἀλλωτρίων ἴσα καὶ φόνων τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπέχετο . . . . Φιλούμενός τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τιμώμενος ἔχειρε, καὶ τῷ τε δήμῳ μετ' ἐπεισιβίας συνεγένετο, καὶ τῇ γηρουσίᾳ σεμνοπρεπῶς ὠμίλει· ἀγαπητὸς μὲν πᾶσι· φοβερός δὲ μήθενι, πλὴν πολεμίοις, ὧν. Hist. Rom. lib. lxxviii. cap. xi. et vii. tom. ii. p. 1123, 1124. edit. Hamb. 1750.

“he was strong in body, he was vigorous in mind; age had impaired none of his faculties; he was altogether free from envy and from detraction; he honored all the good and he advanced them; and on this account they could not be the objects of his fear, or of his hate; he never listened to informers; he gave not way to his anger; he abstained equally from unfair exactions and unjust punishments; he had rather be loved as a man than honoured as a sovereign; he was affable with his people, respectful to the senate, and universally beloved by both; he inspired none with dread but the enemies of his country.”

## Stanza CXIV.

### *Rienzi, last of Romans.*

The name and exploits of Rienzi must be familiar to the reader of Gibbon. Some details and inedited manuscripts relative to this unhappy hero, will be seen in the Illustrations of the IVth Canto.

## Stanza CXV.

*Egeria! sweet creation of some heart  
Which found no mortal resting-place so fair  
As thine ideal breast.*

The respectable authority of Flaminius Vacca would incline us to believe in the claims of the Egerian grotto. <sup>1</sup> He assures us that he saw an inscription in the pavement, stating that the fountain was that of Egeria dedicated to the nymphs. The inscription is not there at this day; but Montfaucon quotes two lines <sup>2</sup> of Ovid from a stone in the Villa Giustiniani, which he seems to think had been brought from the same grotto.

<sup>1</sup> „Poco lontano dal detto luogo si scende ad un casaleto, del quale ne sono Padroni li Casarelli, che con questo nome è chiamato il luogo; vi è una fontana sotto una gran volta antica, che al presente si gode, e li Romani vi vanno l'estate a ricrearsi; nel pavimento di essa fonte si legge in un epitaffio essere quella la fonte di Egeria, dedicata alle ninfe. e questa, dice l'epitaffio, essere la medesima fonte in cui fu convertita.“ *Memorie, etc.* ap. Nardini, pag. 13. He does not give the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> „In villa Justiniana extat ingens lapis quadratus solidus in quo sculpta haec duo Ovidii carmina sunt

This grotto and valley were formerly frequented in summer, and particularly the first Sunday in May, by the modern Romans, who attached a salubrious quality to the fountain which trickles from an orifice at the bottom of the vault, and, overflowing the little pools, creeps down the matted grass into the brook below. The brook is the Ovidian *Almo*, whose name and qualities are lost in the modern *Aquataccio*. The valley itself is called *Valle di Caffarelli*, from the dukes of that name who made over their fountain to the *Pallavicini*, with sixty *rubbia* of adjoining land.

There can be little doubt that this long dell is the Egerian valley of *Juvenal*, and the pausing place of *Umbritius*, notwithstanding the generality of his commentators have supposed the descent of the satirist and his friend to have been into the *Arician* grove, where the nymph met *Hippolitus*, and where she was more peculiarly worshipped.

The step from the *Porta Capena* to the *Alban* hill, fifteen miles distant, would be too considerable, unless we were to believe in the wild conjecture of *Vossius*, who makes that gate

*Ægeria est quae praebebat aquas dea grati Camoenis  
Illa Numae conjunx consiliumque fuit.  
Qui lapis videtur ex eodem Egeriae fonte, aut ejus vicinia isthuc comportatus.* *Diarium. Italic. p. 153.*

travel from its present station, where he pretends it was during the reign of the Kings, as far as the Arician grove, and then makes it recede to its old site with the shrinking city.<sup>1</sup> The tufa, or pumice, which the poet prefers to marble, is the substance composing the bank in which the grotto is sunk.

The modern topographers<sup>2</sup> find in the grotto the statue of the nymph and nine niches for the Muses, and a late traveller<sup>3</sup> has discovered that the cave is restored to that simplicity which the poet regretted had been exchanged for injudicious ornament. But the headless statue is palpably rather a male than a nymph, and has none of the attributes ascribed to it at present visible. The nine Muses could hardly have stood in six niches; and Juvenal certainly does not allude to any individual cave.<sup>4</sup> No-

<sup>1</sup> De Magnit. Vet. Rom. ap. Graev. Ant. Rom. tom. iv. p. 1507.

<sup>2</sup> Echinard Descrizione di Roma e dell'agro Romano corretto dall' Abate Veuti in Roma, 1750. They believe in the grotto and nymph. „Simulacro di questo fonte, essendovi sculpite le acque a pie di esso.“

<sup>3</sup> Classical Tour. chap. vi. p. 217. vol. ii.

<sup>4</sup> „Substitutit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam,  
Hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicæ.“

thing can be collected from the satirist but that somewhere near the Porta Capena was a spot in which it was supposed Numa held nightly consultations with his nymph, and where there was a grove and a sacred fountain, and fanes once consecrated to the Muses; and that from this spot there was a descent into the valley of Egeria, where were several artificial caves. It is clear that the statues of the Muses made no part of the decoration which the satirist thought misplaced in these caves; for he expressly assigns other fanes (*delubra*) to these divinities above the valley, and moreover tells us that they had been ejected to make room for the Jews. In fact the little temple, now called that of Bacchus, was formerly thought to belong to the Muses, and Nardini<sup>1</sup> places them in a poplar grove, which was in his time above the valley.

Nunc sacri fontis nemus, et delubra locantur  
 Judaeis quorum copinum foenumque supellex.  
 Omni enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est  
 Arbor, et ejectis mendicat silva Camoenis.  
 In vallem Egeriae descendimus, et speluncas  
 Dissimiles veris: quanto praestantius esset  
 Numen aquae, viridi si margine clauderet undas  
 Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum.<sup>6</sup>  
 Sat. IIJ,

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. cap. liii.

It is probable, from the inscription and position, that the cave now shown may be one of the « artificial caverns, » of which, indeed, there is another a little way higher up the valley, under a tuft of alder bushes: but a *single* grotto of Egeria is a mere modern invention, grafted upon the application of the epithet Egerian to these nymphs in general, and which might send us to look for the haunts of Numa upon the banks of the Thames.

Our English Juvenal was not seduced into mistranslation by his acquaintance with Pope: he carefully preserves the correct plural —

„Thence slowly winding down the vale, we view  
The Egerian grotts; oh, how unlike the true!“

The valley abounds with springs,<sup>1</sup> and over these springs, which the Muses might haunt from their neighbouring groves, Egeria presided: hence she was said to supply them with water; and she was the nymph of the grottos through which the fountains were taught to flow.

The whole of the monuments in the vicinity of the Egerian valley have received names at will, which have been changed at will. Ve-

<sup>1</sup> „Undique e solo aquae scaturiunt.“ Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii.

niti <sup>1</sup> owns he can see no traces of the temples of Jove, Saturn, Juno, Venus, and Diana, which Nardini found, or hoped to find. The mutatorium of Caracalla's circus, the temple of Honour and Virtue, the temple of Bacchus, and, above all, the temple of the god Rediculus, are the antiquaries' despair.

The circus of Caracalla depends on a medal of that emperor cited by Fulvius Ursinus, of which the reverse shows a circus, supposed, however, by some to represent the Circus Maximus. It gives a very good idea of that place of exercise. The soil has been but little raised, if we may judge from the small cellular structure at the end of the Spina, which was probably the chapel of the god Consus. This cell is half beneath the soil, as it must have been in the circus itself, for Dionysius <sup>2</sup> could not be persuaded to believe that this divinity was the Roman Neptune, because his altar was underground.

<sup>1</sup> Echinard, etc Cic. cit. p. 297-298

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, cap. xxxi.

## Stanza CXXVII.

*Yet let us ponder boldly.*

«At all events,» says the author of the *Academical Questions*, «I trust, whatever may be the fate of my own speculations, that philosophy will regain that estimation which it ought to possess. The free and philosophic spirit of our nation has been the theme of admiration to the world. This was the proud distinction of Englishmen and the luminous source of all their glory. Shall we then forget the manly and dignified sentiments of our ancestors, to prate in the language of the mother or the nurse about our good old prejudices? This is not the way to defend the cause of truth. It was not thus that our fathers maintained it in the brilliant periods of our history. Prejudice may be trusted to guard the outworks for a short space of time while reason slumbers in the citadel: but if the latter sink into a lethargy, the former will quickly erect a standard for herself. Philosophy, wisdom, and liberty, support each other; he who will not reason, is a bigot; he who cannot, is a fool; and he who dares not, is a slave.» *Preface, p. xiv, xv. vol. i. 1805.*

## Stanza CXXXII.

*Great Nemesis!**Here, where the ancient paid thee homage long.*

We read in Suetonius that Augustus, from a warning received in a dream, <sup>1</sup> counterfeited, once a year, the beggar, sitting before the gate of his palace with his hand hollowed and stretched out for charity. A statue formerly in the Villa Borghese, and which should be now at Paris, represents the Emperor in that posture of supplication. The object of this self degradation was the appeasement of Nemesis, the perpetual attendant on good fortune, of whose power the Roman conquerors were also reminded by certain symbols attached to their cars of triumph. The symbols were the whip and the *crotalo*, which were discovered in the Nemesis of the Vatican. The attitude of beggary made the above statue

<sup>1</sup> Sueton. in vit. Augusti. cap. 91. Casaubon, in the note, refers to Plutarch's Lives of Camillus and Æmilius Paulus, and also to his apothegms, for the character of this deity. The hollowed hand was reckoned the last degree of degradation: and when the dead body of the Præfect Rufinus was borne about in triumph by the people, the indignity was increased by putting his hand in that position.

pass for that of Belisarius: and until the criticism of Winkelmann <sup>1</sup> had rectified the mistake, one fiction was called in to support another. It was the same fear of the sudden termination of prosperity that made Amasis king of Egypt warn his friend Polycrates of Samos, that the gods loved those whose lives were chequered with good and evil fortunes. Nemesis was supposed to lie in wait particularly for the prudent: that is, for those whose caution rendered them accessible only to mere accidents: and her first altar was raised on the banks of the Phrygian *Æsepus* by Adrastus, probably the prince of that name who killed the son of Croesus by mistake. Hence the goddess was called *Adrastea*.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman Nemesis was *sacred* and *august*: there was a temple to her in the Palatine under the name of *Rhamnusia*:<sup>3</sup> so great indeed was the propensity of the ancients to trust to the revolution of events, and to believe in the divinity of

<sup>1</sup> Storia delle arti, etc. lib. xii. cap. iii. tom. ii. p. 422. Visconti calls the statue, however, a *Cybele*. It is given in the Museo Pio-Clement tom. i. par. 40. The Abate Fea (Spiegazione dei Rami. Storia, etc. tom. iii. p. 513.) calls it a *Chrisippus*.

<sup>2</sup> Dict. de Bayle, article *Adrastea*.

<sup>3</sup> It is enumerated by the regionary *Victor*.

Fortune, that in the same Palatine there was a temple to the Fortune of the day. <sup>1</sup> This is the last superstition which retains its hold over the human heart: and from concentrating in one object the credulity so natural to man, has always appeared strongest in those unembarrassed by other articles of belief. The antiquaries have supposed this goddess to be synonymous with fortune and with fate: <sup>2</sup> but it was in her vindictive quality that she was worshipped under the name of Nemesis.

<sup>1</sup> Fortunae hujusce diei. Cicero mentions her, de legib. lib. ii.

<sup>2</sup> DEAE NEMESI  
SIVE FORTUNAE

PISTORIVS

RVGIANVS

V. C. LEGAT.

LEG. XIII. G.

GORD.

See *Questiones Romanae*, etc. Ap. Græv. *Antiq. Romani*, tom. v. p. 942. See also Muratori *Nov. Thesaur. Inscript. Vet.* tom. i. p. 88, 80, where there are three Latin and one Greek inscription to Nemesis, and others to Fate.

## Stanza CXL.

*I see before me the Gladiator lie.*

Whether the wonderful statue which suggested this image be a laquearian gladiator, which in spite of Winkelmann's criticism has been stoutly maintained,<sup>1</sup> or whether it be a Greek herald, as that great antiquary positively asserted,<sup>2</sup> or whether it is to be thought a Spartan or barbarian shield-bearer, according to the opinion of his Italian editor,<sup>3</sup> it must assuredly seem *a copy* of that masterpiece of Ctesilaus which represented «a wounded man dying who perfectly expressed what there remained of life

<sup>1</sup> By the Abate Bracci, *dissertazione supra un clipeo votivo*. etc. Preface, pag. 7. who accounts for the cord round the neck, but not for the horn, which it does not appear the gladiators themselves ever used. Note A. *Storia delle arti*, tom. ii. p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Either Polifontes, herald of Laius, killed by OEdipus; or Cepreas, herald of Euritheus, killed by the Athenians when he endeavoured to drag the Heraclidæ from the altar of mercy; and in whose honour they instituted annual games, continued to the time of Hadrian; or Anthemoeritus, the Athenian herald, killed by the Magareuses who never recovered the impiety. See *Storia delle arti*, etc. tom. ii. pag. 203, 204, 205, 206, 207. lib. ix. cap. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Storia*, etc. tom. ii. p. 207. Not. (A).

in him.» <sup>1</sup> Montfaucon <sup>2</sup> and Maffei <sup>3</sup> thought it the identical statue; but that statue was of bronze. The gladiator was once in the villa Ludovizi, and was bought by Clement XII. The right arm is an entire restoration of Michael Angelo. <sup>4</sup>

### Stanza CXXI.

*He, their sire,  
Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday.*

Gladiators were of two kinds, compelled and voluntary; and were supplied from several conditions; from slaves sold for that purpose; from culprits; from barbarian captives either taken in war, and, after being led in triumph, set apart for the games, or those seized and condemned as re-

<sup>1</sup> „Vulneratum deficientem fecit in quo possit intelligi quantum restat animae.“ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. tom. iii. par. 2. tab. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Racc. stat. tab. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Mus. Capitol. tom. iii. p. 154. edit. 1755.

bels; also from free citizens, some fighting for hire, (*auctorati*,) others from a depraved ambition: at last even knights and senators were exhibited, a disgrace of which the first tyrant was naturally the first inventor. <sup>1</sup> In the end, dwarfs, and even women, fought; an enormity prohibited by Severus. Of these the most to be pitied undoubtedly were the barbarian captives; and to this species a Christian writer <sup>2</sup> justly applies the epithet "*innocent*," to distinguish them from the professional gladiators. Aurelian and Claudius supplied great numbers of these unfortunate victims; the one after his triumph, and the other on the pretext of a rebellion. <sup>3</sup> No war, says Lipsius, <sup>4</sup> was ever so destructive to the human race as these sports. In spite of the laws of Constantine and Con-

<sup>1</sup> Julius Caesar, who rose by the fall of the aristocracy, brought Furius Leptinus and A. Calenus upon the arena.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, „certe quidem et innocentes gladiatores in ludum veniunt, at voluptatis publicae hostiae fiunt.“ Just. Lips. Saturn. Sermon. lib. ii. cap. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Vopiscus in vit. Aurel. and, in vit. Claud. *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> „Credo imò scio nullum bellam tantam cladem vastitatemque generi humano intulisse, quam hos ad voluptatem ludos.“ Just. Lips. *ibid.* lib. i. cap. xii.

stans, gladiatorial shows survived the old established religion more than seventy years; but they owed their final extinction to the courage of a Christian. In the year 404, on the kalends of January, they were exhibiting the shows in the Flavian amphitheatre before the usual immense concourse of people. Almachius or Telemachus, an eastern monk, who had travelled to Rome intent on his holy purpose, rushed into the midst of the area, and endeavoured to separate the combatants. The prætor Alypius, a person incredibly attached to these games, <sup>1</sup> gave instant orders to the gladiators to slay him; and Telemachus gained the crown of martyrdom, and the title of saint, which surely has never either before or since been awarded for a more noble exploit. Honorius immediately abolished the shows, which were never afterwards revived. The story is told by Theodoret <sup>2</sup> and Cassiodorus, <sup>3</sup> and seems worthy of credit notwithstanding its place in the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Augustinus, (lib. vi. confess. cap. viii.) „Alypinum suum gladiatrii spectaculi inhiatu incredibiliter abrep- tum,“ scribit. ib. lib. i. cap. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Eccles. cap. xxvi. lib. v.

<sup>3</sup> Cassiod. Tripartita. l. x. c. xi. Saturn. ib. ib.

martyrology. <sup>1</sup> Besides the torrents of blood which flowed at the funerals, in the amphitheatres, the circus, the forums, and other public places, gladiators were introduced at feasts, and tore each other to pieces amidst the supper tables, to the great delight and applause of the guests. Yet Lipsius permits himself to suppose the loss of courage, and the evident degeneracy of mankind, to be nearly connected with the abolition of these bloody spectacles. <sup>2</sup>

### Stanza CXLII.

*Here, where the Roman million's blame or praise  
Was death or life, the playthings of a crowd.*

When one gladiator wounded another, he shouted "*he has it,*" "*hoc habet,*" or "*habet.*"

<sup>1</sup> Baronius. ad. ann. et in notis ad Martyrol. Rom. 1. Jan. See — Marangoni delle Memorie sacre e profane dell' Anfiteatro Flavio, p. 25. edit. 1746.

<sup>2</sup> „Quod? non tu Lipsi momentum aliquod habuisse censes ad virtutem? Magnum Tempora nostra, nosque ipsos videamus. Oppidum ecce unum alterumve captum, direptum est; tumultus circa nos, non in nobis: et tamen concedimus et turbamur. Ubi robur, ubi tot per

The wounded combatant dropped his weapon, and advancing to the edge of the arena, supplicated the spectators. If he had fought well, the people saved him; if otherwise, or as they happened to be inclined, they turned down their thumbs, and he was slain. They were occasionally so savage that they were impatient if a combat lasted longer than ordinary without wounds or death. The emperor's presence generally saved the vanquished: and it is recorded as an instance of Caracalla's ferocity, that he sent those who supplicated him for life, in a spectacle at Nicomedia, to ask the people; in other words, handed them over to be slain. A similar ceremony is observed at the Spanish bullfights. The magistrate presides; and after the horsemen and piccadores have fought the bull, the matadore steps forward and bows to him for permission to kill the animal. If the bull has done his duty by killing two or three horses, or a man, which last is rare, the people interfere with shouts, the ladies wave their handkerchiefs, and the animal is saved. The wounds and death of the

annos meditata sapientiæ studia? ubi ille animus qui possit dicere, *si fractus illabatur orbis?*" etc. *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. xxv. The prototype of Mr. Windham's panegyric on bull-baiting.

horses are accompanied with the loudest acclamations, and many gestures of delight, especially from the female portion of the audience, including those of the gentlest blood. Every thing depends on habit. The author of *Childe Harold*, the writer of this note, and one or two other Englishmen, who have certainly in other days borne the sight of a pitched battle, were, during the summer of 1809, in the governor's box at the great amphitheatre of Santa Maria, opposite to Cadiz. The death of one or two horses completely satisfied their curiosity. A gentleman present, observing them shudder and look pale, noticed that unusual reception of so delightful a sport to some young ladies, who stared and smiled, and continued their applauses as another horse fell bleeding to the ground. One bull killed three horses *off his own horns*. He was saved by acclamations which were redoubled when it was known he belonged to a priest.

An Englishman who can be much pleased with seeing two men beat themselves to pieces, cannot bear to look at a horse galloping round an arena with his bowels trailing on the ground, and turns from the spectacle and the spectators with horror and disgust.

## Stanza CXLIV.

*Like laurels on the bald first Cæsar's brow.*

Suetonius informs us that Julius Cæsar was particularly gratified by that decree of the senate, which enabled him to wear a wreath of laurel on all occasions. He was anxious, not to show that he was the conqueror of the world, but to hide that he was bald. A stranger at Rome would hardly have guessed at the motive, nor should we without the help of the historian.

## Stanza CXLV.

*While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand.*

This is quoted in the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; and a notice on the Coliseum may be seen in the Historical Illustrations to the IVth Canto of Childe Harold.

## Stanza CXLVI.

*. . . . spared and blest by time.*

«Though plundered of all its brass, except

the ring which was necessary to preserve the aperture above; though exposed to repeated fires, though sometimes flooded by the river, and always open to the rain, no monument of equal antiquity is so well preserved as this rotundo. It passed with little alteration from the Pagan into the present worship; and so convenient were its niches for the Christian altar, that Michael Angelo, ever studious of ancient beauty, introduced their design as a model in the Catholic church."

Forsyth's Remarks, etc. on Italy, p. 137. sec. edit.

### Stanza CXLVII.

*And they who feel for genius may repose  
Their eyes on honoured forms, whose busts  
around them close.*

The Pantheon has been made a receptacle for the busts of modern great, or, at least, distinguished, men. The flood of light which once fell through the large orb above on the whole circle of divinities, now shines on a numerous assemblage of mortals, some one or two of whom have been almost deified by the veneration of their countrymen.

## Stanza CXLVIII.

*There is a dungeon, in whose dim drear light.*

This and the three next stanzas allude to the story of the Roman daughter, which is recalled to the traveller, by the site or pretended site of that adventure now shewn at the church of St. Nicholas *in carcere*. The difficulties attending the full belief of the tale are stated in Historical Illustrations, etc.

## Stanza CLII.

*Turn to the Mole which Hadrian rear'd on high.*

The castle of St. Angelo. See — Historical Illustrations.

## Stanza CLIII.

This and the six next stanzas have a reference to the church of St. Peter's. For a measurement of the comparative length of this basilica, and the other great churches of Europe, see the

pavement of St. Peter's and the Classical Tour through Italy, vol. ii. pag. 125. et seq. chap. iv.

### Stanza CLXXI.

*the strange fate  
Which tumbles mightiest sovereigns.*

Mary died on the scaffold; Elizabeth of a broken heart; Charles V. a hermit; Louis XIV. a bankrupt in means and glory; Cromwell of anxiety; and, "the greatest is behind," Napoleon lives a prisoner. To these sovereigns a long but superfluous list might be added of names equally illustrious and unhappy.

### Stanza CLXXIII.

*Lo, Nemi! navelled in the woody hills.*

The village of Nemi was near the Arician retreat of Egeria, and, from the shades which embosomed the temple of Diana, has preserved to this day its distinctive appellation of *The Grove*. Nemi is but an evening's ride from the comfortable inn of Albano.

## Stanza CLXXIV.

*And afar**The Tyber winds, and the broad ocean laves  
The Latian coast, etc. etc.*

The whole declivity of the Alban hill is of unrivalled beauty, and from the convent on the highest point, which has succeeded to the temple of the Latian Jupiter, the prospect embraces all the objects alluded to in the cited stanza: the Mediterranean; the whole scene of the latter half of the *Æneid*, and the coast from beyond the mouth of the Tyber to the headland of Cir-cæum and the Cape of Terracina.

The site of Cicero's villa may be supposed either at the Grotta Ferrata, or at the Tusculum of Prince Lucien Buonaparte.

The former was thought some years ago the actual site, as may be seen from Middleton's *Life of Cicero*. At present it has lost something of its credit, except for the Domenichinos. Nine monks of the Greek order live there, and the adjoining villa is a cardinal's summer house. The other villa, called *Rufinella*, is on the summit of the hill above Frascati, and many rich remains of Tusculum have been found there, besides se-

venty-two statues of different merit and preservation, and seven busts.

From the same eminence are seen the Sabine hills, embosomed in which lies the long valley of Rustica. There are several circumstances which tend to establish the identity of this valley with the «*Ustica*» of Horace; and it seems possible that the mosaic pavement which the peasants uncover by throwing up the earth of a vineyard, may belong to his villa. Rustica is pronounced short, not according to our stress upon — «*Ustica cubantis*» — It is more rational to think that we are wrong than that the inhabitants of this secluded valley have changed their tone in this word. The addition of the consonant prefixed is nothing: yet it is necessary to be aware that Rustica may be a modern name which the peasants may have caught from the antiquaries.

The villa, or the mosaic, is in a vineyard on a knoll covered with chestnut trees. A stream runs down the valley, and although it is not true, as said in the guide books, that this stream is called Licenza, yet there is a village on a rock at the head of the valley which is so denominated, and which may have taken its name from the Digentia. Licenza contains 700 inhabitants. On a peak a little way beyond is Civitella, containing 300. On the banks of the Anio, a little before you turn up into Valle Rustica, to the left, about

an hour from the *villa*, is a town called Vicovaro, another favourable coincidence with the *Varia* of the poet. At the end of the valley, towards the Anio, there is a bare hill, crowned with a little town called Bardela. At the foot of this hill the rivulet of Licenza flows, and is almost absorbed in a wide sandy bed before it reaches the Anio. Nothing can be more fortunate for the lines of the poet, whether in a metaphorical or direct sense:

„Me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,  
Quem Mandela bibit rugosus frigore pagus.“

The stream is clear high up the valley, but before it reaches the hill of Bardela looks green and yellow like a sulphur rivulet.

Rocca Giovane, a ruined village in the hills, half an hour's walk from the vineyard where the pavement is shown, does seem to be the site of the fane of Vacuna, and an inscription found there tells that this temple of the Sabine victory was repaired by Vespasian. <sup>1</sup> With these helps,

1 MP. CÆSAR VESPASIANVS  
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS. TRIB.  
POTEST. CENSOR ÆDEM  
VICTORIÆ VETVSTATE ILLAPSAM.  
SVA. IMPENSA. RESTITVIT.

and a position corresponding exactly to every thing which the poet has told us of his retreat, we may feel tolerably secure of our site.

The hill which should be Lucretilis is called Campanile, and by following up the rivulet to the pretended Bandusia, you come to the roots of the higher mountain Cennaro. Singularly enough the only spot of ploughed land in the whole valley is on the knoll where this Bandusia rises,

„ . . . tu frigus amabile  
Fessis vomere tauris  
Præbes, et pecori vago.“

The peasants show another spring near the mosaic pavement which they call „Oradina,“ and which flows down the hills into a tank, or mill dam, and thence trickles over into the Digentia.

But we must not hope

„To trace the Muses upwards to their spring“

by exploring the windings of the romantic valley in search of the Bandusian fountain. It seems strange that any one should have thought Bandusia a fountain of the Digentia — Horace has not let drop a word of it; and this immortal spring has in fact been discovered in possession of the holders of many good things in Italy, the

monks. It was attached to the church of St. Cervais and Protais near Venusia, where it was most likely to be found. <sup>1</sup> We shall not be so lucky as a late traveller in finding the *occasional pine* still pendant on the poetic villa. There is not a pine in the whole valley, but there are two cypresses, which he evidently took, or mistook, for the tree in the ode. <sup>2</sup> The truth is, that the pine is now, as it was in the days of Virgil, a garden tree, and it was not at all likely to be found in the craggy acclivities of the valley of Rustica. Horace probably had one of them in the orchard close above his farm, immediately overshadowing his villa, not on the rocky heights at some distance from his abode. The tourist may have easily supposed himself to have seen this pine figured in the above cypresses, for the orange and lemon trees which throw such a bloom over his description of the royal gardens at Naples, unless they have been since displaced, were assuredly only acacias and other common garden shrubs. <sup>3</sup> The extreme

<sup>1</sup> See — Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto  
P. 43.

<sup>2</sup> See — Classical Tour, etc. chap. vii. p. 250. vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> „Under our windows, and bordering on the beach, is the royal garden, laid out in parterres, and walks shaded by rows of orange trees.“ Classical Tour, etc. chap. xi. vol. ii. oct. 365.

disappointment experienced by choosing the Classical Tourist as a guide in Italy must be allowed to find vent in a few observations, which, it is asserted without fear of contradiction, will be confirmed by every one who has selected the same conductor through the same country. This author is in fact one of the most inaccurate, unsatisfactory writers that have in our times attained a temporary reputation, and is very seldom to be trusted even when he speaks of objects which he must be presumed to have seen. His errors, from the simple exaggeration to the downright mistatement, are so frequent as to induce a suspicion that he had either never visited the spots described, or had trusted to the fidelity of former writers. Indeed the Classical Tour has every characteristic of a mere compilation of former notices, strung together upon a very slender thread of personal observation, and swelled out by those decorations which are so easily supplied by a systematic adoption of all the common places of praise, applied to every thing, and therefore signifying nothing.

The style which one person thinks cloggy and cumbrous, and unsuitable, may be to the taste of others, and such may experience some salutary excitement in ploughing through the periods of the Classical Tour. It must be said,

however, that polish and weight are apt to beget an expectation of value. It is amongst the pains of the damned to toil up a climax with a huge round *stone*.

The tourist had the choice of his words, but there was no such latitude allowed to that of his sentiments. The love of virtue and of liberty, which must have distinguished the character, certainly adorns the pages of Mr. Eustace, and the gentlemanly spirit, so commendatory either in an author or his productions, is very conspicuous throughout the Classical Tour. But these generous qualities are the foliage of such a performance, and may be spread about it so prominently and profusely, as to embarrass those who wish to see and find the fruit at hand. The unction of the divine, and the exhortations of the moralist, may have made this work something more and better than a book of travels, but they have not made it a book of travels; and this observation applies more especially to that enticing method of instruction conveyed by the perpetual introduction of the same Gallic Helot to reel and bluster before the rising generation, and terrify it into decency by the display of all the excesses of the revolution. An animosity against atheists and regicides in general, and Frenchmen spe-

cifically, may be honourable, and may be useful, as a record; but that antidote should either be administered in any work rather than a tour, or, at least, should be served up apart, and not so mixed with the whole mass of information and reflection, as to give a bitterness to every page: for who would choose to have the antipathies of any man, however just, for his travelling companions? A tourist, unless he aspires to the credit of prophecy, is not answerable for the changes which may take place in the country which he describes; but his reader may very fairly esteem all his political portraits and productions as so much waste paper, the moment they cease to assist, and more particularly if they obstruct, his actual survey.

Neither encomium nor accusation of any government, or governors, is meant to be here offered, but it is stated as an incontrovertible fact, that the change operated, either by the address of the late imperial system, or by the disappointment of every expectation by those who have succeeded to the Italian thrones, has been so considerable, and is so apparent, as not only to put Mr. Eustace's Antigallican philippics entirely out of date, but even to throw some suspicion upon the competency and candour of the author himself. A remarkable example may be found in the instance of Bologna,

over whose papal attachments, and consequent desolation, the tourist pours forth such strains of condolence and revenge, made louder by the borrowed trumpet of Mr. Burke. Now Bologna is at this moment, and has been for some years, notorious amongst the states of Italy for its attachment to revolutionary principles, and was almost the only city which made any demonstrations in favour of the unfortunate Murat. This change may, however, have been made since Mr. Eustace visited this country; but the traveller whom he has thrilled with horror at the projected stripping of the copper from the cupola of St. Peter's, must be much relieved to find that sacrilege out of the power of the French, or any other plunderers, the cupola being covered with *lead*.<sup>1</sup>

If the conspiring voice of otherwise rival critics had not given considerable currency to the Classical Tour, it would have been unnecessary to warn the reader, that however it may adorn

<sup>1</sup> „What, then, will be the astonishment, or rather the horror, of my reader when I inform him . . . . . the French Committee turned its attention to Saint Peter's, and employed a company of Jews to estimate and purchase the gold, silver, and bronze that adorn the inside of the edifice, as well as the copper that covers the vaults and dome on the outside." Chap. iv. p. 130. vol. ii. The story about the Jews is positively denied at Rome.

his library, it will be of little or no service to him in his carriage; and if the judgment of those critics had hitherto been suspended, no attempt would have been made to anticipate their decision. As it is, those who stand in the relation of posterity to Mr. Eustace, may be permitted to appeal from cotemporary praises, and are perhaps more likely to be just in proportion as the causes of love and hatred are the farther removed. This appeal had, in some measure, been made before the above remarks were written; for one of the most respectable of the Florentine publishers, who had been persuaded by the repeated inquiries of those on their journey southwards, to reprint a cheap edition of the Classical Tour, was, by the concurring advice of returning travellers, induced to abandon his design, although he had already arranged his types and paper, and had struck off one or two of the first sheets.

The writer of these notes would wish to part (like Mr. Gibbon) on good terms with the Pope and the Cardinals, but he does not think it necessary to extend the same discreet silence to their humble partisans.

---

AFTER the frank avowal contained in the prefatory address, it may appear somewhat a presumption to attempt the task which is there formally declined as above the means of the author who writes, and of the friend to whom he addresses, the letter.

In fact it had been the wish of Lord Byron, and of the compiler of the foregoing notes, to say something of the literary and political condition of Italy, and they had made preparation of some materials, the deliberate rejection of which was the origin of the above confession.

Time and opportunity have, however, very much increased those materials in number, and, it is believed, in value, and the consequence has been the appearance of a short memoir on Italian literature, at the end of the Historical Illustrations of the IVth Canto, and the commencement of a longer treatise, which will be published separately in the course of the present year.

This latter work will attempt a survey of the revolutions of Italy, from the French invasion

in 1796 to the present day. It is compiled from information on which the author believes he may implicitly rely, and it contains a series of facts and portraits which, he presumes, are for the most part unknown to his countrymen.