PHILOLOGICAL INQUIRIES IN THREE PARTS

BY

JAMES HARRIS ESQ.

PART I. AND II.

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MDCCLXXXI.
ADVERTISEMENT.

As the following Treatise was thought too large for one Volume, it has been divided into two Volumes, one of which contains the First and Second Parts of the Treatise; the other, its Third Part.

The Numeration of the Pages is not changed, but carried on the same thro' both Volumes. To this Numeration the Index corresponds; and in it the Capital, A, standing before a Number, denotes the former Volume; the Capital, B, in the same place, denotes the latter Volume.
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TO THE
READER.

The two Volumes which now appear were entirely printed before the learned and respectable Author of them died*, and were by him designed for publication in the course of this spring. Sir James Harris, who has for some years resided in a public character at the Court of Peterburgh, on being apprised of these circumstances, signified his desire, that as soon as the Engravings which accompany these Volumes should be finished, they might be given to the world in the most exact conformity to his Father's intentions. In compliance with Sir James Harris's desire, they are now presented to the Public.

The Frontispiece to the second Volume was designed by Mr. Stuart, to whose

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* December 22d, 1780, Ann. Æt. 72.

well-
well-known ingenuity and taste Mr. Harris's former works have been indebted for their very elegant decorations. The Back-ground, or Scene of the Picture, is the Peribolus, or Wall, which encloses a Gymnasion, and the Portal thro' which you pass into it. On each side of the Portal is a Statue placed in a Niche; one of them represents Mercury, the other Hercules. Two Youths approach the Gymnasion, and a Philosopher who attends them is speaking to them before they enter. Over the Wall are seen the tops of Trees with which the Gymnasion is planted. For the passages to which the Frontispiece refers, see pages 264 and 268.

The Engraving which is placed at page 542 of the second Volume was made from an Impression in Sulphur of a Gem, probably an antique Gem, which Impression was given to Mr. Harris by Mr. Hoare of Bath. Its correspondence in the
most particulars with the figure of Hercules described by Nicetas, and mentioned in pages 306, 307, induced Mr. Harris to imagine that it might possibly be some copy or memorial of that figure, for which reason he thought an engraving of it might properly find a place in this work.

April 16th, 1781.

ERRATA.

Page Line
234. 9. after Morsel, dele the Comma.
260. 13. for Logic, read Rhetoric.
451. 1. in Notes, for Heredon, read Hovedon.
553. 8. for Penipotentiary, read Plenipotentiary.
PHILOLOGICAL
INQUIRIES.
PART THE FIRST.
PHILOLOGICAL
INQUIRIES

Addressed to my much esteemed Relation and Friend, Edward Hooper, Esq. of Hurn-Court, in the County of Hants.

Dear Sir,

Being yourself advanced in years, you will the more easily forgive me, if I claim a Privilege of Age, and pass from Philosophy to Philology.

You may compare me, if you please, to some weary Traveller, who, having long wandered over craggy heights, descends at length to the Plains below, and hopes, at his Journey's End, to find a smooth and easy Road.

For my Writings (such as they are) they have answered a Purpose I always wished, if they have led men to in-
spect Authors, far superior to myself, many of whose Works (like hidden Treasures) have lain for years out of sight.

Be that however as it may, I shall at least enjoy the pleasure of thus recording our mutual Friendship; a Friendship, which has lasted for more than fifty years, and which I think so much for my honour, to have merited so long.

But I proceed to my Subject.

As the great Events of Nature* led Mankind to Admiration: so Curiosity to learn the Cause, whence such Events should arise, was that, which by due degrees formed Natural Philosophy.

* Some of these great Events are enumerated by Virgil—the Course of the Heavens—Eclipses of the Sun and Moon—Earthquakes—the Flux and Reflux of the Sea—the quick Return of Night in Winter, and the slow Return of it in Summer. Virg. Geor. II. 475, &c.
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What happened in the Natural World, happened also in the Literary. Exquisite Productions both in Prose and Verse induced men here likewise to seek the Cause; and such Inquiries, often repeated, gave birth to Philology.

Philology should hence appear to be of a most comprehensive character, and to include not only all Accounts both of Criticism and Critics, but of every thing connected with Letters, be it Speculative or Historical.

The Treatise, which follows, is of this Philological kind, and will consist of three Parts, properly distinct from each other.

The First will be an Investigation of the Rise and different Species of Criticism and Critics.
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The Second will be an Illustration of Critical Doctrines and Principles, as they appear in distinguished Authors, as well Antient as Modern.

The Third and last Part will be rather Historical than Critical, being an Essay on the Taste and Literature of the Middle Age.

These subjects of Speculation being dispatched, we shall here conclude these Philological Inquiries.

First therefore for the First, the Rise and different Species of Criticism and Critics.
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CHAPTER. I.

Concerning the Rise of Criticism in its First Species, the Philosophical— eminent persons, Greeks and Romans, by whom this Species was cultivated.

THOSE, who can imagine that the Rules of Writing were first established, and that men then wrote in conformity to them, as they make conserves and comfits by referring to receipt-books, know nothing of Criticism, either as to its origin or progress. The truth is, they were Authors, who made the first good Critics, and not Critics, who made the first good Authors, however writers of later date may have profited by critical Precepts.

If this appear strange, we may refer to other subjects. Can we doubt that men had Music, such indeed as it was, before
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Part I. the principles of Harmony were established into a Science? that Diseases were healed, and Buildings erected, before Medicine and Architecture were systematized into Arts? that men reasoned and arranged upon matters of speculation and practice, long before there were professional teachers either of Logic or of Rhetoric? To return therefore to our subject, the rise and progress of Criticism.

ANTIENT GREECE in its happy days was the seat of Liberty, of Sciences, and of Arts. In this fair region, fertile of wit, the Epic Writers came first; then the Lyric; then the Tragic; and lastly the Historians, the Comic Writers, and the Orators, each in their turns delighting whole multitudes, and commanding the attention and admiration of all. Now, when wise and thinking men, the subtle investigators of principles and causes, observed the wonderful effect of these works upon the human mind, they were prompted to inquire
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whence this should proceed; for that it should happen *merely from Chance*, they could not well believe.

Here therefore we have the *Rise and Origin of Criticism*, which in its beginning was "a deep and philosophical Search into the primary Laws and Elements of good Writing, as far as they could be collected from the most approved Performances."

In this contemplation of Authors, the first Critics not only attended to the Powers, and different Species of Words; the Force of numerous Composition whether in prose or verse; the Aptitude of *its various kinds to different subjects*; but they farther considered that, which is the basis of all, that is to say in other words, the *Meaning* or the *Sense*. This led them at once into the most curious of subjects; the nature of *Man in general*; the different *characters of men*, as they differ in rank or age;
Part I. age; their Reason and their Passions; how the one was to be persuaded, the others to be raised or calmed; the Places or Repositories, to which we may recur, when we want proper matter for any of these purposes. Besides all this they studied Sentiments and Manners; what constitutes a Work, One; what, a Whole and Parts; what the Essence of probable, and even of natural Fiction, as contributing to constitute a just Dramatic Fable.

Much of this kind may be found in different parts of Plato. But Aristotle his Disciple, who may be called the Systematizer of his Master's Doctrines, has in his two Treatises of Poetry and Rhetoric*, with such wonderful penetration, developed every part of the subject, that he may be justly called the Father of

* To such as read not this Author in the Original, we recommend the French Translation of his Rhetoric by Cassandre, and that of his Art of Poetry by Dacier; both of them elaborate and laudable performances.
Criticism, both from the age when he lived, and from his truly transcendent genius. The Criticism, which this capital writer taught, has so intimate a correspondence and alliance with Philosophy, that we can call it by no other name, than that of Philosophical Criticism.

To Aristotle succeeded his Disciple Theophrastus, who followed his master's example in the study of Criticism, as may be seen in the catalogue of his writings, preserved by * Diogenes Laertius. But all the critical works of Theophrastus, as well as of many others, are now lost. The principal authors of the kind now remaining in Greek, are Demetrius of Phalerum, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dionysius Longinus, together with Hermogenes, Aphthonius, and a few others.

Of these the most masterly seems to be Demetrius, who was the earliest, and who

Part. I. appears to follow the Precepts, and even the Text of Aristotle, with far greater attention, than any of the rest. His Examples, it must be confessed, are sometimes obscure, but this we rather impute to the destructive hand of time, which has prevented us from seeing many of the original authors.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the next in order, may be said to have written with judgment upon the force of Numerous Composition, not to mention other tracts on the subject of Oratory, and those also critical, as well as historical. Longinus, who was in time far later than these, seems principally to have had in view the Passions, and the Imagination, in the treating of which he has acquired a just applause, and expressed himself with a dignity suitable to the subject. The rest of the Greek Critics, tho' they have said, many useful things, have yet so minutely multiplied the rules of Art, and so much
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much confined themselves to the Oratory of the Tribunal, that they appear of no great service, as to good writing in general.

Among the Romans, the first Critic of note was Cicero, who, tho' far below Aristotle in depth of philosophy, may be said, like him, to have exceeded all his countrymen. As his celebrated Treatise concerning the Orator* is written in dialogue, where the Speakers introduced are the greatest men of his nation, we have incidentally an elegant sample of those manners, and that politeness, which were peculiar to the leading characters during the Roman Commonwealth. There we may see the behaviour of free and ac-

* This Treatise, being the Work of a capital Orator on the subject of his own Art, may fairly be pronounced a capital Performance.

The Proem to the third Book, both for language and sentiment, is perhaps as pathetic, and in that view as sublime, as any thing remaining among the Writings of the Antients.

complished
Part I. accomplished men, before a baser address had set that standard, which has been too often taken for good-breeding ever since.

Next to Cicero came Horace, who often in other parts of his writings acts the Critic and Scholar, but whose Art of Poetry is a standard of its kind, and too well known to need any encomium. After Horace arose Quintilian, Cicero's admirer, and follower, who appears by his works not only learned and ingenious, but (what is still more) an honest and a worthy man. He likewise dwells too much upon the Oratory of the Tribunal, a fact no way surprising, when we consider the age in which he lived; an age, when tyrannic Government being the fashion of the times, that nobler Species of Eloquence, I mean the popular and deliberative, was, with all things truly liberal, degenerated and funk. The latter Latin Rhetoricians there is no need to mention, as
as they little help to illustrate the subject in hand. I would only repeat that the species of Criticism here mentioned, as far at least as handled by the more able Masters, is that which we have denominated Criticism Philosophical. We are now to proceed to another species.
Concerning the Progress of Criticism in its Second Species, the Historical—Greek and Roman Critics, by whom this Species of Criticism was cultivated.

As to the Criticism already treated, we find it not confined to any one particular Author, but containing general Rules of Art, either for judging or writing, confirmed by the example not of one Author, but of many. But we know from experience that, in process of time, Languages, Customs, Manners, Laws, Governments, and Religions insensibly change. The Macedonian Tyranny, after the fatal battle of Chaeronea, wrought much of this kind in Greece; and the Roman Tyranny, after the fatal battles of Pharosalia and Philippa, carried it throughout the known world*. Hence therefore of Things ob-

* See Hist. crit. p. 417, 418.
folete, the *Names* became obfolete also; and authors, who in their own age were intel-
ligible and easy, in after days grew diffi-
cult and obscure. Here then we be-
hold the rise of a second race of Critics, the tribe of *Scholiasfts, Commentators, and Explainers*.

These naturally attached themselves to particular authors. *Aristarchus, Didymus, Eustathius*, and many others bestowed their labours upon *Homer*; *Proclus*, and *Tzetzes* upon *Hesiod*; the fame *Pro-
clus* and *Olympiodorus* upon *Plato*; *Simplicius, Ammonius*, and *Philoponus* upon *Aristotle*; *Ulpian* upon *Demosthenes*; *Macro-
bius* and *Asconius* upon *Cicero*; *Calliergus* upon *Theocritus*; *Donatus* upon *Terence*; *Servius* upon *Virgil*; *Acro* and *Porphyrio* upon *Horace*; and so with respect to others, as well Philosophers, as Poets and Orators. To these Scholiasts may be add-
ed the feveral Composers of Lexicons; such as *Hesychius, Philoxenus, Suidas*, &c. also
also the Writers upon Grammar, such as Apollonius, Priscian, Sophater Charisius, &c. Now all these pains-taking men, considered together, may be said to have completed another species of Criticism, a species which, in distinction to the former, we call Criticism Historical.

And thus things continued, tho' in a declining way, till, after many a severe and unsuccessful plunge, the Roman Empire sunk through the West of Europe. Latin then soon lost its purity; Greek they hardly knew; Classics, and their Scholiaists were no longer studied; and an Age succeeded of Legends and Crusades.
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CHAP. III.

Modemns, eminent in the two species of Criticism before mentioned, the Philosophical and the Historical—the last Sort of Critics more numerous—those, mentioned in this Chapter, confined to the Greek and Latin Languages.

At length, after a long and barbarous period, when the shades of Monkery began to retire, and the light of Humanity once again to dawn, the Arts also of Criticism insensibly revived. 'Tis true indeed, the Authors of the Philosophical sort (I mean that which respects the Causes and Principles of good writing in general) were not many in number. However of this rank among the Italians were Vida, and the elder Scaliger; among the French were Rapin, Bouhours, Boileau, together with
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Part I. with Bossu, the most methodic and accurate of them all. In our own Country our Nobility may be said to have distinguished themselves; Lord Roscommon, in his Essay upon translated Verse; the Duke of Buckingham, in his Essay on Poetry; and Lord Shaftesbury, in his Treatise called Advice to an Author: to whom may be added our late admired Genius, Pope, in his truely elegant poem, the Essay upon Criticism.

The Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds upon Painting have, after a philosophical manner, investigated the Principles of an Art, which no one in Practice has better verified than himself.

We have mentioned these Discourses, not only from their merit, but as they incidentally teach us, that to write well upon a liberal Art, we must write philosophically
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philically—that all the liberal Arts in their Principles are congenial—and that these Principles, when traced to their common Source, are found all to terminate in the First Philosophy

But to pursue our subject—However small among Moderns may be the number of these Philosophical Critics, the Writers of Historical or Explanatory Criticism have been in a manner innumerable. To name, out of many, only a few—of Italy were Be-roaldus, Ficinus, Victorius, and Robertel-lus; of the Higher and Lower Germany were Erasminus, Sylburgius, Le Clerc, and Fabricius; of France were Lambin, Du Vall, Harduin, Capperonerius; of England were Stanley (editor of Æschylus)

Part I. Gataker, Davis, Clarke, (editor of Homer) together with multitudes more from every region and quarter,

*Thick as autumnal leaves, that srow the brooks*

*In Vallombrosa*

But I fear I have given a strange catalogue, where we seek in vain for such illustrious personages, as Sesostris, Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Attila, Tottila, Tamerlane, &c. *The Heroes of my Work* (if I may be pardoned for calling them so) have only aimed in retirement to present us with Knowledge. Knowledge only was their Object, not Havock, nor Devolution.

After Commentators and Editors, we must not forget the Compilers of Lexicons and Dictionaries, such as Charles and Henry Stevens, Favorinus, Constantine, Budæus, Cooper, Faber, Vossius, and others.
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To these also we may add the Authors upon Grammar; in which subject the learned Greeks, when they quitted the East, led the way, Moschopulus, Chrysoloras, Lascaris, Theodore Gaza; then in Italy, Laurentius Valla; in England, Grocin and Linacer; in Spain, Sanclius*; in the Low Countries Vossius; in France, Caesar Scaliger by his residence, tho' by birth an Italian, together with those able

* Sanctius, towards the end of the Sixteenth Century, was Professor of Rhetoric, and of the Greek Tongue, in the University of Salamanca. He wrote many works, but his most celebrated is that, which bears the name of Sanclii Minerva, seu de Causis Linguae Latinae. This invaluable Book (to which the Author of these Treatises readily owns himself indebted for his first rational Ideas of Grammar and Language) was published by Sanclius at Salamanca in the Year 1587. Its superior merit soon made it known thro' Europe, and caused it to pass thro' many Editions in different places. The most common Edition is a large octavo printed at Amsterdam in the year 1733, and illustrated with Notes by the learned Perizonius.
Part I. Writers Mesf. de Port Roial. Nor ought we to omit the Writers of Philological Epistles, such as Emanuel Martin*; nor the Writers of Literary Catalogues (in French called Catalogues Raisonnées) such as the account of the Manuscripts in the Imperial Library at Vienna, by Lambeius; or of the

* Emanuel Martin was Dean of Alicant in the beginning of the present Century. He appears from his writings, as well as from his history, to have been a person of pleasing and amiable manners; to have been an able antiquarian, and as such, a friend to the celebrated Montfaucon; to have cultivated with eagerness the various studies of Humanity, and to have written Latin with facility and elegance. His Works, containing twelve Books of Epistles, and a few other pieces, were printed in Spain about the year 1735, at the private expense of that respectable flateishman and scholar, Sir Benjamin Keene, the British Ambassador, to whom they were inscribed in a Classical Dedication by the learned Dean himself, then living at Alicant. As Copies of this Edition soon became scarce, the Book was reprinted by Hefelingius, in a fair Quarto (the two Tones being usually bound together) at Amsterdam in the year 1738.
Arabic Manuscripts in the Escorial Library, by Michael Castri*.

* Michael Castri, the learned Librarian of the Escorial, has been enabled by the Munificence of the last and the present Kings of Spain, to publish an accurate and erudite Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in that curious Library, a Work well becoming its Royal Patrons, as it gives an ample Exhibition of Arabic Literature in all its various Branches of Poetry, Philosophy, Divinity, History, &c. But of these Manuscripts we shall say more in the Appendix, subjoined to the End of these Inquiries.
Modern Critics of the Explanatory kind, commenting Modern Writers—Lexicographers—Grammarians—Translators.

Though much Historical Explanation has been bestowed on the ancient Classics, yet have the Authors of our own Country by no means been forgotten, having exercised many Critics of Learning and Ingenuity.

Mr. Thomas Warton, (besides his fine Edition of Theocritus) has given a curious History of English Poetry during the middle Centuries; Mr. Tyrwhit, much accurate and diversified Erudition upon Chaucer; Mr. Upton, a learned Comment on the Fairy Queen of Spencer; Mr. Addison, many polite and elegant Spectators on the Conduct and Beauties of the Paradise Lost; Dr. Warton, an Essay on the Genius
I N Q U I R I E S.

Genius and Writings of Pope, a work filled with Speculations, in a taste perfectly pure. The Lovers of Literature would not forgive me, were I to omit that ornament of her Sex and Country, the Critic and Patroness of our illustrious Shakespeare, Mrs. Montagu. For the honour of Criticism not only the Divines already mentioned, but others also, of rank still superior, have bestowed their labours upon our capital Poets*, suspending for a while their severer studies, to relax in these Regions of Genius and Imagination.

The Dictionaries of Minshew, Skinner, Spelman, Sumner, Junius, and Johnson, are all well known, and justly esteemed. Such is the Merit of the last, that our Language does not possess a more copious, learned, and valuable Work. For Grammatical Knowledge we ought to mention with distinction the learned prelate,

*Shakespeare, Milton, Cowley, Pope. Dr.
Part I. Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London; whole admirable tract on the Grammar of the English Language every Lover of that Language ought to study and understand, if he would write, or even speak it, with purity and precision.

Let my Countrymen too reflect, that in studying a Work upon this subject, they are not only studying a Language, in which it becomes them to be knowing, but a Language, which can boast of as many good Books, as any among the living, or modern Languages of Europe. The Writers, born and educated in a free Country, have been left for years to their native Freedom. Their Pages have been never defiled with an Index expurgatorius, nor their Genius ever shackled with the terrors of an Inquisition.

May this invaluable Privilege never be impaired either by the hand of Power, or by licentious Abuse.
Perhahs with the Critics just described I ought to arrange Translators, if it be true that Translation is a Species of Explanation, which differs no otherwise from explanatory Comments, than that these attend to Parts, while Translation goes to the Whole.

Now as Translators are infinite, and many of them (to borrow a phrase from Sportsmen) unqualified Persons, I shall enumerate only a few; and those, such as for their merits have been deservedly esteemed.

Of this number I may very truly reckon Meric Casaubon, the Translator of Marcus Antoninus; Mrs. Carter, the Translator of Epictetus; and Mr. Sydenham, the Translator of many of Plato's Dialogues. All these seem to have accurately understood the original Language, from which they translated. But that is not all. The Authors translated being Phi-
Part I. Philosophers, the Translators appear to have studied the Style of their Philosophy, well knowing that in antient Greece every Sect of Philosophy, like every Science and Art, had a Language of its own.*

To these may be added the respectable names of Melmoth and of Hampton, of Franklyn and of Potter; nor should I omit a few others, whose labours have been similar, did I not recollect the trite, tho' elegant admonition,

— fugit irreparabile tempus,
Singula dum capi circumvectamur amore.
Virg.

Yet one Translation I can by no means forget, I mean that of Xenophon's Cyropædia, or the Institution of Cyrus, by the Honourable Maurice Ashley Cowper, son to the second Earl of Shaftesbury, and brother to the third, who was Author of

* See Hermes, p. 269, 270.
the *Characteristics*. This Translation is made in all the *Purity* and *Simplicity* of the Original, and to it the Translator has prefixed a truly philosophical Dedication, addressed to my Mother, who was one of his Sisters.

I esteem it an honour to call this Author my Uncle, and that not only from his Rank, but much more from his *Learning*, and unblemished *Virtue*; Qualities, which the Love of *Retirement* (where he thought they could be best cultivated) induced him to *conceal*, rather than to produce in public.

The first Edition of this Translation, consisting of two octavo Volumes, was published soon after his decease, in the year 1728. Between this time and the year 1770, the Book has past thro' a second and a third Edition, not with the eclat of popular Applause, but with the silent approbation of the studious Few.

C H A P.
PHILOLOGICAL

Part I.

CHAP. V.

Rise of the third Species of Criticism, the Corrective—practised by the Ancients, but much more by the Moderns, and why.

But we are now to inquire after another species of Criticism. All antient books, having been preserved by Transcription, were liable thro' Ignorance, Negligence, or Fraud, to be corrupted in three different ways, that is to say, by Retrenchings, by Additions, and by Alterations.

To remedy these evils, a third Sort of Criticism arose, and that was Criticism corrective. The Business of this at first was painfully to collate all the various Copies of authority, and then, from amidst the variety of Readings thus collected, to establish by good reasons either the true, or
or the most probable. In this sense we may call such Criticism not only corrective, but authoritative.

As the number of these Corruptions must needs have increased by length of time, hence it has happened that Corrective Criticism has become much more necessary in these latter ages, than it was in others more antient. Not but that even in antient days various Readings have been noted. Of this kind there are a multitude in the Text of Homer; a fact not singular, when we consider his great antiquity. In the Comments of Ammonius and Philoponus upon Aristotle, there is mention made of several in the text of that Philosopher, which these his Commentators compare and examine.

We find the same in Aulus Gellius, as to the Roman Authors; where it is withal remarkable, that, even in that early period, much stress is laid upon the authority
thority of *antient* Manuscripts *, a Reading in Cicero being justified from a Copy made by his learned freedman, Tiro; and a Reading in Virgil's Georgics, from a Book, which had once belonged to Virgil's Family.

But since the revival of Literature, to correct has been a business of much more latitude, having continually employed, for two centuries and a half, both the Pains of the most laborious, and the Wits of the most acute. Many of the learned men before enumerated were not only famous as historical Critics, but as corrective also. Such were the two Scaligers (of whom one has been † already mentioned) the two Casaubons, Salmasius, the Heinii, Grevius, the Gronovii, Burman, Kusser, Waffe, Bentley, Pearce, and Markland. In the same Class, and in a rank highly eminent, I place Mr. Toupe of Cornwall,

† Pag. 17.

who,
who, in his *Emendations upon Suidas*, and his Edition of *Longinus*, has shewn a critical acumen, and a compass of learning, that may justly arrange him with the most distinguished scholars. Nor must I forget Dr. *Taylor*, Residentiary of St. Paul's, nor *Mr. Upton*, Prebendary of Rochester. The former, by his Edition of *Demosthenes* (as far as he lived to carry it), by his *Lyfias*, by his comment on the *Marmor Sandvicensi*, and other critical pieces; the latter, by his correct and elegant Edition, in Greek and Latin, of *Arrian's Epictetus* (the first of the kind that had any pretensions to be called complete), have rendered themselves, as Scholars, lasting ornaments of their Country. These two valuable men were the Friends of my youth; the companions of my social, as well as my literary hours. I admired them for their Edition; I loved them for their Virtue; they are now no more—

*His saltam accumulem donis, et fungar inani Munere ——*

*Virg.*

*D C H A P.*
Criticism may have been abused—Yet defended, as of the last Importance to the Cause of Literature.

BUT here was the misfortune of this last species of Criticism. The best of things may pass into abuse. There were numerous Corruptions in many of the finest authors, which neither antient Editions, nor Manucripts could heal. What then was to be done?—Were Forms so fair to remain disfigured, and be seen for ever under such apparent blemishes?—"No (says a Critic), "Conjecture can cure all—Conjecture, whose per-
formances are for the most part more certain than any thing, that we can exhibit from the authority of Manu-
scripts*,"—We will not ask, upon this

* Plura igitur in Horatianis his curis ex Conjecturâ exhibentur, quàm ex Codicis fultudines; et, rifi me omnia faltant, perunque certiora. Bentleii Praefat ad Horat.
wonderful assertion, how, if so certain, can it be called Conjecture? — 'Tis enough to observe (be it called as it may) that this spirit of Conjecture has too often past into an intemperate excess; and then, whatever it may have boasted, has done more mischief by far than good. Authors have been taken in hand, like anatomical subjects, only to display the skill and abilities of the Artist; so that the end of many an Edition seems often to have been no more, than to exhibit the great sagacity and erudition of an Editor. The Joy of the task was the Honour of mending, while Corruptions were fought with a more than common attention, as each of them afforded a testimonioy to the Editor and his Art.

And here I beg leave, by way of digression, to relate a short story concerning a noted Empiric. "Being once in a ball-room crowded with company, he was asked by a gentleman, what he thought
"of such a lady? was it not pity that she 'squinted'? — Squint! Sir! replied the 'doctor, I wish every lady in the room 'squinted; there's not a man in Europe can 'cure squinting but myself."

But to return to our subject—Well indeed would it be for the cause of letters, were this bold conjectural spirit confined to works of second rate, where let it change, expunge, or add, as happens, it may be tolerably sure to leave matters as they were; or if not much better, at least not much worse. But when the divine Geniuses of higher rank, whom we not only applaud, but in a manner revere, when these come to be attempted by petulant Correctors, and to be made the subject of their wanton caprice, how can we but exclaim with a kind of religious abhorrence,

—— procul! O! procul esse profani!

These
INQUIRIES.

These sentiments may be applied even to the celebrated Bentley. It would have become that able writer, tho' in literature and natural abilities among the first of his age, had he been more temperate in his Criticism upon the Paradize lost; had he not so repeatedly and injuriously offered violence to its Author, from an affected superiority, to which he had no pretence. But the rage of Conjecture seems to have seized him, as that of jealousy did Medea*; a rage, which she confessed herself unable to resist, altho' she knew the mischiefs, it would prompt her to perpetrate.

And now to obviate an unmerited Censure, (as if I were an enemy to the thing, from being an enemy to its abuse) I would have it remember'd, 'tis not either with

* See the Medea of Euripides, v. 1078. See also Philosop. Arrangements, p. 428.
Part I. Criticism or Critics, that I presume to find fault. The Art, and its Professors, while they practise it with temper, I truly honour; and think, that, were it not for their acute and learned labours, we should be in danger of degenerating into an age of dunces.

Indeed Critics (if I may be allowed the metaphor) are a sort of Masters of the ceremony in the Court of letters, thro' whose assistance we are introduced into some of the first and best company. Should we ever, therefore, by idle prejudices against pedantry, verbal accuracies, and we know not what, come to flight their art, and reject them from our favour, 'tis well we do not flight also those Classics, with whom Criticism converses, becoming content to read them in translations, or (what is still worse) in translations of translations, or (what is worse even than that) not to read them at
at all. And I will be bold to assert, if Ch. VI. that should ever happen, we shall speedily return into those days of darkness, out of which we happily emerged upon the revival of antient Literature.
Conclusion — Recapitulation — Preparation for the Second Part.

And so much at present for Critics, and learned Editors. So much also for the Origin and Progress of Criticism; which has been divided into three species, the philosophical, the historical, and the corrective; the philosophical, treating of the principles, and primary causes of good writing in general; the historical, being conversant in particular facts, customs, phrases, &c. and the corrective being divided into the authoritative and the conjectural; the authoritative, depending on the Collation of Manuscripts and the best Editions; the conjectural, on the Sagacity and Erudition of Editors.*

* For the First Species of Criticism, see p. 6. For the Second Species, see p. 14. For the Third
INQUIRIES.

As the First Part of these Inquiries ends here, we are now to proceed to the Second Part, a Specimen of the Doctrines and Principles of Criticism, as they are illustrated in the Writings of the most distinguished Authors.

Third Species, see p. 30, to the end of the Chapter following, p. 39.

There are a few other Notes besides the preceding; but as some of them were long, and it was apprehended for that reason that they might too much interrupt the Continuity of the Text, they have been joined with other pieces, in the forming of an Appendix.

End of the First Part.
PHILOLOGICAL INQUIRIES.

PART THE SECOND.
PHILOLOGICAL INQUIRIES.

PART THE SECOND.

INTRODUCTION.

We are, in the following Part of this Work, to give a Specimen of those Doctrines, which, having been slightly touched in the First Part, we are now to illustrate more amply, by referring to Examples, as well antient as modern.

It has been already hinted, that among Writers the Epic came first*; it has been hinted likewise, that Nothing excellent in a Literary way happens merely by Chance†.

* p. 6.  
† p. 7.
Mention also has been made of Numerous Composition*, and the force of it suggested, tho' little said farther.

To this we may add the Theory of Whole and Parts†, so essential to the very being of a legitimate Composition; and the Theory also of Sentiment and Manners‡, both of which naturally belong to every Whole, called Dramatic.

Nor can we on this occasion omit a few Speculations on the Fable or Action; Speculations necessarily connected with every Drama, and which we shall illustrate from Tragedy, its most striking Species.

And here, if it should be objected that we refer to English Authors, the Connection should be remembered between good Authors of every Country, as far as they all draw from the same Sources, the Sources I mean of Nature and of Truth. A like

* p. 7. † p. 8. ‡ p. 8.

Apology
Apology may be made for Inquiries concerning the English Tongue, and how far it may be made susceptible of Classic Decoration. All Languages are in some degree congenial, and, both in their Matter and their Form, are founded upon the same Principles*.

What is here said, will, we hope, sufficiently justify the following Detail; a Detail naturally arising from the former part of the Plan, by being founded upon expressions, not sufficiently there developed.

First, therefore, for the First; that the Epic Poets led the way, and that Nothing excellent in a literary view happens merely by Chance.

* Hermes, p. 349.
PHILOLOGICAL

Part II.

CHAPTER. I.

That the Epic Writers came first, and that nothing excellent in Literary Performances happens merely from Chance — the Causes, or Reasons of such Excellence, illustrated by Examples.

It appears, that not only in Greece, but in other Countries, more barbarous, the first Writings were in Metre*, and of an Epic Cast, recording Wars, Battles, Heroes, Ghosts; the Marvellous always, and often the Incredible. Men seemed to have thought, that the higher they soared, the more important they should appear; and that the common Life, which they then lived, was a thing too contemptible to merit Imitation.

Hence it followed, that it was not till this Common Life was rendered respectable

by more refined and polished Manners, that Men thought it might be copied, so as to gain them applause.

Even in Greece itself, Tragedy had attained its maturity* many years before Comedy, as may be seen by comparing the age of Sophocles and Euripides with that of Philemon and Menander.

For ourselves, we shall find most of our first Poets prone to a turgid Bombast, and most of our first Prosaic Writers to a pedantic Stiffness, which rude Styles gradually improved, but reached not a Classical Purity sooner than Tillotson, Dryden, Addison, Shaftesbury, Prior, Pope, Atterbury, &c. &c.

As to what is asserted soon after upon the Efficacy of Causes in Works of Ingenuity and Art, we think in general, that the Effect must always be proportioned to its Cause. 'Tis hard for him,


who
PHILOLOGICAL

Part II. who reasons attentively, to refer to Chance any superlative Production.

Effects indeed strike us, when we are not thinking about the Cause; yet may we be assured, if we reflect, that a Cause there is, and that too a Cause intelligent, and Rational. Nothing would perhaps more contribute to give us a Table truly critical, than on every occasion to investigate this Cause; and to ask ourselves, upon feeling any uncommon Effect, why we are thus delighted; why thus affected; why melted into Pity; why made to shudder with Horrour?

Till this Why is well answered, all is Darkness, and our Admiration, like that of the Vulgar, founded upon Ignorance.

To explain by a few Examples, that are known to all, and for that reason here alleged, because they are known.

I AM struck with the Night-scene Ch. I. in Virgil's fourth Eneid—"the universal Silence throughout the Globe—the sweet Rest of its various Inhabitants, soothing their Cares and forgetting their Labours—the unhappy Dido alone restless; restless, and agitated with impetuous Passions*."

I AM affected with the Story of Regulus, as painted by West.—"The crowd of anxious Friends, persuading him not to return—his Wife, fainting thro' sensibility and fear—Persons, the least connected, appearing to feel for him—yet himself unmoved, inexorable and stern†."

Without referring to these deeply tragic Scenes, what Charms has Music, when a masterly Band pass unexpectedly

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* Æn. IV. 522, &c.
† Horat. Carm. L. III. Od. 5.
from loud to soft, or from soft to loud?—
When the System changes from the
greater Third to the left; or reciprocally,
when it changes from this last to the former?

All these Effects have a similar, and
well-known Cause, the amazing Force
which Contraries acquire, either by
Juxta-position, or by quick Succession*.

But we ask still farther, why have
Contraries this Force?—We answer, because, of all things which differ, none

* This Truth is not only obvious, but antient. Aristotle says,—Παράλληλα τὰ Ἐναύλια μάλιστα Φαινότα—that Contraries, when set beside each other, make the strongest appearance. Παράλληλα γὰρ μάλλον τὰ Ἐναύλια γενούσιται—that Contraries are better known, when set beside each other. Arist. Rhetor. Lib. III. p. 120, & p. 152. Edit. Sylb. The same author often makes use of this Truth in other places; which Truth, simple as it seems, is the source of many capital Beauties in all the Fine Arts.
differ so widely. Sound differs from Ch. I. Darkness, but not so much as from Silence; Darkness differs from Sound, but not so much as from Light. In the same intense manner differ Repose and Restlessness; Felicity and Misery; dubious Sollicitude and firm Resolution; the Epic and the Comic; the Sublime and the Ludicrous*.

* From these instances we perceive the meaning of those descriptions of Contraries, that they are τὰ πλείου κακεφόσια τῶν ἐν τῷ σὰνος γίνει—ἐν τῷ σὰνος δεκτικῷ—τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δύναμιν—things which differ most widely, among things existing in the same Genus—in the same Recipient—comprehended under the same Power or Faculty. Arist. Metaph. Δ. 1. p. 82. Edit. Sylb. Cicero, in his Topics, translates the first description—qua in eodem genere plurimum different, S. 70.

Aristotle reasons as follows. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαφέρειν εὐ-διχεται ἀλλήλων τὰ διαφέροντα πλείου ἢ ἐλατίου, ἵς τις ἡ μεγίστη διαφορᾶ, ἢ τᾶ δηλὴν λέγω ἐναντίως ἐποιεῖ. It being admitted that things differing from one another, differ more and less, there must be also a certain difference, which is most, and this I call Contrariety. Metaph. p. 162. Edit. Sylb.
And, why differ Contraries thus widely?—Because while Attributes, simply different, may co-exist in the same subject, Contraries cannot co-exist, but always destroy one another*. Thus the same Marble may be both white and hard; but the same Marble cannot be both white and black. And hence it follows, that as their Difference is more intense, so is our Recognition of them more vivid, and our Impressions more permanent.

This Effect of Contraries is evident even in objects of Sense, where Imagina-

* Ammonius, commenting the doctrine of Contraries, (as set forth in Aristotle’s Categories) informs us, that they not only do not imply one another (as a Son necessarily implies a Father) but that they even destroy one another, so that, where one is present, the other cannot remain—ν’ μόνον διο συνεστρεφείς αδικλακα, αδικλά εἰς σβίομεν τῇ γραφῇ τῷ πάσχει: τὰ όμοια τῷ ιτειερον. Ammon. in Categ. p. 147. Edit. Venet. The Stoic himself describes them in the same manner, τὰ μὴ οὖνατα ὅμα τῷ ἀλλῷ παρείσχει, things that cannot be present at once in the same subject. Metaph. Δ. p. 82. Edit. Syib.
tion and Intellec† are not in the least con-

cerned. When we pass (for example) from a Hot-house, we feel the common Air more intensely cool; when we pass from a dark Cavern, we feel the common light of the Day more intensely glaring.

But to proceed to Instances of another and a very different kind.

Few Scenes are more affecting than the taking of Troy, as described in the second Eneid—"the Apparition of Hector to Eneas, when asleep, announcing to him the Commencement of that direful Event—the distant Lamentations, heard by Eneas, as he awakes—his ascending the House-top, and viewing the City in flames—his Friend Pentheus, escaped from destruction, and relating to him their wretched and deplorable condition—Eneas, with a few Friends, rushing into the thickest danger—their various success, till they all perish, but himself E3 " and
Part II. "and two more—the affecting Scenes of
"Horror and Pity at Priam’s Palace—"a Son, slain at his Father’s feet; and
"the immediate Massacre of the old Monarch himself—Eneas, on seeing this,
"inspired with the memory of his own Father—his resolving to return home,
"having now lost all his Companions—his seeing Helen in the way, and his
"Design to dispatch so wicked a woman—Venus interposing, and shewing
"him (by removing the film from his Eyes) the most sublime, tho’ most direful,
"of all fights; the Gods themselves assisted in Troy’s Destruction; Neptune at
"one employ, Juno at another, Pallas at a third—’Tis not Helen (says Venus)
"but the Gods, that are the Authors of your Country’s Ruin—’tis their Inde-
"nency, &c."

Not less solemn and awful, tho’ less leading to Pity, is the Commencement of
the sixth Enéid—" the Sibyl's Cavern — Ch. I.
" her frantic Gestures, and Prophecy —
" the Request of Eneas to descend to the
" Shades — her Answer, and Information
" about the Loss of one of his Friends —
" the Fate of poor Misenus — his Funereal — the Golden Bough discovered,
" a preparatory Circumstance for the
" Descent — the Sacrifice — the Ground
" bellowing under their Feet — the Woods
" in motion — the Dogs of Hecate howling — the actual Descent in all its
" particulars of the marvellous, and the
" terrible."

If we pass from an antient Author to
a modern, what Scene more striking,
than the first Scene in Hamlet? — " The
" Solemnity of the Time, a severe and
" pinching Night — the Solemnity of the
" Place, a Platform for a Guard — the
" Guards themselves; and their apposite
" Discourse — yonder Star in such a Posi-

E 4
Part II. "tion; the Bell then beating one—when
" Description is exhausted, the thing itself
" appears, the Ghost enters."

From Shakespeare the Transition to Milton is natural. What Pieces have ever met a more just, as well as universal applause, than his L'Allegro and Il Penseroso?—The first, a Combination of every incident that is lively and cheerful; the second, of every incident that is melancholy and serious; the Materials of each collected, according to their character, from Rural Life, from City Life, from Music, from Poetry; in a word, from every part of Nature, and every part of Art.

To pass from Poetry to Painting—the Crucifixion of Polycrates by Salvator Rosa* is "a most affecting Representa-

* See Vol. I. of these Treatises, p. 63.
" tion
"tion of various human Figures, seen under different modes of Horror and Pity, as they contemplate a dreadful Spectacle, the Crucifixion above mentioned." *The Aurora of Guido* on the other side is "one of those joyous Exhibitions, where nothing is seen but Youth and Beauty, in every attitude of Elegance and Grace." *The former Picture* in Poetry would have been a deep Penetroso; *the latter*, a most pleasing and animated Allegro.

And to what Cause are we to refer these last Enumerations of striking Effects?

To a very different one from the former—not to an Opposition of contrary Incidents, but to a Concatenation or Accumulation of many, that are similar and congenial.

And why have Concatenation and Accumulation such a Force?—From these
these most simple and obvious Truths, that many things similar, when added together, will be more in Quantity, than any one of them taken singly;—consequently, that the more things are thus added, the greater will be their Effect*. We

* Quinctilian observes, that the man who tells us, a City was formed, includes, in what he says, all things which such a disaster implies; and yet for all, that such a brief Information less affects us than a Detail, because 'tis less striking, to deliver the whole at once, than it is to enumerate the several particulars. His words are—minus est totum dicere, quam omnia. Quinct. Institut. VIII. 3.

The whole is well worth reading, particularly his Detail of the various and horrid Events, which befal the storming of a City. Sine dubio enim, qui dicit expugnatum esse Civitatem, &c.

Aristotle reasons much after the same manner.—α διεξέχμενα δε ις τα μητρ, τα αυτο μεγαλω φαινεται πλεοτων γαρ υπεροχη φαινεται—the same things, divided into Parts, appear greater, for then there appears an Excess or an Abundance of many things.

By way of proof, he quotes Homer on the same subject, I mean the taking of a City by storm. "Oeta
INQUIRIES.

We have mentioned at the same time both Accumulation and Concatenation, because in Painting, the Objects, by existing at once, are accumulated; in Poetry, as they exist by succession, they are not accumulated but concatenated. Yet, thro' Memory and Imagination*, even these also derive an accumulative Force, being preserved from passing away by those admirable Faculties, till, like many Pieces of Metal melted together, they collectively form one common Magnitude.

"Ὅσσα κακ' ἀνθρώποις πάλι, τῶν ἄσυ ἀλών
"Ἀξίσας μὲν κλέιστι, πέλει δὲ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,
Τίνα δὲ τ᾽ ἄλλους ἁγνοῖ, βαθύζωνας τε γνωσίμας
IIiad. IX. v. 588.

The dire disasters of a City stormed;
The Men they massacre; the Town they fire;
And others lead the Children and the Wives
Into Captivity—

See Arist. Rhetor. Lib. I. p. 29. Edit. Sylb. where the above Lines of Homer are quoted; and tho' with some variation from the common Reading, yet with none, which affects the Sense.

* See Hermes, p. 354, &c.
It must be farther remembered, there is an Accumulation of things analogous, even when those things are the objects of different Faculties. For example—As are passionate Gestures to the Eye, so are passionate Tones to the Ear; so are passionate Ideas to the Imagination. To feel the amazing force of an Accumulation like this, we must see some capital Actor, acting the Drama of some capital Poet, where all the Powers of Both are assembled at the same instant.

And thus have we endeavoured, by a few obvious and easy examples, to explain what we mean by the words, seeking the Cause or Reason, as often as we feel works of Art and Ingenuity to affect us*.

If I might advise a Beginner in this elegant pursuit, it should be, as far as

* See p. 6. 7. 47. 48. possible,
possible, to recur for Principles to the most plain and simple Truths, and to extend every Theorem, as he advances, to its utmost latitude, so as to make it suit, and include, the greatest number of possible Cases.

I WOULD advise him farther, to avoid subtle and far-fetched Refinement, which, as it is for the most part adverse to Per-spicuity and Truth, may serve to make an able Sophist, but never an able Critic.

A word more—I would advise a young Critic, in his Contemplations, to turn his Eye rather to the Praise-worthy than the Blameable; that is, to investi-gate the Causes of Praise, rather than the Causes of Blame. For tho' an uninformed Beginner may in a single instance happen to blame properly, 'tis more than probable, that in the next he may fail, and incur the Censure past upon the
Part II. the criticizing Cobler, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*.

We are now to inquire concerning Numerous Composition.

* Those, who wish to see the origin of this ingenious Proverb, may find it in Pliny, L. XXV. f. 12, and in Valerius Maximus, L. VIII. c. 12.
Numerous Composition—derived from Quantity Syllabic—antiently essential both to Verse and Prose—Rhythm—Peans and Cretics, the Feet for Prose—Quantity Accenual—a Degeneracy from the syllabic—Instances of it—first in Latin—then in Greek—Versus Politici—Traces of Accentual Quantity in Terence—essential to Modern Languages, and among others to English, from which last Examples are taken.

As Numerous Composition arises from a just Arrangement of Words; so is that Arrangement just, when formed upon their Verbal Quantity.

Now if we seek for this Verbal Quantity in Greek and Latin, we shall find that, while those two Languages were in Purity, their Verbal Quantity was in Purity
Part II. Purity also. *Every Syllable had a measure of Time, either long or short, defined with precision either by its constituent Vowel, or by the Relation of that Vowel to other Letters adjoining. Syllables thus characterized, when combined, made a Foot; and Feet thus characterized, when combined, made a Verse; so that, while a particular Harmony existed in every Part, a general Harmony was diffused thro' the Whole."

Pronunciation at this period being, like other things, perfect, Accent and Quantity were accurately distinguished; of which distinction, familiar then, tho' now obscure, we venture to suggest the following Explanation. We compare Quantity to Musical Tones differing in Long and Short, as, upon whatever Line they stand, a Semibreve differs from a Minim. We compare Accent to Musical Tones differing in High and Low, as D upon the third Line differs from
from G upon the first, be its length the Ch. II.
same, or be it longer or shorter.

And thus things continued for a succession of Centuries, from Homer and Hesiod to Virgil and Horace, during which interval, if we add a trifle to its end, all the truly classical Poets, both Greek and Latin, flourished.

Nor was Prose at the same time neglected. Penetrating Wits discovered this also to be capable of numerous composition, and founded their Ideas upon the following Reasonings.

Tho' they allowed, that Prose should not be strictly metrical (for then it would be no longer Prose, but Poetry); yet at the same time they asserted, if it had no Rhythm at all, such a vague Effusion would of course fatigue, and the Reader would seek in vain for those returning Pauses, so helpful
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Part II. ful to his reading, and so grateful to his Ear*.

Now as Feet were found an EssentiaI to that Rhythm, they were obliged, as well as Poets, to consider Feet under their several characters.

In this Contemplation they found the Heroic Foot, (which includes the Sponde, the Da
dyl, and the Anapa
t) to be majestic and grave, but yet improper for Prose, because, if employed too frequently, the Composition would appear Epic.

On the contrary, in the Iambic they found Levity; it often made, tho' undesignedly, a part of common discourse, and

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could not, for that reason, but want a Ch. II.
suitable dignity*.

What Expedient then remained?—They
recommended a Foot, where the former
two were blended; where the Pomp of the
Heroic, and the levity of the Iambic were
mutually to correct, and temper one another.

But as this appears to require expan-
tation, we shall endeavour, if we can, to
render it intelligible, saying something
previously upon the nature of Rhythm.

Rhythm differs from Metre, in as
much as Rhythm is Proportion applied to
any Motion whatever; Metre is Pro-
portion, applied to the Motion of Words
Spoken. Thus, in the drumming of a
March, or the dancing of a Hornpipe,
there is Rhythm, tho’ no Metre; in Dry-
den’s celebrated Ode there is Metre as well

* See in the fame Treatife of Aristotle what is said
about these Feet, jast after the Passage above cited.

Τῶν δὲ Ῥυθμῶν, ὧ μὲν ἡσώς σεμνὸς, ν. τ. θ. All that
follows is well worth reading.
Part II. as Rhythm, because the Poet with the Rhythm has associated certain Words. And hence it follows, that, tho' all Metre is Rhythm, yet all Rhythm is not Metre *.

This

(*) Διαφέρει δὲ μέτρου ῥυθμὸς, ὃλα μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μέτροις ἡ συλλαβή, ἥς χωρίς συλλαβῆς ἕκ καὶ γίνοιτο μέτρου. ο̄ δὲ ῥυθμὸς γίνεται μὲν καὶ ἐν συλλαβήσι. γίνε- ται δὲ ἥς χωρίς συλλαβῆς, ἥς γὰρ ἐν τῷ κρότῳ. "Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τῆς καλλείας ἰδαμία τὰς φόρους καταφεροῖς, ἀμα τινὲς ἥς ῥυθμὸν ὀκόμον—μέτρου δὲ ἐκ καὶ γίνοιτο χωρίς λίξεως τοὺς καὶ ποσῆς. Metre differs from Rhythm, because with regard to Metres the subject matter is a syllable, and without a syllable (that is a Sound articulate) no Metre can exist. But Rhythm exists both in and without syllables; for it may be perceived in mere Pulsation or striking. 'Tis thus, when we see Smiths hammering with their fedges, we hear at the same time (in their strokes) a certain Rhythm,—but as to Metre, there can be none, unless there be an articulate Sound, or Word, having a peculiar Quality and Quantity, (to distinguish it) Longini Fragment. III. f. 5. p. 162. Edit. Pearce, qto.


What these authors call Rhythmus, Virgil calls Numerus, or its plural Numeri.

—Nu-
This being admitted, we proceed and say, that the rhythm of the Heroic Foot is one to one, which constitutes in Music what we call Common Time; and in musical vibration, what we call the Unison. The rhythm of the Iambic is one to two, which constitutes in Music what we call

—Numeros memini, si verba tenerem. Bucol. Ix. 45.

And, before that, speaking of the Fauns and wild Beasts dancing, he informs us—

Tum vero in numerum Faunosq; ferasq; videres Ludere —

Bucol. VI. 27.

So too, speaking of the Cyclopes at their Forge, he tells us,

Illi inter sepe magnâvi brachia tollunt
In numerum —
Geor. IV. 174, 175.

Which same verses are repeated in the eight Enecid. So Cicero — Numerus Latinè, Graecè 'Pòs — Ad Brut. Orat. f. 170.

No English Term seems to express Rhythmus better than the word, Time; by which we denote every Species of measured Motion. Thus we say, there is Time in beating a Drum, tho' but a single Sound; Time in Dancing, and in Rowing, tho' no Sound at all, but what is quite incidental.
Part II. Triple Time; and in musical Vibration, what we call the Octave. The Rhythm next to these is that of Two to Three, or else its equivalent, Three to Two; a Rhythm compounded of the two former Times united; and which constitutes in musical Vibration, what we call the Fifth.

'Twas here then they discovered the Foot they wanted; that Foot, which, being neither the Heroic, nor the Iambic, was yet so far connected with them, as to contain virtually within itself the Rhythms of them both.

That this is fact, is evident, from the following reasoning. The Proportion of Two to Three contains in Two the Rhythm of the Heroic Foot; in Three, that of the Iambic; therefore, in Two and three united, a Foot compounded out of the two.

Now the Foot thus described is no other than the Pæan; a Foot constituted either
either by one long Syllable and three short, and called the Pæan a majori; or else by three short Syllables and one long, and called the Pæan a minori. In either case, if we resolve the long Syllable into two short, we shall find the Sum of the Syllables to be Five; that is, Two to Three, for the first Pæan, Three to Two for the second, each being in what we call the Sesqui-alter Proportion*. Those

* The sum of this speculation is thus shortly expressed by Cicero. *Pon enim, qui adhibetur ad numeros, partitur in tria: ut neceff sit partem pedis aut æquali:em effe alteri parti; aut altero tante, aut fesqui effe majorem. Ita fit æqualis, Daitylbus; duplex, Iambus; fesqui, Pæon. Ad Brut Orat. l. 188.


Again, Cicero, after having held much the same doctrine, adds — Probatur autem ab eodem ilio (feil. Aristotele) maxime Pæon, qui est duplex; nam aut a longa
Those, who ask for examples, may find the first Paean in the words ἡφαυνις, Dēfinītē; the second, in the words μετα δὲ γυν, Dōmūcīrānt.

To the Paean may be added the Cretic, a Foot of one short Syllable between two Long, as in the words ἑϑομαι, quōve nunc; a Foot in power evidently equal to the Paean, because resolvable, like that, into five equal times.

We dwell no longer here; perhaps we have already dwelt too long. 'Tis enough to observe, that, by a discreet use of these Paean, the antients obtained what they desired, that is, they enriched their Prose, without making it into Verse; and, while

"...et cum tres breves confectantur, ut haec verba, dēfinītē, incipītē, comprīmitē; aut a brevibus deinceps tribus, extremā producēt atque longā, item illa sunt, dōmūcīrānt, fōnipēdēs. De Orator. III. 57. (183.) and in his Orator. ad M. Brutum—f. 205. and before, f. 191 to 197."
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vague and vulgar prose flowed indefinitely like a stream, theirs, like descending Drops, became capable of being numbered*.

It may give Credit to these Speculations, trivial as they may appear, when 'tis known they have merited the attention of the ablest Critics, of Aristotle and Demetrius Phalereus, of Cicero and Quinctilian †.


† See Aristotle and Cicero, as quoted before, particularly the last in his Orator, f. 189 to the end; Quinctilian, L. IX. c. 4. Demetrius Phalereus, at the beginning of his Tract De Elocut.

Cicero, in his De Oratore, introduces Crajus using the same Arguments; those, I mean, which are grounded upon authority.

Atque
Part II. The Productions still remaining of this Golden Period seem (if I may so say) to have been providentially preserved, to humiliate modern Vanity, and check the growth of bad Taste.

But this Classical Era, tho' it lasted long, at length terminated. Many Causes, and chiefly the irruption and mixture of Barbarians, contributed to the debasing both of Latin and Greek. As Litiaon was corrupted, so also was Pronunciation. Accent and Quantity, which had been once accurately distinguished, began now to be blended. Nay more, Accent so far usurped Quantity's place, as by a sort of Tyranny, to make short syllables, long; and long syllables, short. Thus, in Poetry, as the accent fell upon De in Deus, and

Atque hae quidem ab iis Philosophis, quos tu maxime diligis, Catule, dicta sunt: quod eo sapius testisces, ut auctoriibus laudandis ineptiarum crimen effugiam. De Oratore, Lib. III. s. 87.
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upon i in *ibi*, the first syllables of these two words were considered as long. Again, where the Accent did *not* fall, as in the ultima's of *Regnō*, or *Saturnō*, and even in such ablatives as *Insulā* or *Cretā*, there the Poet assumed a Licence, if he pleased, to make them *short*. In a word, the whole doctrine of *Prosody* came to this—that, as anciently the *Quantity* of the *Syllables* established the *Rhythm* of the *Verse*, so now the *Rhythm* of the *Verse* established the *Quantity* of the *Syllables*.

There was an antient Poet, his name *Commodianus*, who dealt much in this illicit *Quantity*, and is said to have written (if that be possible) in the fifth, nay some assert, in the third Century. Take a sample of his *Versification*.

*Saturnusque senex, si Deus, quando senescit?*

and again,

*Nec Divinus erat, sed Deum se se dicebat.*

and again,

*Jupiter*
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*Jupiter hic natūs in insulā Cretā Sāturno,*
*Ut fuit adultus, patrem de regnō privavit.*

and again,

*Ille autem in Cretā regnavit, et ēbi dēfect.*

**I shall** crown the whole with an admirable distich, where (as I observed not long ago) *the Rhythm* of the *Verse* gives alone the *Quantity*, while the *Quantity* of the Syllables is wholly disregarded.

*Tot rēum crīminībūs, pārricīdām quōqū fūtūrūm,*

*Ex auctōrītāte vēstrā cōntūlisīs in āltūm.*

*Dr. Davies,* at the end of his *Minutius Felix,* has thought it worth giving us an Edition of this wretched author, who, if he lived so early as supposed, must have been from among the dregs of the people, since *Ausonius, Claudian, Sulpicius Severus,* and *Boethius,* who were all authors of the same or a later period, wrote both in *Prose* and *Verse* with *Classical Elegance.*
We have mentioned the Debasement of Latin, previously to that of Greek, because it was an Event, which happened much sooner. As early as the sixth Century, or the seventh at farthest, Latin ceased to be the common Language of Rome, whereas Greek was spoken with competent purity in Constantinople, even to the fifteenth Century, when that City was taken by the Turks.

Not but that Corruption found its way also into Greek Poetry, when Greek began to degenerate, and Accent, as in Latin, to usurp dominion over Quantity.

'Twas then began the use of the Versus Politici*, a species of Verses so called, because adapted to the Vulgar, and only fit for Vulgar Ears. 'Twas then the sublime Hexameters of Homer were de-

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Part II. based into miserable Trochaics, not even legible as Verses, but by a suppression of real Quantity.

Take a Sample of these Productions, which, such as it is, will be easily understood, as it contains the Beginning of the First Iliad—

Τὶν ὁργὴν ὅδε, κῇ λέγε, Οὐ θεῶ με Καλλιότη, Τῇ Πηλείδῃ Ἀχιλλέως, Πῶς ἐγένετ' ὀλεθρία,
Καὶ πολλὰς λύπας ἔποιετε Ἐἰς τὰς Ἀχαῖας ὦν πάντας, Καὶ πολλὰς ψυχὰς ἀνδρείας
Πῶς ἀπέσειλεν εἰς Ἁδήν.

In reading the above Verses, we must carefully regard Accent, to which, and to which alone we must strictly adhere, and follow the same Trochaic Rhythm, as in those well known Verses of Dryden—

Wär he sung is toil and trouble,
Honour but an empty bubble, &c.
The Accentual Quantity in the Greek, as well as in the English, totally destroys the Syllabic—δε in ἄδε is made long; so also is λε in λέγε; α, in ἁε; ο, in Καιλιόπη. Again με is short; so also is Πη in Πηλέδη. In Ἀχιλλέως every Syllable is corrupted; the first and third, being short, are made long; the second and fourth, being long, are made short. We quote no farther, as all that follows is similar, and the whole exactly applicable to our present versification.

This disgraceful Form of Homer was printed by Pinelli, at Venice, in the year 1540, but the Work itself was probably some centuries older.

* A sort of Glossary is subjoined, whence, for curiosity, we select some very singular explanations, Πύλη, a Gate, is explained by Πορτα—ὑπερώολ, those, who keep Gates, are called Πορτάζει, that is, Porters—κλεισθεί, Tents, are called by the name of Τάται—σύνοβος, a Tower, by that of Τῶν—καὶ, we are informed, σημάζει ὅλεν Τραπεζάρια, that it signifies in general a Trumpeter.

Besides
Part II. Besides this anonymous Perverter of
the Iliad and Odyssey (for he has gone
thro' both) there are Political Verses of
the same barbarous character by Constanti-
minus Manasses, John Tzetzes, and others
of that period.

And so much for the Verse of these times.
Of their Prose (tho' next in order) we say
nothing, it being loss of time to dwell
upon authors, who being unable to imitate
the Eloquence of their Predecessors, could
discover no new Roads to Fame, but' thro
Obscurity and Affectation. In this Class
we range the Historiae Augustae Scriptores,
Marcianus Capella, Apuleius, together with
many others, whom we may call Authors
of African Latinity. Perhaps too we may
add some of the Byzantine Historians.

Before we quit Accentual Quan-
tity, there is one thing we must not
omit. Strange as it appears, there are
traces of it extant, even in Classical
Writers.
As Dactyls and Anapaests were frequently intermixed with Iambics, we find no less a writer, than the accurate Terence, make Syllables short, which by Position were long, in order to form the Feet above-mentioned. Take the following instances, among many others.

"Et id gratum fuisse advorsum te habeo gratiam." Andr. A. I. f. i. v. 15.

Pröptér hospitaë hujusce consuetudinem
Andr. A. II. f. vi. v. 8.


Among these Verses, all beginning with Anapaests, the second syllable in the first Verse is made short, tho' followed by three Consonants: the first Syllable Propter in the second Verse is made short, tho' followed by two Consonants: and the third syllable, ex in excludor, in the third Verse is made short, tho' followed
Part II. followed by a double Consonant, and two others after it.

We are to observe however that, while Licences were assumed by the Dramatic Writers of the Comic Iambic, and by Terence more than the rest; 'twas a practice unknown to the Writers of Hexameter. 'Tis to be observed likewise, that these Licences were taken at the beginning of Verses, and never at the End, where a pure Iambic was held indispensable. They were also Licences usually taken with Monosyllables, Disyllables, or Prepositions; in general with Words in common and daily use, which in all Countries are pronounced with rapidity, and made short in the very Speaking. It has been suggested therefore with great probability, that Terence adopted such a Mode of Verifying, because it more resembled the common Dialogue of the middle Life, which no one ever imitated more happily than himself*.

* See the valuable Tract of the celebrated Bentley, prefixed to his Terence, under the title of De Metris Terentianis ΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΜΑ.
We are now to proceed to the modern Languages, and to our own in particular, which, like the rest, has little of Harmony but what it derives from Accentual Quantity. And yet as this Accentual Quantity is wholly governed by Antient Rhythm, to which, as far as possible, we accommodate Modern Words, the Speculations are by no means detached from Antient Criticism, being wholly derived from Principles, which that Criticism had first established.
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CHAP. III.

Quantity Verbal in English—a few Feet pure, and agreeable to Syllabic Quantity—instances—yet Accentual Quantity prevalent—instances—transition to Prose—English Pæans, instances of—Rhythm governs Quantity, where this last is Accentual.

In the scrutiny which follows we shall confine ourselves to English, as no Language, to us at least, is equally familiar. And here, if we begin with quoting Poets, it must be remembered it is not purely for the sake of Poetry, but with a view to that Harmony, of which our Prose is susceptible.

A few pure Iambics of the Syllabic sort we have, tho' commonly blended with the spurious and accentual. Thus Milton,
Inquiries.

Fountains, and ye, that warble, as ye flow— P. L. V. 195.

And again, more completely in that fine Line of his—

For Eloquence, the Soul; Song charms the Sense— P. L. II. 556.

In the first of these Verses the last Foot is (as it always should be*) a pure Syllabic Iambic; in the second Verse every Foot is such, but the Fourth.

Besides Iambics, our Language knows also the Heroic Foot. In the Verse just quoted,

Fountains, and ye, that warble as ye flow,

the first Foot is a Spondee: so is the fourth Foot in that other Verse,

For Eloquence, the Soul; Song charms the Sense.

* Sup. p. 82.
This Foot seems to have been admitted among the English Iambics precisely for the same reason as among the Greek and Latin; to infuse a certain Stability, which Iambics wanted, when alone—

*Tardior ut paullo, graviorque veniret ad aures,*

*Spondeos stabiles in jura paterna recepit.* Hor. Art. Poet.

Nor do we want that other Heroic Foot, the Dactyl, and that too accompanied (as usual) with the Sponde. Thus in the second Psalm we read—

*Why do the people imagine a vain thing?*

And soon after—

—against the Lord and against his anointed.

Where in both instances we have the Iambic Cadence, tho' perhaps it was casual,
casual, and what the Translators never int-
tended.

It must indeed be confessed this Metre
appears not natural to our Language,
nor have its Feet a proper effect, but
when mixt with Iambics, to infuse that
Stability, which we have lately men-
tioned*.

'Tis proper also to observe that, tho'
metrical Feet in English have a few long and
short Syllables, even in their genuine cha-
acter (that I mean, which they derive
from true syllabic Quantity) yet

† Sup. p. 86.

* The use of the Heroic and the Iambic is well ex-
plained by Cicero from Aristotle.

Quod longe Aristoteii videtur fecit, qui judicat Heroum
Numerum grandiorem quam desideret soluta oratio; Iam-
bumb autem nimis e vulgari sermone. Ilia neque humilem,
ne aliteram orationem, nec nimis altae et exaggeratam
probat; plenam  enim comum esse gravitatis, ut est,
quiem audient, ad majorem admirationem pellit traducere.
Ad Brut. Orat. f. 192.
Part II. is their Quantity more often determined by Accent alone*, it being enough to make a Syllable long, if it be accented; and short, if it be unaccented; whatever may be the Position of any subsequent Consonants.

Thus in Milton, we read,

— on the secret top


and again,

Hurld headlong, flaming, from th’ ethereal sky.

P. L. I. 45.

In these examples, the first Syllable of inspire is short by Accentual Quantity, tho’ the Position of its Vowel is before three Consonants; the last Syllable of headlong, and the last Syllable of flaming, are short, even tho’ the consecutive Consonants are in both cases Four.

* Sup. p. 74. 83.
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Such then in English being the force of Accentual Quantity, we are now to consider those Feet, thro’ which not our Verse, but our Prose may be harmonized.

Now these Feet are no other than the two Pæans, already described†, and their equivalent, the Cretic, which three may more particularly be called the Feet for Prose*.

In Prose-composition they may be called those Ingredients, which, like Salt in a Banquet, serve to give it a relish. Like Salt too, we should so employ them, that we may not seem to have mistaken the Seasoning for the Food. — But more of this hereafter‡.

† Sup. p. 70, 71, 72.
* Sit egitur [oratio] (ut supra dixi) permissa et temperata numeris, nec dissoluta, nec tota numerosa, Pæone maxime, &c. Ad Brut. Orat. f. 196—and soon before, f. 194. Pæon autem minimè est aptus ad Versum; quo libentius enim recepit Oratio.
‡ Infr. p. 107. 108.
As to the Place of these Pæans, tho' they have their effect in every part of a Sentence, yet have they a peculiar energy at its Beginning, and its End. The difference is, we are advised to begin with the first Pæan, and to conclude with the second, that the Sentence in each Extreme may be audibly marked*. If the Sentence be emphatical, and call for such attention, nothing can answer the purpose more effectually, than that characteristic long Syllable, which in the first Pæan is always inceptive, in the second is always conclusive.

For want of better examples we venture to illustrate by the following, where we have marked the Two Pæans, together with their Equivalent the Cretic, and


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where we have not only marked the Time over each Syllable, but separated each Foot by a disjunctive stroke.

Beauty may be—lost, may be for—years outliv'd: but Virtue remains the same, till Life itself—is at an end.

Again—

Steep is the A-scant by which we—mount to Fame;—nor is the Sum—mit to be gain'd—but by Sagá—city and toil. Fools are sure to lose their way, and Cowards sink beneath the difficulty: the wise and brave alone succeed; persis—in their attempt—and never yield—to the fatigue.

The Reader in these examples will regard two things; one, that the Strokes of Separation mark only the Feet, and are not to be regarded in the Reading; another, that tho' he may meet perhaps a few instances agreeable to antient Prosody, yet in modern Rhythm like this, be it Pro-
Part II. Prosaic or Poetic, he must expect to find it governed for the greater part by Accent*.

And so much for Prosaic Feet, and Numerous Prose, which, upon the Principles established by antient Critics, we have aimed to accommodate to our own Language.

But we stop not here, having a few more Speculations to suggest, which, appearing to arise from the Principles of the old Critics, are amply verified in our best English authors. But more of this in the following Chapter.

* Sup. p. 74. 83. 88.
CHAP. IV.

Other Decorations of Prose besides Prosaic Feet — Alliteration — Sentences — Periods — Caution to avoid excess in consecutive Monosyllables — Objections, made and answered — Authorities alleged — Advice about Reading.

BESIDES the Decoration of Prosaic Feet, there are other Decorations, admissible into English Composition, such as Alliteration, and Sentences, especially the Period.

First therefore for the first; I mean Alliteration.

Among the Classics of old there is no finer illustration of this Figure, than Lucretius's
Part II. Cretius's Description of those blest abodes, where his Gods, detached from Providential Cares, ever lived in the fruition of divine Serenity.

Apparet Divum numen, sedesque quieta, Quas neque concutiunt venti, neque nubila nimbis
Aspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilus æther
Integit, et large diffuso lumine ridet.

Lucret. III. 18.

The sublime and accurate Virgil did not contemn this Decoration, tho' he used it with such pure, unaffected Simplicity, that we often feel its Force, without contemplating the Cause. Take one Instance out of infinite, with which his Works abound.

Aurora
Aurora interea miseric mortalibus allam
Extulerat lucem, referens opera atque labores.*

Æn. XI. v. 183.

* The following Account of this Figure is taken from Pontanus, one of these ingenious Italians, who flourished upon the revival of a purer Literature in Europe.

Ea igitur five figura, five ornatus, condimentum quasi quoddam numeris affert, placet autem nominare Alliterantwortem, quod è Literarum allusione consistet. Fit itaque in versu, quoties dictiones continuatæ, vel binaæ, vel ternæ ab iiisdem primis consonantibus, mutatis aliquando uscialibus, aut ab iiisdem incipient Syllabis, aut ab iiisdem primis vocalibus. Deleciat autem Alliteratio hæc mereriè in primis et ultimis locis facta, in mediis quoque, licet ibidem aurea minus sint intentæ. Ut

"Sava sedens super arma — Virg.
" — tales casus Cassandra comebat. ejusd.
" Iisintem infando indicis. — ejusd.
" — longè sale Saxa sonabant. ejusd.
" — magnò miseri murmure pontum. ejusd.
" Quaeque lacus late liquidos — ejusd.

Fit interdum per continuacionem insequentis versus, ut in his Lucretianis.

"Ad-
Part II. To Virgil we may add the superior authority of Homer.

"Ἡτοι ὁ κατεδὼν τὸ Ἀληνὸν ὀφὲ Ἀλᾶτο,
"Οὐ ᾗμῶν κατέδων, ἡμῖν Ἀνδρόπων Ἀλεύνων.

I. 2. 201.

Hermogenes, the Rhetorician, when he quotes these Lines, quotes them as an

"—adverso sbabra feruntur
"Flumine.—

Atque Alliteratio hæc ne Cicerni quidem dis-
plicuit in Oratone solutæ, ut cum dixit in Brute,
" Nulla Res magis penetrat in animos, esque fingit,
"Format, flectit." Et in secundo de Oratore;
"Quodque me sollicitare summe solet." Quid quod ne
in jocos quidem illis tam lepides negleéta est & Plauto;
ut cum garrientem opud herum induxit Pandum;
"Ne tu oratorem hunc pugnis flectas postea." Atque
hæ quidem Alliteratio quemadmodum tribus in iis
fit vocibus, fit aliēi eiam in duabus simili modo. Ut,

"—taciti ventura videbant. Virg.
"Tamo tempus crit.— ejusd.

Johannis Joviani Pontani Aelius — Dialogus.
example of the Figure here mentioned, Ch. IV; but calls it by a Greek name, ΠΑΡΗΧΗΣΙΣ.

Cicero has translated the above Verses elegantly, and given us too Alliteration, tho' not under the same letters.

Qui miser in campis errabat solus Alaeis,
Ipse suum Cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans.

Aristotle knew this Figure, and called it ΠΑΡΟΜΟΙΩΣΙΣ, a name perhaps not so precise as the other, because it rather expresses Resemblance in general, than that, which arises from Sound in particular.

* The Explanation of it, given by Hermogenes, exactly suits his Instance. Παρήχησις δὲ ἐσι καλλες ὑφήμων ὑμμάτων, ἐν διαφόρω γνώσει ταῦτα ἴχωνταν. Parechesis is Beauty in similar Words, which under a different signification sound the same. Εξωγ. ψεπ' Ἐλεε. Τομ. δ. p. 193. Edit. Porti, 1570.
Part II. His example is—ἈΓΡΩΝ ὑπὸ ἀλαζέν, ἈΓΡΟΝ ὑπὸ ἀνή*

The Latin Rhetoricians filed it ANNOMINATIO, and give us examples of similar character†.

But the most singular Fact is, that so early in our own History, as the reign of Henry the Second, this Decoration was esteemed and cultivated both by the English and the Welsh. So we are informed by Giraldus Cambrensis, a contemporary Writer, who, having first given the Welsh instance, subjoins the English in the following verse—

God is together GAMMEN and WISEDÔME.
—that is, God is at once both Joy and Wisdom.

He calls the Figure by the Latin Name ANNOMINATIO, and adds, “that the two

† Scrip. ad Herenn. L. IV. f. 29.
"Na-
Nations were so attached to this verbal Ornament in every high finished Composition, that nothing was by them esteemed elegantly delivered, no Diction considered but as rude and rustic, if it were not first amply refined with the polishing Art of this Figure*.

'Tis perhaps from this National Taste of ours that we derive many Proverbial Similes, which, if we except the Sound, seem to have no other merit—Fine, as Five pence—Round, as a Robin—&c.

Even Spenser and Shakspeare adopted the practice, but then it was in a manner suitable to such Genius.

Part II.

Spenser says—

For not to have been dipt in Lethe Lake
Could save the Son of Thetis from to die;
But that blind Bard did him immortal make
With Verses, dipt in Dew of Caelalie.

Shakspeare says—

Had my sweet Harry had but half their numbers,
This day might I, hanging on Hotspur's neck,
Have talked, &c.

Hen. IVth, Part 2d, Act 2d.

Milton followed them.

For Eloquence, the Soul; Song charms the Sense.

P. L. II. 556.

and again,

Behemoth, biggest born of Earth, upheav'd
His vastness—

P. L. VII. 471.

From
INQUIRIES.

From Dryden we select one example out of many, for no one appears to have employed this Figure more frequently, or (like Virgil) with greater Simplicity and Strength.

Better to hunt in fields for Health unbought,
Than see the Doctor for a nauseous Draught.
The Wife for cure on exercise depend;
God never made his Work for Man to mend.  

D Dryd. Fables.

Pope sings in his Dunciad—

'Twas chatt'ring, grinning, mouthing, jab-b'ring all;
And Noise, and Norton; Brangling, and Breval;
Dennis, and Dissonance.—

Which Lines, tho' truly poetical and humorous, may be suspected by some to shew their Art too conspicuously, and too

H 3 nearly
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Part II. nearly to resemble that Verse of old Ennus—

O! Tite, Tute, Tati, Tibi Tanta, Tyranne, Tulisti.

Script. ad Herenn. L. IV. f. 18.

Gray begins a sublime Ode,
Ruine seize thee, ruthless King, &c.

We might quote also Alliterations from Prose Writers, but those, we have alleged, we think sufficient.

Nor is Elegance only to be found in single Words, or in single Feet; it may be found, when we put them together, in our peculiar mode of putting them. 'Tis out of Words and Feet thus compounded that we form Sentences, and among Sentences none so striking, none so pleasing, as the Period. The reason is, that, while other Sentences are indefinite, and (like a Geometrical Right-line) may be produced indefinitely, the Period (like a Cir-
a Circular Line) is always circumscribed, returns, and terminates at a given point. In other words, while other Sentences, by the help of common Copulatives, have a sort of boundless effusion; the constituent parts of a Period* have a sort of reflex union, in which union the Sentence is so far complete, as neither to require, nor even to admit a farther extension. Readers find a pleasure in this grateful Circuit, which leads them so agreeably to an acquisition of knowledge.

The Author, if he may be permitted, would refer by way of illustration to the


The compact combining character of the Period is well illustrated by Demetrius in the following Simile. "Εοικε γὰρ τὰ μὲν περιοδικαὶ κάλα τοῖς λίθοις, τοῖς ἀνισοδιαυὶς ταῖς περιεφερίσι σίγας, καὶ συνέχεια — the constitutive Members of the Period resemble those Stones, which mutually support, and keep vaulted Roofs together. f. 13.
Part II. Beginnings of his Hermes, and his Philosophical Arrangements, where some Attempts have been made in this Periodical Style. He would refer also for much more illustrious examples, to the Opening of Cicero's Offices; to that of the capital Oration of Demosthenes Concerning the Crown; and to that of the celebrated Panegyric, made (if he may be so called) by the father of Periods, Isocrates.

Again—every Compound Sentence is compounded of other Sentences more simple, which, compared to one another, have a certain proportion of Length. Now 'tis in general a good Rule, that among these constituent Sentences the last (if possible) should be equal to the first; or if not equal, then rather longer than shorter*.

*—aut paria esse debent posteri ora superiori- bus, extrema primis; aut, quod est, etiam melius et magis, longiora. Cic. de Orat. III. 136.
The reason is, that without a special Cause, abrupt Conclusions are offensive, and the Reader, like a Traveller quietly pursuing his Journey, finds an unexpected precipice, where he is disagreeably flopt.

To these Speculations concerning Sentences, we subjoin a few others.

It has been called a fault in our Language, that it abounds in Monosyllables. As these, in too lengthened a suite, disgrace a Composition; Lord Shaftesbury, (who studied purity of Stile with great attention) limited their number to nine, and was careful, in his Characteristics, to conform to his own Law. Even in Latin too many of them were condemned by Quintilian*.

Above all, care should be had, that a Sentence end not with a crowd of them,


those
Part II. those especially of the vulgar, untunable sort, such as, to set it up, to get by and by at it, &c. for these disgrace a Sentence that may be otherwise laudable, and are like the Rabble at the close of some pompous Cavalcade.

'Twas by these, and other arts of similar sort, that Authors in distant ages have cultivated their stile. Looking upon Knowledge (if I may be allowed the allusion) to pass into the Mansions of the Mind thro’ Language, they were careful (if I may pursue the metaphor) not to offend in the Vestibule. They did not esteem it pardonable to despise the Public Ear, when they saw the Love of Numbers so universally diffused *.

* Nibil est autem tam cognatum mentibus nostris, quam Numeri atque Voces; quibus et excitamur, et incendimur, et lenimur, et languescimus, et ad hilaritatem et ad tristitiam saepè deducimur; quorum illa summa vis, &c. Cic. de Orat. III. s. 197.
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Nor were they discouraged, as if they thought their labour would be lost. In these more refined, but yet popular Arts, they knew the amazing difference between the Power to execute, and the Power to judge;—that to execute was the joint Effort of Genius and of Habit; a painful Acquisition, only attainable by the Few;—to judge, the simple Effort of that plain but common Sense, imparted by Providence in some degree to every one*.

But here methinks an Objector demands—"And are Authors then to compose, and form their Treatises by Rule?—Are they to balance Periods?—To scan Paeans and Cretics?—To affect Accents and Iterations?—To enumerate Monosyllables, &c."

* Mirabile est, cum plurimum in Faciendo inter sit inter doctum et rudem, quam non multum differat in Judicando. Ibid. III. f. 197.
Part II. If, in answer to this Obje&or, it should be said, they ought, the Permission should at least be tempered with much caution. These Arts are to be so blended with a pure but common Stile, that the Reader, as he proceeds, may only feel their latent force. If ever they become glaring, they degenerate into Affection; an Extreme more disgusting, because less natural, than even the vulgar language of an unpolished Clown. 'Tis in Writing, as in Acting——The best Writers are like our late admired Garrick.—And how did that able Genius employ his Art?—Not by a vain ostentation of any one of its powers, but by a latent use of them all in such an exhibition of Nature, that, while we were present in a Theatre, and only beholding an Actor, we could not help thinking ourselves in Denmark with Hamlet, or in Bosworth Field with Richard*.

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There is another Objection still — Ch. IV.

These Speculations may be called Minutiae; things partaking at best more of the elegant, than of the solid; and attended with difficulties, beyond the value of the labour.

To answer this, it may be observed, that, when Habit is once gained, nothing so easy as Practice. When the Ear is once habituated to these Verbal Rhythms, it forms them spontaneously, without attention or labour. If we call for instances, what more easy to every Smith, to every Carpenter, to every common mechanic, than the several Energies of their proper Arts? How little do even the


* See Dionys. Halicarn. de Struct. Orat. 1. 25. where this Argument is well enforced by the common well-
Part II. the rigid Laws of Verse obstruct a Genius truly Poetic? How little did they cramp a Milton, a Dryden, or a Pope? Cicero writes that Antipater the Sidonian could pour forth Hexameters extempore†; and that, whenever he chose to versify, Words followed him of course. We may add to Antipater the antient Rhapsodists of the Greeks, and the modern Improvisatori of the Italians. If this then be practicable in Verse, how much more so in Prose? In Prose, the Laws of which so far differ from those of Poetry, that we can at any

well-known Habit of Reading, so difficult at first, yet gradually growing so familiar, that we perform it at last without deliberation, just as we see, or hear.

† Cic. de Oratore, L. III. 194. The same great writer in another place, speaking of the power of Habit, subjoins—Id autem bonâ disciplinâ exercitatis, qui et multa scripsisset, et quacunque etiam sine scripto dicerent similia scriptorum effecerint, non erit difficilimum. Ante enim circumsciburit mente Sententia, confestimque Verba concurrunt, &c. Orator, ad Brut. f. 200.
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Inquiries.

they relax them as we find expedient? Nay
more, where to relax them is not only expedient, but even necessary, because tho'
Numerous Composition may be a Requisite,
yet regularly returning Rhythm is a thing
we should avoid*?

In every whole, whether natural or artifi-
cial, the constituent Parts well merit our
regard, and in nothing more, than in the
facility of their co-incidence. If we view
a Landskip, how pleasing the Harmony
between Hills and Woods, between Rivers
and Lawns? If we select from this Lands-
skip a Tree, how well does the Trunk
correspond with its Branches, and the
whole of its Form with its beautiful Ver-
dure? If we take an Animal, for ex-
ample, a fine Horse, what a Union in his

---

*Multum interest, utrum numerosa fit (id est, si-
milis Numerorum) an planè e numeris, consilet Oratio.
Alterum si sit, intolerabile vitium est: alterum nisi si,
dissipata, et inculta, et fluxus est Oratio. Ejusdem ad
Brut. f. 220.

Colour,
Part II. Colour, his Figure, and his Motions? If one of human race, what more pleasingly congenial, than when Virtue and Genius appear to animate a graceful Figure?

*pulchro veniens e corpore virtus?*

The charm increases, if to a graceful Figure we add a graceful Elocution. Elocution too is heightened still, if it convey elegant Sentiments; and these again are heightened, if clothed with graceful Diction, that is, with Words, which are pure, precise, and well arranged.

But this brings us home to the very spot, whence we departed. We are insensibly returned to Numerous Composition, and view in Speech however referred, whether to the Body or the Mind, whether to the Organs of Pronunciation, or the Purity of Diction; whether to the Purity of Diction, or the Truth of Sentiment, how perfectly natural the Concurrency of every part.
We must not then call these verbal Ch IV, Decorations, Minutiae. They are essential to the Beauty, nay to the Completion of the Whole. Without them the Composition, tho' its Sentiments may be just, is like a Picture, with good Drawing, but with bad and defective Colouring.

These we are assured were the Sentiments of Cicero, whom we must allow to have been a Master in his Art, and who has amply and accurately treated verbal Decoration and numerous Composition in no less than two Capital Treatises*, strengthening withal his own Authority with that of Aristotle and Theophrastus; to whom, if more were wanting, we might add the names of Demetrius Phalereus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dionysius Longinus, and Quintilian.

* His Orator, and his De Oratore.
Part II. Having presumed thus far to advise Authors, I hope I may be pardoned for saying a word to Readers, and the more so, as the Subject has not often been touched.

Whoever reads a perfect or finished Composition, whatever be the Language, whatever the Subject, should read it, even if alone, both audibly, and distinctly.

In a Composition of this Character not only precise Words are admitted, but Words metaphorical and ornamental. And farther—as every Sentence contains a latent Harmony, so is that Harmony derived from the Rhythm of its constituents Parts*.

A Composition then like this, should (as I said before) be read both distinctly and

• See before, from p. 84 to p. 105.
audibly; with due regard to Stops and Pauses; with occasional Elevations and Depressions of the Voice, and whatever else constitutes just and accurate Pronunciation. He, who despising, or neglecting, or knowing nothing of all this, reads a Work of such character, as he would read a Sessions-paper, will not only miss many beauties of the Stile, but will probably miss (which is worse) a large proportion of the Sense.

Something still remains concerning the Doctrine of Whole and Parts, and those Essentials of Dramatic Imitation, Manners, Sentiment, and the Fable. But these Inquiries properly form other Chapters.

Concerning Whole and Parts, as essential to the constituting of a legitimate Work—the Theory illustrated from the Georgics of Virgil, and the Menexenus of Plato—same Theory applied to smaller pieces—Totality, essential to small Works, as well as great—Examples to illustrate—Accuracy, another Essential—more so to smaller pieces, and why—Transition to Dramatic Speculations.

Every legitimate Work should be One, as much as a Vegetable, or an Animal; and, to be One like them, it should be a Whole, consisting of Parts, and be in nothing redundant, in nothing deficient. The difference is, the Whole of an Animal, or a Vegetable consists of Parts, which exist at once: the Whole of
of an Oration, or a Poem, as it must be either heard or perused, consists of Parts not taken at once, but in a due and orderly Succession.

The Description of such a Whole is perfectly simple, but not, for that Simplicity, the less to be approved.

A Whole, we are informed, should have a Beginning, Middle, and End*. If we doubt this, let us suppose a Composition to want them:—would not the very vulgar say, it had neither head nor tail?

Nor are the Constitutive Parts, tho' equally simple in their description, for that reason less founded in truth. A Beginning is that, which nothing necessarily precedes, but which something naturally fol-

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Part II. Iows. AN END is that, which nothing nat-
turally follows, but which something ne-
cessarily precedes. A MIDDLE is that, which something precedes, to disinguish it from a Beginning; and which something fol-
lows, to disinguish it from an End*.

I might illustrate this from a PROPOSI-
TION in Euclid. The stating of the thing
to be proved, makes the Beginning; the
proving of it, makes the MIDDLE; and
the ascertaining of it to have been proved,
makes the CONCLUSION, or END: and
thus is every such Proposition a complete
and perfect Whole.

THE same holds in Writings of a cha-
racter totally different. Let us take for

* Ἀρχῇ δὲ έστι, ὁ ἄλλο μὲν ἡξανάγκης μη μετ' ἄλλο ἐστί μετ' ἴκελο ϑ' έτερον πέισεται ἡ γι-
νεῖθαι. Τελείωθ' δὲ τευκαλίδευ, ὁ ἄλλο μετ' ἄλλο οἰ-
an Example the most highly finished Performance among the Romans, and that in their most polished period, I mean the Georgics of Virgil.

Quid faciat latus segetes, quo fide terram
Vertere, Mæcenas, (ii) ulmisque adjungere vites
Conveniat; (iii) quæ cura boun, qui cultus habendo
Sit pecori; (iv) apibus quanta experientia parcis,
Hinc canere incipiam, &c.

Virg. Georg. I.

In these Lines, and so on (if we consult the Original) for forty-two Lines inclusive, we have the Beginning; which Beginning includes two things, the Plan, and the Invocation.

In the four first Verses we have the Plan, which Plan gradually opens and becomes the Whole Work, as an Acorn,
Part II. when developed, becomes a perfect Oak. After this comes the Invocation, which extends to the last of the forty-two Verses above mentioned. The two together give us the true character of a Beginning, which, as above described, nothing can precede, and which, 'tis necessary that something should follow.

The remaining Part of the first Book, together with the three Books following, to Verse the 458th of Book the Fourth, make the Middle, which also has its true character, that of succeeding the Beginning, where we expect something farther; and that of preceding the End, where we expect nothing more.

The eight last Verses of the Poem make the End, which, like the Beginning is short, and which preserves its real character by satisfying the Reader, that all is complete, and that nothing is to follow.
low. The Performance is even dated. It finishes like an Epistle, giving us the Place and Time of writing; but then giving them in such a manner, as they ought to come from Virgil*.

But to open our thoughts into a farther Detail.

As the Poem from its very Name respects various Matters relative to Land, (Georgica) and which are either immediately or mediately connected with it: among the variety of these matters the Poem begins from the lowest, and thence advances gradually from higher to higher, till having reached the highest, it there properly stops.

The first Book begins from the simple Culture of the Earth, and from its hum-

* See Philosophical Arrangements, p. 295, 296.
Part II. blest Progeny, Corn, Legumes, Flowers, &c.†

'Tis a noelier Species of Vegetables, which employs the second Book, where we are taught the Culture of Trees, and, among others, of that important pair, the Olive and the Vine*. Yet it must be remembered, that all this is nothing more than the culture of mere Vegetable and Inanimate Nature.

'Tis in the third Book that the Poet rises to Nature sensitive and animated, when he gives us precepts about Cattle, Horses, Sheep, &c.‡

† These are implied by Virgil in the first Line of his first Book, and in every other part of it, the Epistles and Epilogue excepted.

* This too is asserted at the Beginning of his first Book — Ulmifque adjungere Vites — and is the entire subject of the second, the same exceptions made as before.

‡ This is the third subject mentioned in the Preeme, and fills (according to just order) the entire third Book, making the same exceptions, as before.
At length, in the fourth Book, when matters draw to a Conclusion, then 'tis he treats his Subject in a moral and political way. He no longer pursues the Culture of the mere brute Nature; he then describes, as he tells us,


for such is the character of his Bees, those truly social and political animals. 'Tis here he first mentions Arts, and Memory, and Laws, and Families. 'Tis here (their great sagacity considered) he supposes a portion imparted of a sublimer principle. 'Tis here that everything vegetable or merely brutal seems forgotten, while all appears at least human, and sometimes even divine.

His quidam signis, atque hæc exempla secuti,
Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis,
et haustus

Ætherios
When the subject will not permit him to proceed farther, he suddenly conveys his Reader, by the Fable of Aristæus, among Nymphs, Heroes, Demi-gods and Gods, and thus leaves him in company, supposed more than mortal.

This is not only a sublime Conclusion to the fourth Book, but naturally leads to the Conclusion of the whole Work; for he does no more after this than shortly recapitulate, and elegantly blend his recapitulating with a Compliment to Augustus.

But even this is not all.

The dry, didactic character of the Georgics made it necessary, they should be
be enlivened by *Episodes* and *Digressions*. It has been the Art of the Poet, that *Episodes* and *Digressions* should be *homogeneous*: that is, should so connect with the Subject, as to become (as it were) *Parts* of it. On these Principles every Book has for its *End*, what I call an *Epilogue*; for its *Beginning*, an *Invocation*; and for its *Middle*, the several *Precepts*, relative to its Subject, I mean *Husbandry*. Having a *Beginning*, a *Middle*, and an *End*, every *Part itself* becomes a *smaller Whole*, tho' with respect to the *general Plan* it is nothing more than a *Part*. Thus the *Human Arm* with a view to its Elbow, its Hand, its Fingers, &c. is as clearly a *Whole*, as it is simply *but a Part* with a view to the *entire Body*.

The smaller *Whole* of this divine Poem may merit some attention; by these I mean *each particular Book*.
Part II. Each Book has an Invocation. The first invokes the Sun, the Moon, the various rural Deities, and lastly Augustus; the second invokes Bacchus; the third Pales and Apollo; the fourth, his Patron Mæcenas. I do not dwell on these Invocations, much less on the Parts which follow, for this in fact would be writing a Comment upon the Poem. But the Epilogues, besides their own intrinsic beauty, are too much to our purpose, to be past in silence.

In the arrangement of them the Poet seems to have pursued such an Order, as that alternate Affections should be alternately excited; and this he has done, well knowing the importance of that generally acknowledged Truth, the Force derived to Contraries by their juxta-position or succession*. The first Book ends with those

* See before, p. 50, 51, &c.
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Portents and Prodigies, both upon Earth and in the Heavens, which preceded the Death of the Dictator Caesar. To these direful scenes the Epilogue of the second Book opposes the Tranquility and Felicity of the rural Life, which (as he informs us) Faction and civil Discord do not usually impair—

Non res Romanæ, pcrituraque regna—

In the Ending of the third Book we read of a Pestilence, and of Nature in devastation; in the fourth, of Nature restored, and, by help of the Gods, replenished.

As this concluding Epilogue (I mean the Fable of Ariftæus) occupies the most important place, so is it decorated accordingly with Language, Events, Places, and Personages.

No Language was ever more polished and harmonious. The Descent of Aris-
Part II. ως to his mother, and of Orpheus to
the shades, are Events; the watery Palace of the Nereids, the Cavern of Proteus, and the Scene of the infernal Regions, are Places; Aristaeus, old Proteus, Orpheus, Eurydice, Cyllene and her Nymphs, are Personages; all great, all striking, all sublime.

Let us view these Epilogues in the Poet's Order,

I. CIVIL HORRORS.
II. RURAL TRANQUILITY.
III. NATURE LAID WASTE.
IV. NATURE RESTORED.

Here, as we have said already, different Passions are, by the Subjects being alternate*, alternately excited; and yet withal excited so judiciously, that, when the Poem concludes, and all is at an end, the Reader leaves off with tranquility and joy.

* See before, p. 126.
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From the Georgics of Virgil we proceed to the Menexenus of Plato; the first being the most finished Form of a didactic Poem, the latter, the most consummate Model of a Panegyrical Oration.

The Menexenus is a funeral Oration in praise of those brave Athenians, who had fallen in battle by generously asserting the Cause of their Country. Like the Georgics, and every other just Composition, this Oration has a Beginning, a Middle, and an End.

The Beginning is a solemn account of the deceased having received all the legitimate Rights of Burial, and of the propriety of doing them honour not only by Deeds, but by Words; that is, not only by funeral Ceremonies, but by a Speech, to perpetuate the memory of their magnanimity, and to recommend it to their posterity, as an object of imitation.

K As
As the deceased were brave and gallant men, we are shewn by what means they came to possess their character, and what noble exploits they performed in consequence.

Hence the Middle of the Oration contains first their Origin; next their Education and Form of Government; and last of all, the consequence of such an Origin and Education; their Heroic Achievements from the earliest days to the time then present*.

The middle Part being thus complete, we come to the Conclusion, which is perhaps the most sublime piece of Oratory both for the Plan and Execution, which is extant of any age, or in any language.

* See Dr. Bentham's elegant Edition of this Oration, in his Λόγοι Ἐπίταξις, printed at Oxford, 1746, from p. 21 to p. 42.
By an awful Prosopopeia, the Deceased are called up to address the Living; the Fathers, slain in battle, to exhort their living Children; the Children, slain in battle, to console their living Fathers; and this with every Idea of manly Consolation, and with every generous incentive to a contempt of Death, and a love of their Country, that the powers of Nature, or of Art could suggest.

'Tis here this Oration concludes, being (as we have shewn) a perfect Whole, executed with all the strength of a sublime Language, under the management of a great and a sublime Genius.

If these Speculations appear too dry, they may be rendered more pleasing, if the Reader would peruse the two Pieces

* See the same Edition from the words Ω Πατέως ἢ μὲν ἢ τὰ πάντα αὐτῶν ἀραθήν εἰς, p. 41, to the Conclusion of the Oration, p. 48.

K 2 criticized.
Part II. criticized. His labour, he might be assured, would not be lost, as he would peruse two of the finest pieces, which the two finest ages of Antiquity produced.

We cannot however quit this Theory concerning Whole and Parts, without observing that it regards alike both small Works and great; and that it descends even to an Eflay, to a Sonnet, to an Ode. These minuter efforts of Genius, unless they possess (if I may be pardoned the expression) a certain character of Totality, lose a capital pleasure derived from their Union; from a Union, which, collected in a few pertinent Ideas, combines them all happily, under One amicable Form. Without this Union, the Production is no better than a sort of vague Effusion, where Sentences follow Sentences, and Stanzas follow Stanzas, with no apparent reason why they should be two rather than twenty, or twenty rather than two.
If we want another argument for this <i>Minuter Totality</i>, we may refer to <i>Nature</i>, which <i>Art</i> is said to <i>imitate</i>. Not only <i>this Universe</i> is one stupendous Whole, but such also is <i>a Tree</i>, <i>a Shrub</i>, <i>a Flower</i>; such those Beings, which, without the aid of glasses, even <i>escape</i> our perception. And so much for <i>Totality</i> (I venture to familiarize the term) that <i>common and essential Character to every legitimate Composition</i>.

There is another character left, which, tho' foreign to the present purpose, I venture to mention, and that is the character of <i>Accuracy</i>. Every Work ought to be as <i>accurate as possible</i>. And yet, tho' this apply to Works of <i>every kind</i>, there is a difference whether the Work be <i>great or small</i>. In <i>greater Works</i> (such as Histories, Epic Poems, and the like) their <i>very Magnitude</i> excuses <i>incidental defects</i>, and their Authors, according to <i>Horace</i>,

\[K\]
Part II. Horace, may be allowed to slumber. 'Tis otherwise in smaller Works, for the very reason, that they are smaller. Such, thro' every part, both in Sentiment and Diction, should be perspicuous, pure, simple and precise.

As Examples often illustrate better than Theory, the following short Piece is subjoined for perusal. The Reader may be assured, it comes not from the Author; and yet, tho' not his own, he cannot help feeling a paternal Sollicitude for it; a wish for indulgence to a juvenile Genius, that never meant a private Essay for public Inspection.

Perdita to Florizel.

Argument.
Several Ladies in the Country having acted a Dramatic Pastoral, in which one of them under the name of Florizel, a Shepherd, makes love to another under the name of
of Perdita, a Shepherdess; their acting being finished, and they returned to their proper characters, one of them addresses the other in the following lines.—

"No more shall we with trembling hear that Bell *
"Which shew'd Me, Perdita; Thee, Florizel.
"No more thy brilliant eyes, with looks of love,
"Shall in my bosom gentle pity move.
"The eurtain drops, and now we both remain,
"You free from mimic love, and I from pain.
"Yet grant one favour—tho' our Drama ends,
"Let the feign'd Lovers still be real Friends.

* The Play-bell.
Part II.  

The Author, in his own Works, as far as his Genius would assist, has endeavoured to give them a just Totality. He has endeavoured that each of them should exhibit a real Beginning, Middle, and End, and these properly adapted to the places, which they possess, and incapable of Transposition, without Detriment or Confusion. He does not however venture upon a Detail, because he does not think it worthy to follow the Detail of Productions, like the Georgics, or the Menexenus.

So much therefore for the Speculation concerning Whole and Parts, and such matters relative to it, as have incidentally arisen.

We are now to say something upon the Theory of Sentiment; and as Sentiment and Manners are intimately connected, and in a Drama both of them naturally
naturally rise out of the Fable, it seems Ch. V. also proper to say something upon Dramatic Speculation in general, beginning, according to Order, first from the first.
Dramatic Speculations, — the constitutive Parts of every Drama — Six in number — which of these belong to other Artists — which, to the Poet — transition to those, which appertain to the Poet.

The Laws and Principles of Dramatic Poetry among the Greeks, whether it was from the excellence of their Pieces, or of their Language, or of both, were treated with attention even by their ablest Philosophers.

We shall endeavour to give a sketch of their Ideas; and, if it shall appear that we illustrate by instances chiefly Modern, we have so done, because we believe that it demonstrates the Universality of the Precepts.

A Dramatic Piece, or (in more common Language) a Play, is, the Detail
tail or Exhibition of a certain Action—not however an Action, like one in History, which is supposed actually to have happened, but, tho' taken from History, a Fiction or Imitation, in various particulars derived from Invention. 'Tis by this that Sophocles and Shakspeare differ from Thucydides and Clarendon. 'Tis Invention makes them Poets, and not Metre, for had Coke or Newton written in Verse, they could not for that reason have been called Poets*.

Again, a Dramatic Piece, or Play is the Exhibition of an Action, not

* Δὴλον ἦν ἐκ τῶν ὅτι τὸν ἔργον ἀλλᾶν τῶν μάθον εἰσί δεῖ ἔργον, ἣ τῶν μέτρων, ὡς ἔργον κατὰ τῶν μίμησιν ἐστι. μίμηται δὲ τὰς ἡφαξέις. 'Tis therefore evident, hence, that a Poet or Maker ought rather to be a Maker of Fables, than of Verses, in as much as he is a Poet or Maker in virtue of his imitation, and as the Objects he imitates are human actions. Arift. De Poet. cap. IX. p. 234. Edit. Sylb.
Part II. *simply related, as the Eneid or Paradise Lost*, but where the Parties concerned are made to appear in person, and personally to converse and act their own story. 'Tis by this that the Samson Agonistes differs from the Paradise Lost, tho' both of them Poems from the same sublime Author.

Now such Dramatic Piece or Play, in order to make it pleasing (and surely, to please is an Essential to the Drama) must have a Beginning, Middle, and End, that is, as far as possible, be a perfect Whole, having Parts. If it be defective here, it will be hardly comprehensible; and if hardly comprehensible, 'tis not possible that it should please.

But upon Whole and Parts, as we have spoken already*, we speak not now.

* Sup. Ch. V.
INQUIRIES.

At present we remark, that such an action, as here described, makes in every play what we call the story, or (to use a term more technical) the fable; and that this story or fable is, and has been justly called the very soul of the drama*, since from this it derives its very existence.

We proceed—this drama then being an action, and that not rehearsed like an epopee or history, but actually transacted by certain present living agents, it becomes necessary that these agents should mutually converse, and that they should have too a certain place, where to hold their conversation. Hence we perceive that in every dramatic piece, not only the fable is a requisite, but the scenery, and the stage, and more

Part II. than these, a proper Diction. Indeed the Scenery and Stage are not in the Poet's Department: they belong at best to the Painter, and after him to inferior Artists. The Diction is the Poet's, and this indeed is important, since the Whole of his Performance is conveyed thro' the Dialogue.

But Diction being admitted, we are still to observe, that there are other things wanting, of no less importance. In the various transactions of real Life, every person does not simply speak, but some way or other speaks his Mind, and discovers by his behaviour certain Traces of Character. Now 'tis in these almost inseparable Accidents to Human Conduct, that we perceive the rise of Sentiment and Manners. And hence it follows that as Dramatic Fiction copies real Life, not only Diction is a necessary part of it, but Manners also, and Sentiment. We
INQUIRIES.

We may subjoin one Part more, and that is Music. The antient Chorusses between the Acts were probably sung, and perhaps the rest was delivered in a species of Recitative. Our modern Theatres have a Band of Music, and have Music often introduced, where there is no Opera. In this last (I mean the Opera) Music seems to claim precedence.

From these Speculations it appears, that the Constitutive Parts of the Drama are six, that is to say, the FABLE, the MANNERS, the SENTIMENT, the DICTION, the SCENERY, and the MUSIC*.


The Doctrines of Aristotle in this, and the following Chapters may be said to contain in a manner the whole Dramatic Art.
Part II. But then, as out of these six the Scenery and the Music appear to appertain to other Artists, and the Play (as far as respects the Poet) is complete without them: it remains that its four primary and capital Parts are the Fable, the Manners, the Sentiment, and the Diction:

These by way of Sketch we shall successively consider, commencing from the Fable, as the first in dignity and rank.
In the constitutive Parts of a Drama, the Fable considered first—its different Species—which fit for Comedy; which, for Tragedy—Illustrations by Examples—Revolutions—Discoveries—Tragic Passions—Lillo's Fatal Curiosity—compared with the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles—Importance of Fables, both Tragic and Comic—how they differ—bad Fables, whence—other Dramatic Requisites, without the Fable, may be excellent—Fifth Acts, how characterised by some Dramatic Writers.

If we treat of Dramatic Fables or Stories, we must first inquire how many are their Species; and these we endeavour to arrange, as follows.

One Species is, when the several Events flow in a similar Succession, and calmly
Part II. calmly maintain that equal course, till the Succession stops, and the Fable is at an end. Such is the Story of a simple Peasant, who quietly dies in the Cottage where he was born, the same throughout his life, both in manners, and in rank.

There is a second Species of Story or Fable, not simple, but complicated*; a Species, where the succeeding Events differ widely from the preceding; as for example, the Story of the well-known Maffinello, who, in a few days, from a poor Fisherman rose to Sovereign Authority. Here the Succession is not equal or similar, because we have a sudden Revolution.

* Εἰςὶ δὲ τῶν μέθυν ὁ μὲν ἀπλοῖ, ὁ δὲ πεπληγμένοι εὖ γὰρ ἂν πράξεις, δόν μικρὸτερον ὁ μυθικός εἰς τὸν, ὑπάρχον εὖ δέ τοι τοιάδει λίγω δὲ ν. τ. λ. Of Fables some are simple, and some are complicated; for such are Human Actions, of which Fables are Imitations. By simple, I mean, &c. Arist. Poet. cap. 10. p. 235. Edit. Syll.

from
I N Q U I R I E S.

from low to high, from mean to magni-

C. VII. ficent.

There is another complicated species, the reverse of this last, where the Revolution, tho' in extremes, is from high to low, from magnificent to mean. This may be illustrated by the same Maffinello, who, after a short taste of Sovereignty, was ignominiously slain.

And thus are all Fables or Stories either simple or complicated; and the complicated also of two subordinate sorts; of which the one, beginning from Bad, ends in Good; the other, beginning from Good, ends in Bad.

If we contemplate these various species, we shall find the simple Story least adapted either to Comedy or Tragedy. It wants those striking Revolutions, those un-

expected
Part II. expected Discoveries*, so essential to engage, and to detain a Spectator.

'Tis not so with complicated Stories. Here every sudden Revolution, every Discovery has a charm, and the unexpected events never fail to interest.

It must be remarked however of these complicated Stories, that, where the Re-

* These Revolutions and Discoveries are called in Greek Περιπτώσεις and Αναγνώσεις. They are thus defined. 'Εστι δὲ Περιπτώσεις μὲν ἢ εἰς τὸ ἐνυπτίου τῶν πραξιομένων μεταβολή, καθάπερ εἰρητικόν, ἡ τύτο δὲ—κατὰ τὸ εἰκόν, ἡ ἀναγκαῖον. A Revolution is, as has been already said, a Change into the reverse of what is doing, and that either according to Probability, or from Necessity. Arift. Poet. c. iii. p. 235. Edit. Sylb. Again—Ἀναγνώσις δ' ἢ εἰν, ἀστερ ὡς τάσομα ἐνεργεία, ἢ ἀγρέως ἡς ὑδάτων μεταβολή, ἡ ἢ οἱ Φίλαιν ἡ ἐκφράσι τῶν πρὸς ἐνυργον ἡ δισυργίαν ἀξιομήνων. A Discovery is, as the name implies, a Change from Ignorance to Knowledge, a Knowledge leading either to Friendship or Enmity between these, who [in the course of the Drama] are defined to Felicity or Infelicity. Arift. Poet. ut supra.

VOLUTION
volution is from Bad to Good, as in the first subordinate Sort, they are more natural to Comedy* than to Tragedy, because Comedies, however Perplexed and Turbid may be their Beginning, generally produce at last (as well the antient as the modern) a Reconciliation of Parties, and a Wedding in consequence. Not only Terence, but every modern, may furnish us with examples.

* The Stagirite having approved the practice, that Tragedy should end with Infelicity, and told us that the introduction of Felicity was a sort of Complement paid by the Poet to the wishes of the Spectators, adds upon the subject of a happy ending—ὅτε δὲ ὁοὺξ ἀλή ἀπὸ Τραγῳδίας ἡδονή, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς Κωμῳδίας ὑπνία, ἵπ χαρ ἢν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἄστιν ἢ τῷ μῦθῳ ὁπίν Ορέστης καὶ Ἀριστοδές Φίλοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τελευταὶ ἐξερχονται, καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει ἕδεις ὑπ’ ὑδενός. This is not a Pleasure arising from Tragedy, but is rather peculiar to Comedy. For there, if the characters are most hostile; (as much so, as Orestes and Ægisthus were;) they become Friends at last, when they quit the Stage, nor does any one die by the means of any other. Arist. Poet. c. 13. p. 238. Edit. Syllb.
Part II. On the contrary, when the Revolution, as in the second fort, is from Good to Bad, (that is, from Happy to Unhappy, from Prosperous to Adverse) here we discover the true Fable, or Story, proper for Tragedy. Common sense leads us to call, even in real life, such Events, Tragical. When Henry the fourth of France, the triumphant Soveraign of a great people, was unexpectedly murdered by a wretched Fanatic, we cannot help saying, ’twas a Tragical Story.

But to come to the Tragic Drama itself.

We see this kind of Revolution sublimely illustrated in the Oedipus of Sophocles, where Oedipus, after having flattered himself in vain, that his Suspicions would be relieved by his Inquiries, is at last
last by those very Inquiries* plunged into the deepest woe, from finding it confirmed and put beyond doubt, that he had murdered his own Father, and was then married to his own Mother.

We see the force also of such a Revolution in Milton's Sampson Agonistes. When his Father had specious hopes to redeem him from Captivity, these hopes are at once blasted by his unexpected destruction†.

Othello commences with a prospect of Conjugal Felicity; Lear‡ with that of Repose,

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* See the same Poetics of Aristotle, in the beginning of Chap. 11th—"Ωστερ ἐν τῇ Ὀιδίποδι X. τ. λ. p. 235. Edit. Sylb.
† See Samson Agonistes, v. 1452, &c.
‡ This Example refers to the real Lear of Shakespeare, not the spurious one, commonly acted under his name, where the imaginary Mender seems to have
Part II. Repose, by retiring from Royalty. Different Revolutions (arising from Jealousy, Ingratitude, and other culpable affections) change both of these pleasing prospects into the deepest distress, and with this distress each of the Tragedies concludes.

Nor is it a small heightening to these Revolutions, if they are attended, as in the Oedipus, with a Discovery*, that is, if the Parties who suffer, and those who cause their sufferings, are discovered to be connected, for example, to be Husband and Wife, Brother and Sister, Parents and a Child, &c. &c.

If a man in real Life happen to kill another, it certainly heightens the Mis-

have paid the same Complement to his audience, as was paid to other audiences two thousand years ago, and then justly censured. See Note, p. 149.

* See before, p. 150.
fortune, even tho' an Event of mere Chance, if he discover that person to be his Father or his Son.

'Tis easy to perceive, if these Events are Tragic (and can we for a moment doubt them to be such?) that Pity and Terror are the true Tragic Passions*; that they truly bear that Name, and are

* It has been observed that, if persons of consummate Virtue and Probity are made unfortunate, it does not move our Pity, for we are shocked; if Persons notoriously infamous are unfortunate, it may move our Humanity, but hardly then our Pity. It remains that Pity, and we may add Fear, are naturally excited by middle characters, those who are no way distinguished by their extraordinary Virtue, nor who bring their misfortunes upon them so much by Improbity, as by Error.

As we think the sufferings of such persons rather hard, they move our Pity; as we think them like ourselves, they move our Fear.

This will explain the following expressions—


necessarily
necessarily diffused thro' every Fable truly Tragic.

Now, whether our ingenious Country-man, Lillo, in that capital Play of his, the Fatal Curiosity, learnt this Doctrine from others, or was guided by pure Genius, void of Critical Literature: 'tis certain that in this Tragedy (whatever was the cause) we find the model of a perfect Fable, under all the Characters here described.

"A long-lost Son, returning home unexpectedly, finds his Parents alive, but perishing with indigence.

"The young man, whom from his long absence his Parents never expected, discovers himself first to an amiable friend, his long-loved Charlotte, and with her concerts the manner how to discover himself to his Parents.

"'Tis
INQUIRIES.

'Tis agreed he should go to their House, and there remain unknown, till Charlotte should arrive, and make the happy Discovery.

He goes thither accordingly, and having by a Letter of Charlotte's been admitted, converses, tho' unknown, both with Father and Mother, and holds their misery with filial Affection—complaints at length he was fatigued, (which in fact he really was) and begs he may be admitted for a while to repose. Retiring he delivers a Casket to his Mother, and tells her 'tis a deposit, she must guard, till he awakes."

Curiosity tempts her to open the Casket, where she is dazzled with the splendor of innumerable Jewels. Objeets so alluring suggest bad Ideas, and Poverty soon gives to those Ideas a sanction. Black as they are, she communicates
Part II. "nicates them to her husband, who, at first reluctant, is at length persuaded, and for the sake of the Jewels stabs the stranger, while he sleeps.

"The fatal murder is perpetrating, or at least but barely perpetrated, when Charlotte arrives, full of joy to inform them, that the stranger within their walls was their long lost Son.

What a Discovery? What a Revolution? How irresistibly are the Tragic Passions of Terror and Pity excited†.

'Tis no small Praise to this affecting Fable, that it so much resembles that of the Play just mentioned, the Oedipus Tyrannus. In both Tragedies that, which apparently leads to joy, leads in its com-

* See p. 150, &c.
pletion to Misery; both Tragedies concur in the horror of their Discoveries; and both in those great outlines of a truly Tragic Revolution, where (according to the nervous sentiment of Lillo himself) we see

the two extremes of Life,
The highest Happiness, and deepest Woe,
With all the sharp and bitter Aggravations
Of such a vast transition

A farther concurrence may be added, which is, that each Piece begins and proceeds in a train of Events, which with perfect probability lead to its Conclusion, without the help of Machines, Deities, Prodigies, Spectres, or any thing else, incomprehensible, or incredible*.

* It is true that in one Play mention is made of an Oracle; in the other, of a Dream; but neither of them affects the Catastrophe; which in both Plays arises from Incidents perfectly natural.
Part II. We may say too, in both Pieces there exists Totality, that is to say, they have a Beginning, a Middle, and an End.

We mention this again, tho' we have mentioned it already, because we think we cannot enough enforce so absolutely essential a Requisite; a Requisite descending in Poetry from the mighty Epopee down to the minute Epigram; and never to be dispensed with, but in Sessions Papers, Controversial Pamphlets, and those passing Productions, which, like certain infects of which we read, live and die within the day.

And now, having given in the above instances this Description of the Tragic Fable, we may be enabled to perceive

* See before, Ch. V.

its amazing efficacy. It does not, like a C.VII. fine Sentiment, or a beautiful Simile, give an occasional or local Grace; it is never out of sight; it adorns every Part, and passes through the whole.

'TWAS from these reasonings that the great Father of Criticism, speaking of the Tragic Fable, calls it the very Soul of Tragedy*

Nor is this assertion less true of the Comic Fable, which has too, like the Tragic, its Revolutions, and its Discoveries; its Praise from natural Order, and from a just Totality.

The difference between them only lies in the Persons and the Catastrophe, in as much as (contrary to the usual practice

* See before, p. 141.
Part II. of Tragedy] the Comic Persons are mostly either of Middle or Lower Life, and the Catastrophe for the greater part from Bad to Good, or (to talk less in extremes) from turbid to tranquil*.

On Fables, Comic as well as Tragic, we may alike remark, that, when good, like many other fine things, they are difficult. And hence perhaps the Cause, why in this respect so many Dramas are defective; and why their Story or Fable is commonly no more, than either a jumble of Events hard to comprehend, or a Tale taken from some wretched Novel, which has little foundation either in Nature or Probability.

Even in the Plays we most admire, we shall seldom find our Admiration to arise from the Fable: 'tis either from

* See p. 149.
THE SENTIMENT, as in Measure for Measure; or from the purity of the Diction, as in Cato; or from the Characters and Manners, as in Lear, Othello, Falstaff, Benedict and Beatrice, Ben the Sailor, Sir Peter and Lady Teazle, with the other Persons of that pleasing Drama, the School for Scandal.

To these merits, which are great, we may add others far inferior, such as the Scenery; such, as in Tragedy, the Spectacle of Pomps and Processions; in Comedy, the amusing Busfle of Surprizes and Squabbles; all of which have their effect, and keep our Attention alive.

But here, alas! commences the Grievance. After Sentiment, Diction, Characters and Manners; after the elegance of Scenes; after Pomps and Processions, Squabbles and Surprizes; when, these being over, the whole draws to a conclusion.
Part II. conclusion—'tis then unfortunately comes the Failure. At that critical moment, of all the most interesting (by that critical moment I mean the Catastrophe), 'tis then the poor Spectator is led into a Labyrinth, where both himself and the Poet are often lost together.

In Tragedy this Knot, like the Gordian Knot, is frequently solved by the sword. The principal Parties are slain; and, these being dispatched, the Play ends of course.

In Comedy the Expedient is little better. The old Gentleman of the Drama, after having fretted, and风暴ed thro' the first four Acts, towards the Conclusion of the fifth is unaccountably appeared. At the same time the dissipated Coquette, and the dissolute fine Gentleman, whose Vices cannot be occasional, but must clearly be habitual, are in the space of half a Scene miraculously
lously reformed, and grow at once as completely good, as if they had never been otherwise.

'Twas from a sense of this concluding Jumble, this unnatural huddling of Events, that a witty Friend of mine, who was himself a Dramatic Writer, used pleasantly, tho' perhaps rather freely, to damn the man, who invented Fifth Acts.*

* So said the celebrated Henry Fielding, who was a respectable person both by Education and Birth, having been bred at Eton School and Leyden, and being lineally descended from an Earl of Denbigh.

His Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones may be called Master-pieces in the Comic Epopee, which none since have equalled, tho' multitudes have imitated; and which he was peculiarly qualified to write in the manner he did, both from his Life, his Learning, and his Genius.

Had his Life been less irregular (for irregular it was, and spent in a promiscuous intercourse with persons of all ranks) his Pictures of Human kind had neither been so various, nor so natural.
And so much for the Nature or Character of the Dramatic Fable.

We are now to inquire concerning Manners and Sentiment, and first for the Theory of Manners.

Had he possessed less of Literature, he could not have infused such a spirit of Classical Elegance.

Had his Genius been less fertile in Wit and Humour, he could not have maintained that uninterrupted Pleasantry, which never suffers his Reader to feel fatigue.

"WHEN the principal Persons of any Drama preserve such a consistency of Conduct, (it matters not whether that Conduct be virtuous, or vicious) that, after they have appeared for a Scene or two, we conjecture what they will do hereafter, from what they have done already, such Persons in Poetry may be said to have Manners, for by this, and this only,"
Part II. "only, are Poetic Manners constituted*."

To explain this assertion, by recurring to instances—As soon as we have seen

* ἐγὼ δὲ ΠΟΘΟΣ μὲν τὸ τοιέτον, ὅ ὕπογον τῶν ἁφολι-
ισίων ἐπιέχει τίς ἐστιν, ἐν τίς ἴκ ἐγὼ ὕπογον, ἐν προσεπιται, Ἡ Φούρρει ὁ λόγων. MANNERS or Character is that
which discovers, WHAT THE DETERMINATION [of a
Speaker] will be, in matters, where IT IS NOT YET
MANIFEST, whether he chooses to do a thing, or to avoid

It was from our being unable, in the Person of
some Dramas, to conjecture what they will determine,
that the above author immediately adds—διότι ἐκ
ἐξουσία ἡδον ἐνοι τῶν λόγων—for which reason some of
the Dramatic Dialogues have no MANNERS at all.

And this well explains another account of MAN-
NERS given in the same Book—Τὰ δὲ ΠΟΘΟ, καὶ ἓ
κοινὸς τινας ἐνμεν τῆς ξεραῖον—MANNERS
are these qualities, thro' which we say the actors are men
of such, or such a character. ibid.

Beffu, in his Traité du Poème Epique, has given a
fine and copious Commentary on this part of Aristotiel's
Poetics. See his Work, Liv. IV. chap. 4, 5, &c.
the violent Love and weak Credulity of Othello, the fatal Jealousy, in which they terminate, is no more than what we may conjecture. When we have marked the attention paid by Macbeth to the Witches, to the persuasions of his Wife, and to the flattering dictates of his own Ambition, we suspect something atrocious; nor are we surprised, that, in the Event, he murders Duncan, and then Banquo. Had he changed his conduct, and been only wicked by halves, his Manners would not have been as they now are, poetically good.

If the leading Person in a Drama, for example Hamlet, appear to have been treated most injuriously, we naturally infer that he will meditate Revenge; and should that Revenge prove fatal to those who had injured him, 'tis no more than was probable, when we consider the Provocation.
Part II. But should the same Hamlet by chance kill an innocent old Man, an old Man, from whom he had never received Offence; and with whose Daughter he was actually in love;—what should we expect then? Should we not look for Compassion, I might add, even for Compunction? Should we not be shocked, if, instead of this, he were to prove quite insensible—or (what is even worse) were he to be brutally jocose?

Here the Manners are blameable, because they are inconsistent; we should never conjecture from Hamlet any thing so unfeelingly cruel.

Nor are Manners only to be blamed for being thus inconsistent. Consistency itself is blameable, if it exhibit Human Beings completely abandoned; completely void of Virtue; prepared, like King Richard, at their very birth, for mischief.
INQUIRIES.

 chief. 'Twas of such models that a jocose Critic once said, they might make good Devils, but they could never make good Men: not (says he) that they want Constancy, but 'tis of a supernatural fort, which Human Nature never knew.

Quodcumque ostendis mihi hic, incredulus odi. Hor.

Those, who wish to see Manners in a more genuine Form, may go to the characters already alleged in the preceding chapter*; where, from our previous acquaintance with the several parties, we can hardly fail, as incidents arise, to conjecture† their future Behaviour.

We may find also Manners of this fort in the Fatal Curiosity. Old Wilmot and

* See p. 161.
† See p. 165, 166.
his Wife discover Affection for one another; nor is it confined here—they discover it for their absent Son; for his beloved Charlotte; and for their faithful servant Randal. Yet, at the same time, from the memory of past Affluence, the pressure of present Indigence, the fatal want of Resources, and the cold Ingratitude of Friends, they shew to all others (the few above excepted) a gloomy, proud, unfeeling Misanthropy.

In this state of mind, and with these manners an Opportunity offers, by murdering an unknown Stranger, to gain them immense Treasure, and place them above want. As the Measure was at once both tempting and easy, was it not natural that such a Wife should persuade, and that such a Husband should be persuaded?—We may conjecture from their past behaviour what part they would prefer, and that part, tho' morally wicked, is yet poetically
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We are far from justifying Assassins. Yet Assassins, if truly drawn, are not Monsters, but Human Beings; and, as such, being chequered with Good and with Evil, may by their Good move our Pity, tho' their Evil cause Abhorrence.

But this in the present case is not all. The innocent parties, made miserable, exhibit a distress, which comes home; a distress, which, as mortals, it is impossible we should not feel.

Sunt lacrymae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt †.

Virg. Aen.

* See p. 169.

† It was intended to illustrate, by large Quotations from different parts of this affecting Tragedy, what is asserted in various parts of these Inquiries. But the
Part II. the intention was laid aside, (at least in greater part) by reflecting that the Tragedy was easily to be procured, being modern, and having past thro' several Editions, one particularly so late, as in the year 1775, when it was printed with Lillo's other Dramatic Pieces.

If any one read this Tragedy, the author of these Inquiries has a request or two to make, for which he hopes a candid Reader will forgive him—one is, not to cavil at minute inaccuracies, but look to the superior merit of the whole taken together—another is, totally to expunge those wretched Rhimes, which conclude many of the Scenes; and which 'tis probable are not from Lillo, but from some other hand, willing to conform to an absurd Fashion, then practised, but now laid aside, the Fashion (I mean) of a Rhiming Conclusion.
Concerning Dramatic Sentiment—that constitutes it—Connected with Manners, and how—Concerning Sentiment, Gnomologic, or Preceptive—its Description—Sometimes has a Reason annexed to it—Sometimes laudable, sometimes blameable—whom it most becomes to utter it, and why—Boisf—Transition to Diction.

From Manners we pass to Sentiment; a Word, which tho' sometimes confined to mere Gnomology, or moral Precept, was often used by the Greeks in a more comprehensive Meaning, including every thing, for which men employ Language; for proving and solving; for raising and calming the Passions; for exaggerating and depreciating; for Commands, Monitions, Prayers, Narratives, Interrogations,
PHILOLOGICAL

Part II. gations, Answers, &c. &c. In short, Sentiment in this Sense means little less, than the universal Subjects of our Discourse*. It

* There are two species of Sentiment successively here described, both called in English either a Sentiment of a Sentence; and in Latin, Sententia. The Greeks were more exact, and to the different Species assigned different Names, calling the one Δίανοια, the other Γνώμη.

Of Γνώμη we shall speak hereafter: of Δίανοις their descriptions are as follows. "Εστὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ταῦτα, ὅσα ὑπὸ τὰ λόγα τὶς παρασκευάζων μέρη ἐι τῶν, τότε ἀπεδεικνύει, χ' τὸ λόγον, χ' τὸ πώθη παρασκευάζειν, οὗν ἔλεγεν, ἢ Φόβον, ἢ Νόμον, ἢ ἄνω τοιαύτα, χ' ἐπὶ μέγιθος ἢ σμικρότητα. All these things belong to Sentiment (or Δίανοια) that are to be performed thro' the help of Discourse: now the various branches of these things, are, to prove, and to solve, to excite Passions (such as Pity, Fear, Anger, and the like) and, besides this, to magnify, and to diminish. Arist. Poet. c. 19. p. 245. Edit. Sylb.

We have here chosen the fullest Description of Δίανοια; but in the same work there are others more concise, which yet express the same meaning. In
It was under this meaning the word was originally applied to the Drama, and this appears not only from Authority, but from Fact: for what can conduce more effectually than Discourse, to establisb with precision Dramatic Manners, and Characters?

To refer to a Play already mentioned, the Fatal Curiosity—When old Wilmot discharges his faithful Servant from pure affection, that he might not starve him, how strongly are his Manners delineated by his Sentiments? The following are among his Monitions—

In the sixth chapter we are told it is—τὸ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ οίνοικα τὰ ἀρματοικά—to be able to say (that is, to express justly) such things as necessarily belong to a subject, or properly suit it. And again soon after—Διάνοια δὲ, εὖ εἰς ἀποδεικνύσι τι, ἢ ἡ ἢ ἡ ἢ τι ἢ τι ἢ τι ἢ τι αποφάσιοι—Διάνοια or Sentiment exists, where men demonstrate any thing either to be, or not to be; or thro' which they exert any thing general or universal. Ibid. p. 231.

Shun
Shun my example; treasure up my precepts; The world's before thee; be a Knave and prosper.

The young man, shockt at such advice from a Master, whose Virtues he had been accustomed so long to venerate, ventures modestly to ask him,

Where are your former Principles?

The old Man's Reply is a fine Picture of Human Frailty; a striking and yet a natural blending of Friendship and Misanthropy; of particular Friendship, of general Misanthropy.

No Matter (says he) for Principles; Suppose I have renounc'd 'em: I have passions,
And love thee still; therefore would have thee think,
The World is all a Scene of deep deceit,

And
INQUIRIES.

Ch. IX.

And he, who deals with mankind on the square,
Is his own bubble, and undoes himself.

He departs with these expressions, but leaves the young man far from being convinced.

The suspicious gloom of Age, and the open simplicity of Youth, give the strongest contrast to the manners of each, and all this from the sentiments alone; sentiments, which, tho' opposite, are still perfectly just, as being perfectly suited to their different characters.

'Tis to this comprehensive Meaning of sentiment that we may in a manner refer the Substance of these Inquiries; for such sentiment is every thing, either written or spoken.

N

Some-
Part II. Something however must be said upon that other, and more limited species of it, which I call the Gnomologic, or Preceptive; a species, not indeed peculiar to the Drama, but, when properly used, one of its capital ornaments.

The following Description of it is taken from Antiquity. A Gnomologic Sentiment or Precept is an Assertion or Proposition—not however all Assertions, as that, Pericles was an able Statesman; Homer a great Poet, for these assertions are Particular, and such a Sentiment must be General—nor yet is it every assertion, tho' General; as that The Angles of every Triangle are equal to two right Angles—but it is an Assertion, which, tho' general, is only relative to Human Conduct, and to such Objects, as in moral action we either seek or avoid*.

* We now come to the second species of Sentiment, called in Greek Propon, and which Aristotle describes
Among the Assertions of this sort we produce the following—the Precept, which forbids unseasonable Curiosity—

Seek not to know, what must not be reveal'd.

Or that, which forbids unrelenting Anger—

Within thee cherish not immortal Ire.

We remark too, that these Sentiments acquire additional strength, if we subjoin the Reason.

describes much in the same manner as we have done in the Text. Ἐγὼ δὲ ΓΝΩΜΗ ἀποφασίς, ὁ μένοι περὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκαστῶν, οἷος, ποῖος τις Ἰφικράτης ὅτε περὶ πάσης Ἐρατο, οἷος, ὅτι τὸ ἐνθά τῷ καρποῦ ἰναθίων ἀλλὰ περὶ ὅσον ᾿αὶ πράξεις εἰσὶ, ἥ ἀκειλὴ ἡ Ἑυκλέα ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ πράσσειν. Arist. Rhetor. L. II. c. 21. p. 96. Edit. Sylb. Soo too the Scriptor ad Herennium, L. IV. f. 24. Sententia est Orationis jumpta de vitâ, quæ aut quid fit, aut quid esse oporteat in vitâ, breviter ostendit, hoc modo—Liber is est existimandus, qui nulli turpitudini servit.

N 2 FOR
Part II. For example—

Seek not to know, what must not be reveal'd;
Joys only flow, where Fate is most conceal'd.

Or again,

Within thee cherish not immortal Ire,
When Thou thyself art mortal—*

In some instances the Reason and Sentiment are so blended, as to be in a manner inseparable. Thus Shakspeare—

* The first of these Sentiments is taken from Dryden, the second is quoted by Aristotle, in his Rhetoric, L. II. c. 22. p. 97. Edit. Syib.

'Aθανασίου ὁ γὰρ ὁ Φιλόλατ, Σουτός ὁν.

On this the Philosopher well observes, that if the Motion had been no more, than that we should not cherish our Anger for ever, it had been a Sentence or Moral Precept, but, when the words Σουτός ὁν, being Mortal, are added, the Poet then gives us the Reason, τὸ διὰ τὴν τιμίαν. Rhet. ut sup. The Latin Rhetorician says the same. Sed illud quodque probandum est genus Sententiae, quod confirmatur Subjectione Rationis, hoc modo: omnes bene vivendi rationes in Virtute sunt colloquendas, propterea quod sola Virtus in sua potestate est. Scriptor. ad Heren. L. IV. f. 24.
He, who filches from me my good name, Robs me of that, which not enriches Him, But makes Me poor indeed—

There are too Sentiments of bad moral, and evil tendency—

If Sacred Right should ever be infringing’d, It should be done for Empire and Dominion: In other things pure Conscience be thy Guide*.

and again, —— the Man’s a Fool, Who, having slain the Father, spares the Sons†.

* Vid. Cic. de Officiis, L. Ill. c. 21. who thus translates Euripides—

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.


N 3 These
Part II. These Ideas are only fit for Tyrants, Usurpers, and other profligate Men; nor ought they to appear in a Drama, but to shew such Characters,

On Gnomologic Sentiments in general it has been observed, that, tho' they decorate, they should not be frequent, for then the Drama becomes affected and declamatory.

It has been said too, they come most naturally from aged persons, because Age may be supposed to have taught them Experience. It must however be an Experience, suitable to their characters: an Old General should not talk upon Law; nor an Old Lawyer upon War.

* So the same Latin Rhetorician, above quoted—Sententias interponi raro convenit, ut rei actores, non vivendi praeceptores esse videamur. Scriptor. ad Herenn. Lib. IV. f. 25.

* Αμοιβή δε γυμνολογείς οίκα μεν τρεσθετερον, τοϊ δε τάτας ου καπειρός τις είσιν. It becomes HIM to be
We are now to proceed to Diction. Ch. IX.

Be Sententious, who is advanced in years, and that upon subjects, in which he has experience. Aristot. Rhet. ut supra, p. 97. Edit. Sylb. See also the ingenious Bossu, in his Traité du Poème Epique, Liv. VI. chap. 4. 5. who is, as usual, copious, and clear.
Concerning Diction—the vulgar—the affected—the elegant—this last, much indebted to the Metaphor—Praise of the Metaphor—its Description; and, when good, its Character—the best and most excellent, what—not turgid—nor enigmatic—nor base—nor ridiculous—instances—Metaphors by constant use sometimes become common Words—Puns—Rupilius Rex—ΟΤΤΙΣ—Enigmas—Cupping—The God Terminus—Ovid's Fasti—

As every Sentiment must be expressed by Words; the Theory of Sentiment naturally leads to that of Diction. Indeed the Connection between them is so intimate, that the same Sentiment, where the Diction differs, is as different in appearance, as the same person, drest like a Peasant, or drest like a Gentleman. And
And hence we see, how much Diction Ch. X. merits a serious Attention.

But this perhaps will be better understood by an Example. Take then the following — Don’t let a lucky Hit slip; if you do, be-like you mayn’t any more get at it. The Sentiment (we must confess) is expressed clearly, but the Diction surely is rather vulgar and low. Take it another way — Opportune Moments are few and fleeting; seize them with avidity, or your Progression will be impeded. Here the Diction, tho’ not low, is rather obscure. The Words are unusual, pedantic, and affected. — But what says Shakspeare? —

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the Voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows —

Here
PHILOLOGICAL

Part II. Here the Diction is Elegant, without being vulgar or affected; the Words, tho' common, being taken under a Metaphor, are so far estranged by this metaphorical use, that they acquire thro' the change a competent dignity, and yet, without becoming vulgar, remain intelligible and clear.

Knowing therefore the stress laid by the antient Critics on the Metaphor, and viewing its admirable effects in the decorating of Diction, we think it may merit a farther regard.

There is not perhaps any Figure of Speech so pleasing, as the Metaphor. 'Tis at times the Language of every Individual, but above all is peculiar to the Man of Genius*. His Sagacity discerns not

* — τὸ δὲ μὴ γίνον μεταφορικὰν εὖςιν μόνον γὰρ τῆτο ὑπὲ παρ’ ἄλλη ἵνα λαβείν, ἐνυφάσας τε σημεῖον ἐστὶν.
not only common Analogies, but those others more remote, which escape the Vulgar, and which, tho' they seldom invent, they seldom fail to recognise, when they hear them from persons, more ingenious than themselves.

τὸ γὰρ ἐν μεταφορᾷ, τὸ ὑμοίου ήθελεῖν ἐς—

**Inquiries.**

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That Metaphor is an effort of Genius, and cannot be taught, is here again asserted in the Words of the first Quotation.—νῦν λαξεῖν ἐκ ἐνὶ ἀυλὴν (Iccl. Metaphor) ὁπλὸν ἀλλὰ. Rhetor. L. III. c. 2. p. 120. Edit. Syll.
Part II. It has been ingeniously observed, that the Metaphor took its rise from the Poverty of Language. Men, not finding upon every occasion Words ready made for their ideas, were compelled to have recourse to Words Analogous, and transfer them from their original meaning to the meaning then required. But tho' the Metaphor began in Poverty, it did not end there. When the Analogy was just (and this often happened) there was something peculiarly pleasing in what was both new, and yet familiar; so that the Metaphor was then cultivated, not out of Necessity, but for Ornament. 'Tis thus that Cloaths were first assumed to defend us against the Cold, but came afterwards to be worn for Distinction, and Decoration.

It must be observed, there is a force in the united words, new and familiar. What
What is New, but not Familiar, is often unintelligible: what is Familiar, but not New, is no better than Common place. 'Tis in the union of the two, that the Obscure and the Vulgar are happily removed, and 'tis in this union, that we view the character of a just Metaphor.

But after we have so praised the Metaphor, 'tis fit at length we should explain what it is, and this we shall attempt as well by a Description, as by Examples.

"A Metaphor is the transferring of a word from its usual Meaning to an Analogous Meaning, and then the employing it, agreeably to such Transfer." For example: the usual meaning of Evening is the Conclusion of the Day. But

Part II. Age too is a Conclusion; the Conclusion of human Life. Now there being an Analogy in all Conclusions, we arrange in order the two we have alleged, and say, that, As Evening is to the Day, so is Age to Human Life. Hence, by an easy permutation, (which furnishes at once two Metaphors) we say alternately, that Evening is the Age of the Day; and that Age is the Evening of Life*.

There are other Metaphors equally pleasing, but which we only mention, as their Analogy cannot be mistaken. 'Tis thus that old Men have been called Stubble; and the Stage or Theatre, the Mirror of human Life*.

---

* The Stagirite having told us what a natural pleasure we derive from Information, and having told us that...
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In Language of this sort there is a double Satisfaction: it is strikingly clear; and that in the subject of Words, Exotic words want that pleasure, from being obscure, and Common words from being too well known, adds immediately—νη η Μετα-

Φορά θωτι τό μάλιστα ήταν γὰρ εἴπη το γῆρας καλαμῆς, ἐπόησε μάθησιν ἐν γνώσιν διὰ τὰ γένεσ, ἄμφω γὰρ ἀπνήπνοτα—But the Metaphor does this most effectually, for when Homer (in metaphor) said that Age was Stubble, he conveyed to us Information and Knowledge thro' a common Genus (thro' the Genus of Time) as both old Men, and Stubble, have past the Flower of their existence.

The words in Homer are,

'Αλλ' ἐμπει καλάμην γε σ' οἴμαι εἰσοφώλτα

Γεώσκειν—

Οδυσσ. Ξ. v. 214. 215.

Sed tamen stipulam saltem te arbitror intuentem

Cognoscere—

In which Verse we cannot help remarking an Elegance of the Poet.

Ulysses, for his protection, had been metamorphosed by Minerva into the Figure of an old Man. Yet even then the Hero did not chuse to loose his dignity. By his discourse he informs Eumæus (who did not know him) that altho' he, was old, he was still respectable—

I ima-
and yet raised, tho' clear, above the low
and vulgar Idiom. 'Tis a Praise too of
such Metaphors, to be quickly compre-
hended. The Similitude and the thing
illustrated are commonly dispatched in a
single Word, and comprehended by an im-
mediate, and instantaneous Intuition.

I imagine (says he) that even now you may know THE
Stubble by the look. As much to suggest, that, tho' he had compared himself to Stubble, it was never-
theless to that better sort, left after the reaping of the
best Corn.

See the Note upon this Verse by my learned Friend,
the late Mr. Samuel Clarke, in his Greek Edition of

As to the next Metaphor, 'tis an Idea not unknown
to Shakfpeare, who, speaking of Aëting or Playing,
says with energy,
That its End, both at first, and now, was, and is,
To hold as 'twere the Mirror up to Na-
ture.

Hamlet.

According to Aristotle, the Odyssey of Homer was
elegantly called by Alcidamas,—καλὸν ανθρώπινον Σίω
κατόπτρον—a beautiful Mirror of Human Life.
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Thus a Person of wit, being dangerously ill, was told by his Friends, two more Physicians were called in. So many! says he—do they fire then in Platoons?

These instances may assist us to discover, what Metaphors may be called the best.

They ought not, in an elegant and polite Stile (the Stile, of which we are speaking) to be derived from Meanings too sublime; for then the Dictation would be turgid and bombast. Such was the Language of that Poet, who, describing the Footmen’s Flambeaux at the end of an Opera, sung or said,

Now blaz’d a thousand flaming Suns, and bade Grim Night retire—

Nor ought a Metaphor to be far-fetched, for then it becomes an Enigma.

'Twas
Part II. 'Twas thus a Gentleman once puzzled his Country Friend, in telling him by way of Compliment, that He was become a perfect Centaur. His honest Friend knew nothing of Centaurs, but being fond of Riding, was hardly ever off his Horse.

Another Extreme remains, the reverse of the too sublime, and that is, the transferring from Subjects too contemptible. Such was the case of that Poet quoted by Horace, who, to describe Winter, wrote—

\[ \text{Jupiter hybernas cana nive conspuit Alpes}. \]

O'er the cold Alps Jove spits his hoary snow.

Nor was that modern Poet more fortunate, whom Dryden quotes, and who, trying his Genius upon the same subject, supposed Winter—

* Hor. L. II. Sat. 5.
To perriwig with snow the bald-pate Woods.

With the same class of Wits we may arrange that pleasant fellow, who speaking of an old Lady, whom he had affronted, gave us in one short Sentence no less than three choice Metaphors. I perceive (said he) her Back is up; — I must curry favour— or the Fat will be in the fire.

Nor can we omit that the same Word, when transferred to different Subjects, produces Metaphors very different, as to Propriety, or Impropriety.

'Tis with Propriety that we transfer the word, To Embrace, from Human Beings to things purely Ideal. The Metaphor appears just, when we say, To Embrace a Proposition; To Embrace an Offer; To Embrace an Opportunity. Its Application perhaps was not quite so elegant.
gant when the old Steward wrote to his Lord, upon the Subject of his Farm, that "if he met any Oxen, he would not fail ‘to embrace them.’"

If then we are to avoid the Turgid, the Enigmatic, and the Base or Ridiculous, no other Metaphors are left, but such as may be described by Negatives; such as are neither turgid, nor enigmatic, nor base and ridiculous.

Such is the character of many Metaphors already alleged, among others that of Shakspeare’s, where Tides are trans-

* The Species of Metaphors, here condemned, are thus enumerated,—ίσι γὰρ ὁ Μεταφορὰς ἀπρεπίς, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ γελοῖον—οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν ἀγαν ἥ τραγικόν ἀσαφίς δε, ἀν περίμεθαν, κ. τ. λ.—For Metaphors are unbecoming, some from being Ridiculous, and others, from being too Solemn and Tragical: there are likewise the Obscure, if they are fetched from too great a distance. Arist. Phet. I. III. c. 3. p. 124. Edit. Sylb. See Cic. de Oratore, L. III. p. 155, &c.
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ferred to speedy and determined Conduct*. Nor does his Woolsey with less propriety moralize upon his Fall in the following beautiful Metaphor, taken from Vegetable Nature.

This is the state of Man; to day he puts forth

The tender Leaves of Hope; to-morrow blossoms,

And bears his blushing Honours thick upon him:

The third day comes a Frost, a Killing Frost

And—nips his root—

In such Metaphors (besides their intrinsic elegance) we may say the Reader is flattered; I mean flattered by being left to discover something for himself.

There is one Observation, which will at the same time shew both the extent of this Figure, and how natural it is to all Men.

There are Metaphors so obvious, and of course so naturalized, that ceasing to be Metaphors, they are become (as it were) the proper Words. 'Tis after this manner we say, a sharp fellow; a great Orator; the the Foot of a Mountain; the Eye of a Needle; the Bed of a River; to ruminate, to ponder, to edify, &c. &c.

These we by no means reject, and yet the Metaphors we require we wish to be something more, that is, to be formed under the respectable conditions, here established.

We observe too, that a singular Use may be made of Metaphors, either to exalt, or to depredate, according to the sources, from which we derive them. In antient Story, Orestes was by some called the Murtherer of his Mother; by others, the Avenger of his Father. The Reasons will appear by referring to the Fact. The Poet Simonides was offered money to ce-
I

NQUIRIES.

lebrate certain Mules, that had won Ch. X.
a race. The sum being pitiful, he said with disdain, he should not write upon Demi-asses.—A more competent Sum was offered,—he then began,

Hail! Daughters of the generous Horse,
That skims, like Wind, along the Course*.

There are times, when, in order to exalt,
we may call Beggars, Petitioners; and
Pick-pockets, Collectors; other times, when
in order to depretiate, we may call Peti-
tioners, Beggars; and Collectors, Pick-
pockets.—But enough of this-

We say no more of Metaphors, but
that 'tis a general Caution with regard to

* For these two facts, concerning Orestes, and Si-
monides, see Aris. Rhet. L. III. c. 2. p. 122. Edit.
Sylb. The different appellations of Orestes were,
ε Μητροςάδος, and ε Πιτρος όμωσ—Simonides called
the Mules ομωσ at first ; and then began—

Χαίρετ' ελλοπόδον Σύματρες ἵππων—

O 4. every
Part II. every Species, not to mix them, and that more particularly, if taken from subjects, which are Contrary.

Such was the Case of that Orator, who once asserted in his Oration, that—"If Cold Water were thrown upon a certain Measure, it would kindle a Flame, that would obscure the Lustre, &c. &c."

A word remains upon Enigmas and Puns. It shall indeed be short, because, tho' they resemble the Metaphor, it is as Brass and Copper resemble Gold.

A Pun seldom regards Meaning, being chiefly confined to Sound.

Horace gives a sad sample of this spurious Wit, where (as Dryden humorously translates it) he makes Persius the Buffoon exhort the Patriot Brutus to kill Mr. King, that is, Rupilius Rex, because Brutus,
INQUIRIES.

Brutus, when he slew Caesar, had been accustomed to King-killing.

Hunc Regem occide; operum hoc mihi crede tuorum est*.

We have a worse attempt in Homer, where Ulysses makes Polypheme believe his name was ΟΤΤΙΣ, and where the dull Cyclops, after he had lost his Eye, upon being asked by his Brethren who had done him so much mischief, replies 'twas done by ΟΤΤΙΣ, that is, by Nobody †.

Enigmas are of a more complicated nature, being involved either in Pun, or Metaphor, or sometimes in both.

'Ανδρὶ εἰδον ωφὶ χάλκιν ἐπὶ ἄνεοι κολλήσαντα.

I saw a man, who, unprovok'd with Ira, Stuck Brass upon another's back by Fire‡.

* Horat. Sat. Lib. I. VII.
† Homer, Odyss. I. v. 366—408, &c.
This Enigma is ingenious, and means the operation of Cupping, performed in antient days by a machine of Brass.

In such Fancies, contrary to the Principles of good Metaphor, and good Writing, a Perplexity is caused, not by Accident, but by Design, and the Pleasure lies in the being able to resolve it.

Aulus Gellius has preserved a Latin Enigma, which he also calls a Sirpus or Sirpos, a strange thing, far below the Greek, and debased with all the quibble of a more barbarous age.

Semel minusue, an bis minus, (non fact scio) An utrumque eorum (ut quondam audivi dicier) Jovi ipsi regi noluit concedere?

This, being sifted, leaves in English the following small quantity of Meaning.

Was it Once Minus, or Twice Minus (I am not enough informed), or was it not rather the two taken together, (as I have heard it said formerly) that would not give way to Jove himself, the sovereign?

The two taken together, (that is, Once Minus and Twice Minus) make, when so taken, Thrice Minus; and Thrice Minus in Latin is Terminus, which, taken as a single word, is Terminus, the God of Boundaries.

Here the Riddle, or Conceit, appears. The Pagan Legend says, that, when in honour of Jove the Capitol was founded, the other Gods consented to retire, but the God Terminus refused.

The Story is elegantly related in the Fasti of Ovid, III. 667.
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Part II. Quid nova cum fierent Capitolia? nempe Deorum
Cuncta Jovi cessit turba, locumque dedit.
Terminus (ut veteres memorant) conventus in æde
Restitit, et magno cum Jove templatenet.

The moral of the Fable is just and ingenious; that Boundaries are sacred, and never should be moved.

The Poet himself subjoins the reason with his usual address.

Termine, post illud Levitas tibi libera
non est;
Qua positus fueris in statione, mane.
Nec Tu vicino quicquam concede rogante,
Ne videare hominem præposuisse Jovi.

And so much for the subject of Puns and Enigmas, to which, like other things of
of bad Taste, no Age or Country can give a Sanction.

Much still remains upon the subject of Diction, but, as much has been said already*, we here conclude.

* See Chapters II. III. IV.
Rank or Precedence of the constitutive Parts of the Drama—Remarks and Cautions both for judging, and Composing.

The four constitutive Parts of Dramatic Poetry, which properly belong to the Poet, have appeared to be the Fable, the Manners, the Sentiment, and the Diction, and something has been suggested to explain the nature of each.

Should we be asked, to which we attribute the first Place, we think it due to the Fable.

† Sup. p. 144.

* Ἀσκίν πιέν ἄν, ἢ ὧν πάν ἑλθε ὁ Μυθός τῆς Τραγωδίας—The Fable therefore is the Principle, and (as it were) the Soul of Tragedy.—And not long before,
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If the Fable be an Action, having a necessary reference to some End: it is evident that the Manners and the Sentiment are for the sake of that End; the End does not exist, for the sake of the Manners and the Sentiment *

Again, the finest unconnected Samples either of Manners or of Sentiment cannot of themselves make a Drama, without a Fable. But, without either of these, any Fable will make a Drama, and have pre-

fore, after the constituent Parts of the Drama have been enumerated, we read—μίγσου δὲ τῶν ἴσων ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων σύνασις. But the greatest and the most important of all these is the combining of the Incidents, that is to say, the Fable. Arist. Poet. cap 6. p. 231. Edit. Sylb.

* Οὐκ ἔν ὅπως τὰ ἥπερ μιμήσωμαι, πράττωσι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἥπερ συμπεριλαμβάνομεν διὰ τὰς πράξεις—The Persons of the Drama do not act, that they may exhibit Manners, but they include Manners, on account of the Incidents in the Fable. Arist. Poet. c. 6. p. 230. Edit. Sylb.
tensions, (such as they are) to be called a Play*.

* The Stagirite often illustrates his Poetic Ideas from Painting, an Art at that time cultivated by the ablest Artists, Zeuxis, Polygnotus, and others. In the present case, he compares the Dramatic Manners to Colouring; the Dramatic Fable to Drawing; and ingeniously remarks—Ἐς γὰρ τις ἴναλίψεις τοῖς καλλίστοις Φαρμάκοις χύνειν, ὥν ἐν ὁμοίως ἐν- Φράνειν, ἤ λευκογραφησάς ἰκώνα—If any one were to make a confused Daubing with the most beautiful Colours, he would not give so much delight, as if he were to sketch a Figure in Chalk alone. Arist. Poet. c. 6. p. 231. Edit. Sylb.

—Ἐτὶ ιὰν τις ἐφιβάς ἕν ῥήτεις ὅικας, ἢ λέπεις, ἢ διανοιάς, ἔν πεποιμένας, ζ ποιήσει ὅ ἐν τῆς πραγμα- δίας ἔγγον, ἀλλὰ ωδὸ μᾶλλον ἡ καταδεικτικάς τότοις ἱπερμίν πραγματία, ἔχεια δὲ μοῦν ἢ σύσκει τραγ- μάτων—Were any one to arrange in order the best formed Expressions relative to Character, as well as the best Diction, and Sentiments, he would not attain, what is the Business of a Tragedy; but much more would that Tragedy attain it, which, having these requisites in a very inferior degree, had at the same time a just Fable, and Combination of Incidents. Arist. Poet. c. 6. p. 230. Edit. Sylb.

A third
A third superiority, is, that the most affecting and capital Parts of every Drama arise out of its Fable; by these I mean every unexpected Discovery of unknown Personages, and every unexpected Revolution* from one condition to another. The Revolutions and Discoveries in the Oedipus and the Fatal Curiosity have been mentioned already. We add to these the striking Revolution in the Samson Agonistes, where, while every thing appears tending to Samson's Release, a horrible Crash announces his Destruction†.

These Dramatic Incidents are properly Tragic—but there are others of similar character, not wanting even to Comedy.—To refer to a modern Drama—what Discovery more pleasing than that, where, in the Drummer of Addison, the worthy

* A Revolution, Περιπέτειας; A Discovery, Ανακρυψίας. See before what is said about these two, from p. 147 to 152.
† Sam. Agon. v. 481, and v. 1452 to v. 1507.
lost Master is *discovered* in the supposed Conjurer? or, to refer still to the same Drama, what Revolution more pleasing, than where, in consequence of this Discovery, the House of Disorder and Mourning changes into a House of Order and Joy? Now these interesting Incidents, as well Comic as Tragic, arise neither from Manners, nor from Sentiment, but purely from the Fable.

It is also a plausible Argument for the Fable's Superiority, that, from its superior difficulty, more Poets have excelled in drawing Manners and Sentiment, than there have in the forming of perfect Fables*.

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*οἱ ἐφησοῦσας ὁμιλούσιν, πρῶτος δὲ ναύαις τῇ λίθῳ τοῖς ἐβεβην ἀκροῖσιν, ἣ τὰ πράγματα συνήθειαν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ποιηταῖς θείου ἀνωτέρως. Τοῖς, who attempt to write Dramatically, are first able to be accurate in the Diction and the Manners, before they are able to Combine Incidents [and form a Fable] which was indeed the case of almost all the first Poets. Arist. Poet. c. 6 p. 230. Edit. Sylb.

But,
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But, altho' we give a superiority to the Fable, yet the other constitutive Parts, even supposing the Fable bad, have still an important value; so important indeed, that thro' them, and them alone, many Dramas have merited Admiration.

And here next to the Fable we arrange the Manners. The Manners, if well formed, give us samples of Human Nature, and seem in Poetry as much to excel Sentiment, as the Drawing in Painting to excel the Colouring.

The third Place after the Manners belongs to the Sentiment, and that before the Diction, however they may be united, it being evident that Men speak, because they think; they seldom think, because they speak.

After this, the fourth and last Place falls to the Diction.
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Part II. Having settled the Rank of these several Constitutive Parts, a few cursory Remarks remain to be suggested.

One is this—that if all these Parts are really essential, no Drama can be absolutely complete, which in any one of them is deficient.

Another Remark is, that tho' a Drama be not absolutely complete in every Part, yet from the excellence of one or two Parts it may still merit Praise.*

*Tis

* This is a Case expressly decided by that able Critic, Horace, as to the MANNERS and the SENTIMENT.

—Speciosa locis, morataque recte,
Fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
Valdus oblectat populum, meliusque moratur,
Quam versus inopes rerum, nugaeque canora.
Art. Poet. v. 320, &c.

Which may be thus paraphrased—
"A FABLE (or Dramatic Story) OF NO BEAUTY,
"without dignity or contrivance, if it excel in SENTI-
"MENT,
'Tis thus in Painting, there are Pictures admired for Colouring, which fail in the Drawing; and others for Drawing, which fail in the Colouring.

The next Remark is in fact a Caution; a Caution not to mistake one Constitutive Part for another, and still, much more, not to mistake it for the Whole. We are never to forget the essential differences between Fable, Manners, Sentiment, and Diction.

If, without attending to these, we presume to admire, we act, as if in Painting we admired a Rembrant for Grace, because we had been told, that he was capital in Colouring.

"ment, and have its Characters well drawn, will please an audience much more than a trifling Piece barren of Incidents, and only to be admired for the Harmony of its Numbers. See p. 221.

This
This Caution indeed applies not only to Arts, but to Philosophy. For here if men fancy, that a Genius for Science, by having excelled in a single part of it, is superlative in all parts; they insensibly make such a Genius their Idol, and their Admiration soon degenerates into a species of idolatry.

Decipit exemplar, vitios imitabile—Hor.

'Tis to be hoped that our studies are at present more liberal, and that we are rather adding to that structure, which our forefathers have begun, than tamely leaving it to remain, as if nothing farther were wanting.

Our Drama among other things is surely capable of Improvement. Events from our own History (and none can be more interesting) are at hand to furnish Fables, having all the Dramatic Requi-
fites. Indeed should any of them be Ch.XI. wanting, Invention may provide a Remedy, for here we know Poets have unbounded Privilege*.

In the mean time the subjects, by being domestic, would be as interesting to Us, as those of Ajax or Orestes were of old to the Greeks. Nor is it a doubt, that our Drama, were it thus rationally cultivated, might be made the School of Virtue even in a dissipated age.

And now, having shewn such a regard for Dramatic Poetry, and recommended so many different Rules, as essential to its Perfection: it may not perhaps be improper to say something in their Defence, and, when that is finished, to conclude this Part of our Inquiries.

* Infra, 222.
Part II.

CHAP. XII.

Rules defended—do not cramp Genius, but guide it—flattering Doctrine that Genius will suffice—fallacious, and why—farther defence of Rules—No Genius ever acted without them; nor ever a Time, when Rules did not exist—Connection between Rules and Genius—their reciprocal aid—End of the Second Part—Preparation for the Third.

HAVING mentioned Rules, and indeed our whole Theory having been little more than Rules developed, we cannot but remark upon a common opinion, which seems to have arisen either from Prejudice, or Mistake.

"Do not Rules, say they, cramp Genius? Do they not abridge it of certain Privileges?"
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'Tis answered, if the obeying of Rules were to induce a Tyranny like this; to defend them would be absurd, and against the liberty of Genius. But the truth is, Rules, supposing them good, like good Government, take away no Privileges. They do no more, than save Genius from Error, by shewing it, that a Right to err is no Privilege at all.

'Tis surely no Privilege to violate in Grammar the Rules of Syntax; in Poetry, those of Metre; in Music, those of Harmony; in Logic, those of Syllogism; in Painting, those of Perspective; in Dramatic Poetry, those of probable Imitation.

If we enlarge on one of these Instances, we shall illustrate the rest.

The probable Imitation just now mentioned, like that of every other kind, is, when the Imitation resembles the thing imitated.


Part II. \textit{tated in as many circumstances as possible;} so that the more of those circumstances are combined, the more probable the Resemblance.

'Tis thus in Imitation by Painting the Resemblance is more complete, when to the Out-line we add Light and Shade; and more complete still, when to Light and Shade we add the Colours.

\textbf{The real Place of every Drama is a Stage,} that is, a space of a few Fathoms deep, and a few Fathoms broad. \textbf{Its real Time is the Time it takes in acting, a limited Duration,} seldom exceeding a few hours.

Now Imagination, by the help of Scenes, can enlarge \textit{this Stage} into a Dwelling, a Palace, a City, &c. and it is a decent Regard to this, which constitutes \textit{Probable Place.}
Again, the usual Intervals between the Acts, and even the Attention paid by the Mind to an interesting Story, can enlarge without violence a few Hours into a Day or two; and 'tis in a decent regard to this, we may perceive the Rise of Probable Time*.

Now 'tis evident that the above Probabilities, if they belong to the Fable, cannot but affect us, because they are both of them Requisites, which heighten the Resemblance, and because Resemblance is so universally an Essential to Imitation.

If this Doctrine want confirming, we may prove it by the contrary, I mean by

* What this implies, we are told in the following passage—ἐτι μάλισσοι τείρβατοι ὅπο μίαν τείρή-

δου ἡλίου εἰναι, ἣ μικρὸν ἐξελλάξῃς. Tragedy aims as far as possible to come within a single Revolution of the Sun (that is, a Natural Day) or but a little to exceed. Arist. Poet. c. 5. p. 229. Edit. Sylb.
Part II. a supposition of such Time and such Place, as are both of them improbable.

For example, as to Time, we may suppose a Play, where Lady Defmond in the first Act shall dance at the Court of Richard the Third, and be alive in the last Act during the reign of James the First.*

As to Place, we may suppose a Tragedy, where Motefuma shall appear at Mexico in the first Act; shall be carried to Madrid in the third; and be brought back again in the fifth, to die at Mexico.

’Tis true indeed, did such Plays exist, and were their other Dramatic Requisites...

* Aristotle speaking upon the indefinite duration of the Epopee, which is sometimes extended to years, adds—καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐμείας ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τοῦ ἑπόεων,—at first they did the same in Tragedies, that is, their Duration, like that of the Epopee, was alike undefined, till a better taste made them more correct. *Arist.* Poet. c. 5. p. 229 Ed. Sylb. good.
good; these Improbabilities might be endured, and the Plays be still admired. Fine Manners and Sentiment, we have already said*, may support a wretched Fable, as a beautiful Face may make us forget a bad Figure. But no Authority for that reason can justify Absurdities, or make them not to be so, by being fortunately associated.

Nor is it enough to say, that by this apparent Austerity many a good Play would have been spoilt†. The Answer is obvious—chuse another, and a fitter Subject.

* See p. 212. in the Note.
† *Aristotle* speaking about introducing any thing rational into the Drama adds—*οὗτος τὸ λέγειν, οἳ τοῦ ἄνθρωπο ἀν ὁ Μῆθος, πειράζον εἰς ἀρχὴς γὰρ ἡ δεῖ συνίστασθαι τοὺς ως—*that is (by this restriction) the Fable would have been destroyed, is ridiculous; for they ought not, from the very beginning, to form Fables upon such a Plan. *Arist. Poet.* c. 24. p. 253. *Edit.* Sylb.
Part II. Subjects are **infinite**. Consult the inexhaustible Treasures of **History**; or if these fail, the more inexhaustible Fund of **Invention**. Nay more—if you are deficient, bring **History and Invention together**, and let the Richness of the last embellish the Poverty of the former. Poets, tho' bound by the Laws of **Common Sense**, are not bound to the Rigours of **Historical Fact**.

It must be confessed, 'tis a flattering Doctrine, to tell a young Beginner, that he has nothing more to do, than to trust his own **Genius**, and to **contemn all Rules**, as the Tyranny of Pedants. The painful Toils of **Accuracy** by this expedient are eluded, for **Geniuses** (like Milton's **Harps**) are supposed to be ever tuned.

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* Sup. p. 214. 215.
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But the misfortune is, that Genius is something rare, nor can he, who possesses it, even then, by neglecting Rules, produce what is accurate. Those on the contrary, who, tho' they want Genius, think Rules worthy their attention, if they cannot become good Authors, may still make tolerable Critics; may be able to shew the difference between the Creeping and the Simple; the Pert and the Pleasing; the Turgid and the Sublime; in short, to sharpen, like the Whet-stone, that Genius in others, which Nature in her frugality has not given to themselves.

Indeed I have never known, during a life of many years, and some small attention paid to Letters, and Literary men, that Genius in any Art had been ever cramped by Rules. On the contrary, I have seen great Geniuses miserably err by transgressing them, and, like vigorous Travellers, who lose their way, only wander
Part II. wander the wider on account of their own strength.

And yet 'tis somewhat singular in Literary Compositions, and perhaps more so in Poetry than elsewhere, that many things have been done in the best and purest taste, long before Rules were established, and systematized in form. This we are certain was true with respect to Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, and other Greeks. In modern times it appears as true of our admired Shakspeare; for who can believe that Shakspeare studied Rules, or was ever versed in Critical Systems?

A Specious Objection then occurs. "If these great Writers were so excellent before Rules were established, or at least were known to them, what had they to direct their Genius, when Rules (to them at least) did not exist?"
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To this Question 'tis hoped the Answer will not be deemed too hardy, should we assert, that there never was a time, when Rules did not exist; that they always made a Part of that immovable Truth, the natural object of every penetrating Genius; and that, if at that early Greek Period, Systems of Rules were not established, those great and sublime Authors were a Rule to themselves. They may be said indeed to have excelled, not by Art, but by Nature; yet by a Nature, which gave birth to the perfection of Art.

The Café is nearly the same with respect to our Shakspeare. There is hardly any thing we applaud, among his innumerable beauties, which will not be found strictly conformable to the Rules of sound and antient Criticism.

That this is true with respect to his Characters and his Sentiment, is evident
Part II. evident hence, that, in explaining these Rules, we have so often recurred to him for Illustrations*.

Besides Quotations already alleged, we subjoin the following as to Character.

When Falstaff and his suite are so ignominiously routed, and the scuffle is by Falstaff so humorously exaggerated; what can be more natural than such a Narrative to such a Character, distinguished for his Humour, and withal for his want of Veracity and Courage †?

The Sagacity of common Poets might not perhaps have suggested so good a Narrative, but it certainly would have suggested something of the kind, and 'tis in this we view the Essence of Dramatic Character, which is, when we conjecture what

† See Hen. IV. Part 2d.
any one will do or say, from what he has done or said already *.

If we pass from Characters (that is to say Manners) to Sentiment, we have already given Instances †, and yet we shall still give another.

When Rosincroffe and Guildernstern wait upon Hamlet, he offers them a Recorder or Pipe, and desires them to play—they reply, they cannot—He repeats his Request—they answer, they have never learnt—He assures them nothing was so easy—they still decline.—'Tis then he tells them with disdain, There is much Music in this little Organ, and yet you cannot make it speak—Do you think I am easier to be plaid on, than a Pipe? Hamlet, Act III.

This I call an elegant Sample of Sentiment, taken under its comprehensive

* See before, p. 165, &c. † See before, p. 173, &c.
Part II. Sense*. But we stop not here—we consider it as a complete instance of Socratic Reasoning, tho' 'tis probable the Author knew nothing, how Socrates used to argue.

To explain—Xenophon makes Socrates reason as follows with an ambitious youth, by name Euthydemus.

"'Tis strange (says he) that those who desire to play upon the Harp, or upon the Flute, or to ride the managed Horse, should not think themselves worth notice, without having practised under the best Masters—while there are those, who aspire to the governing of a State, and can think themselves completely qualified, tho' it be without preparation or labour." Xenoph. Mem. IV. c. 2. f. 6.

* See before, p. 173, 177.
Aristotle's Illustration is similar in his reasoning against Men, chosen by Lot for Magistrates. 'Tis (says he) as if Wrestlers were to be appointed by Lot, and not those that are able to wrestle: or, as if from among Sailors we were to choose a Pilot by Lot, and that the Man so elected were to navigate, and not the Man who knew the business. Rhetor. L. II. c. 20. p. 94. Edit. Sylb.

Nothing can be more ingenious than this Mode of Reasoning. The Premisses are obvious and undeniable; the Conclusion cogent and yet unexpected. It is a species of that Argumentation, called in Dialectic Ἐπαγωγή, or Induction.

Aristotle in his Rhetoric (as above quoted) calls such Reasonings τὰ Σωκρατικά, the Socratics; in the beginning of his Poetics, he calls them the Σωκρατικοί λόγοι, the Socratic Discourses; and

Q.3
Part II. Horace, in his Art of Poetry, calls them the Socraticæ chartæ*.

If Truth be always the same, no wonder Geniuses should co-incide, and that too in Philosophy as well as in Criticism.

We venture to add, returning to Rules, that if there be any things in Shakspeare Objectionable (and who is hardy enough to deny it?) the very Objections, as well as the Beauties, are to be tried by the same Rules, as the same Plummets alike shews, both what is out of the Perpendicular, and in it; the same Ruler alike proves, both what is crooked, and what is straight.

We cannot admit, that Geniuses, tho' prior to Systems, were prior also to Rules,

* See a most admirable instance of this Induction, quoted by Cicero from the Socratic Machines. "Cic. de Invent. Lib. i. f. 51."
because Rules from the beginning existed in their own Minds, and were a part of that immutable Truth, which is eternal and every where*. Aristotle we know did not form Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides; 'twas Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, that formed Aristotle.

And this surely should teach us to pay attention to Rules, in as much as they and Genius are so reciprocally connected,

* The Author thinks it superfluous, to panegyrize Truth; yet in favour of sound and rational Rules (which must be founded in Truth, or they are good for nothing) he ventures to quote the Stagirite himself. 'Αληθεὶς ἀληθεὶς διὰ κινδυνῶν εἰσίν καὶ άπέδρασαν. — It is not possible for a true Opinion, or a true contradictory Proposition to be contrary to another true one. Aristot. De Interpret. c. 19. p. 78. Edit. Syll.

This may be thus illustrated. If it be true, that the Time and Place of every Drama should be circumscribed, the contrary cannot be true, that its Time and Place need not to be circumscribed. See p. 125.

Q.4 that
Part II. that 'tis **Genius**, which discovers **Rules**; and then **Rules**, which govern **Genius**.

'Tis by this *amicable concurrence*, and by *this alone*, that every Work of Art justly merits *Admiration*, and is rendered as highly perfect, as by human *Power* it can be made*.

But we have now (if such language may be allowed) travelled over a vast and mighty Plain; or (as *Virgil* better expresses it)—

—*immensum spatio consecimus aequor.*

'Tis not however improbable that some intrepid spirit may demand again †, *What

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* This is fairly stated, and decided by Horace.

**Natura primo laudabile carmen, an Arte,**

Quantum e.t. *Ego nec studium, sine divite cond,**

*Nec rude quid profet odis ingenium; alterius fi.*

*Ima profet opem venit, et conjurat amice.*

Art. Poet. v. 408, &c.

† See p. 107.
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avail these subtleties?—Without so much trouble, I can be full enough pleased.—I know what I like.—We answer, And so does the Carrion-crow, that feeds upon a Carcase. The difficulty lies not in knowing what we like; but in knowing how to like, and what is worth liking. Till these Ends are obtained, we may admire Dursey before Milton; a smoking Boor of Hemskirk, before an Apostle of Raphael.

Now as to the knowing, how to like, and then what is worth liking, the first of these, being the Object of Critical Disquisition, has been attempted to be shewn thro’ the course of these Inquiries.

As to the second, what is worth our liking, this is best known by studying the best Authors, beginning from the Greeks; then passing to the Latins; nor on any account excluding those
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Part II. those, who have excelled among the Moderns.

And here, if, while we peruse some Author of high rank, we perceive we don't instantly relish him, let us not be disheartened—let us even feign a Relish, till we find a Relish come. A morsel perhaps pleases us—Let us cherish it—Another Morsel, strikes us—let us cherish this also. —Let us thus proceed, and steadily persevere, till we find we can relish, not Morsels, but Wholes; and feel that, what began in Fiction, terminates in Reality. The Film being in this manner removed, we shall discover Beauties, which we never imagined; and contemn for Puerilities, what we once foolishly admired.

One thing however in this process is indispensibly required: we are on no account to
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to expect that fine things should descend to us; our taste, if possible, must be made ascend to them.

This is the Labour, this the Work; there is Pleasure in the Success, and Praise even in the Attempt.

This Speculation applies not to Literature only: it applies to Music, to Painting, and, as they are all congenial, to all the liberal Arts. We should in each of them endeavour to investigate what is best, and there (if I may so express myself) there to fix our abode.

By only seeking and perusing what is truly excellent, and by contemplating always this and this alone, the Mind insensibly becomes accustomed to it, and finds that in this alone it can acquiesce with content. It happens indeed here, as in a subject far more important, I mean in
Part II. in a moral and a virtuous Conduct. If we choose the best Life, Use will make it pleasant.

And thus having gone thro' the Sketch we promised, (for our concise manner cannot be called any thing more) we here finish the Second Part of these Inquiries, and, according to our original Plan, proceed to the Third Part, the Taste and Literature of the Middle Age.


End of the Second Part.
PHILOLOGICAL INQUIRIES.

PART THE THIRD.
PHILOLOGICAL INQUIRIES IN THREE PARTS

BY

IAMES HARRIS ESQ.

PART III.

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MDCCCLXXI.
pened, which was natural; out of one Empire it became two, distinguished by the different names of the Western, and the Eastern.

The Western Empire soon sunk. So early as in the fifth Century*, Rome, once the Mistress of Nations, beheld herself at the feet of a Gothic Sovereign. The Eastern Empire lasted many Cen-

* About the year of Christ 475, Augulfus was compelled to abdicate the Western Empire by Odoacer, King of the Heruli. As Augulfus was the last Roman, who possessed the Imperial Dignity at Rome, and as the Dominion both of Rome and Italy soon after passed into the hands of Theodoric the Goth, it has been justly said, that then terminated the Roman Empire in the West.

During these wretched times, Rome had been sacked not long before by Alaric, as it was a second time (about the middle of the sixth Century) by Totila; after which events the Roman Name and Authority were so far sunk, that early in the seventh Century they ceased to speak Latin, even in Rome itself. See Blair's Chronology.
turies longer, and, tho' often impaired by external Enemies, and weakened as often by internal Factions, yet still it retained traces of its antient Splendor, resembling in the language of Virgil some fair, but faded flower,

*Cui neque fulgor adhuc, necdum sua forma recessit.*

Virg.

At length, after various plunges and various escapes, it was totally annihilated in the fifteenth Century by the victorious arms of Mahomet the Great*. 

* See the various Histories of the Turkish Empire. The unfortunate Greeks, at this period, when, to repel such an Enemy as the Turks, they should have been firmly combined, were never so miserably distracted. An union with the Church of Rome was at the time projected. The Greeks, who favoured it, imputed their Calamities to their Not-uniting; those, who opposed it, to their Uniting. Between the two Factions all was lost, and Constantinople taken in the year 1453.*
The interval between the fall of these two Empires (the Western or Latin in the fifth Century, the Eastern or Grecian in the fifteenth) making a space of near a thousand years, constitutes what we call the Middle Age.

Dominion past during this interval into the hands of rude, illiterate men; men, who conquered more by multitude, than by military skill; and who, having little or no taste either for Sciences or Arts, naturally despised those things, from which they had reaped no advantage.

This was the age of Monkery and Legends; of Leonine Verses*, (that is of bad Latin put into rhime;) of Projects to decide Truth by Plough-shares and Bat-
toons*; of Crusades to conquer Infidels, Ch. I. and

* This alludes to the two methods of Trial, much practised in those dark times, the Trial by Ordeal, and that by Duel.

Heated Plough-shares were often employed in Trials by Ordeal, and 'tis remarkable that express mention is made of this absurd method of Purgation by Fire, even in the Antigene of Sophocles. The Meffenger there says, in order to justify himself and his Companions—

"Ημεν δ' έτοιμοι κ' μυδέας αίψεων χεροίν,  
Καί πῦρ δίοπτεν, κ' θεύς ὀξωμοτείν,  
Τό μήτε δέσαται, μήσθε, κ. τ. λ."

Ready we were with both our hands to lift  
The glowing Mass; or slowly cross the Fire,  
And by the Gods to swear, we neither did  
The Deed, nor knew, &c.  
Antig. v. 270.

This carries up the Practice to the time of Eteocles and Polyneices, before the Trojan War.

Perhaps the Poet, by the incidental mention of so strange a Custom, intended to characterise the manners of a ruder age; an age, widely different from his own, which was an Age of Science and Philosophical Disquisition.
As to Trials by Battle, they were either before the Earl Marshal, or the Judges of Westminster Hall. If before the Earl Marshal, they were upon accusations of Treason or other capital Crimes, and the Parties were usually of high and noble rank. If before the Judges of Westminster Hall, the Cause was often of inferior sort, as well as the Parties litigating.

Hence the Combats differed in their Ends. That before the Earl Marshal was Victory, often attended with slaughter; that before the Judges was Victory alone, with no such consequence.

The Weapons too differed, as well as the Ends. The Weapons before the Earl Marshal were a long Sword, a short Sword, and a Dagger: that before the Judges was a Battoon above mentioned, called in barbarous Latin Druncus, but in words more intelligible Fuslis teres.

So late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth an instance occurs of this Trial being insisted upon. But that wise Princes, tho' she permitted the previous forms, I mean that of the Lifts being inclosed, of the Judges taking their seats there, of the Champions making their appearance, &c. (Forms, which perhaps could not legally be prevented) had too much sense to permit to foolish a decision. She compelled the Parties to
to a compromise, by the Plaintiff's taking an equivalent in money for his claim, and making in consequence a voluntary default.

Wyvil, Bishop of Salisbury, in the reign of Edward the Third, recurred to Trial by Battle in a dispute with the Earl of Salisbury, and ordered public Prayers thro' his Diocese for the success of his Champion, till the matter, by the King's authority, was compromised.

But notwithstanding this Bishop's Conduct, 'twas a Practice which the Church disapproved, and wisely, as well as humanely endeavoured to prevent. *Truculentum morem in omni evo acriter infilia-runt Theologi, præ aliis Agobardus, et plurimo Canone ipsa Ecclesia.* See Spelman, under the words Campus, Campius, and Campio.

I must not omit that there is a complete History of such a Duel, recorded by Walsingham, in the reign of Richard the Second, between Aneslee a Knight, and Karryngton an Esquire. Karryngton was accused by the other of Treason, for selling a Castle to the French, and, being defeated in the Combat, died the next day raving mad. Walsingham's Narrative is curious and exact, but their Weapons differed from those above mentioned, for they first fought with Lances, then with Swords, and lastly with Daggers. *Walsing. Histor.* p. 237.
Different Portions of this Age have been distinguished by different descriptions; such as *Sæculum Monotheleticum*, *Sæculum Eiconoclasticum*, *Sæculum Obscurum*, *Sæculum Ferreum*, *Sæculum Hildibrandii*.

* Such was Pope *Innocent the third*, who, besides his Crusades to extirpate Heretics by Armies *not his own*, excommunicated *Philip*, King of France; *Alphonso*, King of Leon; *Raimond*, Earl of Toulouse; and *John*, King of England.

Nor is this wonderful, when we view *in his own Language* the Opinion he had of his own Station and Authority.

*I am placed* (says he) *in the middle, between God and Man, on this side God, but beyond Man; nay I am greater than Man, as I can judge of all Men, but can be judged by no one*. *Sum enim inter Deum et Hominem medius constitutus, citra Deum sed ultra Hominem; imo major Hominem, qui de omnibus judicem, a nemine vero judicari possim*. Innocen. III. Serm. 2. in Historiā Transubstantionis Joannis Cofin. Episcop. Dunelm. Lond. 1675. See also all the Church Histories of this Period.
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num, &c. strange names it must be confessed, some more obvious, others less so, yet none tending to furnish us with any high, or promising Ideas.*

And yet we must acknowledge for the honour of Humanity, and of its great and divine Author, who never forsakes it, that some sparks of Intellect were at all times visible, thro' the whole of this dark and dreary Period. 'Tis here we must look for the Taste and Literature of the Times.

The few, who were enlightened, when Arts and Sciences were thus obscured, may be said to have happily maintained the Continuity of Knowledge; to have been (if I may use the expression) like the Twilight of a

* Those, who would be farther informed concerning these Secula, may, among other authors, consult two very learned ones, Cave in his Historia Literaria, and Mosheim in his Ecclesiastical History.
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P. III. Summer's Night; that auspicious Gleam between the setting and the rising Sun, which, tho' it cannot retain the Lufter of the Day, helps at least to save us from the Totality of Darkness.

A cursory Disquisition, illustrated by a few select Instances, will constitute the Subject of the present Essay; and these Instances we shall bring from among three Classes of Men, who had each a large share in the transactions of those times; from the Byzantine Greeks, from the Arabians or Saracens, and from the Inhabitants of Western Europe, at that time called the Latins. We shall give Precedence, as we think they merit it, to the Greeks of Constantinople, altho' it is not always easy to preserve an exact Chronology, because in each of these three Classes many eminent men were contemporary.

CHAP.
Concerning the first Class, the Byzantine Greeks—Simplicius—Ammonius—Philoponus—Fate of the fine Library at Alexandria.

SIMPLICIUS and Ammonius were Greek Authors, who flourished at Athens during the sixth Century; for Athens, long after her Trophies at Marathon, long after her political Sovereignty was no more, still maintained her Empire in Philosophy and the fine Arts*.

Philosophy indeed, when these Authors wrote, was sinking apace. The Stoic System, and even the Stoic Writings were the greater part of them lost†. Other

* See below, Chap. III.
† See Philosoph. Arrangements, p. 253.
Simplicius and Ammonius, being bred in this School, and well initiated in its Principles, found no reason, from their education, to make Systems for themselves; a practice, referable sometimes to real Genius, but more often to not knowing, what others have invented before.

Conscious therefore they could not excel their great Predecessors, they thought, like many others, that the Commenting of their Works was doing mankind the most essential Service.

'Twas this, which gave rise, long before their time, to that Tribe of Commentators,
MENTATORS, who, in the person of Andronicus the Rhodian, began under Augustus, and who continued, for ages after, in an orderly succession.

Simplicius wrote a variety of Comments upon different parts of Aristotle, but his Comment upon the Physics is peculiarly valuable, as it is filled with quotations from Anaxagoras, Democritus, Parmenides, and other Philosophers, who flourished so early, as before the time of Aristotle, and whose fragments many of them are not to be found elsewhere.

As this Compilation must have been the result of extensive Reading, we may justly distinguish him by the title of a learned Commentator.*

* For a fuller and more accurate account of Simplicius see Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Tom. VIII. p. 629, &c.
Ammonius wrote Commentes on the first and second Tracts of Aristotle's Logic, as likewise upon the Introductory Discourse of the Philosopher Porphyry. His manner of writing is orderly; his style clear and copious; copious in its better sense, by leaving nothing unexplained, not copious by perplexing us with tiresome Tautology.

To those, who wish for a taste of this Literature, I know no Author, who better merits perusal. The Preface to his Comment on Porphyry is a curious account of Philosophy under its many and different Definitions, every one of which he explains with perspicuity, and precision. The Preface to his Comment on the Predicaments gives us an ingenuous Plan of Critical Scrutiny; in other words furnishes us with a suite of leading Queries, by which, before we read a Book, we may learn what it is, and judge, when
When analyzed, if it be a _legitimate_ Composition*. When things change by uninterrupted _Continuity_, as (to use an idea already suggested) the splendor of the Day to the darkness of the Night, 'tis hard to decide precisely, where the one concludes, and the other commences. By parity of reasoning 'tis difficult to determine, _to what age_ we shall _adjudge_ the two Philosophers just mentioned; whether to the Commencement of a _baser_ age, or, rather (if we regard their merit) to the Conclusion of a _purer_. If we arrange them with the Conclusion, 'tis, as _Brutus_ and _Cassius_ were called _the last of the Romans†_.

We can have less doubt about the disciple of _Ammonius, John the Gram_—

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† See _Tacit. Annal._ IV. 34.
MARIAN, called PHILOPONUS from his love of labour. 'Twas his misfortune to live during the time of Mahomet, and to see Alexandria taken by the Arms of one of his immediate Successors. What past there on this occasion with regard to the Library, tho' recorded in modern Books, is too curious to be omitted here. I translate it from the accurate version of Abulpharagius's History, made by that able Orientalist, Pococke.

"When Alexandria was taken by the Mahometans, Amrus, their Commander, found there Philoponus, whose conversation highly pleased him, as Amrus was a lover of Letters, and Philoponus a learned Man. On a certain day Philoponus said to him: You have visited all the Repositories or Public Warehouses in Alexandria, and you have sealed up things of every sort, that are found there. As to those things, that may be useful..."
useful to you, I presume to say nothing; but as to things of no service to you, some of them perhaps may be more suitable to me. Amrus said to him: And what is it you want? The Philosophical Books (replied he) preserved in the Royal Libraries. This, says Amrus, is a request, upon which I cannot decide. You desire a thing, where I can issue no orders, till I have leave from Omar, the Commander of the Faithful. Letters were accordingly written to Omar, informing him of what Philoponus had said, and an Answer was returned by Omar to the following purport.—"As to the Books, of which you have made mention, if there be contained in them, what accords with the Book of God (meaning the Alcoran) there is without them, in the Book of God, all that is sufficient. But if there be any thing in them repugnant to that Book, we in no respect want them. Order them therefore to be *
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P. III. "all destroyed. Amrus upon this ordered
them to be dispersed thro' the Baths of
Alexandria, and to be there burnt in
making the Baths warm. After this
manner, in the space of six months,
they were all consum'd."

The Historian, having related the Story, adds from his own feelings, HEAR WHAT WAS DONE, AND WONDER*. 

Thus ended this noble Library; and thus began, if it did not begin sooner, the Age of Barbarity and Ignorance.


The Reader will here observe, that in the many Quotations, which we shall hereafter make from Abulpharagius, we shall always quote from the same Edition; that is, from the Latin Version of the learned Porock, subjoined to the original Arabic.
Digression to a short Historical Account of Athens, from the time of her Persian Triumphs, to that of her becoming subject to the Turks—Sketch, during this long interval, of her Political and Literary State; of her Philosophers; of her Gymnasia; of her good and bad Fortune, &c. &c.—Manners of the present Inhabitants—Olives and Honey.

HAVING mentioned Athens, I hope that celebrated City will justify a Digression, and the more so, as that Digression will terminate in Events, which belong to the very Age, of which we are now writing. But 'tis expedient to deduce matters from a much earlier period.

When the Athenians had delivered themselves from the tyranny of Pisistratus, and after this had defeated the vast
Efforts of the Persians, and that against two successive Invaders, Darius and Xerxes, they may be considered as at the summit of their national Glory. For more than half a century afterwards they maintained, without control, the Sovereignty of Greece*.  

As their Taste was naturally good, Arts of every kind soon rose among them, and flourished. Valour had given them Reputation; Reputation gave them an Ascendant; and that Ascendant produced a Security, which left their minds at ease, and gave them leisure to cultivate every thing liberal, or elegant†.  

'Twas

* For these Historical Facts consult the ancient and modern Authors of Grecian History.

† 'Twas in a similar period of Triumph, after a formidable Adversary had been crushed, that the Romans began to cultivate a more refined and polished Literature.
'Twas then that Pericles adorned the City with Temples, Theatres, and other beautiful public Buildings. Phidias, the great Sculptor, was employed as his Architect, who, when he had erected Edifices, adorned them himself, and added Statues and Baso-relievo's, the admiration of every beholder*. 'Twas then that Polygnotus and Myro painted; that Sophocles and Euripides wrote; and not long after, that they saw the divine Socrates.

Human affairs are by nature prone to change, and states as well as individuals


See the Note from a Greek MS. subjoined to the third Edition of my First Volume, p. 361, where the Progress of Arts and Sciences, from their Dawn to their Meridian, is elegantly and philosophically exhibited.

Jealousy and Ambition insensibly fomented wars, and Success in these wars, as in others, was often various. The military strength of the Athenians was first impaired by the Lacedæmonians; after that, it was again humiliated, under Epaminondas, by the Thebans; and last of all it was wholly crushed by the Macedonian, Philip.*

But tho' their political Sovereignty was lost, yet, happily for Mankind, their Love of Literature and Arts did not sink along with it.

Just at the close of their Golden Days of Empire flourished Xenophon and Plato, the disciples of Socrates, and from Plato descended that Race of Philosophers, called the old Academy†.

* See, as before, the several Histories of Greece.
Aristotle, who was Plato's disciple, may be said, not to have invented a new Philosophy, but rather to have tempered the sublime, and rapturous mysteries of his master with Method, Order, and a stricter Mode of reasoning.

Zeno, who was himself also educated in the principles of Platonism, only differed from Plato in the comparative Estimate of things, allowing nothing to be intrinsically good but Virtue, nothing intrinsically bad but Vice, and considering all other things to be in themselves indifferent.

He too and Aristotle accurately cultivated Logic, but in different ways; for

* See Hermes, p. 421.
Aristotle chiefly dwelt upon the simple Syllogism; Zeno upon that which is derived out of it, the Compound or Hypothetic. Both too, as well as other Philosophers, cultivated Rhetoric along with Logic; holding a knowledge in both to be requisite for those, who think of addressing mankind with all the efficacy of Persuasion. Zeno elegantly illustrated the force of these two powers by a Simile, taken from the Hand: the close power of Logic he compared to the Fist, or Hand compress; the diffuse power of Logic, to the Palm, or Hand open.

I shall

* Zeno quidem ille, a quo disciplina Stoicorum est, Manu demonstrare solebat, quid inter has artes [Dialecticam seil. et Eloquentiam] interesset. Nam, cum compresserat digitos, pugnum que fecerat, Dialecticam aiébat ejusmodi esse: cum autem diduxerat, et manum dilatauerat, Palmæ illius similem Eloquentiam esse dicebat. Cicer. Orat. r. 113.

Both Peripatetics and Stoics wrote Tracts of Rhetoric as well as Logic. The Rhetoric of Aristotle is perhaps
I shall mention but two Sects more, the New Academy, and the Epicurean.

The New Academy, so called from the Old Academy, (the name given to the School of Plato) was founded by Arcesilas, and ably maintained by Carneades. From a mistaken imitation of the great parent of Philosophy, Socrates, (particularly as he appears in the Dialogues of Plato) because Socrates doubted some things, therefore Arcesilas and Carneades doubted all*.

haps one of the most valuable Remains of Antiquity, and deservedly worth studying, be it for Speculation or Practice.

As for the Rhetoric of the Stoics, there is extant, among the Latin Rhetoricians, published in a thin Quarto by Plantin at Paris, an. 1599, a Tract by Sulpitius Victor, called Institutiones Oratoriae, wherein he has this Expression at the beginning—Zenonis praeccepta maximè perfecutus. See p. 240—also p. 247, 264, of the said Treatise.

Epicurus drew from another source; Democritus had taught him Atoms and a Void: by the fortuitous concourse of Atoms he fancied he could form a World, while by a feigned Veneration he complimented away his Gods, and totally denied their Providential Care, left the Trouble of it should impair their uninterrupted State of Blifs. Virtue he recommended, tho' not for the sake of Virtue, but Pleasure; Pleasure, according to him, being our chief and sovereign Good. It must be confessed however, that, tho' his Principles were erroneous and even bad, never was a Man more temperate and humane; never was a Man more beloved by his Friends, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate esteem.*

* See Diogen. Laert. L. X. f. 9, &c. where an ample Detail is given of Epicurus, his Friends, his last Will, and his Death, all tending to establish his Amiable Character, however erroneous and blameable his Doctrines.
We have already mentioned the alliance between Philosophy and Rhetoric. This cannot be thought wonderful, if Rhetoric be the Art, by which men are persuaded, and if Men cannot be persuaded, without a knowlege of Human Nature: for what, but Philosophy, can procure us this knowlege?

'Twas for this reason the ablest Greek Philosophers not only taught (as we hinted before) but wrote also Treatises upon Rhetoric. They had a farther inducement, and that was the intrinsic beauty of their Language, as it was then spoken among the learned and polite. They would have been ashamed to have delivered Philosophy, as it has been too often delivered since, in Compositions as clumsy, as the common Dialect of the mere Vulgar.

The same Love of Elegance, which made them attend to their Stile, made them
them attend even to the Places, where their Philosophy was taught.

Plato delivered his Lectures in a Place shaded with Groves, on the Banks of the River Ilissus; and which, as it once belonged to a person called Academus, was called, after his name, the Academy*. Aristotle chose another spot of a similar character, where there were Trees and Shade; a spot called the Lycaeum†. Zeno taught in a Portico or Colonnade, distinguished from other buildings of that fort (of which the Athenians had many) by the name of the variegated Portico, the Walls being decorated with various Paintings of Polygnotus and Myro, two capital Masters of that transcendent

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Period*. Epicurus addressed his hearers in those well known Gardens, called, after

Of these two Artists it appears that Myro was paid, and that Polyclitus painted gratis, for which generosity he had the testimony of public Honours. Plin. N. Hist. L. XXXV. cap. 9. sect. 35.

We learn from History that the Pictures, which adorned this Portico, were four; two on the back part of it (open to the Colonnade) and a Picture at each end, upon the right and left.

We learn also the Subjects: on one of the sides a Picture of the Athenian and Lacedaemonian Armies at Oenoe (an Argive City) facing each other, and ready to engage: on the back Ground, or middle part of the Portico, the Battle between the Athenians under Theseus, and the Amazons: next to that, on the same middle, the Grecian Chiefs, after the taking of Troy, deliberating upon the Violence offered by Ajax to Cassandra, Ajax himself being present, together with Cassandra and other Captive Trojan women: lastly, on the other side of the Portico opposite to the first, the triumphant Victory at Marathon, the Barbarians pushed into the Mountains, or demolished, while they endeavoured to escape to their ships; Miltiades and the Greek Leaders being to be known by their Portraits.

As
after his own name, the Gardens of Epicurus.

Some of these Places gave names to the Doctrines, which were taught there. Plato's Philosophy took its name of Academic from the Academy†; that of Zeno was called the Stoic, from a Greek word, signifying a Portico‡.

As the Portico was large, and the Pictures were only four, these we may suppose must have been large likewise, for 'tis probable they occupied the whole space. Vid. Pausan. Attic. Lib. I. c. 15. p. 36. Edit. Lips. 1696.

From the painting of this Portico to the time of Honorius, when it was defaced, stript, and its pictures destroyed*, was an interval of about eight hundred years.

It may merit Inquiry among the curious, upon what sort of Surface, and with what sort of Colours, Pictures were painted, that could endure so long.

† See the Note, next after the following.
‡ Στοά, Στωϊκόι.

* Synes. Epist. 135.
The System indeed of Aristotle was not denominated from the Place, but was called Peripatetic, from the manner in which he taught; from his walking about, at the time, when he disserted*. The Term, Epicurean Philosophy, needs no Explanation.

Open Air, Shade, Water, and pleasant Walks seem above all things to favour that Exercise, the best suited to Contemplation, I mean gentle walking without inducing fatigue. The many agreeable Walks in and about Oxford may teach my own Countrymen the truth of this assertion, and best explain how Horace lived, while a student at Athens, employed (as he tells us)

These Places of Public Institution were called among the Greeks by the name of Gymnasia, in which, whatever that word might have originally meant, were taught all those Exercises, and all those Arts, which tended to cultivate not only the Body, but the Mind. As Man was a Being consisting of both, the Greeks could not consider that Education as complete, in which both were not regarded, and both properly formed. Hence their Gymnasia, with reference to this double End, were adorned with two Statues, those of Mercury and of Hercules, the corporeal Accomplishments being patronized (as they supposed) by the God of Strength, the mental Accomplishments by the God of Ingenuity.*

* Vid. Athen. Deipnos. L. XIII. p 561. Edit. Lugduni, 1657, Fol. Sometimes the two Gods were made into one Statue. Such compound Statues were called ἱππίσακων. See Cic. ad Atticum, L. I. Epist. X.
'Tis to be feared, that many Places, now called Academies, scarce deserve the name upon this extensive Plan, if the Professors teach no more, than how to dance, fence, and ride upon horses.

'Twas for the Cultivation of every liberal Accomplishment that Athens was celebrated (as we have said) during many Centuries, long after her Political influence was lost, and at an end.

When Alexander the Great died, many Tyrants, like many Hydras, immediately sprung up. Athens then, tho' she still maintained the form of her antient Government, was perpetually checked and humiliated by their insolence. Antipater destroyed her Orators, and she was sacked by Demetrius*. At length

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* See the Writers (antient and modern) of Grecian History.
The became subject to the all-powerful Romans, and found the cruel Sylla her severest Enemy.

His Face (which perhaps indicated his Manners) was of a purple red, intermixed with white. This circumstance could not escape the witty Athenians: they described him in a verse, and ridiculously said,

*Sylla's face is a Mulberry, sprinkled with meal*.

The Devastations and Carnage, which he caused soon after, gave them too much reason to repent their Sarcasm.

* The original Verse is a Trochaic.

Συκάμινον ἐσθ' ὁ Σύλλας, ἀλφίτῳ πεπασμένος.

For his devastations of the Groves in the Academy and Lyceum, his demolition of their fine Buildings, and above all, his cruel massacre of the Inhabitants, when he took the City, see pages 61, 63, 64, 65 of the same Work, in the same Edition.
The civil War between Caesar and Pompey soon followed, and their natural Love of Liberty made them side with Pompey. Here again they were unfortunate, for Caesar conquered. But Caesar did not treat them like Sylla. With that Clemency, which made so amiable a part of his character, he dismissed them by a fine allusion to their illustrious Ancestors, saying, that he spared the Living for the sake of the Dead*.

Another storm followed soon after this, the wars of Brutus and Cassius with Augustus and Antony. Their Partiality for Liberty did not here forsake them: they took part in the contest with the two patriot Romans, and erected their Statues near their own antient Deliverers, Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had slain

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P. III. Hipparchus. But they were still unhappy, for their Enemies triumphed.

They made their peace however with Augustus, and having met afterwards with different treatment under different Emperors, sometimes favourable, sometimes harsh, and never more severe than under Vespasian, their Oppressions were at length relieved by the virtuous Nerva and Trajan*.

Mankind during the interval, which began from Nerva, and which extended to the death of that best of Emperors, Marcus Antoninus, felt a respite from those evils, which they had so severely felt before, and which they felt so severely revived under Commodus, and his wretched successors.

* See the same Tract, in the same Volume of Gronovius's Collection, 1746, 1747.

ATHENS,
Inquiries.

**Athens**, during the above golden period, enjoyed more than all others the general felicity, for she found in Adrian so generous a Benefactor; that her citizens could hardly help esteeming him a second Founder. He restored their old Privileges; gave them new; repaired their antient Buildings, and added others of his own. **Marcus Antoninus**, altho' he did not do so much, still continued to shew them his benevolent attention*.

If from this period we turn our eyes back, we shall find, for Centuries before, that Athens was the place of Education, not only for Greeks, but for Romans. 'Twas hither, that Horace was sent by his father; 'twas here that Cicero put his son Marcus under Cratippus, one

* See the same Author, in the same Volume, p. 1749.
of the ablest Philosophers then belonging to that City*.

The Sects of Philosophers, which we have already described, were still existing, when St. Paul came thither. We cannot enough admire the superior Eloquence of that Apostle, in his manner of addressing so intelligent an Audience. We cannot enough admire the sublimity of his Exordium; the propriety of his mentioning *an Altar*, which he had found there; and his Quotation from *Aratus*, one of their well-known Poets†.

Nor was *Athens* only celebrated for the Residence of Philosophers, and the Institution of Youth: Men of rank and

* See Horat. Epist. II. L. II. v. 43, and the beginning of Cicero's Offices, address to his Son—Quamquam, Marce Fili, &c.
† Acts, Ch. xvii. v. 22, &c.
fortune found pleasure in a retreat, which contributed so much to their liberal Enjoyment.

The friend and correspondent of Cicero, T. Pomponius, from his long attachment to this City and Country had attained such a perfection in its Arts and Language, that he acquired to himself the additional name of Atticus. This great Man may be said to have lived during times of the worst and cruelest factions. His youth was spent under Sylla and Marius; the middle of his life during all the sanguinary scenes that followed; and, when he was old, he saw the proscriptions of Antony and Octavius. Yet tho' Cicero and a multitude more of the best men perished, he had the good fortune to survive every danger. Nor did he seek a safety for himself alone; his Virtue so recommended him to the Leaders of every side, that he was able to save...
not himself alone, but the lives and fortunes of many of his friends*.

When we look to this amiable character, we may well suppose, that it was not merely for amusement that he chose to live at Athens; but rather that, by residing there, he might so far realize Philosophy, as to employ it for the conduct of Life, and not merely for Oftentation.

Another person, during a better period, (that I mean between Nerva and Marcus Antoninus) was equally celebrated for his affection to this City. By this person I mean Herodes Atticus, who acquired the last name from the same

* The Life of this extraordinary man is finely and fully written by Cornelius Nepos, a Life well worthy of perusal. See also the large and valuable Collection of Confidential Letters, address'd to him by Cicero.
We have remarked already, that vicissitudes befal both Men and Cities, and changes too often happen from prosperous to adverse. Such was the state of Athens under the successors of Alexander, and so on from Sylla down to the time of Augustus. It shared the same hard fate with the Roman Empire in general upon the accession of Commodus.

At length, after a certain period, the Barbarians of the North began to pour into the South. Rome was taken by Alaric, and Athens was besieged by the same. Yet here we are informed (at least we learn so from History) that it was

miraculously saved by Minerva and Achilles. The Goddess it seems and the Hero both of them appeared, compelling the Invader to raise the siege.

'Twas thus we are told, that, many years before, Castor and Pollux had fought for the Romans†; and that, many centuries afterwards, St. George, at Iconium, discomfited the Saracens‡—nay, so late as in the sixteenth century, a gallant Spaniard, Peter de Paz, was seen to assist his countrymen, some months after his decease.

* See Zosimi Histor. L. V. c. 5 and 6, p. 511, &c. Edit. Gr. Lat. 8vo. 1679. where the whole story is related at length.

† See Florus L. I. 2. L. II. 12.—Justin. Lib. XX. 3.

‡ Fuller's Holy War, p. 27. Matt. Paris, p. 43. According to this last Author there were three that fought, St. George, St. Demetrius, and St. Mercury.
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decease, when they made an assault at the Ch. III: siege of Antwerp.*

Instead of giving my own Sentiments upon these events, I chuse to give those

* The following Extract is taken from the Disquisitiones Magicae of Martin Del-Rio, printed at Mentz, an. 1617. cum gratia et privilegio Caesar. Majest. together with the approbation of Oliverius Monarces, Vice-Provincial of the Belgic Jesuits, and Gubielmus Fabricius, filed Apostolicus et Regius Librarum Curfor; and attested also by the evidence multorum gravium militum, qui vidisse se Sancte Jurabant.

The besieged it seems and their Allies, the Dutch and English, were upon the point of forcing a Post (Aggerem) posseft by the Spaniards, who besieged the City. — Del-Rio's words after this are—

Tum a regnis militibus (Hispanis seil ) primo paucisribus conspectus prope aggerem Petrus de Paz, Hispanus Tribunus, vir et militariib. et pietas ornamentiis laudatissimus, qui, jam mensibus aliquot ante functus, visus his armatus, ut solerat, legionem precedere, et suis quondam militibus, manu advocatis, sequentur ut se imperare. Indicant primi secundis; sic tertiiis; sic sequentibus; vident omnes idem, miranter, animisque resumptis notum sequuntur Duce, &c. Disquisit. Mag. p. 262.
P. III. of an abler man upon a similar subject. After having related some singular stories of equal probability, Lord Bacon concludes with the following observation—

My judgment (says he) is, that they (he means the stories) ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter-talk by the fire-side. Tho' when I say despised, I mean it as for Belief; for otherwise the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief.

Synesius, who lived in the fifth Century, visited Athens, and gives in his Epistles an account of his visit. Its lustre appears at that time to have been greatly diminished. Among other things he informs us, that the celebrated Portico or Colonade, the Greek name of which gave

*Essays and Counsels by Ld. Verulam, No. XXXV.
name to the Sect of Stoics, had by an oppressive Proconsul been despoiled of its fine Pictures; and that, on this devastation, it had been forsaken by those Philosophers.*

In the thirteenth Century, when the Grecian Empire was cruelly oppressed by the Crusaders, and all things in confusion, Athens was besieged by one Scgurus Leo, who was unable to take it; and, after that, by a Marquis of Montferrat, to whom it surrendered †.

Its fortune after this was various; and it was sometimes under the Venetians, sometimes under the Catalonians, till Ma-

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* See Syneoti Epist. 135, in Gronovius's Collection, T. V. (as before) p. 1751, and of this work, p. 265.

† See Gronovius's Collection (as before) p. 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754.
P. III. homet the Great made himself Master of Constantinople. This fatal catastrophe (which happened near two thousand years after the time of Pisistratus) brought Athens and with it all Greece into the hands of the Turks, under whose despotic yoke it has continued ever since.

The City from this time has been occasionally visited, and Descriptions of it published by different Travellers. Wheeler was there along with Spon in the time of our Charles the Second, and both of them have published curious and valuable Narratives. Others, as well natives of this Island, as foreigners, have been there since, and some have given (as Monfr. Le Roy) specious publications of what we are to suppose they saw. None however have equalled the Truth, the Accuracy, and Elegance of Mr. Stuart, who, after having resided there between three and four years, has given us such Plans,
Plains, and Elevations of the capital Buildings now standing, together with learned Comments to elucidate every part, that he seems, as far as was possible for the power of Description, to have restored the City to its antient Splendor.

He has not only given us the greater Outlines and their Measures, but separate Measures and Drawings of the minuter Decorations; so that a British Artist may (if he please) follow Phidias, and build in Britain, as Phidias did at Athens*.

Spon, speaking of Attica, says that the Road near Athens was pleasing, and the very Peasants polished. Speaking of the Athenians in general, he says of them—ils ont une politesse d'esprit naturelle, &

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* This most curious and valuable Book was published at London, in the year 1762.
beaucoup d'adresse dans toutes les affaires, qu'ils entreprenent.

Wheeler, who was Spon's fellow-traveller, says as follows, when he and his Company approached Athens—We began now to think ourselves in a more civilized Country, than we had yet pos'd: for not a Shepherd, that we met, but bid us welcome, and wished us a good journey—p. 335, speaking of the Athenians, he adds—This must with great truth be said of them, their bad fortune hath not been able to take from them, what they have by nature, that is, much Subtlety or Wit. p. 347. And again—The Athenians, notwithstanding the long possession that Barbarism hath had of this place, seem to be much more polished in point of Manners and Con-

* Spon, V. II. p. 76, 92, Edit. Svo.
versation, than any other in these parts; being civil, and of respectful behaviour to all, and highly complimental in their discourse*.

Stuart says of the present Athenians, what Spon and Wheeler said of their forefathers;—he found in them the same address, the same natural acuteness, tho' severely curbed by their despotic Masters.

One custom I cannot omit. He tells me, that frequently at their convivial Meetings, one of the company takes, what they now call, a Lyre, tho' it is rather a species of Guitar, and after a short prelude on the Instrument, as if he were waiting for inspiration, accompanies his instrumental Music with his voice, suddenly chanting some extempore Verses, which seldom exceed two or three Distichs; that he then delivers the Lyre to his

neighbour, who, after he has done the fame, delivers it to another; and that so the Lyre circulates, till it has past round the table.

Nor can I forget his informing me, that, notwithstanding the various Fortune of Athens, as a City, Attica was still famous for Olives, and Mount Hymettus for Honey. Human Institutions perish, but Nature is permanent.
CHAP. IV.

Account of Byzantine Scholars continued—
Suidas—John Stobæus or of Stoba
— Photius — Michael Psellus —
this last said to have commented twenty-
four Plays of Menander—Reasons, to
make this probable—Eustathius, a
Bishop, the Commentator of Homer—
Eustratius, a Bishop, the Comment-
tator of Aristotle—Planudes, a
Monk, the admirer and translator of La-
tin Classics, as well as the Compiler of
one of the present Greek Antholo-
gies.—Conjectures concerning the dura-
tion of the Latin Tongue at Con-
stantinople.

THAT I may not be prolix, I hasten
from the writers already mentioned
to Suidas, who is supposed to have lived
during the ninth or tenth Centuries. In
his Lexicon, which is partly Historical,
partly *Explanatory*, he has preserved many Quotations from Authors who lived in the earlier and politer ages, and from Poets in particular, whose works at present are for the greater part lost. **Kuster**, an able Critic in the beginning of the present Century, gave a fine Edition of this Author, at *Cambridge*, in three Volumes Folio; and Mr. **Toupe of Cornwall** (whom I have mentioned already, and cannot mention with too much applause) has lately favoured the learned world with many valuable Emendations*.

**John Stobæus or of Stoba**, (whose name *John* makes it probable he was a Christian) is of an uncertain age, as well as *Suidas*; tho' some imagine him to have lived during an earlier period, by two or three Centuries†. His work is not a

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* Concerning this little known Author see the Preface of his learned Editor, *Küster*.

INQUIRIES.

Lexicon, like that of the other, but an immense Common-Place, filled with Extracts upon various subjects, both Ethical and Physical, which Extracts he had collected from the most approved Writers. As this Book is highly valuable from containing such incredible variety of Sentiments upon interesting Topics, and those taken from Authors, many of whom are lost; as it is at the same time so incorrectly printed, that in too many places it is hardly intelligible: it would be a labour well worthy of an able Critic, by the help of Manuscripts, and plausible Conjecture, to restore it, as far as possible, to its original Purity. The Speculations he chiefly gives us are neither trivial, nor licentious, but, in the language of Horace,

— quod magis ad nos Pertinet, et nescire malum est.—

But to return from Stobæus to Suidas. If we consider the late age when

U

Suidas
P. III. *Suidas* lived; if we consider too the Authors, which he must needs have studied, in order to form his work; Authors, who many of them wrote in the most refined and polished Ages: it will be evident, that even in those *late* Centuries the Taste for a purer Literature was by no means extinct, and that even then there were Readers, who knew its value.

In the ninth Century lived *Photius*, *Patriarch of Constantinople*. His most celebrated work may be called *a journal of his Studies*; a Journal, where we learn the various *Authors* he perused; the Subjects they treated; the *Plans* of their *Works*; and where sometimes also we have *Extracts*. From him we are informed not only of many Authors now lost, but what was in his time the *state* of many, that are now remaining.

Among the Authors now lost he perused *Theopompus the Historian*, and *Hy-

*P. PERIDES*
Inquiries.

Perides the Orator; among those, now mutilated and imperfect, he perused entire Diodorus Siculus. Many others, if necessary, might be added of either sort.

'Tis singular with regard to Photius, that from a Layman he was raised at once to be Patriarch of Constantinople. Yet his Studies evidently seem to have had such a rank in view, being principally applied to Theology, to History, and to Oratory; with enough Philosophy, and Medicine; not to appear deficient, if such subjects should occur. As to Poetry, one might imagine, either that he had no relish for it, or that, in the train of his inquiries, he did not esteem it a requisite*.

Michael Psellus, of the eleventh Century, was knowing in the Greek Phi-

P. III. *lofophy and Poetry of the purer ages, and for his various and extensive Learning was ranked among the first and ablest Scholars of his time.*

Besides his Treatise of Mathematics, his Comments upon Aristotle, and a number of other Works (many of which are printed) he is said to have commented and explained no less than twenty-four Comedies of Menander, a Treatise now lost, tho' extant as well as the Comedies in so late a period. He must have had a relish for that polite Writer, or otherwise 'tis not probable, he would have undertaken such a labour*.

Nor


In the passage, quoted by Fabricius upon this subject, its Author says, that the latter Greek Monks persuaded the latter Greek Emperors, to destroy Menander and many other of the old Greek Poets, from the loose-nets.
INQUIRIES.

Nor need we wonder this should happen. Why should not the polite Mενανδρ have had his Admirers in these Ages, as well as the licentious Αριστοφάνες?—Or rather, why not as well as Σοφοκλες, and Ευριπίδες? The Scholia upon these (tho' some perhaps may be more antient) were compiled by Critics, who lived long after Πσέλλος*.

We may add with regard to all these Scholiasts (whatever may have been their

ness of their Morals, and their great Indecencies. That the Monks may have persuaded this, is not improbable—perhaps from Bigotry; perhaps from a consciousness of their own wretched Inferiority in every species of elegant Composition—but certainly from no indignation against Indecency and Immorality. For if so, why preserve Lucian? why preserve Αριστοφάνες? why preserve Collections of Epigrams, more indecent and flagitious, than the grossest Productions of the most licentious modern Ages?

* Demetrius Triclinius, the Scholiast on Sophocles, lived after Planudes, for he mentions him. See Fabric, Bib. Græc. p. 634.
Age) they would never have undergone the labours of Compilation and Annotation, had they not been encouraged by the taste of their Contemporary Countrymen. For who ever published, without hopes of having Readers?

The fame may be ascertained of the learned Bishop of Thessalonica, Eustathius, who lived in the twelfth Century. His admiration of Homer must have been almost enthusiastic, to carry him thro' so complete, so minute, and so vast a Commentary, both upon the Iliad and the Odyssey, collected from such an immense number both of Critics and Historians.

Eustratus, the Metropolitan of Nice, who lived a little earlier in the same Century, convinces us that he studied Aristotle with no less zeal; and that, not

only in his Logical pieces, but in his Ethical also, as may be seen by those minute and accurate Comments on the Nicomachean Ethics, which go under his name, and in which, tho' others had their share, he still is found to have taken so large a Portion to himself *

Planudes, a Monk of the fourteenth Century, appears (which is somewhat uncommon) to have understood and admired the Latin Classics, Cicero, Cæsar, Ovid, Boethius, and others, parts of which Authors he translated, such as the Commentaries of Cæsar, relative to the Gallic Wars, the Dream of Scipio by Cicero, the Metamorphosis of Ovid, the fine Tract of Boethius de Consolatione, and (according to Spon) St. Augustine de Civitate Dei. Besides this, he formed a Greek Antho-

P. III. Logy (that well known Collection printed by Wechelius, in 1600,) and composed several original Pieces of his own.*

It appears from these Examples, and will hereafter appear from others, how much the Cause of Letters and Humanity is indebted to the Church.

Having mentioned Latin Classics, I beg leave to submit a conjecture concerning the state and duration of the Latin Tongue at Constantinople.

When Constantine founded this Imperial City, he not only adorned it with curiosities from every part of the Roman Empire, but he induced, by every sort of encouragement, many of the First Families in Italy, and a multitude more of in-

ferior rank, to leave their Country, and there settle themselves. We may therefore suppose, that Latin was for a long time the prevailing Language of the Place, till in a course of years it was supplanted by Greek, the common Language of the neighbourhood, and the fashionable acquired Language of every polite Roman.

We are told, that soon after the End of the sixth Century Latin ceased to be spoken at Rome*. Yet was it in the beginning of that Century that Justinian published his Laws in Latin at Constantinople; and that the celebrated Priscian in the same City taught the Principles of the Latin Grammar.

If we descend to a period still later, (so late indeed as to the tenth and eleventh Centuries) we shall find, in the Ceremonial of the Byzantine Court, certain For-

* See before, p. 238.
P. III. mularies preserved, evidently connected with this subject.

As often as the Emperor gave an Imperial Banquet, 'twas the Custom for some of his Attendants, at peculiar times during the Feast, to repeat and chant the following Words — Κωνσεβετ Νεως ήμπεζιμ μεζεμ — βήδητε, Δόμην ήμπεζατωρες εν μελτοις άννοις. Νεως έμνήπτοτες σφέζεθ — Ην γαυδίω νρανδείτε, Δόμην.

It may possibly for a moment surprise a learned Reader, when he hears that the meaning of this strange Jargon is — May God preserve your Empire — Live, imperial Lords, for many years; God almighty so grant — Dine, my Lords, in joy.

But his doubts will soon vanish, when he finds this Jargon to be Latin, and comes to read it exhibited according to a Latin Alphabet — CON-
INQUIRIES.

CONSERVET DEVS IMPERIVM VESTRVM—VIVITE, DOMINI IMPERATORES, IN MVLTOS ANNOS; DEVS OMNIPOTENS PRAESTET— IN GAVDIO PRANDETE, DOMINI.*

'Tis evident from these instances, that traces of Latin were still remaining at Constantinople, during those Centuries. 'Twill be then perhaps less wonderful, if Planudes upon the same spot should, in the fourteenth Century, appear to have

* These Formularies are selected from a Ceremonial of the Byzantine Court, drawn up by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who reigned in the beginning of the eleventh Century. The Book, being a large Folio, was published in the original Greek, with a Latin Translation and Notes, by Leichius and Rejkius, at Lipsic, in the year 1751. See of this Book p. 215, 216. Many more Traces of this Hellenistic Latin occur in other parts of it. In the Latin Types I have followed the Commentator, and not the Translator; and as the Greeks have no Letter but B to denote the Latin V, have preferred VIVITE to BIBITE.
P. III. understood it. We may suppose, that by degrees it changed from a Common Language to a Learned one, and that, being thus confined to the Learned Few, its valuable Works were by their labours again made known, and diffused among their Countrymen in Greek Translations.

This too will make it probable, that even to the lowest age of the Greek Empire their great Libraries contained many valuable Latin Manuscripts; perhaps had entire Copies of Cicero, of Livy, of Tacitus, and many others. Where else did Planudes, when he translated, find his Originals?
NICETAS, THE CHONIATE—his curious Narrative of the Mischiefs done by BALDWYN’S CRUSADE, when they sackt CONSTANTINOPLE in the Year 1205—many of the Statues described, which they then destroyed—a fine Taste for Arts among the GREEKS, even in those Days, proved from this Narrative—not so, among the CRUSADERS—Authenticity of Nicetas’s Narrative—State of CONSTANTINOPLE at the last Period of the Grecian Empire, as given by contemporary Writers, PHILELPHUS and ÆNEAS SYLVIUS—National Pride among the Greeks not totally extinct even at this Day.

BESIDES PLANUDES a large number of the same nation might be mentioned, but I omit them all for the sake of NICETAS, THE CHONIATE, in order to
P. III. to prove thro' him, that the more refined part of that ingenious people had not even in the thirteenth Century lost their Taste; a Taste not confined to Literary Works only, but extended to Works of other kinds and character.

This Historian (I mean Nicetas*) was present at the sacking of Constantinople by the Barbarians of Baldwyn's Crusade, in the year 1205. Take, by the way of Sample, a part only of his Enumeration of the noble Statues, which were probably brought thither by Constantine, to decorate his new City, and which these Adventurers then destroyed†.

Among

* He was called the Choniate from Chonæ, a City of Phrygia, and poss'd, when in the Court of Constantinople, some of the highest Dignities. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. T. XI. p. 401, 402.

† A large part of this Chapter is extracted from the History of Nicetas, as printed by Fabriciæs in the Tome above
Among others he mentions the Colossian Statue of Juno, erected in the Forum of Constantine; the Statue of Paris standing by Venus, and delivering to her the Golden Apple; a square and lofty Obelisk, with a Figure on it to indicate the Wind; the Figure of Bellerophon, riding upon Pegasus; the Pensive Hercules, made by no less an Artist than Lysippus; the two celebrated Figures of the Man and the Ass, erected by Augustus after his Victory at Actium; the Wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus; an Eagle destroying a Serpent, set up by Apollonius Tyaneus; and an exquisite above quoted, beginning from p. 405, and proceeding to p. 418.

The Author has endeavoured to make his translated Extracts faithful, but he thought the whole Original Greek too much to be inserted, especially as it may be found in Fabricius's Bibliotheca, a Book by no means rare. A few particular passages he has given in the Original.
PHILOLOGICAL

P. III. Helen, in all the Charms of Beauty and of Elegance.

Speaking of the Wind-obelisk, he relates with the greatest feeling the curious work on its sides; the rural Scene; Birds singing; Rustics labouring, or playing on their Pipes; Sheep bleating; Lambs skipping; the Sea, and a Scene of Fish and Fishing; little naked Cupids, laughing, playing, and pelting each other with Apples; a Figure on the summit, turning with the lightest blast, and thence denominated the Wind's Attendant.

Of the two Statues brought from Actium he relates, that they were set up there by Augustus on the following Incident. As he went out by night to reconnoitre the Camp of Antony, he met a Man, driving an Ass. The Man was asked, who he was, and whither he was going—my Name, replied he, is Nico, my
my As's name Nicander; and I am going to Cæsar's Army. The Story derives its force from the good Omen of lucky names, and may be found (tho' with some variation) both in Suetonius and Plutarch. The real Curiosity was, that Statues so celebrated should be then existing.

If the Figures of the Wolf and the Founders of Rome were of the same age, they might probably have been the very Work, to which Virgil is supposed to have alluded, in describing the Shield of Eneas:

—illam tereti cervice reflexam
Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua.
Æn. VIII. 633.

But no where does the Tafte of Nice-taas appear so strongly, as when he speaks of the Hercules, and the Helen.
The Hercules is exhibited to us, as if he were actually present—immense in bulk, and, with an Air of Grandeur, reposeing himself—his Lion's-skin (that lookt formidable even in brafs) thrown over him himself fitting without a Quiver, a Bow, or a Club, but having the right leg bent at the knee; his Head gently reclining on the hand of his left Arm; and a Countenance full of dejection, as if he were reflecting with indignation on the many successive labours, imposed on him by Eurytbeus*.

For his Person, we are informed he was ample in the Chest; broad in the Shoulders; had Hair that curled; Arms that were strong and muscular; and a Mog-

* Exāṅko ἃς, μὴ γραυτοῦ ζυμομίνας, μὴ τόξου ταῦ νίροιν Φίρων, μὴ, κ. τ. λ. Fabr. as above, p. 408, 409.
I N Q U I R I E S.

nitude such, as might be supposed to belong to the original Hercules, were he to revive; a Leg being equal in length to the Stature of a common Man*. And yet adds Nicetas, filled with Indignation, "this Hercules, being such as here re-presented, this very Hercules did not these men spare."

I can only subjoin, by way of digression, that there is a fine Greek Epigram describing the Statue of a dejected Hercules, fitting without his Weapons, which exactly resembles this of Nicetas, and which is said likewise to be the work of Lysippus, only there the Poet imputes his Hero's Dejection, not to the Tyranny of Eurytus, but to the love of Omphale.†

* Ἡ γάμος τόσον ἐνευρᾶ, τῇ χίμεος πλάτος, τῇ τρίτα ἥλιος, x. v. l. Ibid. p. 429.
† Vid. Antholog. L. IV. tit. 8.
If Nicetas speak with admiration of this Statue, 'tis with rapture he mentions the other. "What, says he, shall I say of "the beauteous Helen; of her, who "brought together all Greece against Troy? "Did she mitigate these immiti- "gable, these iron-hearted Men?" "No," says he, "nothing like it could "even she affect, who had before enslaved "so many Spectators with her Beauty*.”

After this he describes her Drest, and then proceeds to her Person; which Description, as it is something singular, I have endeavoured to translate more strictly.

"Her Lips" (says he) "like opening "Flowers, were gently parted, as if she

* "Αρ' ἐμεῖλιξε τῆς δυσμειλίκτης; ἂρ', ἐμαλκαξε τῆς σιδηγέοεςονας; ὥ μὲν ἐν ἕδε ἔλως τοιτον τι δεδύπτα, ἡ τάξια Σιατὸν τῷ κάλλιῳ δελαγωγόςασα, καίπερ, κ. τ. λ. Fabric. ut supra, p. 412. 413."
INQUIRIES.

"was going to speak: and as for that " Graceful Smile, which instantly met " the beholder, and filled him with delight; " those elegant Curvatures of her " Eye-brows, and the remaining Harmony of her Figure; they were what " no Words can describe, and deliver down " to Posterity*.

He then breaks into an Exclamation— " But O! Helen, Thou pure and genuine " Beauty; Offspring of the Loves; deco- " rated by the Care of Venus; most ex- " quisite of Nature's Gifts; Prize of Con- " test between Trojans and Grecians: " where was thy Nepenthes, that " soothing Draught, which thou learnedst " in Egypt?—Where thy irresistible Love- " charms?—Why didst Thou not employ

* Ην ἐν τῇ κελίᾳ, καλλίστῳ δίκαια, ἡμίμα τω ξωφα-ναγόμενα, ως κε δικεῖν, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. p. 413.
them now, as thou didst in days of yore?

Alas! I fear 'twas defined by Fate,
that Thou shouldst perish by Flames;
Thou, who didst not cease even in thy Statue to inflame beholders into Love.
I could almost say that these Sons of Eneas had demolished Thee by Fire, as a species of retaliation for the burning of their Troy, as those Flames were kindled by thy unfortunate Arrows.

I have been thus particular in these Relations, and have translated for the greater part the very words of the Historian, not only because the Facts are little known, but because they tend to prove, that even in those dark Ages (as we have too many reasons...
reasons to call them) there were Greeks still extant, who had a Taste for the finer Arts. and an Enthusiastic Feeling of their exquisite Beauty. At the same time we cannot without indignation reflect on these brutal Crusaders, who, after many instances of sacrilegious Avarice, related by Nicetas in consequence of their Success, could destroy all these, and many other precious Remains of Antiquity, melting them down (for they were of Brass) into Money to pay their Soldiers, and exchanging things of inestimable Value for a poor pittance of contemptible Coin*. They surely were what Nicetas well calls them, Τὲ καλὲ αἵρεσις βαζαζοι, Barbarians devoid of taste for the Beautiful and Fair†.

* Κινδοφασις [ἀγάλματα] εις νομίσμα, αἰδαλαξάμι- μεις μικρῶν τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ δικαίως θωνθίδια με- γίθαις επιδαυθα αὐτοίδοιτες κερμάτων. Ibid. p. 408.

† I have given the words of Nicetas himself, which precede the passage just quoted. In another part
And yet 'tis remarkable, that these sad and savage Events happened more than a Century after these Adventurers had first past into the East, above four-score years of which time they had possessed the Sovereignty of Palestine. But—

Coelum, non Animum mutant, &c.

Hor. *

Tho' I have done with these Events, I cannot quit the Greeks without adding a

of his Narrative he files them Illiterate Barbarians, who absolutely did not know their A B C.— 

* It ought to be observed, that tho' the Narrative of Nicetas, whence these Extracts are taken, appear not in the printed Editions (being probably either thro' fraud, or shame, or both, designedly omitted;) yet has it been published by that benevolent and learned Critic Fabricius, in the sixth Volume of his Bibliotheca Graeca here quoted, and is still extant in a fair and ancient Manuscript of the two last Books of Nicetas, preserved in the Bodleian Library.
word upon Constantinople, as to Literature and Language, just before the fatal period, when it was taken by the Turks. There is more stress to be laid upon my Quotations, as they are transcribed from authors, who lived at the time, or immediately after.

Hear what Philephus says, who was himself at Constantinople in that part of the fifteenth Century, while the Greek Empire still subsisted. "Those Greeks (says he) whose Language has not been depraved, and whom we ourselves both follow and imitate, speak even at this time in their ordinary talk, as the Comic "Aristophanes did, or the Tragic Euripides; as the Orators would talk; as the Historians; as the Philosophers themselves, even Plato and Aristotle*."

Speak-

* Graeci, quibus lingua depravata non sit, et quos ipsi tum sequimur, tum imitamur, ita loquentur vulgo hae etiam
Speaking afterwards of the Corruption of the Tongue in that City by the Concours of Traders, and Strangers, he informs us, that the People belonging to the Court still retained "the Antient Dignity and Elegance of Speech, and above all the Women of Quality, who, as they were wholly precluded from Strangers, still preserved that genuine and pure Speech of the Antient Greeks, uncorrupted".

Æneas

etiam in tempestate, ut Aristophanes Comicus, ut Euripides Tragicus, ut Oratores omnes, ut Philosophi etiam ipsi et Plato et Aristoteles. Phileph. Epift. in Hodii de Graecis illuftribus Lib. I. p. 188.

* The same Philephus in the same Epifle adds—Nam viri aulici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam ritinebant; in primisque ipsæ nobiles mulieres, quibus cum nullum effet omnino cum viris peregrinis Commercium, merus ille ac purus Graecorum sermo servabatur intactus. Hod. ut supra.

'Tis somewhat singular, that what Philephus relates concerning the Women of Rank at the Court of Constantinople,
INQUIRIES.

Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope by the name of Pius the Second, was the Scholar of this Philelphus. A long Letter of his is extant upon the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet, a Letter address'd to a Cardinal, just after that fatal Event. Speaking of the fortune of the City, he observes, that New Rome (for so they often called Constantinople) had sub-

tinople, should be related by Cicero concerning the Women of Rank in the polished days of the Roman Commonwealth; concerning Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi; concerning Lælia, Daughter of the great Lælius; concerning the Mucia, the Licinia, in short, the Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the most illustrious Romans of that illustrious age.

Cicero accounts for the purity of their Language, and for its being untainted with vitious novelty, precisely as Philelphus does.—Facilius enim mulieres ircor-
ruptam antiquitatem conservant, quod, multorum sermonis expertes, ea tenent semper, qua prima didicerunt.

This Passage is no small strengthening of Philel-
phus's Authority. See Cicer. de Oratore III. 45. & de Claris Orator. f. 211.

fiilte
sisted, from its foundation to its capture, nearly the same number of years with Old Rome—that between Romulus, the founder of Old Rome, and the Goth, Alaric, who took it, was an interval of about eleven hundred years; and that there was nearly the same interval between Constantine and Mahomet the Great.

He observes that tho' this last City had been taken before, it had never before suffered so total and so fatal a change. "Till this period (says he) the remembrance of antient wisdom remained at Constantinople; and, as if it were the Mansion, the Seat of Letters, no one of the Latins could be deemed sufficiently learned, if he had not studied for some time at Constantinople. The same Reputation for Sciences, which Athens had in the times of antient Rome, did Constantinople appear to possess in our
INQUIRIES.

"our times. 'Twas thence, that Plato
was restored to us; 'twas thence, that
the Works of Aristotle, Demos-
thenes, Xenophon, Thucydides,
Basil, Dionysius, Origen and others
were, in our days, made known; and
many more in futurity we hoped would
become so. But now, as the Turks have
conquered, &c.*"

A little farther in the same Epistle, when
he expresses his fears, left the Turks

*—itaque manfi in hunc diem vetusiae sapientiae apud Constanti
nopolim monumentum: ac, velut ibi do-
micilium Literarum effit, et arx summae philosophiae, nemo
Latinorum satis deus videri poterat, nisi Constantinopolis
aliquandem studiisset; quoque florente Româ doctrinarum
nomen habuerunt Atheniæ, id tempestâte nostra videbatur
Constantinopolis obtinere. Inde nobis Plato redditus: inde
Aristotelis, Demosthenis, Xenophonis, Thucididis, Basilii,
Dionysiis, Origemis et aliorum multa Latinis opera diebus,
nosiris manifesta sunt; multa quoque in futurum mani-
festandâ sperabamus. Nunc vero, vincentibus Turcis, &c.

should
should destroy all Books but their own, he subjoins—"Now therefore both Homer, and Pindar, and Menander, and all the more illustrious Poets will undergo a second Death. Now will a final destruction find its way to the Greek Philosophers. A little light will remain perhaps among the Latins, but that I apprehend will not be long, unless God from Heaven will look upon us with a more favourable eye, and grant a better fortune either to the Roman Empire, or to the Apostolic See, &c. &c."

"Nunc ergo et Homero, et Pindaro, Menandro, et omnibus illustrioribus Poetis secunda morte est; nunc Graecorum philosophorum ultima patebit interitus. Restabit aliquid lucis apud Latinos; at, fateor, neque id est diuturnum, nisi mitiori nos oculo Deus ex alto respexerit, fortunamque vel imperio Romano, vel Apostolicae sedi praebuit meliorem, &c. &c. Ibid. p. 705, 706.

Those who have not the old Edition of Aeneas Sylvius, may find the above quotations in Hayd de Gratia Illustris, Lond. 1751. 8vo.
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It must be remarked that, in this Epistle, by Latins he means the Western Europeans, as opposed to the Greeks, or Eastern; and that by the Roman Empire (just before mentioned) he means the Germanic Body.

The Author's apprehensions for the fate of Letters in the West was premature; for, upon the Destruction of this imperial City, the number of learned Greeks, which this Event drove into those Western parts of Europe; the Favour of the Popes and the Medici Family, shewn at this period to Literature; together with the then recent Invention of Printing, which, by multiplying Copies of Books, made them so easy to be purchased—all this (I say) tended to promote the Cause of Knowledge and of Taste, and to put things into that

* Nicias had before called them, Sons of Enneas. See p. 310.
train, in which we hope they may long continue.

Besides Philephus, Æneas Sylvius, and many others, who were Italians, I might mention two Greeks of the same age, George Gemistus, and Cardinal Bessario, both of them deeply knowing in Grecian Literature and Philosophy.

But as some account of these last and of their Writings has been already given*, I shall quit the Greeks, after I have related a short Narrative; a Narrative so far curious, as it helps to prove, that even among the present Greeks, in the day of Servitude, the remembrance of their antient Glory is not yet totally extinct.

When the late Mr. Anfon (Lord Anfon's Brother) was upon his Travels in the East, he hired a Vessel, to visit the

* See Philosop. Arrangements, p. 238, 239.
His Pilot, an old Greek, as they were sailing along, said with some satisfaction, —*There 'twas our Fleet lay.* Mr. Anson demanded, *What Fleet?* — *What Fleet,* replied the old Man (a little piqued at the Question) — *Why our Grecian Fleet at the Siege of Troy*. *

But we must now quit the Greeks, and, in consequence of our plan, pass to the Arabsians, followers of Mahomet.

*This story was told the Author by Mr. Anson himself.*
Concerning the second Class of Geniuses during the middle Age, the Arabians, or Saracens—at first, barbarous—their Character before the time of Mahomet—Their greatest Caliphs were from among the Abassidæ—Almanzur one of the first of that race—Almamum of the same race, a great Patron of Learning, and learned Men—Arabians cultivated Letters, as their Empire grew settled and established—Translated the best Greek Authors into their own Language—Historians, Abulpharagius, Abulfeda, Bohadin—Extracts from the last concerning Saladin.

The Arabians* began ill. The Sentiment of their Caliph Omar, when

* As many Quotations are made in the following Chapters from Arabian Writers, and more particularly from
INQUIRIES.

when he commanded the Alexandrian Library to be burnt (a fact we have already related*) was natural to any Bigot, when in the plentitude of Despotism. But they grew more rational, as they grew less bigotted, and by degrees began to think, that Science was worth cultivating. They may be said indeed to have recurred to their antient Character; that Character, which they did not rest upon brutal Force alone, but which they boasted to imply three capital things, Hospitality, Valour, and Eloquence†.

from Abulpharagius, Abulfeda, and Bohadin, a short account of these three authors will be given in the Notes of this Chapter, where their Names come in course to be mentioned.

* See before, p. 252.

† Schultens in his Monumenta retuliora Arabic (Lugdun. Batavor. 1740) gives us in his Preface the following Passage from Saphadius, an Arabic Author. Arapes antiquitus non habeant, quo gloriarentur, quam Gladio, Hospite, et Eloquentia.
When success in Arms has defeated Rivals, and Empire becomes not only extended but established, then is it that Nations begin to think of Letters, and to cultivate Philosophy, and liberal Speculation. This happened to the Athenians, after they had triumphed over the Persians; to the Romans, after they triumphed over Carthage; and to the Arabians, after the Caliphate was established at Baghdad.

And here perhaps it may not be improper to observe, that after the four first Caliphs, came the Race of the Ommiadæ. These about thirty years after Mahomet, upon the destruction of Ali, usurped the Sovereignty, and held it ninety years. They were considered by the Arabic Historians as a race of Tyrants, and were in

* See before, p. 256, 257.
number fourteen*. Having made them-

selves by their oppressions to be much
detested, the last of them, Merwin, was
deposed by Al-Suffah, from whom began
another race, the race of Abassidæ†, who
claimed to be related in blood to Mahomet,
by descending from his Uncle, Abbas.

As many of these were far superior in
caracter to their predecessors, so their
Dominion was of much longer duration,
lasting for more than five Centuries.

The former part of this Period may be
called the Èra of the Grandeur, and Magni-
sicence of the Caliphate.

* See Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, under the
word Ommiades, also Abulpharagius, p. 138, 162.
and in particular Abulfeda, p. 138, &c.

Herbelot's Bib. Orient. under the word Abassides.
Almanzur, who was among the first of them, removed the imperial Seat from Damascus to Bagdad, a City which he himself founded upon the banks of the Tigris, and which soon after became one of the most splendid Cities throughout the East.

Almanzur was not only a great Conqueror, but a lover of Letters and learned Men. 'Twas under him that Arabian Literature, which had been at first chiefly confined to Medicine and a few other branches, was extended to Sciences of every denomination*.

His Grandson Almamun (who reigned about fifty years after) giving a full Scope to his love of Learning, sent to the Greek Emperors for Copies of their best Books;

* See Abulfeda, p. 144. Abulpharag, p. 139, 141.
employed the ablest Scholars, that could be found, to translate them; and, when translated, encouraged men of genius in their perusal, taking a pleasure in being present at literary Conversations. Then was it that learned men, in the lofty Language of Eastern Eloquence, were called Luminaries, that dispel darkness; Lords of human kind; of whom, when the World becomes destitute, it becomes barbarous and savage*.

The rapid Victories of these Eastern Conquerors soon carried their Empire from Asia even into the remote regions of Spain. Letters followed them, as they went. Plato, Aristotle, and their best Greek Commene-

tators were soon translated into Arabic; so were Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Diophantus, and the other Greek Mathematicians; so Hippocrates, Galen, and the best professors of Medicine; so Ptolemy, and the noted Writers on the subject of Astronomy. The study of these Greeks produced others like them; produced others, who not only explained them in Arabic Comments, but composed themselves original pieces upon the same Principles.

Averroes was celebrated for his Philosophy in Spain; Alpharabi and Avicenna were equally admired thro' Asia*. Science (to speak a little in their own state) may be said to have extended

— a Gadibus usque

Auroram et Gangem—

* See Herbelot, under the several Names here quoted.
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Nor, in this immense multitude, did they want Historians, some of which, (such as Abulfeda, Abulphragius, Bohadin*, and others) have been translated:

* Abulfeda was an Oriental Prince, descended from the same Family with the great Saladin. He died in the year 1345, and published a General History, in which however he is most particular and diffuse in the Narrative of Mahomet, and his Successors.

Learned Men have published different parts of this curious Author. Gagnier gave us in Arabic and Latin as much of him, as related to Mahomet. This was printed in a thin Folio at Oxford, in the year 1723.

The largest Portion, and from which most of the facts here related are taken, was published by Reijke, or Reikius (a very able Scholar) in Latin only, and includes the History of the Arabians and their Caliphs, from the first year of the Mahometan Era, An. Dom. 622, to their 406th year, An. Dom. 1015. This Book, a moderate or thin Quarto, was printed at Lipsic, in the year 1754.

We have another Portion of a period later still than this, published by Schultens in Arabic and Latin; a Portion relative to the Life of Saladin, and subjoined by Schultens to the Life of that great Prince by Bohadin,
lated, and are perused, even in their Translations, both with pleasure and pro-
fit,

hadin, which he (Schultens) published. But more of this hereafter.

Abulpharagius gave likewise a general History, divided into nine Dynasties, but is far more minute and diffuse (as well as Abulfeda) in his History of Mahomet and the Caliphs.

He was a Christian, and the Son of a Christian Physician — was an Asiatic by birth, and wrote in Arabic, as did Abulfeda. He brought down his History a little below the time of the celebrated Jingez Chan, that is to the middle of the thirteenth Century, the time when he lived. A fine Edition of this Author was given in Arabic and Latin, by the learned Pococke, in two small Quartos, at Oxford, 1663.

Bohadin wrote the Life of the celebrated Saladin, but more particularly that part of it, which respects the Crusades, and Saladin's taking of Jerusalem. Bohadin has many things to render his History highly valuable: he was a Contemporary Writer; was an Eye-witness of almost every Translation; and what is more, instead of being an obscure Man, was high in office, a favourite of Saladin's, and constantly about his person. This author flourished in the twelfth Century, that is in
fit, as they give not only the outlines of amazing Enterprises, but a sample of Manners, and Character, widely differing from our own.

No History perhaps can be more curious than the Life of Saladin by Bohadin. This Author was a constant Attendant upon the person of this great Prince thro' all his active and important in the time of Saladin and King Richard, Saladin's antagonist.

Bohadin's History in Arabic and Latin, with much excellent Erudition, was published in an elegant Folio, by that accurate Scholar, Schultens, at Leyden, in the year 1755.

It must be observed that, tho' Abulpharagius was a Christian, yet Abulfeda and Bohadin were both Mahometans. All three Historians bear a great resemblance to Plutarch, as they have enriched their Histories with so many striking Anecdotes. From Abulpharagius too, and Abulfeda, we have much curious information as to the Progress and State of Literature in those Ages and Countries.
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III. Life, down to his last Sickness, and the very hour of his Death. The many curious Anecdotes, which he relates, give us the striking Picture of an Eastern Hero.

Take the following Instance of Saladin's Justice and Affability.

"He was in company once with his intimate Friends, enjoying their conversation apart, the crowd being dispersed, when a Slave of some rank brought him a petition in behalf of a person oppressed. The Sultan said, that he was then fatigued, and wished the matter, whatever it was, might for a time be deferred. The other did not attend to what was desired, but on the contrary almost thrust the petition into the Sultan's face. The Sultan on this, opening and reading it over, declared he thought the Petitioners Cause a good one."
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one.—Let then our Sovereign Lord, says the other, sign it.—There is no Ink-stand, says the Sultan (who, being at that time seated at the Door of his Tent, rendered it impossible for any one to enter)—You have one, replies the Petitioner, in the inner part of your Tent, (which meant, as the Writer well observes, little less than bidding the Prince go and bring it himself.) The Sultan, looking back and seeing the Ink-stand behind him, cries out, God help me, the man says true, and immediately reached back for it, and signed the Instrument."

Here the Historian, who was present, spoke the language of a good Courtier. "God Almighty, said he, bore this Testimony to our Prophet, that his Disposition was a sublime one: our Sovereign Lord, I perceive, has a Temper like him. The Sultan not regarding the Compliance, ...
P. III. "ment, replied coolly.—The Man did no
"harm; we have dispatched his business,
"and the Reward is at hand*.”

After this fact we shall the more readily believe Bohadin, when speaking of the same illustrious person, he informs us, that his Conversation was remarkably elegant and pleasing; that he was a perfect master of the Arabian Families, of their History, their Rites, and Customs; that he knew also the Genealogies of their Horses (for which we know that to this hour Arabia is celebrated;) nor was he ignorant of what was rare and curious in the world at large; that he was particularly affable in his inquiries about the Health of his Friends, their Illness, their Medicines, &c. that his Discourse was free from all obscenity and scandal; and that

* See Bohadin, p. 22.
INQUIRIES.

he was remarkably tender and compassionate both to orphans and to persons in years.

I may add from the same authority an instance of his Justice.

"As Bohadin, the Historian, was one day exercising at Jerusalem his office of a Judge, a decent old Merchant tendered him a Bill or Libel of Complaint, which he insisted upon having opened. "Who (says Bohadin) is your Adversary? "—My Adversary, replies the Merchant, is the Sultan himself: but this is the Seat of Justice, and we have heard that you (applying to Bohadin) are not governed by regard to Persons. Bohadin told him the Cause could not be decided without his Adversary's being first apprized.

* See Bohadin, p. 28. and at the end of Bohadin, the Excerpta from Abulfeda, p. 62, 63.
P. III. "The Sultan accordingly was informed of the affair; submitted to appear; produced his Witnesses; and, having justly defended himself, gained the Cause. Yet so little did he resent this Treatment, that he dismiss his Antagonist with a rich Garment and a Donation."

His Severity upon occasions was no less conspicuous, than his Clemency.

We learn from the same Writer, that Arnold, Lord of Cracha, (called Reginald by M. Paris, and Rainold by Fuller) had thought proper, during the Truce between the Christians and the Saracens, to fall upon the Caravan of Travellers going to Mecca from Egypt, whom he cruelly pillaged and thrust into Dungeons, and when they appealed

* See Bobadin, p. 10.
pealed to the Truce for better usage, replied with scorn, *Let your Mahomet deliver you.*

_Saladin,* fired with indignation at this perfidy, vowed a Vow to dispatch him *with his own hand,* if he could ever make him prisoner. The Event happened at the fatal Battle of Hittyn, where _Guy_ King of Jerusalem, _Arnold,_ and all the principal Commanders of the _Christian_ Army were taken. _Saladin,_ as soon as his Tent could be erected, in the height of his Feftivity, orders King _Guy,_ his Brother _Geoffry,_ and Prince _Arnold_ into his presence.

As _Guy_ the King was nearly dying for thirst, _Saladin_ presented him a delicious Cup, cooled with Snow, out of which the King drank, and then transmitted it to _Arnold._ *Tell the King,* says the Sultan, turning to his Interpreter, *tell him,*

Thou,
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P. III. THOU, King, art HE, who hast given the Cup to this MAN, and not I.

Now it is a most admirable Custom (observes Bohadin) among the Arabians, a custom breathing their liberal and noble disposition, that a Captive, the moment he has obtained meat or drink from his Captor, is by that very treatment rendered secure of Life, the Arabians being a people, by whom Hospitality and the generous point of honour is most sacredly observed.

The Prisoners, being dismissed, were soon remanded, when only the Sultan and a few of his Ministers were left. Arnold was the first brought in, whom the Sultan reminding of his irreverent Speech, subjoined, See me now act the part of Mahomet's Avenger. He then offers Arnold to embrace the Mahometan Faith, which he refusing, the Sultan with his
his drawn scymitar gave him a stroke, that broke the hilt, while the rest of his attendants joined and dispatched him. King Guy thought the same destiny was prepared for him. The Sultan however bid him be of good cheer, observing, that it was not customary for Kings to kill Kings; but that this Man had brought destruction upon himself by passing the Bounds of all Faith and Honour.*

When Princes are victorious, their Rigour is often apt to extend too far, especially where Religion, as in these Wars called Holy, blends itself with the trans-

action.

More than fourscore years before Saladin's time the Crusaders, when they

* See Bohadin, p. 27. 28. 70. 71.
When Saladin took Jerusalem, he had at first meditated putting all the Franks to the sword, as a sort of retaliation for what had been done there by these first Crusaders. However he was persuaded to change his intention, and spare them: nay more, after he had turned the rest of their Churches into Mosques, he still left them one, in which they had Toleration to perform their worship.

After the fatal Battle of Hittyn, where Guy and Arnold (as above mentioned) were taken, Saladin divided his Prisoners;
some were fold; others pnt to death; Ch.VI. and among the last all the commanders of the Hospitalers and Templars.

On the taking of Ptolemais by the Crusaders, some difference arising between them and Saladin about the Terms of the Capitulation, the Crusaders led the Captive Musselmans out of the City into a Plain, and there in cold blood murdered three thousand *.

Customs in all times, and in all Countries, have a singular effect. When the French Ambassadors were introduced to Saladin, he was playing with a favourite Son, by name Elemir. The Child no sooner beheld the Embassadors with their Faces shaved, their Hair cut,

* See Bshadin, p. 70, for the Templars, and p. 183, for the Musselmans—also Fuller’s H. Warre, B. II. c. 45. p. 105.
and their Garments of an unusual form, than he was terrified, and began to cry. A Beard perhaps would have terrified a Child in France: and yet, if Beards are the gift of Nature, it seems easier to defend the little Arabian*.

Bohadin, our Historian, appears to have thought so, who, mentioning a young Frank of high Quality, describes him to be a fine Youth, except that his Face was shaven; a Mark, as he calls it, by which the Franks are distinguished†.

We cannot quit Saladin, without a word on his Liberality.

He used to say, 'twas possible there might exist a man (and by such man 'twas

* See Bohadin, p. 270.
† See Bohadin, p. 193.
supposed he meant himself) who with the same eye of contempt could look on Riches and on Dirt*.

These seem to have been his Sentiments, when some of his Revenue-officers were convicted of putting into his Treasury Purfes of Brafs for Purfes of Gold. By the rigour of Eastern Justice they might have immediately been executed; but Saladin did no more than dismiss them from their office†.

When his Treasury was so empty, that he could not supply his Largeffes, in order to have it in his power, he sold his very furniture‡.

When his Army was encamped in the Plains of Ptolemaïs, 'twas computed he

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* See Bohadin, p. 13.
† See Bohadin, p. 27.
‡ See Bohadin, 12, 13.
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P. III. gave away no less than twelve thousand Horses; nay, 'twas said he never mounted a Horse, which was not either given away, or promised*.

Bohadin, whom he employed in most of his acts of Munificence, relates, that all who approached him, were sensible of its effects; nay that he exceeded in his Donations even the unreasonable wishes of the Petitioners, altho' he was never heard to boast of any favour that he had conferred †.

The effect of such immense Liberality was, that, when he died, out of all the vast revenues of Egypt, Syria, the Oriental Provinces, and Arabia Felix, there was no more left in his Treasury, than forty

† See Bohad. p. 13.

seven
seven pieces of Silver, and one of Gold; so that they were forced to borrow money, to defray the expenses of his Funeral*.

As to the facts respecting the Western Crusaders at this period, and particularly Saladin's great Antagonist, Richard Coeur de Leon, these are subjects reserved, till we come to the Latins or Franks.

We shall now say something concerning Arabian Poetry and Works of Invention, adding withal a few more Anecdotes, relative to their Manners and Character.

* See Bohadin, p 5. 13. and, in the same Book, the Extracts from Abulfeda, p. 62.—Abulpharagius, p. 277. See Fuller's Character of Saladin, Holy Warre, B. III. ch. 14. as also the above Extracts, and Abulpharagius, both under the same pages.
ARABIAN POETRY is so immense a Field, that he, who enters it, is in danger of being lost. 'Twas their favourite study long before the time of Mahomet, and many Poems are still extant of an earlier Era*. So much did they value themselves upon the Elegance of their Compositions, that they called their neighbours, and more particularly the Persians, Barbarians†. It seems un-

* See Schultens in his Monumenta vetusflora Arabiae, Lugd. Bat. 1740, where there will be found Fragments of Poetry many Centuries before Mahomet; and some said to be as antient as the days of Solomon.

† Vid. Pocockii Not. in Camum Tegrai, p. 5.—and Alulfed. p. 194.
fortunate for these last, that the *old* Greeks should have distinguished them by the same appellation †.

If we reckon among pieces of Poetry not the *Metrical* only, but those also the mere efforts of *Invention* and *Imagination*, (such as the incomparable *Telemachus*, of the truly eloquent *Fenelon*) we may justly range in this Class the *Arabian* Nights, and the *Turkish* Tales. They are valuable not only for exhibiting a picture of *Oriental* manners, during the splendor of the *Caliphate*, but for inculcating in many instances a useful and instructive *Moral*. Nothing can be better written than the *Tale of Alnaschar*, to illustrate that important part of the *Stoic Moral*, the fatal consequence of not resisting our Fancies*.

† See *Isocrates, Plato, Demosthenes, &c.*

* A curious and accurate Version of this admirable Tale is printed at *Oxford*, in a Grammar of the *Arabic* Lan-
They were fond of the Fabulous and Allegorical, and loved to represent under that Form the doctrines they most favoured. They favoured no doctrine more than that of each individual’s inevitable Destiny. Let us see after what manner they conveyed this doctrine.

"They tell us that as Solomon (whom they supposed a Magician from his superior Wisdom) was one day walking with a person in Palestine, his Companion said to him with some horror, ‘what ugly Being is that which approaches us? I don’t like his Visage—send me, I pray thee, to the remotest Mountain of India.’ Solomon complied, and the very moment he was sent off, the ugly Being

Language; a Version which gives us too much reason to lament our imperfect view of those other ingenious Fictions, so obscurely transmitted to us thro’ a French Medium.

"arrived."
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"arrived. "Solomon (said the Being) how
"came that fellow here? I was to have
"fetched him from the remotest Mountain
"of India." Solomon answered—"Angel
"of Death, thou wilt find him there*.

I may add to this that elegant Fiction
concerning the self-taught Philosopher Hai
Ebn Yokdan, who, being supposed to have
been cast an Infant on a desert Island, is
made by various Incidents (some possible,
but all ingenious) to ascend gradually, as
he grew up in Solitude, to the Sublime of
all Philosophy, Natural, Moral, and Di-
vine†.

But this last was the Production of a
more refined Period, when they had adopt-

* This Tale was told me by Dr. Gregory Sbarpe,
late Master of the Temple, well known for his know-
ledge in Oriental Literature.
† See Pococke's Edition of this Work, Oxon. 1671.
ed the Philosophy of other nations. In their earlier days of Empire they valued no Literature, but their own, as we have learnt from the celebrated Story, already related, concerning Omar, Amrus, and the Library at Alexandria*.

The same Omar, after the same Amrus had conquered the vast Province of Egypt, and given (according to the custom of those early times) many proofs of personal strength and valour, the same Omar (I say) was desirous to see the Sword, by which Amrus had performed so many Wonders. Having taken it into his hand, and found it no better than any other sword, he returned it with contempt, and averred, it was good for nothing. You say true, Sir, replied Amrus; for you demanded to see the Sword, not the Arm that wielded

* See before, p. 252. 322.
it; while that was wanting, the Sword was no better than the sword of Pharex-
dacus.

Now Pharexdacus was it seems a Poet, famous for his fine description of a Sword, but not equally famous for his personal Prowess *.

'Tis a singular instance of their attention to Hospitality, that they used to kindle Fires by night, upon Hills near their Camps, to conduct wandering Travellers to a place of refuge †.

Such an attention to this Duty naturally brings to our mind what Eumæus in the Odyssey says to Ulysses.

† Eijufl. Carm. Tograi, p. III.
Stranger, I dare not with dishonour treat
A Stranger, tho' a worse, than thou,
should come;
For Strangers all belong to Jove—
Od. 56.

Nor are there wanting other instances of
Resemblance to the age of Homer. When
Ibrahim, a dangerous competitor of the
Caliph Almanzur, had in a decisive bat-
tle been mortally wounded, and his friends
were endeavouring to carry him off, a
desperate conflict ensued, in which the
Enemy prevailed, overpowered his Friends,
and gained what they contended for, the
Body of Ibrahim. The resemblance be-
tween this Story, and that respecting the
Body of Patroclus, is a fact too obvious,
to be more than hinted*.

In an earlier period, when Moawigea
(the competitor of the great Ali) was pref

* See Abulfeda, p. 148.
in a battle, and had just begun to fly, he is reported to have rallied upon the strength of certain verses, which at that critical instant occurred to his memory. The Verses were these, as we attempt to translate them.

*Abulseda, p. 91.*

A a Such
Such Resemblances, as these, prove a probable connection between the manners of the Arabians, and those of the antient Greeks. There are other Resemblances, which, as they respect not only Greek Authors but Roman, are perhaps no more than casual.

Thus an Arabian Poet—

Horfs and Wealth we know you've none;  
Let then your Eloquence atone  
For Fortune's failure*

What the Arabian says of his Friend,  
Horace says of himself.

Donarem pateras, grataque commodus,  
Censorine, meis &c.  
Od. L.

Another of their Poets has the following Sentiment.

* Abulfeda, p. 279.
Who fondly can himself deceive,
And venture Reason's rules to leave;
Who dares, thro' ignorance, aspire
To that, which no one can acquire;
To spotless fame, to solid health,
To firm, unalienable, wealth:
Each Wish he forms, will surely find
A Wish denied to human kind*.

Here we read the Stoic Description of Things not in our power, and the consequence of pursuing them, as if they were Things in our power, concerning which fatal mistake see Epictetus, either in the Original, or in Mrs. Carter's valuable Translation. The Enchiridion we know begins with this very doctrine.

There is a fine Precept among the Arabians—Let him, to whom the Gate

* Abulfeda, p. 279.
of Good Fortune is opened, seize his Opportunity; for he knoweth not, how soon it may be shut.

Compare this with those admired Lines in Shakepeare—

There is a Tide in the affairs of men,
Which taken at the flood, &c.


Tho' the Metaphors differ, the Sentiment is the same*.

In the Comment on the Verses of Toprai we meet an Arabic Sentiment, which says, that a Friend is another self. The same elegant thought occurs in Aristotle's Ethics, and that in the same words. *Εσι γὰρ ὁ φίλος ἄλλος αὐτός.†.

* Bohadin Vit. Salad. p. 73. Of this Work, p. 169.

After
After the preceding instances of Arabian Genius, the following perhaps may give a sample of their Manners and Character.

On a rainy day the Caliph Almotafem happened, as he was riding, to wander from his attendants. While he was thus alone, he found an old Man, whose Ass, laden with faggots, had just cast his burden, and was mired in a flough. As the old Man was standing in a state of perplexity, the Caliph quitted his horse, and went to helping up the Ass. *In the name of my father and my mother, I beseech thee, says the old Man, do not spoil thy cloaths. That is nothing to Thee,* replied the Caliph, who, after having helped up the Ass, replaced the faggots, and washed his hands, got again upon his horse, the old Man in the mean time crying out, *Oh Youth, may God reward thee!* Soon after this the Caliph’s company
pany overtook him, whom he generously commanded to present the old Man with a noble largess of gold.*

To this instance of Generosity we subjoin another of Resentment.

The Grecian Emperors used to pay the Caliphs a tribute. This the Emperor Nicephorus would pay no longer; and not only that, but requiring the Caliph in a haughty manner to refund all he had received, added that, if he refused, the Sword should decide the Controversy. The Caliph had no sooner read the Letter, than inflamed with rage he inscribes upon the back of it the following answer.

In the name of the most merciful God: from Harun, Prince of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, Dog of the Romans: I have

* Aulphorogius, p. 166.
read thy Epistle, Thou Son of an unbelieving
Mother: to which, what thou shalt behold, and not what thou shalt hear, shall serve for an answer.

He immediately upon the very day decamped; marched as far as Heraclia, and, filling all things with rapine and slaughter, extorted from Nicephorus the performance of his Contract*.

The following is an instance of a calmer Magnanimity. In the middle of the third Century after Mahomet, one Jacub, from being originally a Brazier, had made himself Master of some fine Provinces, which he governed at will, tho' professing (like the Eastern Governors of later times) a seeming deference to his proper Sovereign.

* Abulfeda, p. 166, 167.
P. III.  The Caliph, not satisfied with this apparent submission, sent a Legate to persuade him into a more perfect obedience. Jacob, who was then ill, sent for the Legate into his presence, and there shewed him three things, which he had prepared for his inspection; a Sword, some black Barley Bread, and a Bundle of Onions. He then informed the Legate, that, should he die of his present disorder, the Caliph in such case would find no farther trouble. But if the contrary should happen, there could be then no Arbitrator to decide between them, excepting that, pointing to the Sword. He added, that if Fortune should prove adverse, should he be conquered by the Caliph, and stripped of his possessions, he was then resolved to return to his antient frugality, pointing to the Black Bread and the Bundle of Onions *.

* Abulfeda, p. 214.
INQUIRIES.

To former instances of Munificence we add the following, concerning the celebrated Almamun*.

Being once at Damascus, and in great want of money, he complained of it to his Brother Mottafem. His Brother assured him he should have money in a few days, and sent immediately for thirty thousand pieces of Gold from the revenues of those Provinces, which he governed in the name of his Brother. When the money arrived, brought by the Royal beasts of burden, Almamun invited Jahia the Son of Abiam, one of his favourites, to attend him on horseback, and view what was brought. They went accordingly, and beheld the Treasure arranged in the finest order, and the Camels too, which had brought it, richly decorated. The Prince admired both the quantity

* See p. 326.
P. III. of the money, and the elegance of the show; and as his Courtiers looked on with no less admiration, he bid them be of good cheer. Then turning about to Jahia: O! Abu Mohammed, says he, we should be for did indeed, were we to depart hence with all this money, as if it were scraped up for ourselves alone, whilst our longing friends look on to no purpose. Calling therefore immediately for a Notary, he commands him to write down for such a family so many thousands; for such a family so many; and so on, never flogging till, out of the thirty thousand pieces, he had given away twenty-four thousand, without so much as taking his foot out of the stirrup*.

From Munificence we pass to another Quality, which, tho' less amiable, is not less striking and popular, I mean Magnificence.

* Abulfeda, p. 189.
The splendour of the Caliph Moctader, when he received the Ambassador of the Greek Emperor at Bagdad, seems hardly credible. We relate it from one of their Historians, precisely as we find it.

The Caliph's whole Army both Horse and Foot were under Arms, which together made a Body of one hundred and sixty thousand Men. His State-officers stood near him in the most splendid apparel, their Belts shining with Gold and Gems. Near them were seven thousand Eunuchs; four thousand white, the remainder of them black. The Porters or Door-keepers were in number seven hundred. Barges and Boats with the most superb decoration were swimming on the Tigris. Nor was the Palace itself less splendid, in which were hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of Tapestry; twelve thousand five hundred of which were of silk, embroidered with gold. The Carpets on the floor were twenty-two thou-
P. III.

thousand. An hundred Lions were brought out, with a Keeper to each Lion.

Among the other Spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury, was a Tree of Gold and Silver, which opened itself into eighteen larger branches, upon which, and the other less branches, fate Birds of every sort, made also of gold and silver. The Tree glittered with Leaves of the same Metals, and while its branches thro' Machinery appeared to move of themselves, the several Birds upon them warbled their proper and natural notes.

When the Greek Ambassador was introduced to the Caliph, he was led by the Vizir thro' all this Magnificence *

But besides Magnificence of this kind, which was at best but temporary, the

* Aoulfeda, p. 237. This, according to the Christian Annals, happened in the year 917.
INQUIRIES.

Caliphs gave instances of Grandeur more permanent. Some of them provided public buildings for the reception of Travellers; supplied the Roads with Wells and Watering Places; measured out the distances by columns of Stone, and established Posts and Couriers. Others repaired old Temples, or built magnificent new ones. The provision of Snow (which in hot Countries is almost a Necessary) was not forgotten. Add to this Forums, or public Places for Merchants to assemble; Infirmarys; Observatories, with proper Instruments, for the use of Astronomers; Libraries, Schools, and Colleges for Students; together with Societies, instituted for Philosophical inquiry*.

* Many things are enumerated in this Paragraph, to confirm which we subjoin the following References among many omitted.

In the account of the Escorial Arabic Manuscripts, lately given by the learned Casiri, it appears that the Public Libraries in Spain, when under the Arabian Princes, were no fewer than seventy: a noble help

For Wells upon the Road, Watering-places and Milestones, Abulfed. p. 154. for Posts and Couriers, the same, p. 157. 283.


For Observatories, Public Schools, &c. Abulphar. p. 216.


Among their Philosophical Transactions was a Mensuration of the Earth's Circumference, made by order of the Caliph Almamun, which they brought to about twenty-four thousand Miles.
this to Literature, when Copies of Books were so rare and expensive*.

A transaction between one of the Caliph of Bagdad’s Ambassadors and the Court of Constantinople, is here subjoined, in order to illustrate the then Manners both of the Ambassador and the Court.

As this Court was a remnant of the ancient Imperial one under the Caesars, it still retained (as was natural) after its dominions were so much lessened, an attachment to that Pomp and those minute Ceremonials, which in the zenith of its Power it had been able to enforce. ’Twas an Affection for this shadow of Grandeur, when the substance was in a manner gone, that induced the Emperor Constantine Por-


phyrogenitus
P. III. *phyrogenitus* to write no less than a large Folio Book upon its Ceremonials*.

'TWAS in consequence of the same principles, that the above Ambassador, tho' coming from the *Caliph*, was told to make a humble obeisance, as he approached the *Grecian* Emperor. This the Ambassador (who had his *national* pride also) absolutely refusing, it was ingeniously contrived, that he should be introduced to the Emperor thro' a door so very low, as might oblige him, however unwillingly, to make the Obeisance required. The Ambassador, when he arrived, no sooner saw the door, than he comprehended the contrivance, and with great readiness turned about, and entered the Room backward†.

* See before, p. 299.
† Abulpbar.
INQUIRIES.

We have said little concerning eminent Arabians during this period in Spain. Yet that we may not be wholly silent, we shall mention one fact concerning Averroes, the famous Philosopher and Lawyer, who was born at Corduba in the eleventh Century.

As he was lecturing one day in the College of Lawyers, a Slave, belonging to one who was his Enemy, came and whispered him. Averroes turning round, and saying; well; well, the company believed the Slave had brought him a message from his master. The next day the Slave returned, implored his pardon, and publicly confessed that, when he whispered him, he had spoken a slander. God forgive thee, replied Averroes; Thou hast publicly shewn me to be a patient man; and as for thy injury, 'tis not worthy of notice. Averroes after this gave him money, adding withal this monition:
What thou hast done to Me, do not do to another.

And here, before we conclude this Chapter, we cannot help confessing that the Facts, we have related, are not always arranged in the strict order of Chronology.

The Modes indeed of History (if these Chapters merit that name) appear to be different. There is a Mode which we may call Historical Declamation; a Mode, where the Author, dwelling little upon Facts, indulges himself in various and copious Reflections.

Whatever Good (if any) may be derived from this Method, it is not likely to give us much Knowledge of Facts.

Another Mode is that, which I call General or rather Public History; a Mode, abundant in Facts, where Treaties and Alliances, Battles and Sieges, Marches and Retreats are accurately retailed; together with Dates, Descriptions, Tables, Plans, and all the collateral helps both of Chronology and Geography.

In this, no doubt, there is Utility; Yet the sameness of the Events resembles not a little the Sameness of Human Bodies. One Head, two Shoulders, two Legs, &c. seem equally to characterise an European and an African; a native of old Rome, and a native of Modern.

A third Species of History still behind is that, which gives a sample of Sentiments and Manners.

If the account of these last be faithful, it cannot fail being instructive, since we view thro' these the interior of human Nature.
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'Tis by these we perceive what sort of animal Man is; so that while not only Europeans are distinguished from Asiatics, but English from French, French from Italians, and (what is still more) every individual from his neighbour: we view at the same time one Nature, which is common to them all.

Horace informs us that a Drama, where the Sentiments and Manners are well preserved, will please the Audience more than a Pompous Fable, where they are wanting*. Perhaps, what is true in Dramatic Composition, is not less true in Historical.

Plutarch, among the Greek Historians, appears in a peculiar manner to have merited this praise. So likewise Bohadín among the Arabians, and to Him

* Sup. p. 212. in the Note.
we add Abul-pharagius, and Abul-fedâ, from whom so many facts in these Chapters are taken.

Nor ought I to omit (as I shall soon refer to them) some of our best Monkish Historians, tho' prone upon occasion to degenerate into the incredible. As they often lived during the times which they described, 'twas natural they should paint the life and the manners, which they saw.

A single Chapter more will finish all we have to say concerning the Arabians.
Arabians favoured Medicine and Astrology—facts, relative to these two subjects—they valued Knowledge, but had no Ideas of civil Liberty—the mean Exit of their last Caliph, Mostassem—End of their Empire in Asia, and in Spain—their present wretched degeneracy in Africa—an Anecdote.

The Arabians favoured Medicine and Astrology, and many of their Princes had Professors of each sort usually near their persons. Self-Love, a natural Passion, led them to respect the Art of Healing; Fear, another natural Passion, made them anxious to know the Future, and Superstition believed there were men, who, by knowing the Stars, could discover it.
INQUIRIES.

We shall first say something concerning C.VIII. Medicine*, which we are sorry to couple with so futile an imposture.

'Tis commonly supposed that the Prescriber of Medicines, and the Provider, that is to say in common words, the Physician and the Apothecary, were characters anciently united in the same person. The following fact proves the contrary, at least among the Orientals.

In an Army commanded by Aphshen, an Officer of the Caliph Al-Motassjem, it happened that Aphshin and the Army Physician, Zacharias, were discoursing together. I assert, says Zacharias, you can send for nothing from an Apothecary, but, whether he has it or has it not, he will affirm that he has. Aphshin, willing to make the trial, bids them bring him a catalogue of unknown people, and transcribing out of it

* Abulphar. p. 160.
about twenty of their names, sends Messengers to the Apothecaries to provide him those Medicines. A few confess they knew no such medicines; others affirmed they knew them well, and taking the money from the Messengers, gave them something out of their shops. Apfsbin upon this, called them together, permitted those, who said they knew nothing of the Medicines, to remain in the Camp, and commanded the rest that instant to depart.

The following story is more interesting.

The Caliph, Mottawakkel, had a Physician belonging to him, who was a Christian, named Honain. One day, after some other incidental conversation, I would have thee, says the Caliph, teach me a Prescription, by which I may take off any

2 Akulbar. p. 167. Enemy
Enemy I please, and yet at the same time it should never be discovered. Honain, declining to give an answer, and pleading ignorance, was imprisoned.

Being brought again, after a year's interval, into the Caliph's presence, and still persisting in his ignorance, tho' threatened with death, the Caliph smiled upon him and said, Be of good cheer, we were only willing to try thee, that we might have the greater confidence in thee.

As Honain upon this bowed down and kissed the Earth, What hindered thee, says the Caliph, from granting our request, when thou sawest us appear so ready to perform what we had threatened? Two things, replied Honain, MY RELIGION, and MY PROFESSION: MY RELIGION, which commands me to do good to my Enemies; MY PROFESSION, which was purely instituted for the benefit of Mankind. TWO NOBLE LAWS,
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P. III. LAWS, said the Caliph, and immediately presented him (according to the Eastern Usage) with rich garments and a sum of money *.

The same Caliph was once sitting upon a Bench with another of his Physicians, named Baciis, who was drest in a Tunic of rich silk, but which happened on the edge to have a small Rent. The Caliph, entering into discourse with him, continued playing with this rent, till he had made it reach up to his girdle. In the course of their conversation, the Caliph asked him, How he could determine, when a Person was so mad, as to require being bound? — We bind Him, replies Baciis, when things proceed to that extremity, that he tears the Tunic of his Physician up to the girdle. The Caliph fell backward in a fit of laughing, and ordered Baciis (as

* Ηισοφαραγ. p. 172, 173.
he had ordered Honain a Present of rich Garments, and a Donation in Money.*.

That such Freedom of Conversation was not always checked, may appear from the following, as well as the preceding Narrative.

The Caliph, Al-wathick, was once fishing with a rod and line, upon a Raft in the River Tigris. As he happened to catch nothing, he turned about to his Physician John, the Son of Misna, then sitting near him, and said a little sharply, Thou unlucky fellow, get thee gone. Commander of the Faithful, replies his Physician, say not what is absurd. That John, the Son of Misna, whose Father was an obscure Man, and whose Mother was purchased for a few pieces of Silver; whom Fortune has so far favoured, that he has

*Abulpharag. p. 171. been
been admitted to the society and familiarity of Caliphs; who is so overpowered with the good things of life, as to have obtained from them that, to which even his hopes did not aspire; that He (I say) should be an UNLUCKY FELLOW, is surely something most absurd.—

However, if the Commander of the Faithful would have me tell him, WHO IS UNLUCKY, I will inform him.—And who is he, says the Caliph?—The Man, replied John, who being sprung from four Caliphs, and being then raised thro' God to the Caliphate himself, can leave his Caliphate and his Palaces, and in the middle of the Tigris sit upon a paltry raft twenty cubits broad, and as many long, without the least assurance that a stormy blast may not sink him; resembling too by his employ the poorest, the worst fellows in the world, I mean Fishermen.
The Prince on this singular discourse only remarked—My Companion I find is moved, if my presence did not restrain him*.

Another instance of lenity I must not omit, tho' in a later period, and in another Country. When Al-axis was Sultan of Egypt, a Poet there wrote a scandalous invective upon Him and his Vizir. The Vizir complained and repeated the Verses to Al-axis, to whom the Sultan thus replied: I perceive, says he, that in this invective I have my share along with You: in pardoning it, you shall have your share along with Me†.

We are now, as we promised, to mention Astrology, which seems to have been connected in its origin with Astronomy. Philosophers, men of veracity,
P. III. studied the Heavenly Bodies; and 'twas upon their labours, that Impostors built Astrology.

The Following Facts however, notwithstanding its temporary credit, seem not much in its favour.

When Al-wathick (the Caliph, whom we have just mentioned) was dangerously ill, he sent for his Astrologers, one of whom, pretending to inquire into his destiny, pronounced that from that day he would live fifty years. He did not however live beyond ten days*.

A few years after, the same Pretenders to Prediction said, that a vast number of Countries would be destroyed by floods; that the Rains would be immense, and

* Abulpharag. p. 168.
the Rivers far exceed their usual boundaries.

Men began upon this to prepare; to expect Inundations with terror; and to betake themselves into places, which might protect them by their altitude.

The Event was far from corresponding either to the threats of the Prophets, or to the fears of the Vulgar. The Rain that season was so remarkably small, and so many Springs and Rivers were absorbed by the Drought, that Public Supplications for Rain were many times made in the City of Bagdad*.

We must however confess that notwithstanding these and many other such failures, Astrologers still maintained their

* Abulpharag. p. 181. Abulfeda, p. 222. ground,
ground, gained admittance for many years into the Courts of these Princes, and were consulted by many, who appear not to have wanted abilities.

As the West of Europe learnt Astronomy from these Arabians, so Astrology appears to have attended it, and to have been much esteemed during Centuries not remote, thro' Germany, Italy, France, &c.

Even so late as the days of Cardinal Mazarine, when that Minister lay on his death-bed, and a Comet happened to appear, there were not wanting Flatterers to insinuate, that it had reference to Him, and his destiny. The Cardinal answered them with a manly pleasantry—"Mes-
"sieurs, la Comete me fait trop d'hon-
"neur*."
We cannot quit these Orientals without observing that, tho' they eagerly coveted the fair Fruit of Knowledge, they appear to have had little relish for the fairer Fruit of Liberty. This valuable Plant seems to have rarely flourished beyond the bounds of Europe, and seldom even there, but in particular regions.

It has appeared indeed from the facts already alleged, that these Eastern Princes often shewed many eminent Virtues; the Virtues I mean of Candour, Magnanimity, Affability, Compassion, Liberality, Justice, and the like. But it does not appear, that either they or their subjects ever quitted those ideas of Despotism and Servitude, which during all ages appear to have been the Characteristic of Oriental Dominion.

As all things human naturally decay, so; after a period of more than five Centuries, did the illustrious race of the Abbasids.
The last reigning Caliph of that Family, *Al-Moftaffem*, wasting his time in idleness and luxury, and that without the least Judgment, or Consistency in the conduct of his Empire; when he was told of the formidable approach of the *Tartars*, and how necessary it was, either to soothe them by Submission, or to oppose them by Force, made, in answer to this advice, the following mean reply—*For Me Bagdad suffices;* which they will not surely think too much, if I yield them the other Provinces. They will not invade me, while I remain there; for this is my Mansion, and the place of my abode.

Little did these poor Sentiments avail. *Bagdad* soon after was taken, and he himself, having basely asked permission to approach the *Tartar* Prince, appeared, and offered him dishes, filled with Pearls and precious Stones. These the *Tartar* distributed among his Attendants, and a few days
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days after put the unhappy Caliph to death*.

Bagdad being lost, by this fatal Event the Dignity and Sovereignty of the Caliphs were no more.

The Name indeed remained in Egypt under the Mamlucs, but it was a name merely of Honour, as those other Princes were absolute.

It even continued in the same Family to the time of Selim, Emperor of the Turks. When that Emperor in 1520 conquered Egypt, and destroyed the Mamlucs, he carried the Caliph, whom he found there, a Prisoner to Constantinople. ’Twas partly in this last City, and partly in Egypt that this Caliph, when degraded,

P. III. lived upon a Pension. When he died, the Family of the Arabassidæ, once so illustrious, and which had borne the Title of Caliph for almost eight hundred years, sunk with Him from Obscurity into Oblivion*.

When the Tartars and the Turks had extinguished the Sovereignty of these Arabians in the East, and the Descendants of the antient Spaniards had driven them out of Spain, the remainder in Africa soon degenerated; till at length under the celebrated Muly Ismael, in the beginning of this Century, they sunk into a State of Ignorance, Barburity, and abject Service.

* See the Supplement of that excellent Scholar, Pococke, to his Edition of Abulpharagius. In this Supplement we have a short but accurate Account of the Caliphs who succeeded Meftaffim, even to the time of their Extinction.

See also Herbelot's Biblith. Orientale, under the Word Alaaffides, with the several references to other Articles in the same Work.
In the year 1721 a Turkish Envoy came to the Court of France. As he was a Man of Learning, he searched thro' Paris (tho' in vain) for the Commentary of Averroes upon Aristotle, a large Work in Latin, containing five Folio Volumes, printed at Venice by the Junta, in the years 1552, 1553. It happened that, vi-
P. III. Fitting the King's Library, he saw the Book he wanted; and seeing it, he could not help expressing his ardent wish to possess it. The King of France, hearing what had happened, ordered the Volumes to be magnificently bound, and presented him by his Librarian, the Abbe Bignon.*

Concerning the Latins or Franks—Bede, Alcuin, Joannes Erigena, &c. Gerbertus or Gibertus, travelled to the Arabians in Spain for improvement—suspected of Magic—this the misfortune of many superior Geniuses in dark Ages; of Bacon, Petrarch, Faust, and others—Erudition of the Church; Ignorance of the Laity—Ingulphus, an Englishman, educated in the Court of Edward the Confessor—attached himself to the Duke of Normandy—accomplished Character of Queen Egitha, Wife of the Confessor—Plan of Education in those Days—The Places of Study, the Authors studied—Canon Law, Civil Law, Holy War, Inquisition—Troubadours—William of Poicton—Debauchery, Corruption, and Avarice of the Times—C c 4 Wil-
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WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, his Character and Taste—his Sons, Rufus and Henry—little Incidents concerning them—HILDEBERT, a Poet of the times—fine Verses of his quoted.

I pass now to another Race, the Latins, or Inhabitants of Western Europe, who in this middle age were often by the Arabians, their Contemporaries, called Franks.

Ignorance was their general Character, yet Individuals we except in the enumeration, which follows.

Bede, called the Venerable from his respectable Character, was an Englishman; was born in the seventh Century, but flourished in the eighth; and left many Works, Critical, Historical, and Theological, behind him.

ALCUIN
Inquiries.

Alcuin (sometimes called Alcuimus, sometimes Flaccus Albinus) was Bede's Disciple, and like him an Englishman. He was famous for having been Preceptor to Charlemagne, and much in his favour for many years*.

Joannes Erigena, a Native of Scotland, and who about the same period, or a little later lived sometimes in France, and sometimes in England, appears to have understood Greek, a rare accomplishment for those Countries in those days.

It is related of him, that when he was once sitting at table over against the Emperor, Charles the Bald, the Emperor

* The Grammatical Works of these two, together with those of other Grammarians, were published in Quarto by Putshius, at Hanover, in the year 1605. Those, who would learn more concerning them, may consult Fabricius and Cave.

asked
P. III. asked him—*How far distant a Scott was from a Sott?*—*As far, Sir,* replied he, *as the Table's length.*

A Treatise of his, which appears to be *Metaphysical,* intitled *De Divisione Naturae,* was printed in a thin Folio at Oxford, in the year 1681.

*Adelard,* a Monk of Bath, for the sake of *Mathematical* Knowledge travelled into Spain, Egypt, and Arabia, and translated *Euclid* out of Arabic into Latin, about the year 1130. *Robert of Read—*

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* In the original, taken from Roger de Hoveden, *Annal. pars prior,* it is—*Quid distet inter Sotum et Scotum?*—The Answer was—*Tabula tantum.*

We have translated *Sotum, Sott,* in order to preserve the Emperor's dull Pun, tho' perhaps not quite agreeably to its proper meaning.

The word *Scotum* plainly decides the Country of this learned man, which some seem, without reason, to have doubted.
ING, a Monk, travelled into Spain on the fame account, and wrote about the year 1143.

They found, by fatal experience, that little Information was to be had at home, and therefore ventured upon these perilous journeys abroad.

Gerbertus or Gibertus, a Native of France, flourished a little before them in the tenth Century, called, (tho' not on his account) Sæculum obscurum, the dark Age. His ardent Love for Mathematical Knowledge carried Him too from his own Country into Spain, that he might there learn Science from the learned Arabians.

After an uncommon proficiency in the Mathematics, and after having re-

* See Wallis's Preface to his Algebra, Fol. Lond. 1685. p. 5.
commended himself for his Learning and Abilities both to Robert, King of France, and to the Emperor Otho, he became first Archbishop of Rheims, then of Ravenna, and at length Pope, by the name of Sylvester the Second.

His three capital Preferments being at Rheims, Ravenna, and Rome, each beginning with an R, gave occasion to the following barbarous Verse—

Transit ab R Gerbertus ad R, post Papa viget R*.

'Tis singular that not his Sacerdotal, nor even his Pontifical Character could screen him from the imputation of Magic, incurred merely, as it should seem, from his superior Ingenuity.

* See Brown's Fasciculus rerum expetendar. et fugiendar. Vol. II. p. 83,
INQUIRIES.

A Bishop Otho, who lived in the next Century, gravely relates of him, that he obtained the Pontificate by wicked Arts, for in his youth, when he was nothing more than a simple Monk, having left his Monastery, he gave himself up wholly to the Devil, on condition he might obtain that, which he desired.

Soon after this, the same Historian, having given an account of his gradual Rise, subjoins—that at length, by the Devil's help, he was made Roman Pontiff; but then it was upon Compact, that after his decease, he should wholly in Body and Soul belong to Him, thro' whose frauds he had acquired so great a Dignity*.

A Car-

* Hic (sicilicet Gerbertus) matis artibus Pontificatum obtinuit, eo quod ab adolescentia, cum Monachus esset, relieto Monasterio, se totum Diabolo obtulit, modo quod optabat obtineret.—And soon after, a short narrative of his Rise being given, the Historian subjoins—Postremō Romanus.
P. III. A Cardinal Benno, of nearly the same age with this Bishop Otho, speaking of the same great man (Gerbertus I mean) informs us, his Demon had assured him, that he should not die, till he had celebrated Mass at Jerusalem—that Gerbertus, mistaking this for the City so called, unwarily celebrated Mass at Rome, in a Church called Jerusalem, and, being deceived by the Equivocation of the Name, met a sudden and a wretched end.*

As to these Stories, they are of that vagabond sort, which wander from Age to Age, and from Person to Person; which find their way into the Histories of distant periods, and are sometimes transferred from Histories to the Theatre.

Romanus Pontifex Diabolo adjuvante fuit constitutus; hâc tamen lege, ut post ejus obitum totus illius in anima et corpore esset, cujus fraudibus tantam adeptus esset dignitatem. See Bishop Otho, in Brown's Fasciculus, just quoted, V. II. p. 88.

* See the same Fascicul. p. 88.
INQUIRIES.

The Jerusalem Tale may be found in Shakespeare's Henry the Fourth; and for the Compact, we have all seen it in the Pantomine of Dr. Faustus.

One thing we cannot but remark: the dull Contemporaries of these superior Geniuses, not satisfied with referring their Superiority to Pre-eminence merely natural, recurred absurdly to Power supernatural, deeming nothing less could so far exceed themselves.

Such was the Case of the able Scholar just mentioned. Such, some centuries afterward, was the Case of Roger Bacon, of Francis Petrarch, of John Faust, and many others.

Bacon's Knowledge of Glasses, and of the Telescope in particular, made them apply to Him literally, what Virgil had said poetically—

Carmina vel Caelo possunt deducere Lunam.

Vir—
P. III. Virgil himself had been foolishly thought a Magician, and therefore, because Petrarch was delighted with the study of so capital an author, even Petrarch also was suspected of Magic.

For John Faust, as he was either the Inventor, or among the first Practisers of the Art of Printing, 'tis no wonder the ignorant vulgar should refer to Diabolical Assistance a Power, which multiplied Books in a manner to them so incomprehensible.

This Digression has led us to Examples rather against Chronological Order; tho' all of them included within that Age, of which we are writing*. For the

* Bacon lived in the thirteenth Century; Petrarch, in the fourteenth; Faust, in the fifteenth. See a curious Book of Gabriel Naupe, a learned Frenchman of the last Century, intituled Apologie pour les grand Hommes, accusées de Magie.
honour too of the Church, these falsly accused Geniuses were all of them Ecclesiastics. Indeed the rest of Western Europe was in a manner wholly barbarous, composed of ignorant Barons, and their more ignorant Vassals; men like Homer's Cimmerians,

"Hei καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένοι——

With Fog and Cloud envelop'd——

From these we pass, or rather go back, to Ingulphus, an Ecclesiastic, and an Historian, valuable for having lived during an interesting Time, and in interesting Places.

He was by birth an Englishman, and had been educated in the Court of Edward the Confessor; went thence to the Court of the Duke of Normandy, to whose favour he was admitted, and there preferred. Some time after this, when the successful Expedition
petition of that Duke had put him in possession of the Crown of England, the Duke (then William the Conqueror) recalled him from Normandy; took him into favour here, and made him at length Abbot of Croyland, where he died advanced in years.

Ingulphus tells us, that King Edward's Queen, Egitha, was admirable for her Beauty, her literary Accomplishments, and her Virtue.

He relates, that being a Boy he frequently saw Queen Egitha, when he visited his Father, in King Edward's Court;—that many times when he met her, as he was coming from School, she used to dispute with him about his Learning, and

* See Ingulphus's History, in the Preface to the Oxford Edition of the year 1684. See also p. 75, of the Work itself.
his Verses—that she had a peculiar pleasure to pass from Grammar to Logic, in which she had been instructed; and that, when she had entangled him there with some subtle Conclusion, she used to bid one of her Attendants give him two or three pieces of money, and carry him to the Royal Pantry, where he was treated with a Repast*.

As to the Manners of the times, he tells us, that the whole Nation began to lay aside the English Customs, and in many things to imitate the Manners of the French; all the Men of Quality to speak the Gallic Idiom in their Houses, as a high strain of Gentility; to draw their Charters and public Instruments after the manner of the French; and in these and many other things to be ashamed of their own Customs†.

* See the same Ingulphus, p. 62.
† See the same Author, in the same page.
Some years before the Conquest, the Duke of Normandy (whom Ingulphus calls most illustrious and glorious) made a visit to England, attended with a grand retinue. King Edward received him honourably, kept him a long while, carried him round to see his Cities and Castles, and at length sent him home with many rich Presents*.

Ingulphus says, that at this time Duke William had no hopes of the Succession, nor was any mention made of it; yet considering the Settlement of the Crown made upon him soon afterward, and the Reception he then found, this should hardly seem probable.

King Edward, according to Ingulphus, had great merit in remitting the

* See the same Author, p. 65. 68.
INQUIRIES.

Dane-gelt, that heavy Tax imposed Ch.IX. upon the people by the Danish Usurpers, his immediate Predecessors*.

As to Literary Matters, it has appeared that the Queen, besides the usual Accomplishments of the times, (which she undoubtedly possest) had been instructed also in superior sorts of Knowledge. She may be supposed therefore to have surpassed, not only her own Court, but perhaps other Courts since, as they have seldom more to boast, than the fashionable Polish.

For the Literary Qualifications of our Historian himself, we perceive something of his Education in what we have already quoted from him. He is more particular afterwards, when he tells that he was first bred at Westminster, and then

* See the same Author, p. 65.
sent to Oxford—that in the first he learnt Grammar, in the last he studied Aristotle and the Rhetoric of Cicero:—that finding himself superior to many of his Contemporaries, and disdaining the littlenesfs of his own Family, he left home, fought the Palaces of Kings and Princes, &c. &c. 'Twas thus that, after a variety of Events, he became Secretary to the Duke of Normandy, afterwards William the Conqueror, and so pursued his Fortune, till he became Abbot of Croyland*.

We shall only remark on this Narrative, that Westminster and Oxford seem to have been designed to the same purposes then, as now; that the Scholar at Westminster was to begin, and at Oxford was to finish; a Plan of Education which still exists; which is not easy to

* See the same Author, p. 73. 75.
be mended; and which can plead so ancient and so uninterrupted a Prescription.

Nearly the same time a Monk, by name Gratian, collecting the numerous Decrees of Popes and Synods, was the first who published a Body of Canon Law*. 'Twas then also, or a little earlier, that Amalfi, a City of Calabria, being taken by the Pisans, they discovered there by chance an original MS. of Justinian's Code, which had been in a manner unknown from the time of that Emperor†. This curious Book was brought to Pisa, and, when Pisa was taken by the Florentines, was transferred to Florence, and there has continued even to this day.

* This happened in the year 1157. See Duck De Auctoritate Juris Civilis Romanor. p. 66. 88. Edit. Lond. 1679.
† See the same author, p 66.—Amalfi was taken by the Pisans in the year 1127.
And thus it was that by singular fortune the Civil and Canon Law, having been about the same time promulged, gradually found their way into most of the Western Governments, changing more or less their Municipal Laws, and changing with those Laws the very forms of their Constitutions.

'Twas soon after happened that wild Enthusiasm, which carried so many thousands from the West into the East, to prosecute what was thought, or at least called a Holy War *

After the numerous Histories antient and modern of these Crusades, it would be superfluous to say more, than to observe that, by repeating them, men app-

* It began in the year 1095. See Fuller's Holy War, Book I ch. 8 William of Malmesbury, Lib. IV. c. 2. among the Scriptores post Bedan.
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pear to have grown worse; to have become more savage, and greater barbarians. It was so late as during one of the last of them, that these Crusaders sacked the Christian City of Constantinople*, and that while these were committing unheard-of cruelties in that Capital of Christendom, another party of them, nearer home, were employed in massacring the innocent Albigeois†.

So great was the zeal of Extirpation, that when one of these home Crusades was going to storm the City of Bezieres, a City filled with Catholics, as well as

* In the year 1204. See the same Fuller, B. III. chap. 17. and Nicetas the Choniate, already quoted at large, from p. 300 to p. 313.

† The Crusades against them began in the year 1206; the Massacres were during the whole course of the war; see Fuller's H. Warre, B. III. from chap. 18 to ch. 22. especially chap. 21. and Mosheim's Church History, under the article Albigenes. Heretics,
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Heretics, a scruple arose that, by such a measure, the Good might perish as well as the Bad. Kill them all, said an able Sophist—kill them all, and God will know his own*.

To discover these Albigcois, the home Crusades were attended by a Band of Monks, whose business was to inquire after Offenders, called Heretics. When the Crusade was finished, the Monks, like the Dregs of an empty Vessel, still remained, and deriving from the Crusade their Authority, from the Canon Law their judicial Forms, became by these two (I mean the Crusade and Canon Law) that formidable Court, the Court of Inquisition.

But in these latter events we rather anticipate, for they did not happen, till

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the beginning of the thirteenth Century, whereas the first Crusade was towards the End of the eleventh*.

About the beginning of the eleventh Century, and for a Century or two after, flourished the Tribe of Troubadours, or Provençal Poets†, who chiefly lived in the Courts of those Princes, that

* In the year 1095 or 1096. — Fuller's H. Warre, p. 21. And William of Malmesbury, before quoted, p. 409.

'Tis to be remarked, that these two Events, I mean the sacking of Constantinople, and the Massacres of the Albigeois, happened more than a hundred years after this Holy War had been begun, and after its more splendid Parts were past, that is to say, the taking of Jerusalem, the establishment of a Kingdom there, (which lasted eighty years) and the gallant Efforts of Cœur de Leon against Saladin. All against the Saracens, that followed, was languid, and, for the greater part of it, adverse.

† See a Work, 3 Vol. 12mo. intitled, Histoire Litteraire de Troubadours, printed at Paris 1774, where there is an ample detail both of them, and their Poems.
P. III. had Sovereignties in or near Provence, where the Provençal Language was spoken. 'Twas in this Language they wrote, a Language, which, tho' obsolete now, was then esteemed the best in Europe, being prior to the Italian of Dante and Petrarch.

They were called Troubadours from Trouver, to find or to invent*, like the Greek Appellation, Poet, which means (we know) a Maker.

Their Subjects were mostly Galantry and Love, in which their licentious Ideas we are told were excessive. Princes did not disdain† to be of their number, such among others as our Richard Coeur de Leon, and the celebrated William, Count of Poictou, who was a Contem-

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† See the same Work in the same page.
porary with William the Conqueror and his Sons.

A Sonnet or two, made by Richard, are preserved, but they are obscure, and as far as intelligible, of little value.*

The Sonnets of William of Poictou, now remaining, are (as we are informed) of the most licentious kind, for a more licentious man never existed†.

Historians tell us, that near one of his Castles he founded a fort of Abbey

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As to his famous Abbey or Nunnery, soon after mentioned, see the same Work, p. 3, 4. but more particularly and authentically, see William of Malmesbury, a writer nearly contemporary, and from whom the Narrative here given is taken. The passage in Malmesbury begins with the words—Erat tum Willielmus, Comes Pielavorum, &c. &c. p. 96. Edit. Londin. Fol. 1596.
for Women of Pleasure, and appointed the most celebrated among his Ladies to the Offices of Abbess, Priorefs, &c. that he dismiss his Wife, and, taking the Wife of a certain Viscount, lived with her publicly,—that being excommunicated for this by Girard Bishop of Angoulesme, and commanded to put away his unlawful Companion, he replied, Thou shalt sooner curl Hair upon that bald Pate of thine, than will I submit to a divorce from the Viscounteſs—that having received a like rebuke, attended with an Excommunication from his own Bishop, the Bishop of Poictou, he seized him by the Hair, and was about to dispatch him, but suddenly stopt by saying, I have that Aversion to Thee, Thou shalt never enter Heaven thro' the assistance of my Hand*.

* The Words in Malmesbury are—Nec caelum unquam intrabis meæ manus ministerio. P. 96.
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If I might be permitted to digress, I would observe that *Hamlet* has adopted precisely the same sentiment. When he declines the opportunity offered him of killing the King at his Prayers, he has the following Expressions among many others

*A Villain kills my Father, and for that I, his sole Son, do this same Villain send To Heav'n—O! this is Hire and Salary, Not Revenge.—*Hamlet Act III. Sc. X.

'Tis hard to defend so strange a sentiment either in *Hamlet*, or the *Count*. We shall only remark that *Hamlet*, when he delivered it, was perfectly cool; the *Count*, agitated by impetuous Rage.

*This Count*, as he grew older, became, as many others have done, from a Profigate a Devotee; engaged in one of the first Crusades; led a large body of Troops into the East; from which however, after his Troops had been routed, and most of them
them destroyed, he himself returned with ignominy home*.

The loose Gallantry of these Troubadours may remind us of the Poetry during the Reign of our second Charles—nor were the Manners of one Court unlike those of the other, unless that those of the Court of Poictou were more abandoned of the two.

Be that as it may, we may fairly I think conclude, if we compare the two Periods, there were Men as wicked during the early period, as during the latter, and not only so, but wicked in Vices of exactly the same Character.

If we seek for Vices of another character, we read at the same era concerning a neighbouring Kingdom to Poictou,

* See the same William of Malmesbury, p. 75. 84.
that "All the people of rank were so blinded with Avarice, that it might be truly said of them (according to Ju-
venal)"

Not one regards the method, how he gains,
But fix'd his Resolution, gain he must.

"The more they discoursed about Right, the greater their Injuries.
Thos', who were called the Justicia-
ries, were the Head of all Injustice.
The Sheriffs and Magistrates, whose Duty was Justice and judgment, were more atrocious than the very Thieves and Robbers, and were more cruel than others, even the most cruel. The King himself, when he had leased his Domains as dear, as was possible, trans-
ferred them immediately to another that offered him more, and then again to another, neglecting always his for-
mer
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P. III. "mer agreement, and labouring still for " bargains that were greater, and more " profitable *.

Such were the good old times of good old England, (for 'tis of England we have been reading) during the reign of our Conqueror, William.

And yet if we measure Greatness (as is too often the case with Heroes) by any other Measure, than that of Moral Reclitude, we cannot but admit that he must have been Great, who could conquer a Country so much larger than his own, and transmit the permanent Possession of it to his Family. The numerous

* See Henrici Huntingtonensis Histor. L. P. II. p. 212, inter Scriptas post Bedam—Edit. London, 1594, beginning from the Words, Principes omnes, &c. The Verse from Juvenal is—

Unde habitat, quarete nos, sed opposet habeas.

Norman
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Norman Families, with which he filled this Island, and the very few Saxon ones, which he suffered to remain, sufficiently shew us the Extent of this Revolution.

As to his Taste, (for 'tis Taste we investigate, as often as we are able) there is a curious Fact, related of him by John of Salisbury, a learned Writer, who lived as early at the times of Stephen and Henry the Second.

This Author informs us, that William, after he was once settled in the peaceable possession of his Kingdom, sent Ambassadors to Foreign Nations, that they should collect for him, out of all the celebrated Mansions, whatever should appear to them magnificent or admirable.

Our Author cannot help allowing that this was the laudable project of a great man, desirous of pouring into his own
own Dominious all, that was excellent in others*

It does not appear what these Rarities were, but it sufficiently shews the Conqueror to have had a Genius superior to the Barbarity of his Age.

One may imagine he was not ignorant of Ovid, and the antient Mythology, by his answer to Philip King of France.

William, as he became old, grew to an unwieldy Bulk. The king of France,

in a manner not very polite, asked of him, (with reference to this bulk) "When, as " he had been so long in breeding, he expected " to be brought to bed?"—"Whenever that " happens," replied William, "it will be, as " Semele was, in Flames and Thunder." France soon after that felt his Devasta-
tions *.

His Son Rufus seems more nearly to have approached the character of the times.

We have a Sample of his Manners in the following Narrative. Being immensely fond of expence in dress, when one of his

* Quærentes, sc. Philippus, numquidnam tandem paret Guilielmus, qui tam diu genisset uterum: se paritum, sed in silis Semeles, respondit, cum flammis et ful-
attendants brought him new Shoes, and was putting them on, he demanded, "How much they cost?"—"Three Shillings, Sir," replied his Attendant—"Son of a Whore," says Rufus,—"at so pitiful a price to provide Shoes for a King!—Go and purchase me some for a mark of Silver.""

Matthew Paris writes, that he was once told of a formidable dream, relative to his death, which had been dreamed by a certain Monk. Rufus, on hearing it, burst into laughter, and said, "The Man's a Monk, and Monk-like has dreamed, to get a little money—give him a hundred Shillings, that he may not think he has been dreaming for nothing."
His Historian Malmsbury, after having related other Facts of him, adds, that he had neither Application enough, nor Leisure, ever to attend to Letters.*

It was not so with his Brother, Henry the First. He (as this Historian informs us †) spent his Youth in the schools of liberal Science, and so greedily imbibed the sweets of Literature, that in aftertimes, (as the fame Writer rather floridly relates) no Tumults of War, no Agitation of Cares, could ever expel them from his illustrious Mind.

Soon after we meet the well known saying of Plato, that 'twas then States would be happy, if Philosophers were to reign, or Kings were to philosophize. Our Historian, having given this Sentiment,

* William of Malmesbury, p. 70.
† The same, p. 87.
P. III. tells us, (to use his own expressions) that Henry fortified his Youth with Literature in a view to the Kingdom, and ventured even in his Father's hearing, to throw out the Proverb, Rex illiteratus, Asinus coronatus, that an illiterate King was but an As's crowned*.

That the King his Father, from perceiving his Son's Abilities, had something like a Presentiment of his future Dignity, may appear from the following Story.

When Henry was young, one of his Brothers having injured him, he complained of his ill-treatment to his Father with tears. Don't cry, Child, says his Father, for Thou too shalt be King†.

* William of Malmesbury, p. 87, b.

* The Words of William were—Ne fleas, Fili; quoniam et Tu Rex eris. See the same Author in the same page, that is, p. 87. b.
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As Henry was a learned Prince, we may suppose he was educated by learned men; and perhaps, if we attend to the account given by Ingulphus of his own Education in the time of Edward the Confessor, 'tis probable there may have been among the Clergy a succession of learned men from the time of Venerable Bede.

'Tis certain that in England at least, during these middle Ages, Learning never flourished more, than from the time of Henry the First to the reign of his Grandson Henry the Second, and for some years after.

The learned Historian of the Life of Henry the Second (I mean the First Lord Lyttelton) has put this beyond dispute.

Perhaps too the Times, which followed, were adverse to the Cause of Literature.

* P. 402, 405, 6.
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The Crusades had made the Laity greater Barbarians, if possible, than they were before. Their Cruelty had been stimulated by acting against Greeks, whom they hated for Schismatics; and against Saracens, whom they hated for Infidels; altho' it was from these alone they were likely to learn, had they understood (which few of them did) a syllable of Greek or Arabic.

Add to this, the Inquisition being then * established in all its terrors, the Clergy (from whom only the Cause of Letters could hope any thing) found their Genius insensibly checkt by its gloomy terrors.

This depraved Period (which lasted for a Century or two) did not mend, till the Invention of Printing, and the Taking of

* See before, p. 410.

Con-
Constantinople. Then 'twas that these, and other hidden Causes, roused the Genius of Italy, and restored to Mankind those Arts and that Literature, which to Western Europe had been so long unknown.

Before I conclude this Chapter, I cannot but remark, that, during these inauspicious times, so generally tasteless, there were even Latins as well as Greeks *, whom the very Ruins of Antique Arts carried to Enthusiastic Admiration.

Hildebert, Arch-Bishop of Tours, who died in the year 1139, in a fine Poem, which he wrote upon the City of Rome, among others has the following Verses, in praise of the then remaining Statues and Antiquities.

Non tamen annorum series, nec flamma, nec ensis,
Ad plenum potuit tale abolere decus.

* See before, what has been quoted from Nicetas the Choniatus, p. 301, &c.
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P. III. Hic Superum formas Superi mirantur et ipsi,

Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.

Nec potuit Natura Deos hoc ore creare,

Quo miranda Deum signa creavit Homo.

Vultus* adest his Numinisbus, potiusque coluntur

Artificum studio, quam Deitate sua †.

'Tis worth observing, that the Latinity of these Verses is in general pure, and that they are wholly free from the Leonine jingle.

They are thus attempted in English for the sake of those, who do not read the original.

But neither passing Years, nor Fire, nor Sword

Have yet avail'd such Beauty to annul.

* Forfan Cultus.

† William of Malmesbury, p. 76.—Fabricii Bibliotheca med. et infim. ætat. in voce HILDEBERT.
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Eve'n Gods themselves their mimic Forms admire,
And wish their own were equal to the feign'd.
Nor e'er could Nature Deities create
With such a Countenance, as Man has giv'n
To these fair Statues, Creatures of his own.
Worship they claim, tho' more from Human Art,
Than from their own Divinity, ador'd.
Schoolmen—their Rise, and Character—their Titles of Honour—Remarks on such Titles—Abelard and Heloisa—John of Salisbury—admirable Quotations from his two celebrated Works—Giraldus Cambriensis—Walter Mapps—Richard Coeur de Leon—his Transactions with Saladin—his Death, and the singular Interview, which immediately preceded it.

WE are now to consider the state of Literature with respect to other Genius, both before the Conquest, and after it, so low as to the times of our First Richard.

'Twas during this Period began the Race of Schoolmen, a Race much ad-
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mired, and followed in their day. Their Ch. X. subtlety was great, and though that subtlety might sometimes have led them into Refinements rather frivolous, yet have they given eminent samples of penetrating Ingenuity.

They began in the eleventh Century, and lafted to the fourteenth, when new Causes leading to new Events, they gradually decreased, and were no more.

That they had some merit must be allowed, when we are told that the learned Bishop Saunderson used constantly to read the Secunda Secundae of Thomas Aquinas*, and that this Treatise, together with Aristotle's Rhetoric, and Cicero's Offices were three Books, which he always had with him, and never ceased to peruse. The Scholastic Tract must have

* This able and acute man died aged 48 years, in the year 1274.
been no bad one, which was so well affixed.

Various Epithets at the time were bestowed upon these Schoolmen. There was the Irrefragable Doctor, the Subtle, the Seraphic, the Angelic, &c.

There is certainly something exaggerated in the Pomp of these Appellations. And yet, if we reflect on our modern Titles of Honour; on our common superscriptions of Epistles; on our common modes of concluding them; and mark how gravely we admit all this: may we not suppose these other Epithets appear ridiculous, not so much from their being absurd, as from their being unusual?*

Before we quit these Schoolmen, we

* For a fuller account of these Schoolmen see Scholasticae Theologiae Syntagma, by Pridaux Bishop of Worcester, Misbehim's History, and Cave's History of Literature. Lit. V. 2. p. 275.
cannot omit the famous Peter Abelard, who, when he taught at Paris, was followed by thousands, and was considered almost as an Oracle in discussing the abstrusest of subjects. At present he is better known for his unfortunate Amour with the celebrated Heloisa, his Disciple, his Mistress, and at length his Wife.

Her Ingenuity and Learning were celebrated also, and their Epistolary Correspondence, remarkably curious, is still extant. The Religion of the times drove them at length to finish their days in two separate Convents. When Abelard died (which happened about the year 1134), his Body was carried to Heloisa, who buried it in the Convent of the Paraclete, where she presided.

My Countryman, John of Salisbury,

* An octavo Edition of their Letters in Latin was published at London, in the year 1718.
P. III. comes next, who lived in the reign of Stephen, and Henry the Second. He appears to have been conversant in all the Latin Classics, whom he not only quotes, but appears to understand, to relish, and to admire.

How far they sunk into his Mind, and inspired him with sentiments similar to their own, the following passages may suffice to shew.

Take his Ideas of Liberty and Servitude.

"For as the true and only Liberty is to serve Virtue, and discharge its various duties; so the only true and essential Slavery is to be in subjection to the Vices. He therefore is evidently mistaken, who imagines that either of these Conditions...

* See Philological Arrangements, p. 457.
can proceed from any other Cause: for indeed (if we except the difference of Virtue and Vice) all men throughout the world proceed from a similar beginning; consist of, and are nourished by the same elements; draw from the same principle the same vital breath; enjoy the same cope of heaven; all alike live; all alike die.

Take his idea concerning the extensive influence of Philosophy.

'Tis Philosophy, that prescribes a just measure to all things; and while she

"arranges moral Duties, condescends to mix with such as are plebeian and vulgar.—No otherwise, indeed, can any thing be said to proceed rightly, unless she herself confirm by Deeds, what she teaches us in Words*.

Speaking of Virtue and Felicity, he thus explains himself.—

"But these (two possessions) are more excellent than any other, because Virtue includes all things, that are to be done; Felicity, all things that are to be wished. Yet does Felicity excel Virtue, because in all things the End is more excellent than the Means. Now

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"no one is happy, that he may act rightly; but he acts rightly, that he may live happily.*"

The following Distich is of his own Age, but being difficult to translate, is only given in its original, as a sample of elegant and meritorious Poetry.

It expresses a refined thought; that as the Soul of Man animates the Body, so is the Soul itself animated by God.


† Ibid. p. 127.
The preceding Quotations are taken from his Tract *De Nugis Curialium*: those, which follow, are from another Tract called *Metalogicus*, so named from being subsequent to *Logic*, as *Metaphysics* are to *Physics*.

He makes *three* things requisite to the existence of every *Art*, and these are *Genius*, *Memory*, and the *Reasoning Faculty*, and these *three* he thus defines—

"*Genius is a certain Power, naturally implanted in the Mind, and which is of itself originally capable*.

"*Memory is (as it were) the Mind's Ark or Chest; the firm*

*Est autem Ingenium vis quaedam, animae naturaliter insita, per se valens. Metalog. p. 756.*

"and
"and faithful preserver of things perceived."

"The Reasoning Faculty is a power of the Mind, which examines things, that have occured either to the Senses, or to the Intellect, and fairly decides in favour of the better; which, well weighing the similitudes and dissimilitudes of things, at length (after due discussion) establishes Art, and shews it to be (as it were) a Finite Science of things Infinite."

"Our


† Ratio eorum, quae Sensibus aut animo occurrunt, examinatrix animi vis est, et fidelis arbitra potiorum; quae, rerum similitudines dissimilitudinesque perpendens, tandem Artem statuit quasi quandam infinitorum finitam esse Scientiam. Metalog. 757.

F f 4 This
Our Author concludes with telling us, that "As Nature is the Mother of all Arts, so the Contempt of them surely redounds to the Injury of their Parent." 

This may be illustrated from the Arts of Arithmetic and Grammar.

Numbers, which are infinite, being reduced to the finite Genera of Even and Odd; and these again being divided into the few subordinate Species: in this limited Reduction we behold the Rise of Arithmetic, and of all the various Theorems contained in that Art.

Sounds Articulate, which are infinite, being reduced to the finite Genera of Vowels and Consonants; and Vowels again being enlarged into the species of Long, Short, and Middle; Consonants into the Species of Mutes and Liquids: in these limited Reductions we behold the Rise of Grammar; thro' which, by about twenty Simple Sounds called Letters, we form Articulate Sounds by Millions.

* Quia Artium Natura mater est, merito in injuriam parentis redundat contemptus earum. Metalog. 757. I must
I must not omit some of his Grammatical ideas, because they are of a superior fort, that is to say, they are Logical and Philosophical.

He tells us—For as [in Nature] Accidents cloath substances, and give them a Form; so [in Language] through a similar correspondence are Substantives vested with a Form by Adjectives. And that this [grammatical] Institution of Reason may the more easily coincide with Nature, in the same manner as the Substance of every Natural Being knows nothing of Intension and Remission: so likewise in Language substantives admit no Degree of Comparison*.

* Sic enim Accidentia substantiam vestiunt, et inferunt: sic quadam proportionem Rationis ab Adjectivis substantiva informantur. Et, ut familiaris Rationis Institutionis Naturæ cohaereat, sic substantia cujusque rei Intentionis et Remissi- onis ignara est: sic substantiva ad Comparatio-onis gradum non veniunt. Metalog. 561. After
After this he proceeds to show that this Imitation of Nature not only exists in Nouns, but in the other Parts of Speech. He tells us, that Verbs, as they denote Time, are necessarily provided with Tenses; and, as they always express something else in their original meaning, he calls the additional denoting of Time by a truly philosophic Word, a Consignification.

The writer of these Remarks cannot say he has transferred any of them into his Hermes, because Hermes was written long before he knew John of Salisbury. But, that both Writers drew from the same source, he thinks sufficiently clear from the similitude of their sentiments.

* Motus non est sine Tempore, nec Verbum esse potuit sine Temporis Consignificatione. Metalog. 561. Aristot. de Interpret. c. 3.

† See Hermes, p. 95, 96, 97.
I fear, I have dwelt too long on my Countryman, perhaps, because a countryman; but more in truth, because his Works are little known, and yet are certainly curious and valuable.

I shall only mention, that there were other respectable Geniuses of the same Century, such as the Epic Poet, Joseph of Exeter; the pleasant Archdeacon of Oxford, Walter Mapps; Giraldus Cambrensis, &c.

But the eloquent Author of the Life of Henry the Second has in his third Volume handled the state of our Literature during this period in so masterly a way, that the writer of these observations would not have said so much, had not the Arrangement of his Remarks made it in some degree necessary.

* See Lord Lyttelton’s Life of Henry the Second.
We must not conclude this Chapter without relating a few Facts, relative to the gallant Richard, called from his Magnanimity Cœur de Leon. Other Heroes, long before him, had been likened to Lions; and the celebrated Ali, in the lofty language of Arabia, was called the Lion of God.

What Bohadin says of Richard is remarkable. "He was, as that Historian relates, uncommonly active; of great spirit and firm Resolution; one, who had been signalized by his Battles, and who was of intrepid courage in War. By those, whom he led, he was esteemed less than the King of France on account of his Kingdom, and Dignity, but more abundant in Riches, and far more illustrious for military Valour*."
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This Testimony receives no small weight, as it comes from a contemporary writer, who was present; and who, being likewise a fast Friend to Saladin, Richard's great Antagonist, can hardly be suspected of flattering an Adversary.

In the following Extracts from the same Author, which Extracts contain Different Conferences between Richard and Saladin, we have a sample of their sentiments, and of the manner in which they express them.

When Richard in Palestine was ill, he longed for Fruit and Ice, and the fruits he desired were Pears and Peaches. He sent for them to Saladin, and they were immediately given him. Richard in return was equally bountiful, and entertained the Sultan's people magnificently. War between great men seldom extinguishes Humanity *.

* Bahadin, p. 176.
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P. III.  After a long and various War, Richard sent to Saladin the following Message.

"When you have greeted the Prince, you will lay what follows before him—

"The Musselmans and Franks are both perishing; their countries laid waste, and completely passing to ruin; the wealth and Lives of their people consumed on either side. To this Contest and Religious War its proper Rights have been now paid. Nothing remains to be settled, but the affair of the Holy City, of the Cross, and of the several Regions or Countries. As to the Holy City, it being the seat of our Worship, from that indeed we can by no means recede, altho' not a single man of us were to survive the attempt. As to the Countries, those on this side Jordan, shall be restored to us. As to the Cross, it being with you only a pitiful piece of Wood, altho' to us of value inestimable, "This
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"This the Sultan will give us; and thus Peace being established, we shall all of us rest from this our uninterrupted fatigue."

Saladin's Answer to Richard.

"The Holy City is as much holy to us, as to you; nay, is rather of greater worth and dignity to us, than to you; as 'twas thence that our Prophet took his Journey by night to Heaven; 'tis there the Angels are wont solemnly to assemble themselves. Imagine not therefore that we shall ever depart thence. We dare not among the Muf- fulmans appear so abandoned, so neglectful of our Affairs, as to think of this. As to the Regions or Countries, these also you know were originally ours, which you indeed have

* Bohaden, p. 207.*
P. III. "annexed to your Dominions by the Imbecillity of the Mussulmans at the period, when you attacked them. God has not suffered you to lay a single stone there, ever since the War began; while we, 'tis evident, enjoy all the produce of our Countries to the full. Lastly, as to the Cross, that in truth is your Scandal, and a great dishonour to the Deity; which, however, it does not become us, by giving up, to neglect, unless it be for some more important advantage, accruing thence to the Faith of Mahomet*.

It must be observed, that the Cross here mentioned was supposed to have been that, on which Christ was crucified; and which being in Jerusalem, when it was taken, had been from that time in the hands of Saladin.

* Bobadin, p. 208.
Tho' no Peace was now made, it was made soon after, yet without restoration either of Jerusalem, or of the Cross.

'Twas usual in those days to swear to Treaties, and so did the inferior Parties; but the two Monarchs excused themselves, saying, it was not usual for Kings to swear."

When Richard was returning home, he was basely seized by a Duke of Austria, and kept prisoner for more than a year, till by a large sum raised upon his people he was redeemed.

This gallant Prince, after having escaped for years the most formidable perils,

Bobadin, p. 261.

† See the Histories of Richard's Life, Rapin, Hume, &c.

fell
fell at length unfortunately by the Arrow of an obscure hand, in besieging an obscure Castle, within his own French Domains.

He did not immediately die; but, as the wound began to mortify, and his end to approach, he ordered the person, who had shot him (his name was Bertramn de Gurdun) to be brought into his presence.

When he arrived, the King thus ad- dressed him. "What harm have I ever done thee? for what reason hast thou slain me?" Bertramn replied—"Thou hast slain my Father and two Brothers with thy own hand; and now 'twas thy desire to slay me. Take then any Vengeance upon me thou wilt; I shall freely suffer the greatest tortures thou canst invent, so that thou art but dispatched, who hast done the world so much mischief."

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The King, on this intrepid answer, commanded his Chains to be taken off; forgave what he had done, and dismissed him with a Present.

But the King's servants were not so generous, as their master; for, when the King was dead, (which soon happened) they put the prisoner to a cruel death.

A Poet of the time compares, not improperly, the Death of Richard to that of a Lion, killed by an Ant. The sentiment is better than the Metre.

Ilius in morte perimit Formica Leonem *.

'Tis

* Rogeri de Heredon Annalium pars posterior. p. 791, Edit. Francof. 1601. We have transcribed from the original the Discourse, which part between Richard and Bertram, as it appears to be curious, and the Latinity not to be despised.

Quid mali tibi feci? Quare me interemisti? — Cui ille respondit— Tu interemisti patrem meum, et duos fratres

G g 2.
It is somewhat singular, that in these Periods, considered as dark and barbarous, the same Nations should still retain their superiority of Taste, tho' not perhaps in its original purity. During the reign of Henry the Third, (which soon followed) when Bishop Poore erected the Cathedral of Salisbury (which considering its lightness, its uniformity, and the height of its Spire, is one of the completest Gothic buildings now extant) we are informed he sent into Italy for the best Architects.

Long before this, in the eighth Century, when one of the Caliphs erected a most magnificent Temple or Mosque at Damascus,

manu tua, et me nunc interimere voluiʃi. Sume ergo de me vindiciam, quamcunque volueris: libenter enim patiar, quacunque excogitaveris majora tormenta, dummodo Tu interficiaris, qui tot et tanta mala contulijli mundo.

* Matthew Paris.
he procured for the builing of it the most skilfull Architects, and those not only from his own Dominions, but (as the Historian informs us) from Greece *.

From these accounts it is evident, that some Knowlege of the Fine Arts, even during this middle Age, existed both in Italy and Greece.

Should it be demanded, to which Nation, in this respect, we give the Preference,—it is a Question to be decided by recurring to Facts.

Italy at the beginning of her History was barbarous; nor did she emerge from her Barbarity, till Greece, which she had conquered, gave her Poets, Orators, Philosophers, &c.

* Abulfed. p. 125.
After a succession of Centuries the Roman Empire fell. By this fatal Event the Finer Arts fell also, and lay for years in a kind of torpid state, till they revived through the genial warmth of Greece.

A Few Greek Painters, in the thirteenth Century, came from Greece into Italy, and taught their Art to Cimabue, a Florentine*. Cimabue was the Father of Italian Painters, and from him came a Succession, which at length gave the Raphaels, the Michael Angelo's, &c.

The Statues, and ruined Edifices, with which Italy abounded, and which were all of them by Greek Artists, or after Gre-

* Cimabue died in 1300.
INQUIRIES.

Cian Models, taught the Italians the Fine Arts of Sculpture and Architecture *.

The Greek Fugitives from Constantinople, after it's unhappy Catastrophe, brought that superior Literature into Italy, which enabled the Italians to read in the original the capital Authors of Attic Eloquence †.

When Literature, Sculpture, Architecture, and Painting had thus attained a perfection in Italy, we learn from History, they were transplanted into the North, where they lived, tho' it was rather like Exotics, than Natives.

As therefore Northern Europe derived them from Italy, and this last from

* How early these fine Remains began to excite their admiration, we learn from those warm Verses of Hildebert, quoted before, p. 427.
† Sup. p. 319.
P. III. Greece, the conclusion is evident, that NOT ITALY, but GREECE WAS THEIR common Parent. And thus is the Question concerning Preference to be decided.
Concerning the Poetry of the latter Latins, or Western Europeans—
Accentual Quantity—Rhime—Samples of Rhime in Latin—in Classical Poets, accidental; in those of a later age, designed—Rhime among the Arabians—
Odilo, Hucbaldus, Hildigrim, Halabaldus, Poets or Heroes of Western Europe—Rhimes in modern Languages—of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, &c.—Sannazarius, a pure Writer in Classic Latin, without Rhime—
Anagrams, Chronograms, &c. finely and accurately described by the ingenious Author of the Scribleriad.

And here, as we are about to speak upon the Poetry of these times; we wish our Readers previously to review, what we have already said upon the two Species
P. III. Species of verbal Quantity, the Syllabic and the Accentual *.

It will there appear that till Greek and Latin degenerated, Accentual Quantity was hardly known. But tho' Degeneracy spread it thro' these two Languages, yet, with regard to modern Languages, 'twas the best that could be attained. Their harsh and rugged Dialects were in few instances suited to the Harmonious Simplicity of the Syllabic Measure.

And yet, tho' this more perfect and elegant Prosody was rarely attainable, so strong was the Love of Mankind for Rhythm, so connate (if I may so say) with their very Being, that Metre of some

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* See from p. 74 to p. 92.
fort was every where cultivated, and even these northern Tribes had their Bards, their Minstrels, their Troubadours, and the like.

Now, tho' in the latter Latinity Syllabic Quantity was little regarded, and the Accentual more frequently supplied it's place, they did not esteem even this last always sufficient to mark the Measure. An Expedient was therefore found (flattering to the Ear, because it had something of Harmony) and this was, to mark the last Syllables of different Verses with Sounds that were Similar, so that the Ear might not doubt a moment, where every Verse ended.

And hence in Modern Verse these last Syllables, which Poets of a purer Age in a manner neglected, came to claim a peculiar and superior regard, as helping to mark the Rhythm thro' the medium of the Rhime.
Si Sol spondeat Mariâ purificante, 
Major erit glacies post fioolum, quam fuit 
ANTE *.

Nor was this practised in Heroics only, 
but in Trochaics also.—

Suscitavit igitur || Deus Hebreaorum 
Christianos principes, || et robur eorum 
Vindicare scilicet || Sanguinem Sanctorum, 
Subvenire filiis || Mortificatorum †.

Nay so fond were those Poets of their 
Jingle, that they not only infused it into 
different Verses, but into one and the same

* Rhime is the Similitude of Sound at 
the Ends of two Verses. Rhythm is Measured 
Motion, and exists in Verses of every sort, whe- 
ther Classical or not Classical, whether Blank Verse, or 
Rhime. In short, without Rhythm no Verse 
can exist of any species; without Rhime they may, 
and often do.

† Roger Hoveden. Annales p. 379, b.
Verse; making the Middle of each Verse to rhyme with its End, as well as one Verse to rhyme with another.

Thus in St. Edmund's Epitaph we read—

Hic erat Edmundus, animâ cum corpore mundus,
Quem non immundus potuit pervertere mundus *.

And again in those verses transcribed from an old monument——

Hic sunt confossa Bernoldi præfulis ossa;
Laudet cum glossa, dedit hic quia munera grossa.

To these may be added the Inscription upon the three Wise Men of the East, buried (as they tell us) at Cologn in the West.

PHILOLOGICAL

P. III. Corpora sanctorum recubant hic terna Magorum,
Ex his sublatum nihil est, alibive locatum.

Verses of this sort, of which there are innumerable still extant, have been called Leonine Verses, from Leo, a writer of the 12th Century, who is supposed to have been their inventor. But this should seem a mistake, if the Inscription upon the Image of a King Dagobert, who lived in the seventh Century, be of the same period with that Monarch.

Fingitur hac specie, bonitatis odore refertus,
Istius Ecclesiae fundator, Rex Dagobertus.

'Tis true there are Verses of this sort to be found even among Poets, the first in classical rank.

Thus Virgil,
Trajicit: i, verbis virtutem illude superbis.

Thus
Thus Horace,

Fratrem mærentis, rapto de fratre dolentis.

Thus even Homer himself,

Ex ydo κενταών ζινος ένχεματ ευζειάων.

The difference seems to have been, the rhimes, falling from these superior genius,es, fell (’twas probable) accidentally: with the latter race of Poets they were the Work of labour and design. They may well indeed be called Works of labour and design, when we reflect on the immense pains, which their makers must have taken, where their Plan of Rhiming was so complicated, as they sometimes made it.

Take a singular example of no fewer than three rhimes to each verse.

Crimina crescere flete; tepescere jus, decus, æquum;
Flete, gemiscite; denique dicite, dicite mecum.

Qui
PHILOLOGICAL

P. III. Qui regis omnia, pelle tot impia, surge,
peri mus,
Nos, Deus, aspice, ne sine simplice lamine simus.

Fabricius, who gives these Verses, remarks, that they were written in the Dactylic Leonine; that is, they had every Foot a Dactyl, excepting the last, and contained three Rhymes in each Verse, two within the Verse itself, and one referring to the Verse that followed. He adds, that their Author, Bernardus Morlanensis, a Monk of the eleventh Century, composed no less than three Books of this wonderful Versification. What leisure must he have had, and how was it employed?

Before we quit the subject of Rhyme we may add, that Rhyme was used not only by the Latin, but by the Arabian

* See Fabric. Biblioth. med. et infim. ætatis, under the word, Bernardus Morlanensis.
Poets, as we may see by a tract upon the Arabic Prosody, subjoined by Dr. Pococke to his Carmen Togræi.

Rhyme however was not so strictly followed, but that sometimes they quitted it. In the following Heroics, the Monk Odilo, addressing himself to his Friend Hubaldus, appears so warm in his wishes, as not only to forget Rhime, but even Classical Quantity.

Hubaldo Sôpho Sôphïâ sít semper amica; Hubaldus Sôphus Sôphïæ semper amicus: Exposco hoc Odilo, peccator cernuus ego.

This Genius (over whose Verses I have occasionally marked the accentual Quantity in contradistinction to the Syllabic) is supposed to have written in the tenth Century.

Others, rejecting Rhime, wrote Elegiacs; as that Monk, who celebrated Hildi-
P. III. Hildigrim and Halabuldus; the one for building a Church, the other for consecrating it.

Hildigrim struxit; Hälábaldus Episcopus Archi
Sanctificavit: honor certus utrumque manet.

In the first of these two Verses the word Archi-Episcopus is, by a pleasant transposition, made into a Daëtyl and Spon-dree, so as to complete the Hexameter.*

'Twas upon these Principles of Verification, that the early Poets of this Era wrote much bad Verse in much bad Latin. At length they tried their skill in their Vernacular tongues, introducing here also their Rhyme and their Accen-

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* See Recueil de divers Ecrits pour servir de l'Eclaircissements a l'Histoire de France par L'Abbe de Beuf, p. 115.—p. 106.
actual quantity, as they had done before in Latin.

Thro' the Southern parts of France the Troubadours (already mentioned) composed Sonnets in the Provençal Tongue. Soon after them Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio wrote Poems in Italian; and soon after these, Chaucer flourished in England. From Chaucer, thro' Rowley, we pass to Lords Surry and Dorset; from them to Spencer, Shakespeare, and Johnson: after whom came Milton, Waller, Dryden, Pope, and a succession of Geniuses, down to the present time.

The three Italian Poets, we have mentioned, were capital in their kind, being not only strong and powerful in Sentiment, but, what is more surprising, elegant in their Diction at a time, when

* See before, p. 411.
the Languages of England and France were barbarous and unpolished. This in English is evident from our Countryman, Chaucer, who, even to an English Reader appears so uncouth, and who yet wrote later than the latest of these three.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that, if we except his Language, for Learning and Wit he appears equal to the best of his Contemporaries, and I may add even of his Successors.

I cannot omit the following sample of his Literature, in the Frankelein's Tale. In that Poem the fair Dorigen is made to lament the absence of her much loved Arveragus; and, as she sits upon a Cliff, beholding the Sea, and the formidable Rocks, she breaks forth with terror into the following Exclamation.

Eternal God! that thro' thy Purveyance Leadest the World by certain Government;
In idle, as men sayn, ye nothing make.

But, Lord, those grievly, sedly, Rockis, blake,
That seem rather a foul Confusión
Of work, than any fair Creation
Of such a perfect God, wise, and full stable:
Why have ye wrought this work unreasonable?

Dorigen, after more expostulation of the same fort, adds—

I wote well Clerkis wole sayn, as hem leste,
By Arguments, that All is for the beste,
Tho' I ne cannot well the Causes know—
But thilke God, that made the Winds to blow,
Ay keep my Lord, &c.

There is an elegant Pathos in her thus quitting those deeper Speculations, to address...
dresses a Prayer for the safety of her Arveragus.

The Verse, before quoted,

To lead the World by certain Government,

is not only a philosophical Idea, but philosophically express.

The next Verse,

In Idle, as Mensayn, ye nothing make,

is a sentiment translated literally from Aristotle, and which that Philosopher so much approved, as often to repeat it.

Take one Example—

'O de Θεός καὶ φύσις ἐδεψ μάτην χαίρετι—

As to what follows, I mean that speculation of learned men, that All is for the best, this too we meet in the same Philo-
Philosopher, annexed (as it were) to the sentiment just alleged.

It may be fairly doubted, whether Chaucer took this from the original Greek—'tis more probable he took it from the Latin Version of the Spanish Arabic Version, which Latin was then current, and admitted thro' Western Europe for the Aristotelic Text.

The same thought occurs in one of our most elegant modern Ballads; tho', whence the Poet took it, I pretend not to decide.
PHILOLOGICAL

P. III. How can they say, that Nature
Has nothing made in vain?
Why then beneath the Water
Do hideous Rocks remain?
Those Rocks no eyes discover,
Which lurk beneath the deep,
To wreck, &c.

But to return to Chaucer—

If in the Tale we have just quoted; if in
the Tale of the Nun's Priest, and in
many other of his works, there are these
sprinklings of Philosophy; if to these we
add the extensive Knowledge of History,
Mythology, and various other subjects,
which he everywhere shews: we may
fairly, I think, arrange him among our
learned Poets, and take from Him an Estimate of the Literature of the Times, as
far at least as possessed by men of superior
Education.

After having mentioned (as we have lately done) Petrarch and some of the
Italians,
Italians, I can by no means omit their countryman Sannazarius, who flourished in the Century following, and whose Eclogues in particular, formed on the Plan of Fising Life instead of Pastoral, cannot be enough admired both for their Latinity and their Sentiment. His fourth Eclogue, called Proteus, written in imitation of Virgil's Eclogue called Silenus, may be justly valued as a master-piece in its kind. The following slight sketch of it is submitted to the Reader.

"Two Fishermen, failing during a dark night from Caprea into the Bay of Naples, as they silently approach the Promontory of Minerva, hear Proteus from the Shore, singing a marvelous Narrative of the strange Events, of which those Regions had been the well-known Scene. He concludes with the unhappy fate of the Poet's Friend and Patron, Frederic King of Naples, who, having
having been expelled his Kingdom,
"died an Exile in France."

If I might be pardoned a digression, it
should be on the Elegance of the Numbers, by which this unfortunate part of
the Tale is introduced.

Addit tristia fata, et te, quem luget ademp-
tum
Italia, &c.

The Omission of the usual Caesura, in
the first of these verses, naturally throws
it into that Anapaestic Rhythm, so finely
suited to solemn Subjects.

Addit—tristia—fata et—te quem, &c.*

It may be observed also, in how pathetic, and yet withal, in how manly a way
Sannazarius concludes. Frederic died in
a remote region, and was buried, where

* So Homer,

Πόνιξ—Σικς υμι—μόι τοίτε—χώμι.

Odys. E. 215.
he died. "'Tis pleasing, says Proteus, "for a man's remains to rest in his own "Country; and yet for a Tomb every Land "suffices."

Grata quies patria, sed et omnis terra Sepulcrum.

Those, who know how much sooner Italy emerged from Barbarity, than the rest of Europe, may chuse to place San-

nazarius rather at the beginning of a good age, than at the conclusion of a bad one. Their opinion, perhaps, is not without foundation, and may be extended to Fracastorius, Politian, Poggius, and many other eloquent Authors, which that Century then produced, when Elo-

quence was little known elsewhere.

Before we quit Poetry, we shall say something upon its lowest Species, upon Acrostics, Chronograms, Wings, Altars, Eggs, Axes, &c.

These
These were the poor Inventions of men devoid of Taste, and yet absurdly aiming at Fame by these despicable whims. Quitting the paths of Simplicity and Truth (of which 'tis probable they were wholly ignorant) they aspired, like Rope-dancers, to Merit, which only lay in the difficulty. The Wings, the Axes, the Altars, &c. were wretched Forms, into which they tortured poor Words, just as poor Trees in our Gardens were formerly mangled into Giants, Flower-Pots, Peacocks, Obelisks, &c.

Whoever remembers that Acrostics, in Verification, are formed from the Initial Letter of every Verse, will see the Force and Ingenuity of the following description.

Firm and compact, in three fair Columns we've,
O're the smooth plain the bold Acrostics move.
INQUIRIES.

High o're the rest the tow'ring Lea-
ders rise,
With limbs gigantic and superior size.

Chronograms, by a different conceit, were not confined to Initial Letters, but, as they were to describe Dates, the Numeral Letters, in whatever part of the Word they float, were distinguished from other Letters by being written in Capitals.

For example, I would mark by a Chronogram the Date 1506. I take for the purpose the following Words,

—feriam sidera vertice;

and by a strange Elevation of Capitals I compel even Horace to give me the Date required.

—seriam sidera vertice, MDVI.

The Ingenious Author, whom I have quoted before, thus admirably describes this second species of folly.

Not
Not thus the looser Chronograms prepare;
Careless their Troops, undisciplin'd to War;
With rank irregular, confus'd they stand,
The Chieftains mingling with the vulgar band.

If I have dwelt too long on these trifles,
it is not so much for their merit (of which they have none) as for those elegant Lines, in which they are so well described.

On the same motive I conclude this Chapter with selecting a few more Lines from the same ingenious Poem.

To join these squadrons, o'er the champain came
A numerous race, of no ignoble name;
Riddle, and Rebus, Riddle's dearest Son,
And false Conundrum, and insidious Pun;
Fustian,
INQUIRIES.

Fustian, who scarcely deigns to tread the ground,
And Rondeau, wheeling in repeated round.

On their fair standards, by the winds display'd,
Eggs, Altars, Wings, Pipes, Axes were pourtray'd *.

* See the Scribleriad, (Book II. V. 151, &c.) of my valuable Friend, Mr. Cambridge of Twickenham.
Paul the Venetian, and Sir John Mandeville, great Travellers—Sir John Fortescue, a great Lawyer—his valuable Book, addrest to his Pupil, the Prince of Wales—King's College Chapel in Cambridge, founded by Henry the Sixth.—

'Twas during this middle Period lived those celebrated Travellers, Paul the Venetian, and our Countryman, Sir John Mandeville.

We have mentioned Chaucer before them, tho' he flourished after both; for Chaucer lived till past the year 1400, Paul began his Travels in the year 1272, and Maudeville began his in the year 1322. The Reason is, Chaucer has been arranged with the Poets, already spoken of.
Marc Paul, who is the first Writer of any Note concerning the Eastern Countries, travelled into those remote Regions as far as the Capital and Court of Cublai Chan, the sixth from that tremendous Conqueror Jingiz Chan*. Paul is a curious and minute Relator of what he saw there.

He describes the Capital, Cambalu, to be a square walled in, of six miles on every side, having to each side three Gates, and the several streets rectilinear, and crossing at right angles.

The Imperial Palace, he tells us, was inclosed within a square wall of a mile on every side, and was magnificently adorned with Gilding and Pictures. 'Twas a piece of state, that thro' the grand or principal gate no one could enter but the Emperor himself.

Within the walls of this Square there

* See Abulpharajius, from p. 281 to p. 306.
were extensive Lawns, adorned with Trees, and stockt with wild animals, flags, goats, fallow deer, &c.-not to mention a River, which formed a Lake, filled with the finest fish.

Besides this, at a League's distance from the Palace, he describes a small Mountain or Hill, planted with Evergreens, in circumference about a mile. "Here (he tells us) the Emperor had all the finest trees that could be procured, brought to him, employing his Elephants for that purpose, as the trees were extracted with their roots.

"The Mountain, from its verdure, was called the Green Mountain. On its summit stood a fine Palace, distinguished also by its Green Colour, where he (the Great Chan) often retired to enjoy himself.*"

* The preceding Extracts are taken from a Latin Edition of Paulus Venetus, published, in a small Quarto,
Speaking of the Person of Cublai, the then Monarch, he thus describes him.

"He is remarkably handsome; of a moderate stature; neither too corpulent, nor too lean; having a Countenance ruddy and fair; large eyes; a beautiful Nose; and all the lineaments of his Body formed in due proportion."
PHILOLOGICAL.

P. III. We here quit our Traveller, only observing, as we conclude, that learned men have imagined this Cambalu to be Pekin in China, founded there by Jingiz Chan, soon after he had conquered it.

When we consider the immense power of this mighty Conqueror, who in a manner subdued the vast Tract of Asia; we are the less difficult in believing such marvellous Relations. The City, the Palace, and the Territory around teach us, what was the Taste of him and his Family, whose boundless Empire could admit of nothing minute.

It is too an additional argument for Credibility, that, tho' the Whole is Vast, yet nothing appears either Foolish, or Impossible.

One thing is worthy of notice, that, tho' Paul resided in China so long, he makes no mention of the celebrated Wall.
INQUIRIES.

Wall.—Was this forgetfulness? or was it not then erected?

As to our Countryman, Sir John Mandeville, tho' he did not travel so far as Marc Paul, he travelled into many Parts of Asia and Africa; and, after having lived in those Countries for thirty-three years, died at Liege in the year 1371.

He wrote his Travels in three Languages, Latin, French, and English, from the last of which Languages we quote, taking the liberty, in a few instances, to modernize the Words, tho' not in the minutest degree to change the Meaning.

We confine ourselves for brevity to a single fact.

Travelling thro' Macedonia, he tells us, as follows—"In this Country was "Aristotle born, in a City, that men I i 3 "call
"call Strageris *, a little from the City "of Tragie or Trakys; and at Strageris "is Aristotle buried, and there is an Altar "at his Tomb, where they make a great "Feast every Year, as tho' he was a Saint. "Upon this Altar the Lords (or Rulers) "hold their Great Councils and Assem- "blies, for they hope, that, thro' the in- "spiration of God and of Him, they shall "have the better counsel †."  

Such was the Veneration (for it was more than Honour) paid by the Stagirites to their Countryman, more than eighteen hundred years after his death ‡.

* Its antient name in Greek was Στάγις, whence Aristotle was often called, by way of eminence, The Stagirite, as being a Citizen there.

† See Mandeville's Voyages, Chap. 2.

‡ Those, who desire a taste of this great Man's Philosophy in English, may find their curiosity amply gratified in the last work of that learned and acute Grecian, Lord Monboddo, which work he stiles Antient Metaphysics, published in Quarto at Edinburgb, 1779.
From these times we pass over the triumphant reign of *Henry the Fifth* (a reign rather of *Action* than of *Letters*) to that of his unfortunate Son. This was a Period, disgraced by unsuccessful wars abroad, and by sanguinary disorders at home. *The King himself* met an untimely End, and so did his hopeful and high spirited Son, the *Prince of Wales*. Yet did not even these Times keep one Genius from emerging, tho' plunged by his rank into their most tempestuous part. By this I mean *Sir John Fortescue*, Chancellor of *England*, and Tutor to the *young Prince*, just mentioned. As this last office was a Trust of the greatest importance, so he discharged it not only with consummate *Wisdom*, but (what was more) with consummate *Virtue*.

*His Tract in Praise of the Laws of England*, is written with the noblest

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*This Book, which he stiles De Laudibus Legum Angliae, is written in Dialogue between him- self,*
blest view that man ever wrote; written to inspire his Pupil with a Love of the Country he was to govern, by shewing him that, To govern by those admirable Laws, would make him a far greater Prince, than the most unlimited Despotism.*

This he does not only prove by a detail of particular Laws, but by an accurate

self, and the young Prince his Pupil, and was originally in Latin. The great Selden thought it worthy of a Commentary, and since that it has been published and enriched with additional Notes by Mr. Gregor. A new Edition was given ann. 1775, and the Latin Text subjoined.

* See of Fortescue's Work, Chap. IX. and XIII. and, above all, Chap. XIV. where he tells us the Possibility of doing amiss, (which is the only Privilege an absolute Prince enjoys above a limited one) can be called an Addition of Power no other, than we so call a Possibility to decay, or to die. See p. 41 of the English Version.

'Tis worth observing that Fortescue, in his dialogue, gives these fine sentiments to the young Prince, after he has heard much and due Reasoning upon the excellence of our Constitution. See Chap. XXXIV. p. 119.
comparison between the state of England and France, one of which he makes a Land of Liberty, the other of Servitude. His thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth Chapters upon this subject are invaluable, and should be read by every Englishman, who honours that name.

Thro' these and the other Chapters, we perceive an interesting Truth, which is, that the capital parts of our Constitution, the Trial by Juries, the Abhorrence of Tortures, the Sovereignty of Parliament as well in the granting of Money, as in the making and repealing of Laws, I say, that all these, and many other inestimable privileges, existed then, as they do now; were not new projects of the Day, but sacred Forms, to which Ages had given a venerable Sanction*.

* For trial by Juries, see of this Author Chap. XX, XXI, and XXII.—For his abhorrence of Torture, see
As for the Literature of this Great Man (which is more immediately to our purpose) he appears to have been a Reader of Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Cicero, Quintilian, Seneca, Vegetius, Boethius, and many other ancients; to have been not un-informed in the Authors and History of later Ages; to have been deeply knowing not only in the Laws of his own Country (where he attained the highest dignity they could bestow) but in the Roman or Civil Law, which he holds to be far inferior*; we must add to this a masterly insight into the State and Policy of the neighbouring Nations.

Perhaps

see Chap. XXIII.—For the sovereignty of Parliament see Chap. IX, XIII, XVIII, XXXVI, particularly p. 118 of the English Version.—For the high antiquity of our Laws and Constitution, see Chap. XVII.

* The inferiority of the Roman Law to our own, is a Doctrine he strongly inculcates. See above all Chap. IX, XIX, &c. also Chap. XXXIV, where he nobly reprobates, as he had done before in Chap. IX, that infamous
Perhaps a person of Rank, even at present, need not wish to be better instituted, if he had an ambition to soar above the Fashionable Polish.

We must not conclude, without observing that the Taste for Gothic Architecture seems never to have been so elegant, as during this period; witness that exquisite structure, built by Henry the Sixth, I mean the Chapel of King's College in Cambridge.

infamous maxim, *Quod Principi placuit, Legis habit Vigorem*; a Maxim, well becoming an Oriental Caliph, but hardly decent even in a degenerate Roman Law-giver.

C H A P.
Concerning Natural Beauty — its Idea the same in all Times — Thessalian Tempe — Taste of Virgil, and Horace — of Milton, in describing Paradise — exhibited of late years first in Pictures — thence transferred to English Gardens — not wanting to the enlightened Few of the middle Age — proved in Le-land, Petrarch, and Sannazarius, — comparison between the Younger Cyrus, and Philip le Bel of France.

But let us pass for a moment from the elegant Works of Art to the more elegant Works of Nature. The two subjects are so nearly allied, that the same Taste usually relishes them both.

Now there is nothing more certain, than that the Face of inanimate Nature has been at all times captivating. The Vulgar, indeed, look no farther than to Scenes of Culture,
Culture, because all their Views merely terminate in Utility. They only remark, that 'tis fine Barley; that 'tis rich Clover; as an Ox or an Ass, if they could speak, would inform us. But the Liberal have nobler views, and tho' they give to Culture is due Praise, they can be delighted with natural Beauties, where Culture was never known.

Ages ago they have celebrated with enthusiastic rapture "a deep retired Vale, "with a River rushing thro' it; a Vale "having it's sides formed by two immense "and opposite Mountains, and those sides "diversified by Woods, Precipices, Rocks "and romantic Caverns." Such was the Scene, produced by the River Penēus, as it ran between the Mountains, Olympus and Ossa, in that well known Vale, the Thessalian Tempe*. Virgil

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* Est nemus Haemoniae, prærupta quod undique claudit Silva: vocant Tempe. Per quo Penēus ab imo Effusus
PHILOLOGICAL

P. III. Virgil and Horace, the first for Taste among the Romans, appear to have been enamoured with Beauties of this character. Horace prayed for a Villa, where there was a Garden, a Rivulet, and above these a little Grove.

Hortus ubi, et teêto vicinus jugis aquae fons,
Et paulum Silvae super his foënt.

Sat. VI. 2.

Virgil wished to enjoy Rivers, and Woods, and to be hid under immense shade in the cool valleys of Mount Hæmus—

—O! qui me gelidis in Vallibus Hæmi Sijlat, et ingenti ramorum proteget umbra?

Georg. II. 486.

Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis,
Dejeëluque gravi, &c.


A fuller and more ample account of this beautiful spot may be found in the First Chapter of the Third Book of Ælian’s Various History.
INQUIRIES.

The great Elements of this species C.XIII.
of Beauty, according to these Principles, were Water, Wood, and uneven Ground; to which may be added a fourth, that is to say, Lawn. 'Tis the happy Mixture of these four, that produces every Scene of natural Beauty, as 'tis a more mysterious Mixture of other Elements (perhaps as simple, and not more in number) that produces a World or Universe.

Virgil and Horace having been quoted, we may quote, with equal truth, our great countryman, Milton. Speaking of the Flowers of Paradise, he calls them Flowers,

—which not nice Art
In beds and curious Knots, but Nature boon
Pours forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain.

P. L. IV. 245.
Soon after this he subjoins—

— this was the Place

A happy rural Seat, of various view.

He explains this Variety, by recounting the Lawns, the Flocks, the Hillocks, the Valleys, the Grotts, the Waterfalls, the Lakes, &c. &c. and in another Book, describing the approach of Raphael, he informs us, that this divine Messenger past

— Thro' Groves of Myrrh,

And flow'ring Odors, Cassia, Nard and Balm,

A Wilderness of Sweets; for Nature here

Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will

Her Virgin-fancys, pouring forth more sweet,

Wild above Rule or Art, enormous Bliss.—

P. L. IV. 292.

The
INQUIRIES.

The Painters in the preceding Century seem to have felt the power of these Elements, and to have transferred them into their Landscapes with such amazing force, that they appear not so much to have followed, as to have emulated Nature. Claude de Lorraine, the Pouffins, Salvator Rosa, and a few more, may be called superior Artists in this exquisite Taste.

Our Gardens in the mean time were tasteless and insipid. Those, who made them, thought the farther they wandered from Nature, the nearer they approached the Sublime. Unfortunately, where they travelled, no Sublime was to be found; and the farther they went, the farther they left it behind.

But Perfection, alas! was not the work of a day. Many Prejudices were to be removed; many gradual Ascents to be made; Ascents from Bad to Good, and from Good to Better, before the delicious
PHILOLOGICAL

Not however to forget the subject of our Inquiry.—Tho' 'twas not before the present Century, that we established a chapter Tafte; tho' our neighbours at this instant are but learning it from us; and tho' to the Vulgar every where it is totally incomprehensible (be they Vulgar in rank, or Vulgar in capacity): yet, even in the darkest periods we have been treating, periods, when Tafte is often thought to have been lost, we shall still discover an enlightened few, who were by no means insensible to the power of these beauties.

How warmly does Leland describe Guy's Cliff; Sannazarius, his Villa of Mergilline; and Petrarch, his favourite Vaucluse?
Take Guy's Cliff from Leland in C.XIII.

his own old English, mixt with Latin—

"It is a place meet for the Muses; there
"is Sylence; a praty wood; antra in vivo
"saxo; (Grottos in the living Rock) the
"River roling over the stones with a praty
"noyse." His Latin is more elegant—

Nemusculum ibidem opacum, fontes liquidi
et gemmei, prata florida, antra muscosa,
ri vi levis et per saxa decursus, nec non soli-
tudo et quies Musis amicissima*.

Mergilline, the Villa of Sannazarius near Naples, is thus sketched in different parts of his Poems.

Excisò in scopulo, fluëtus unde aurea canos
Despiciens, celsò se culmine Mergilline
Attollit, nautisque procul venientibus offert.

* See Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IV. p. 66.
Rupis O! sacræ, pelagique cuftos,  
Villa, Nympha rum cuftos et propinque  
Doridos—
Tu mihi folos nemorum recedus  
Das, et hærentes per opaca lauros  
Saxa: Tu, fontes, Aganippedumque  
Antra reclusis.


— quæque in primis mihi grata minifrat  
Otia, Mufarumque cavas per saxa latebras,  
Mergillina; novos fundunt ubi citria  
flores,  
Citria, Medorum sacros referentia lucos.  
Ejufd. De partu Virgin. III. sub fin.

De Fonte Mergillino.

Est mihi rivo vitreus perenni  
Fons, arenosum prope littus, unde  
Sæpe descendens fiih nauta rores  
Haurit amicos, &c.

Ejufd. Epigr. II. 36.

'Twould
'Twould be difficult to translate these elegant Morfels—'Tis sufficient to express what they mean, collectively—"that the "Villa of Mergillina had solitary "Woods; had Groves of Laurel and "Citron; had Grottos in the Rock, "with Rivulets and Springs; and "that from its lofty Situation it "lookt down upon the Sea, and com- "manded an extensive prospect."

'Tis no wonder that such a Villa should enamour such an Owner. So strong was his affection for it, that, when during the subsequent Wars in Italy, it was demolished by the Imperial Troops, this unfortunate Event was supposed to have hastened his end*.

* So we learn from Paulus Jovius, the writer of his Life, published with his Poems by Grævius, in a small Edition of some of the Italian Poets, at Amsterdam, in the year 1695.
VAUCLUSE (Vallis Claufa) the favourite retreat of PETRARCH, was a romantic Scene, not far from Avignon.

"It is a VALLEY, having on each hand, as you enter, immense Cliffs, but closed up at one of its Ends by a semi-circular Ridge of them; from which incident it derives its name. One of the most stupendous of these Cliffs stands in the front of the semi-circle, and has at its foot an opening into an immense Cavern. Within the most retired and gloomy part of this Cavern is a large oval Basin, the production of Nature, filled with pellucid and unfathomable Water; and from this reservoir issues a River of respectable magnitude, dividing, as it runs, the Meadows beneath, and winding thro' the Precipices, that impend from above.*"

* See Memoires pour la Vie de Francois Petrarche, Quarto, Tom. I. p. 231, 341, 342. See also Plin. Nat. Hist. L. XXVIII. c. 22.
INQUIRIES.

This is an imperfect sketch of that spot, where Petrarck spent his time with so much delight, as to say that this alone was Life to him, the rest but a flate of punishment.

In the two preceding Narratives I seem to see an anticipation of that Taste for natural Beauty, which now appears to flourish thro' Great Britain in such perfection. It is not to be doubted that the Owner of Mergillina would have been charmed with Mount Edgecumbe; and the Owner of Vaucluse have been delighted with Piercesfield.

When we read in Xenophon*, that the younger Cyrus had with his own hand planted trees for Beauty, we are not surprized, tho' pleased with the Story,

* See the Oeconomies of Xenophon, where this Fact is related.
as the Age was polished, and Cyrus an accomplished Prince. But, when we read that in the beginning of the 14th Century, a King of France (Philip le Bell) should make it penal to cut down a Tree, qui a été gardé pour sa beaute, which had been preserved for its Beauty; tho' we praise the Law, we cannot help being surprized, that the Prince should at such a period have been so far enlightened.

* See a valuable Work, intitled Observations on the Statutes, chiefly on the antient, &c. p. 7, by the Honble. Mr. Barrington; a work, concerning which it is difficult to decide, whether it be more entertaining, or more instructive.
Superior Literature and Knowledge both of the Greek and Latin Clergy, whence—Barbarity and Ignorance of the Laity, whence—Samples of Lay-manners, in a Story from Anna Comnena's History—Church Authority ingeniously employed to check Barbarity—the same Authority employed for other good purposes—to save the poor Jews—to stop Trials by Battle—more suggested concerning Lay-manners—Ferocity of the Northern Laymen, whence—different Causes assigned—Inventions during the dark Ages—great, tho' the Inventors often unknown—Inference arising from these Inventions.

Before I quit the Latins, I shall subjoin two or three Observations on the Europeans in general.
P. III. THE superior Characters for Literature here enumerated, whether in the Western or Eastern Christendom (for 'tis of Christendom only we are now speaking) were by far the greater part of them Ecclesiastics.

In this number we have selected from among the Greeks the Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius; Michael Psellus; Eustathius and Eustratius, both of Episcopal Dignity; Planudes; Cardinal Bessario—from among the Latins, Venerable Bede; Gerbertus, afterwards Pope Sylvester the Second; Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland; Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours; Petter Abelard; John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres; Roger Bacon; Francis Petrarch; many Monkish Historians; Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius the Second, &c.
Something has been already said concerning each of these, and other Ecclesiastics*. At present we shall only remark, that 'twas necessary, from their very profession, that they should read and write; accomplishments, at that time usually confined to themselves.

Those of the Western Church were obliged to acquire some knowledge of Latin; and for Greek, to those of the Eastern Church it was still (with a few Corruptions) their native Language.

If we add to these Preparations their mode of Life, which, being attended mostly with a decent competence, gave them immense leisure; 'twas not wonderful that,

* Those, who wish to see more particulars concerning these learned Men, may recur to their Names in the Index, or, if he please, may consult the Third Part of these Inquiries, in Chapters IV. IX. X. XI, XIV.
among such a multitude, the more meritorious should emerge, and soar by dint of Genius above the common herd. Similar Effects proceed from similar Causes. The Learning of Egypt was possessed by their Priests; who were likewise left from their institution to a life of leisure*.

For the Laity on the other side, who, from their mean Education, wanted all these Requisites, they were in fact no better than what Dryden calls them, a tribe of Issachar; a race, from their cradle bred in Barbarity, and Ignorance.

A Sample of these illustrious Laymen may be found in Anna Comnena's History of her Father Alexius, who was

* Aristotie, speaking of Egypt, informs us — ἤλθεν τῇ ἡρακλείᾳ τῶν ἱερῶν ἱδνος — For there (meaning in Egypt) the Tribe of Priests were left to lead a Life of Leisure. Arist. Metaph. 1. 1. c. 1.
Grecian Emperor in the eleventh Century, when the first Crusade arrived at Constantinople. So promiscuous a Rout of rude Adventurers could not fail of giving umbrage to the Byzantine Court, which was stately and ceremonious, and conscious withal of its internal debility.

After some altercation, the Court permitted them to pass into Asia thro' the Imperial Territories, upon their Leaders taking an Oath of Fealty to the Emperor.

What happened at the performance of this Ceremonial, is thus related by the fair Historian above mentioned.

"All the Commanders being assembled, and Godfrey of Bulloign himself among the rest, as soon as the Oath was finished, one of the Counts had the audaciousness to set himself beside the Emperor upon his throne."
"Earl Baldwin, one of their own people, approaching, took the Count by the hand; made him rise from the throne; and rebuked him for his insolence.

"The Count rose, but made no reply, except it was in his own unknown Jargon to mutter abuse upon the Emperor.

"When all things were dispatched, the Emperor sent for this man, and demanded, who he was, whence he came, and of what Lineage? — His answer was as follows—I am a genuine Frank, and in the number of their Nobility. One thing I know, which is, that in a certain part of the Country I came from, and in a place, where three ways meet, there stands an ancient Church, where every one, who has a desire to engage in single Combat, having put himself into fighting order, comes and there implores the
the assistance of the Deity, and then waits in expectation of some one, that will dare attack him. On this spot I myself waited a long time, expecting and seeking some one, that would arrive, and fight me. But the man, that would dare this, was nowhere to be found.

* Those, who attend to this Story, and who have perused any of the Histories of Chivalry, in particular an ingenious French Treatise upon the subject, in two small Volumes 8vo. published at Paris, in the year 1759, intitled, Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, will perceive that the much admired Don Quixote is not an Imaginary Character, but a Character, drawn after the real Manners of the times. 'Tis true indeed, the Character is somewhat heightened; but even here the witty Author has contrived to make it probable, by ingenuously adding a certain mixture of Infancy.

These Romantic Heroes were not wholly extinct even in periods far later than the Crusades. The Chevalier Bayard flourished under Francis the First of France, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury under James and Charles the First of England.
"The Emperor, having heard this strange Narrative, replied pleasantly—
"If at the time, when you fought War, you could not find it, a Season is now coming, in which you will find Wars enough. I therefore give you this advice: not to place yourself either in the Rear of the Army, or in the Front, but to keep among those, who support the Centre; for I have long had knowledge of the Turkish method in their Wars."

This was one of those Counts, or Barons, the petty Tyrants of Western Europe; men, who, when they were not engaged in general wars, (such as the ravaging of a neighbouring Kingdom, the massacring of Infidels, Heretics, &c.) had no other method of filling up their leisure,

* See Anna Comnenae's History of her Father, Fol. Gr. Lat. p. 300.
leisure, than, thro’ help of their Vassals, by waging war upon one another.

And here the Humanity and Wisdom of the Church cannot enough be admired, when by her authority (which was then mighty) she endeavoured to shorten that scene of Bloodshed, which she could not totally prohibit. The Truce of God (a name given it purposely to render the measure more solemn) enjoined these ferocious Beings, under the terrors of Excommunication, not to fight from Wednesday Evening to Monday Morning, out of reverence to the Mysteries, accomplished on the other four days; the Ascension on Thursday; the Crucifixion on Friday; the Descent to Hell on Saturday; and the Resurrection on Sunday.*

I hope

* See any of the Church Histories of the time, in particular an ingenious French Book, entitled Histoire Ecclesiastique, in two Volumes, 12mo. digested into L I Annals,
I hope a farther observation will be pardoned, when I add that the same Humanity prevailed during the fourteenth Century, and that the terrors of Church Power were then held forth with an intent equally laudable. A dreadful plague at that period desolated all Europe. The Germans, with no better reason than their own senseless Superstition, imputed this calamity to the Jews, who then lived among them in great opulence and splendour. Many thousands of these unhappy people were inhumanly massacred, till the Pope benevolently interfered, and prohibited by the severest Bulls so mad and sanguinary a proceeding.*

Annals, and having the several years marked in the course of the Narrative. Go to the years 1027, 1031, 1041, 1068, 1080.

* See the Church Histories about the middle of the fourteenth Century, and Petrarch's Life.

I could
I could not omit two such salutary exertions of Church Power, as they both occur within the period of this Inquiry. I might add a third, I mean the opposing and endeavouring to check that absurdest of all Practices, the Trial by Battle, which Spelman expressly tells us that the Church in all ages condemned.*

It must be confessed, that the Fact just related concerning the unmannered Count, at the Court of Constantinople, is rather against the order of Chronology, for it happened during the first Crusades. It serves however to shew the Manners of the Latin or Western Laity, in the beginning of that Holy War. They did not, in a succession of years, grow better, but worse.

* Truculentum movem in omni aevi acriter injurari Theologi, &c. See before, p. 243.
'Twas a Century after, that another Crusade, in their march against Infidels, sacked this very City; deposed the then Emperor; and committed Devastations, which no one would have committed, but the most ignorant, as well as cruel Barbarians. If we descend not at present to particulars, it is, because we have already quoted so largely from Nicetas, in a former Chapter *.

But a Question here occurs, easier to propose, than to answer.—"To what are we to attribute this character of Ferocity, which seems to have then prevailed thro' the Laity of Europe?"

* See Part III. chap. 5, and Abulpharagius, p. 182, who describes their indiscriminate Cruelty in a manner much resembling that of their Brother Crusaders at Bezieres, and that nearly about the same time. See before, p. 409.
INQUIRIES.

SHALL we say, 'twas CLIMATE, and the NATURE OF THE COUNTRY?—These we must confess have in some instances great Influence.

The Indians, seen a few years since by Mr. Byron in the southern parts of South America, were brutal and savage to an enormous excess. One of them, for a trivial offence, murdered his own Child (an infant) by dashing it against the Rocks. The Cyclopes, as described by Homer, were much of the same sort; each of them gave Law to his own Family, without regard for one another; and besides this, they were Atheists and Man-eaters.

MAY we not suppose, that a stormy sea, together with a frozen, barren, and inhospitable shore might work on the Imagination of these Indians, so, as by banishing all pleasing and benign Ideas, to fill them
them with habitual Gloom, and a Propensity to be cruel? — or might not the tremendous Scenes of Etna have had a like Effect upon the Cyclopes, who lived amid Smoke, Thunderings, Eruptions of Fire, and Earthquakes? If we may believe Fazelius, who wrote upon Sicily about two hundred years ago, the Inhabitants near Etna were in his time a similar Race.

If therefore these limited Regions had such an effect upon their Natives, may not a similar Effect be presumed from the vast Regions of the North? May not its cold, barren, uncomfortable Climate have made its numerous Tribes equally rude and savage?

If this be not enough, we may add another Cause, I mean their profound Ignorance.

* See Fazelius de Rebus seculis, L. II. c. 4.
rauce. Nothing mends the mind more than culture, to which these emigrants had no desire, either from example or education, to lend a patient ear.

We may add a farther cause still, which is, that, when they had acquired countries better than their own, they settled under the same military form, thro' which they had conquered; and were in fact, when settled, a sort of army after a campaign, quartered upon the wretched remains of the antient inhabitants, by whom they were attended under the different names of serfs, vassals, villagers, &c.

'Twas not likely the ferocity of these conquerors should abate with regard to their vassals, whom, as strangers, they were more likely to suspect, than to love.
'Twas not likely it should abate with regard to one another, when the Neigh-
bourhood of their Castles, and the Conti-
guity of their Territories, must have given occasions (as we learn from History) for endless Altercation. But this we leave to the learned in Feudal Tenures.

We shall add to the preceding Remarks one more somewhat singular, and yet per-
fectly different; which is, that tho' the Darkness in Western Europe, during the Period here mentioned, was (in Scripture Language) a Darkness that might be felt, yet is it surprizing that, during a Period so obscure, many admirable Inventions found their way into the world; I mean such as Clocks, Telescopes, Paper, Gun-
powder, the Mariner's Needle, Printing, and a number here omitted*.

* See two ingenious Writers on this Subject, Polydore Virgil, De Rerum Inventoribus; and Pan-
tinus, De Rebus perditis et inventis.
INQUIRIES.

'Tis surprising too, if we consider the importance of these arts, and their extensive utility, that it should be either unknown, or at least doubtful, by whom they were invented.

A lively Fancy might almost imagine, that every Art, as it was wanted, had suddenly started forth, addressing those that sought it, as Eneas did his companions—

—Coram, quem quaeritis, adsum.

Virg.

And yet, Fancy apart, of this we may be assured, that, tho' the particular Inventors may unfortunately be forgotten, the Inventions themselves are clearly referable to Man; to that subtle, and active Principle, Human Wit, or Ingenuity.

Let me then submit the following Query—

If
If the Human Mind be as truly of divine Origin, as every other part of the Universe; and if every other part of the Universe bear testimony to its Author: do not the Inventions above mentioned give us reason to assert, that God, in the Operations of Man, never leaves himself without a Witness?
CHAP. XV.

Opinions on Past Ages, and the Present—Conclusion arising from the Discussion of these Opinions—Conclusion of the whole.

And now having done with the C. XV. Middle Age, we venture to say a word upon the Present.

Every Past Age has in its turn been a Present Age. This indeed is obvious, but this is not all; for every Past Age, when present, has been the object of Abuse. Men have been represented by their Contemporaries not only as bad, but degenerate; as inferior to their predecessors both in Morals and bodily Powers.

This is an Opinion so generally received, that Virgil (in conformity to it) when he would express former times, calls
P. III. calls them simply *better*, as if the Term, *better*, implied *former* of course.

*Hic genus antiquum Teucri, pulcherrima proles,*

*Magnanimi Heroes, nati melioribus annis.*

Æn. vi. 648.

The same opinion is ascribed by Homer to old Nestor, when that venerable Chief speaks of those Heroes, whom he had known in his youth. He relates some of their names; *Perithous, Dryas, Cæneus, Theseus*; and some also of their exploits; as how they had extirpated the savage *Centaurs*—He then subjoins

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κόινοις δ' ἄν είτις,

'Ἰὼν οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ ἕσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι, μαχέσθιο.

II. A. 271.

--- with these no one

*Of earthly race, as men are now, could fight.*

As
As these Heroes were supposed to exceed in strength those of the Trojan War, so were the Heroes of that period to exceed those, that came after. Hence, from the time of the Trojan War to that of Homer, we learn that Human Strength was decreased by a complete half.

Thus the same Homer,

Then grasp'd Tydides in his hand a stone,
A Bulk immense, which not two men could bear,
As Men are now, but he alone with ease Hurl'd it——

Virgil goes farther and tells us, that not twelve men of his time (and those too chosen ones) could even carry the stone, which Turnus flung.
Thus Human strength, which in Homer's time was lessened to half, in Virgil's time was lessened to a twelfth. If Strength and Bulk (as commonly happens) be proportioned, what Pygmies in Stature must the Men of Virgil's time have been, when their strength, as he informs us, was so far diminished? A Man only eight times as strong (and not, according to the Poet, twelve times) must at least have been between five and six feet higher, than they were.

But we all know the Privilege, claimed by Poets and Painters.

'Tis in virtue of this Privilege that Horace, when he mentions the moral Degeneracies of his Contemporaries, asserts that "their Fathers were worse than their ..."
INQUIRIES.

"Grandfathers; that they were worse than their Fathers; and that their Children would be worse than they were;" describing no fewer, after the Grandfather, than three Successions of Degeneracy.

Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tuit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem.

Hor. Od. L. iii. 6.

We need only ask, were this a fact, what would the Romans have been, had they degenerated in this proportion for five or six Generations more?

Yet Juvenal, subsequent to all this, supposes a similar Progression; a Progression in Vice and Infamy, which was not complete, till his own times.

Then truly we learn, it could go no farther.

Nil erit ulterius, nostris quod moribus addat

Posteri-
But even Juvenal it seems was mistaken, bad as we must allow his times to have been. Several Centuries after, without regard to Juvenal, the same Doctrine was inculcated with greater zeal than ever.

When the Western Empire began to decline, and Europe and Africa were ravaged by Barbarians, the Calamities then happening (and formidable they were) naturally led Men, who felt them, to esteem their own Age the worst.

The Enemies of Christianity (for Paganism was not then extinct) absurdly turned these Calamities to the discredit of the Christian Religion, and said the times were so unhappy, because the Gods were dishonoured, and the ancient Worship neglected. Orosius, a Christian, did not deny the melancholy facts, but, to obviate
ate an objection so dishonourable to the true Religion, he endeavours to prove from Historians, both sacred and profane, that Calamities of every sort had existed in every age, as many and as great, as those that existed then.

If Orosius has reasoned right (and his Work is an elaborate one) it follows that the Lamentations made then, and made ever since, are no more than natural Declamations incidental to Man; Declamations naturally arising, let him live at any period, from the superior efficacy of present Events upon present Sensations.

There is a Praise belonging to the Past congenial with this Censure; a Praise formed from Negatives, and best illustrated by Examples.

Thus a Declaimer might assert, (supposing he had a wish, by exalting the eleventh Century, to debase the present)
PHILOLOGICAL

P. III. that " in the time of the Norman

" Conqueror we had no Routs, no Ridots,

" no Newmarkets, no Candidates to

" bribe, no Voters to be bribed, &c." and string on Negatives, as long as he

thought proper.

What then are we to do, when we

hear such Panegyric? — Are we to deny the

Facts? — That cannot be — Are we to ad-

mit the Conclusion? — That appears not

quite agreeable. — No method is left but

to compare Evils with Evils; the

Evils of 1066 with those of 1780; and

see whether the former Age had not Evils

of its own, such as the present never ex-

perienced, because they do not now exis.

We may allow, the Evils of the pre-

sent day to be real — we may even allow,

that a much larger number might have

been added — but then we may allege evils,

by way of return, felt in those days se-

verely, but now not felt at all.

" We
INQUIRIES.

"We may assert, we have not now, as happened then, seen our Country con-
"quered by foreign Invaders; nor our "Property taken from us, and distributed "among the Conquerors; nor ourselves, "from Freemen, debased into Slaves; "nor our Rights submitted to unknown "Laws, imported, without our consent, "from foreign Countries."

Should the same Reasonings be urged in favour of Times, nearly as remote, and other Imputations of Evil be brought, which, tho' well known now, did not then exist; we may still retort that—"we "are no longer now, as they were then, "subject to feudal Oppression; nor drag-
"ged to War, as they were then, by the "petty Tyrant of a neighbouring Castle; "nor involved in scenes of blood, as they "were then, and that for many years, "during the uninteresting disputes be-
"tween A Stephen and A Maud."

Should
Should the same Declaimer pass to a later period, and praise after the same manner the reign of Henry the Second, we have then to retort, "that we have now no Beckets." Should he proceed to Richard the First, "that we have now no Holy Wars"— to John Lackland, and his Son, Henry, "that we have now no Barons Wars"—and with regard to both of them, "that, tho' we enjoy at this instant all the benefits of Magna Charta, we have not been compelled to purchase them at the price of our blood."

A series of Convulsions brings us, in a few years more, to the Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster—thence, from the fall of the Lancaster Family, to the calamities of the York Family, and its final destruction in Richard the Third—thence to the oppresive Period
Period of his avaricious Successor; and from Him to the formidable reign of his relentless Son, when neither the Coronet, nor the Mitre, nor even the Crown could protect their wearers; and when (to the amazement of Posterity) those, by whom Church Authority was denied, and those, by whom it was maintained, were dragged together to Smithfield, and burnt at one and the same stake*

The reign of his Successor was short and turbid, and soon followed by the gloomy one of a bigotted Woman.

We stop here, thinking we have instances enough. Those, who hear any portion of these past times, praised for the

* Some of these unfortunate men denied the King's Supremacy, and others, the real Presence. See the Histories of that Reign.
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P. III. invidious purpose above mentioned, may answer by thus retorting the Calamities and Crimes, which existed at the time praised, but which now exist no more. A true Estimate can never be formed, but in consequence of such a Comparison; for if we drop the laudable, and allege only the bad, or drop the bad, and allege only the laudable, there is no Age, whatever its real character, but may be made to pass at pleasure either for a good one, or a bad one.

If I may be permitted in this place to add an observation, it shall be an observation founded upon many years experience. I have often heard Declamations against the present Race of Men; Declamations against them, as if they were the worst of animals; treacherous, false, selfish, envious, oppressive, tyrannical, &c. &c. This (I say) I have often heard from grave Declaimers, and have heard the Sentiment delivered
delivered with a kind of Oracular Pomp.—Yet I never heard any such Declaimer say (what would have been sincere at least, if it had been nothing more) "I prove " my assertion by an example, where I " cannot err; I assert myself to be the " Wretch, I have been just describing."

So far from this, it would be perhaps dangerous to ask him, even in a gentle whisper — *You have been talking, with much Confidence, about certain profligate Beings.—Are you certain, that you yourself are not one of the number?*

I hope I may be pardoned for the following Anecdote, altho' compelled in relating it, to make myself a party.

" Sitting once in my Library with a " friend, a worthy but melancholy man, " I read him out of a Book the following " passage—

" In
"In our time it may be spoken more truly than of old, that Virtue is gone; the Church is under foot; the Clergy is in error; the Devil reigneth, &c. &c. My Friend interrupted me with a sigh, and said, Alas! how true! How just a picture of the Times!—I asked him, of what Times?—Of what Times, replied he with emotion, can you suppose any other, but the Present? Were any before ever so bad, so corrupt, so &c.?—Forgive me (said I) for flogging you—the Times, I am reading of, are older than you imagine; the Sentiment was delivered above four hundred years ago; its Author Sir John Mandeville, who died in 1371."

* See this Writer’s own Preface, p. 10, in the large Octavo English Edition of his Travels, published at London, in 1727. See also of these Philolog. Inquiries, p. 485.
As Man is by nature a social Animal, Good Humour seems an ingredient highly necessary to his character. 'Tis the Salt, which gives a seasoning to the Feast of Life; and which, if it be wanting, surely renders the Feast incomplete. Many Causes contribute to impair this amiable Quality, and nothing perhaps more, than bad Opinions of Mankind. Bad Opinions of Mankind naturally lead us to Misanthropy. If these bad opinions go farther, and are applied to the Universe, then they lead to something worse, for they lead to Atheism. The melancholy and morose Character being thus insensibly formed, Morals and Piety sink of course; for what Equals have we to love, or what Superior have we to revere, when we have no other objects left, than those of Hatred, or of Terror?*

* Misanthropy is so dangerous a thing, and goes so far in fapping the very foundations of Morality.
It should seem then expedient if we value our better Principles, nay, if we value our own Happiness, to withstand such dreary Sentiments. 'Twas the advice of a wise Man—"Say not Thou, what is the Cause, that the Former Days were better than these? For thou

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P. III. ty and Religion, that I esteem the last part of Swift's Gulliver (that I mean relative to his Houyhnhns and Yahoos) to be a worse Book to peruse, than those which we forbid, as the most flagitious and obscene.

One absurdity in this Author (a wretched Philosopher, tho' a great Wit) is well worth remarking—in order to render the Nature of Man odious, and the Nature of Beasts amiable, he is compelled to give Human Characters to his Beasts, and Beastly Characters to his Men—so that we are to admire the Beasts, not for being Beasts, but amiable Men; and to detest the Men, not for being Men, but detestable Beasts.

Whoever has been reading this unnatural Filth, let him turn for a moment to a Spectator of Addison, and observe the Philanthropy of that Classical Writer; I may add the superior Purity of his Diction and his Wit.

DOST
Dost not inquire wisely concerning this*. 

Things Present make Impressions amazingly superior to things Remote; so that, in objects of every kind, we are easily mistaken as to their comparative Magnitude. Upon the Canvas of the same Picture a near Sparrow occupies the space of a distant Eagle; a near Mole-hill, that of a distant Mountain. In the perpetration of Crimes, there are few persons, I believe, who would not be more shocked at actually seeing a single man assassinated (even taking away the Idea of personal danger) than they would be shocked in reading the Massacre of Paris.

The Wise Man, just quoted, wishes to save us from these Errors. He has already informed us—The thing, that hath been, is that, which shall be; and

* Ecclesiastes, Chap. vii. v. io.
There is no new thing under the Sun. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us. — He then subjoins the Cause of this apparent Novelty — things past, when they return, appear new, if they are forgotten; and things present will appear so, should they too be forgotten, when they return*.

This Forgetfulness of what is similar in Events which return (for in every returning Event such Similarity exists) is the Forgetfulness of a Mind uninstructed and weak; a Mind ignorant of that great, that Providential Circulation, which never ceases for a moment thro' every part of the Universe.

* See of the same Ecclesiastes, chap. the first, v. 9, and chap. the second, v. 16.
It is not like that Forgetfulness, which I once remember in a man of Letters, who, when at the conclusion of a long life, he found his Memory began to fail, said cheerfully—"Now I shall have a pleasure, I could not have before; that of reading my old Books, and finding them all new."

There was in this Consolation something philosophical and pleasing. And yet perhaps 'tis a higher Philosophy (could we attain it) not to forget the Past; but in Contemplation of the Past to view the Future, so that we may say on the worst Prospects, with a becoming Resignation, what Eneas said of old to the Cumean Prophetess,

—Virgin, no Scenes of Ill
To me or new, or unexpected rise;
I've seen 'em all; have seen, and long before
Within myself revolv'd 'em in my mind*.

* Æn. VI. 103, 104, 105.
In such a Conduct, if well founded, there is not only Fortitude, but Piety: Fortitude, which never sinks, from a conscious Integrity; and Piety, which never resists, by referring all to the Divine Will.

But left such Speculation, by carrying me above my subject, should expose a Writer upon Criticism to be himself criticized, I shall here conclude these Philological Inquiries.

THE END.
APPENDIX

OF

DIFFERENT PIECES.

The First, containing an Account of the Arabic Manuscripts, belonging to the Escorial Library in Spain.

The Second, containing an Account of the Manuscripts of Livy in the same Library.

The Third, containing an Account of the Manuscripts of Cebes, in the Library of the King of France, at Paris.

The Fourth, containing some Account of Literature in Russia, and of its Progress towards being civilized.
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PART THE FIRST.

An Account of the Arabic Manuscripts, belonging to the Escorial Library in Spain.

This Account is extracted from two fair Folio Volumes, to the First of which Volumes the Title is conceived in the following words.


Tomus Prior.

Matriti.

Antonius Perez de Soto imprimebat
Anno MDCLX.

This Catalogue is particularly valuable, because not only each Manuscript is enumerated, but its Age also and Author (when known) are given, together with large Extracts upon occasion, both in the original Arabic, and in Latin.
From the first Volume it appears that the Arabians cultivated every species of Philosophy and Philology, as also (according to their Systems) Jurisprudence and Theology.

They were peculiarly fond of Poetry, and paid great honours to those, whom they esteemed good Poets. Their earliest Writers were of this sort, some of whom (and those much admired) flourished many centuries before the time of Mahomet.

The study of their Poets led them to the Art of Criticism, whence we find in the above Catalogue, not only a multitude of Poems, but many works upon Composition, Metre, &c.

We find in the same Catalogue Translations of Aristotle and Plato, together with their Lives; as also Translations of their best Greek Commentators, such as Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Philoponus, and others. We find also Comments of their own, and original Pieces, formed on the Principles of the above Philosophers.

There too may be found Translations of Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius Pergæus, and the other ancient Mathematicians, together with their Greek Commentators, and many original Pieces of their own upon the same Mathematical subjects. In the Arithmetical Part they are said to follow Diophantus, from whom they learnt that Algebra,
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Gebra, of which they are erroneously thought to have been the Inventors.

There we may find also the works of Ptolemy translated, and many original Treatises of their own upon the subject of Astronomy.

It appears too, that they Studied with care the important Subject of Agriculture. One large Work in particular is mentioned, composed by a Spanish Arabian, where every mode of Culture, and every species of Vegetable is treated; Pasture, Arable, Trees, Shrubs, Flowers, &c. By this work may be perceived (as the Editor well observes) how much better Spain was cultivated in those times; and that some species of Vegetables were then found there, which are now lost.

Here are many Tracts on the various Parts of Jurisprudence; some ancient Copies of the Alcoran; innumerable Commentaries on it; together with Books of Prayer, Books of Devotion, Sermons, &c.

Among their Theological Works, there are some upon the Principles of the Mystic Divinity; and among their Philosophical, some upon the Subject of Talismans, Divination and Judicial Astrology.

The first Volume, of which we have been speaking, is elegantly printed, and has a learned Preface.
face prefixed by the Editor, wherein he relates what he has done, together with the assistance he has received, as well from the Crown of Spain and its Ministers, as from learned Men.

He mentions a fatal Fire, which happened at the Escorial, in the year 1670; when above three thousand of these valuable Manuscripts were destroyed. He has in this Volume given an account of about fourteen hundred.

The Second Volume of this valuable Work, which bears the same Title with the First, was published at Madrid, ten years after it, in the year 1770.

It contains chiefly the Arabian Chronologers, Travellers, and Historians; and, tho' national partiality may be sometimes suspected, yet, as these are accounts given us by the Spanish Arabians themselves, there are many Incidents preserved, which other writers could not know; Incidents respecting not only the Successions, and the Characters of the Arabic-Spanish Princes, but the Country and its Productions, together with the Manners, and the Literature of its then Inhabitants.

Nor are the Incidents in these Volumes confined to Spain only, many of them relate to other Countries, such as the Growth of Sugar in Egypt; the Invention of Paper there (of which material there are Manuscripts in the Escorial Library of the year 1180); the use of Gunpowder, carried not only to the beginning of the fourteenth Century, but even so far back (if we
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we can believe it) as to the seventh Century; the Description of Mecca; the Antiquity of the Arabic Language, and the practice of their most ancient Authors, to write in verse; their Year, Months, Weeks, and Method of Computation; their Love for Poetry, and Rhetoric, &c.

Great Heroes are recorded to have flourished among them, such as Abdelrahmanus, and Abi Amer Almoapheri.

Abdelrahmanus lived in the beginning of the tenth Century, and Abi Amer Almoapheri at its latter end. The first, having subdued innumerable Fractions and Seditions, reigned at Corduba with reputation for fifty years, famed for his love of Letters, and his upright administration of Justice. The second, undertaking the tuition of a young Prince (who was a minor, named Hicham) and having restored Peace to a turbid Kingdom, turned his Arms so successfully against its numerous Invaders, that he acquired the honourable name of Almanzor, that is, the Defender. (See Vol. 2d of this Catalogue, pages 37, 49, 50.)

Arabian Spain had too its Men of Letters, and those in great numbers; some, whose Fame was so extensive, that even Christians came to hear them from remote Regions of Europe. But this has been already mentioned, p. 394, 395, of these Inquiries.

Public Libraries (not less than seventy) were established thro' the Country; and noble Benefactions

they
they were to the Cause of Letters, at a time when Books, by being Manuscripts, were so costly an Article, that few Scholars were equal to the expence of a Collection.

To the Subjects, already treated, were added the Lives of their famous Women; that is, of Women who had been famous for their Literature and Genius.

'Tis somewhat strange, when we read these accounts, to hear it asserted, that the Religion of these people was hostile to Literature, and this Assertion founded on no better reason, than that the Turks, their successors, by being barbarous and ignorant, had little value for accomplishments, of which they knew nothing.

These Spanish Arabians also, like their Ancestors in the East, were great Horsemen, and particularly fond of Horses. Accounts are preserved both of Horses and Camels; also of their Coin; of the two Races of Caliphs, the Ommiadae, and the Abugadda; of the first Arabic Conqueror of Spain, and the Conditions of Toleration granted to the Christians, whom he had conquered.

It farther appears from these Arabic Works, that not only Sugar, but Silk was known and cultivated in Spain. We read a beautiful Description of Grenada, and its Environs; as also Epitaphs of different kinds; some of them approaching to Attic Elegance.
When that pleasing Liquor Coffee was first introduced among them, a Scruple arose among the Devout (perhaps from feeling its exhilarating Quality), whether it was not forbidden by the Alcoran, under the article of Wine. A Council of Mahometan Divines was held upon the occasion, and the Council luckily decreed for the Legality of its use. (See Vol. 2d of this Catalogue, p. 172, 173.)

The Concessions made by the Arabian Conqueror of Spain to the Gothic Prince, whom he subdued, is a striking Picture of his Lenity and Tolerance. He neither deposed the Gothic Prince, nor plundered his People, but, on payment of a moderate Tribute, stipulated not to deprive them either of their Lives or Property, and gave them also their Churches, and a Toleration for their Religion. See this curious Treaty, which was made about the year 712 of the Christian Era, in the second Vol. of this Catalogue, p. 106.

When the Posterity of these Conquerors came in their turn to be conquered, (an Event, which happened many Centuries afterward) they did not experience that Indulgence, which had been granted by their Forefathers.

The conquered Moors (as they were then called) were expelled by thousands; or, if they ventured to stay, were exposed to the Carnage of a merciless Inquisition—

   — pueri, innuptaeque puellae,  
IMPOSITIQUE REGIS JUVENES ANTE ORA PARENTUM.
It appears that many of these Arabic-Spanish Princes were men of amiable Manners, and great Encouragers both of Arts and Letters, while others, on the contrary, were tyrannic, cruel, and sanguinary.

There were usually many Kingdoms existing at the same time, and these on every occasion embroiled one with another; not to mention much internal Sedition in each particular state.

Like their Eastern Ancestors, they appear not to have shared the smallest Sentiment of Civil Liberty; the difference as to good and bad Government seeming to have been wholly derived, according to them, from the Worth or Pravity of the Prince, who governed. See p. 385 of these Inquiries.

The Reader will observe, that the Pages referring to Facts, in the two Historical Volumes of these Manuscripts, are but seldom given, because whoever possesses those Volumes (and without them any Reference would be useless) may easily find every Fact, by referring to the copious and useful Index, subjoined to the second Volume, which Index goes to the whole Work.
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PART THE SECOND.

Concerning the Manuscripts of Livy, in the Escorial Library.

It having been often asserted, that an entire and complete copy of Livy was extant in the Escorial Library, I requested my son, in the year 1771 (he being at that time Minister Penipotentary to the Court of Madrid), to inquire for me, what Manuscripts of that Author were there to be found.

He procured me the following accurate detail from a learned Ecclesiastic, Don Juan de Pellegeros, Canon of Lerma, employed by Monfr. De Santander, his Catholic Majesty's Librarian, to inspect for this purpose the Manuscripts of that valuable Library.

The Detail was in Spanish, of which the following is a Translation.

Among the MSS. of the Escorial Library are the following Works of T. Livy.

1st. Three large volumes, which contain so many Decads, the 1st, 3d, and 4th (one Decad in each Volume) curiously written on Parchment, or fine Velum, by Pedro de Middleburgh, or of Zeeland (as he titles himself).
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The Books are truly magnificent, and in the Title and Initials curiously illuminated. They bear the Arms of the House of Borgia, with a Cardinal's Cap, whence it appears that they belonged either to Pope Callixtus the third, or to Alexander the sixth, when Cardinals.

2d. TWO OTHER VOLUMES, written by the same Hand, one of the first Decad, the other of the third; of the same size, and beauty, as the former. Both have the same Arms, and in the last is a Note, which recites: This Book belongs to D. Juan de Forseca, Bishop of Burgos.

3d. ANOTHER VOLUME OF THE SAME SIZE, and something more antient, than the former (being of the beginning of the fifteenth Century) containing the third Decad entire. This is also well written on Parchment, tho' not so valuable as the former.

4th. ANOTHER OF THE FIRST DECAD, finely written on Vellum. At the end is written as follows—Ex centum voluminibus, qua ego indies vita mea magnis laboribus habellus scripsiisse memini, hos duos Titi Livii libros Anno Dom. 1441. Ego Johannes Andreas de Colonia feliciter, gratia Dei, absolvi—and at the end of each book—Emendavi Nico machus Fabianus.

In the last leaf of this Book is a Fragment either of Livy himself, or of some Pen, capable of imitating him. It fills the whole leaf, and the Writer says, it was in the Copy, from which he transcribed. It appears to be
be a Fragment of the latter times of the second Punic War.

5th. Another large Volume in Parchment, well written, of the same Century, viz the fifteenth containing three Decads—1. De U·bis initus. 2. De Bello Punico. 3. De Bello Macedonico. In this last Decad is wanting a part of the Book. This Volume is much esteemed, being full of Notes and various Readings, in the hand of Hieronimo Zunita, its former possessor.

6th. Another very valuable Volume, containing the first Decad, equal to the former in the elegance of its Writing and Ornaments. This also belonged to Hieronimo Zunita; the age the same.

7th. Lastly, there is another of the first Decad also, written on Paper, at the beginning of the fifteenth Century. This contains nothing remarkable.

In all, there are ten Volumes, and all nearly of the same age.

Here ends the Account of the Escorial Manuscripts, given us by this learned Spaniard, in which Manuscripts we see there appears no part of Livy, but what was printed in the early Editions.

The other Parts of this Author, which Parts none of the Manuscripts here recited give us, were discovered and printed afterwards.
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As to the Fragment mentioned in the fourth article, (all of which Fragment is there transcribed) it has, tho' genuine, no peculiar rarity, as it is to be found in all the latter printed Editions. See particularly in Crevier's Edition of Livy, Paris, 1736, Tome 2d, pages 716, 717, 718, beginning with the words Raro simul hominibus, and ending with the words increpatis risum esse, which is the whole Extent of the Fragment here exhibited.

From this Detail it is evident, that no Intire Copy of Livy is extant in the Escurial Library.
APPENDIX.

PART THE THIRD.

GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF CEBES, IN THE LIBRARY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

THE PICTURE OF CEBES, one of the most elegant Moral Allegories of Grecian Antiquity, is so far connected with the middle Age, that the ingenious Arabians of that time thought it worth translating into Arabic.

It was also translated from Greek into Latin by Ludovicus Odaxius, a learned Italian, soon after Greek Literature revived there, and was published in the year 1497.

After this it was often printed, sometimes in Greek alone, sometimes accompanied with more modern Latin Versions. But the Misfortune was, that the Greek Manuscripts, from which the Editors printed, (that of Odaxius alone excepted) were all of them defective in their End or Conclusion. And hence it followed that this Work for many years was published, Edition after Edition, in this defective manner.

Had its End been lost, we might have lamented it, as we lament other losses of the same kind. But in the present case, to the shame of Editors, we have the End preserved, and that not only in the Arabic Paraphrase, and the old Latin Translation of Odaxius; but, what is more, even in the original Text, as it stands
stands in two excellent Manuscripts of the King of France's Library.

From these MSS it was published in a neat 12mo. Edition of Cebes, by James Gronovius, in the year 1689; and after him by the diligent and accurate Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Graeca, Tom. I. p. 834, 835; and, after Fabricius, in a small octavo Edition, by Thomas Johnson, A. M. printed at London, in the year 1720.

Whoever reads the Conclusion of this Treatise will find sufficient internal Evidence to convince him of its Authenticity, both from the purity of the Language, and the Truth, as well as Connection of the Sentiment.

However, the Manuscript authority resting on nothing better than the perplexed account of that most obscure and affected writer, James Gronovius, I procured a search to be made in the Royal Library at Paris, if such Manuscripts were there to be found.

Upon Inspection of no less than four Manuscripts of Cebes, preserved in that valuable Library, No. 858, 2992, 1001, 1774, it appeared that in the second, and in the third, the End of Cebes was perfect and entire, after the manner in which it stands in the printed Editions above mentioned.
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The End of this short Essay is to prove, that the 
Genuiness of the Conclusion thus restored does not rest 
merely on such authority, as that of James Gronovius, 
(for Fabricius and Johnson only follow Him) but on the 
authority of the best Manuscripts, actually inspected for the 
purpose.
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PART THE FOURTH.

Some Account of Literature in Russia, and of its Progress towards being Civilized.

The vast Empire of Russia, extending far into the North, both in Europe and Asia, 'tis no wonder that, in such a Country, its Inhabitants should have remained so long uncivilized. For Culture of the finer Arts it is necessary there should be comfortable Leisure. But how could such Leisure be found in a Country, where every one had enough to do, to support his family, and to resist the Rigour of an uncomfortable Climate? Besides this, to make the finer Arts flourish, there must be Imagination; and Imagination must be enlivened by the Contemplation of pleasing Objects; and that Contemplation must be performed in a manner easy to the Contemplator. Now, who can contemplate with ease, where the Thermometer is often many degrees below the freezing point? Or what object can he find worth contemplating for those many long months, when all the Water is Ice, and all the Land covered with Snow?

If then the Difficulties were so great, how great must have been the Praise of those Princes and Legislators, who dared attempt to polish mankind in so un-
unpromising a Region, and who have been able, by their perseverance, in some degree to accomplish it?

Those, who on this occasion bestow the highest praises upon Peter the Great, praise him, without doubt, as he justly deserves. But if they would refer the Beginning of this work to Him, and much more its Completion, they are certainly under a mistake.

As long ago as the time of our Edward the 6th, Ivan Basilowitz adopted Principles of Commerce, and granted peculiar privileges to the English, on their discovery of a Navigation to Archangel.

A sad scene of sanguinary Confusion followed from this period to the year 1612, when a Deliverer arose, Prince Pajanky. He, by unparalleled fortitude, having routed all the Tyrants and Impostors of the time, was by the Bojars or Magnates unanimously elected Czar. But this Honor He, with a most disinterested magnanimity, declined for himself, and pointed out to them Michael Fædorowitz, of the house of Romanoff, and by his mother’s side descend- ed from the antient Czars.

From this period we may date the first appearances of a real Civilizing, and a Development of the Wealth and Power of the Russian Empire. Michael reigned thirty-three years. By his wisdom, and the mildness of his character, he restored Ease and Tran- quility to subjects, who had been long deprived of

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those inestimable Blessings—he encouraged them to Industry, and gave them an example of the most laudable behaviour.

His son Alexius Michaelowitz was superior to his Father in the Art of Governing and found Politics. He promoted Agriculture; introduced into his Empire Arts and Sciences, of which he was himself a lover; published a Code of Laws, still used in the Administration of Justice; and greatly improved his Army, by mending its discipline. This he effected chiefly by the help of Strangers, most of whom were Scotch. Leffey, Gordon, and Ker, are the Names of Families still existing in this Country.

Theodore or Fedor succeeded his Father in 1677. He was of a gentle Disposition, and weak Constitution; fond of Pomp and Magnificence, and in satisfying this passion contributed to polish his subjects by the introduction of foreign Manufactures, and Articles of Elegance, which they soon began to adopt and imitate. His delight was in Horses, and he did his country a real service in the beginning and establishing of those fine breeds of them in the Ukraine, and elsewhere. Hereigned seven years, and having on his deathbed called his Bojars round him, in the presence of his Brother and Sister, Ivan and Sophia, and of his half Brother Peter, said to them; "Hear my last sentiments; they are dictated by my love for the state, and by my affection for my people—the bodily Infirmities of Ivan necessarily must affect his mental Faculties—he is incapable of ruling a Dominion like
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"like that of Russia—he cannot take it amiss, if I re-
commend to you to set him aside, and to let your appro-
bation fall on Peter, who to a robust Consti-
tution joins great strength of Mind, and
marks of a superior understanding."

Theodore dying in 1682, Peter became Emperor,
and his brother Ivan remained contented. But So-
phia, Ivan's sister, a Woman of great Ambition,
could not bring herself to submit.

The Troubles, which ensued; the imminent
Dangers, which Peter escaped; his Abolition of that
turbulent and seditious Soldiery, called the Strelitz; the
Confinement of his half-sisterSophia to a Monastery;
all these were important Events, which left Peter
in the year 1689 with no other competitor, than the
mild and easy Ivan; who, dying not many years
after, left him sole Monarch of all the Rus-
sias.

The Acts at home and abroad, in Peace and in
War, of this stupendus and elevated Genius, are too
well known to be repeated by me. Peter adorned
his Country with Arts, and raised its Glory by Arms;
he created a respectable Marine; founded St. Peters-
burgh, a new Capital, and that from the very ground;
rendering it withal one of the first Cities in Europe for
Beauty and Elegance.

To encourage Letters he formed Academies, and
invited foreign Professors not only to Petersburgh

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(his new City) but to his antient Capital Moscow; at both which places these Proffessors were maintained with liberal Penfions.

As a few Specimens of Literature from both these Cities have recently come to my hand, I shall endeavour to enumerate them, as I think it relative to my subject.


3. Lectiones Mosquenses, in two Volumes, 8vo. bound together, and printed at Leipſic, an. 1779— they contain various Readings in different Authors, and some entire pieces, all in Greek, collected from the Libraries of Moscow, and published by the same learned Editor.

4. Isocratis, Demetrii Cyd. et Michaelis Glycae aliquot Epiftolae, nec non Dion. Chrysostomi Oratio—Græc.—Typis Universitatis Caefareae Mosquensis—8vo.—By the same learned Editor.

5. Glo-
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5. Glossaria Graeca minora, et alia Anecdota Graeca—a Work, consisting of two Parts, contained under one Volume, in a thin Quarto, by the same able Professor, printed at Moscow by the University Types, in the years 1774 and 1775. A Catalogue of the several pieces in both Parts is subjoined to the end of the second Part—Among the Pieces in the first Part are, Excerpta ex Grammatica Niceph. Gregoriae; ex Glossario Cyrilli Alexandrini; Glossarium in Epistolae Pauli; Nomina Menfium;—those of the 2d Part are chiefly Theological.


This Publication, on a large Folio Paper, is as yet incomplete, only sixty Pages being printed off. It ends, Partis primae Sectionis prae Finis.

7. An Ode to the present Empress, Catharine, in ancient Greek and Russian.

8. An Ode on the Birth-day of Constantine, second son to the Grand Duke, in ancient Greek and Russian—printed at Petersburgh, and as we learn from the Title, i.e. Αι Αυξαναστική Ακαδημία των Επιστημών, in the Imperial Academy of Sciences.
9. An Ode to Prince Potemkin, antient Greek and Russian, and printed (as before) an. 1780.

10. An Ode, consisting of Strophe, Anti-strophe, and Epode, antient Greek and Russian, made in 1779, in honour of the Empress, the Great Duke and Duchess, and Alexander and Constantine, their two Sons, Grandsons to the Empress.

This Ode was sung in the Original Greek by a large number of Voices, before a numerous and splendid Court in one of the Imperial Palaces.

As I have a Copy of this Music, I cannot omit observing, that it is a genuine Exemplar of the Antient Antiphona, so well known to the Church in very remote ages. On this Plan two complete Choruses (each consisting of Trebles, Counters, Tenors, and Bases) sing against each other, and reciprocally answer; then unite all of them; then separate again, returning to the alternate Response, till the Whole at length concludes in one general Chorus. The Music of this Ode may be called purely Vocal, having no other accompaniment but that of an Organ.

The Composer was no less a man than the celebrated Paisiello, so well known at present, and so much admired, both in Italy and elsewhere, for Music of a very different Character, I mean his truly natural, and pleasing Burlettas.

Those,
APPENDIX.

Those, who are curious to know more of this Species of Music, may consult the valuable Glossary of Spelman, under the word Antiphona, and the ingenious Musical Dictionary of Rousseau, under the Word Antienne.

11. A short Copy of Greek Elegiac Verses, printed at Petersburgh, in the year 1780, and addresed to Prince Potemkin, with this singular Title,

Επίγερσμα ἐπὶ τῆς εὐμοδίας ἣ ἠχυμοσύνη Γοργοφιορίας, τῶς κηνοτήτως Μασκαράδως καλυμμένης, ἐν Χ. Τ. Λ.

Thus Englished—A Poem, on the splendid and delightful Festivity, where they wear Gorgonian Visors; more commonly called a Masquerade; which Prince Potemkin celebrated &c. &c.

A better Word to denote a Masquerade could hardly have been invented, than the Word here employed, Γοργειοφίξις. In attempting to translate it, that I might express one Word, I have been compelled to use many.

12. A Translation of Virgil's Georgics from the Latin Hexameters into Greek Hexameters, by the celebrated Eugenius, famous for his Treatise of Logic, published a few years since in ancient Greek at Leipsic. He was made an Archbishop, but chose to resign his dignity. He is now carrying on this Translation under the protection of Prince Potemkin, but...
APPENDIX:

has as yet gone no farther, than to the end of the First Georgic.

The Work is printed on a large Folio Paper, having the Original on one side, and the Translation on the other. Copious Notes in Greek are at the bottom of the several Pages.

Take a short Specimen of the Performance.

"Continu, ventis surgentibus, aut freta ponti
Incipient agitata tumescere, et aridus athis
Montibus audiri frager; aut resonantia longe
Littora misceri, et nemorum increbrescere murm."

Geor. I. 356.

Of these various printed Works, the first six were sent me by the learned Scholar above mentioned, Christianus Fridericus Matthaei, from Moscow; the last six I had the honour to receive from Prince Potemkin at Peterburgh.

Besides the Printed Books, the learned Professor at Moscow sent me a curious Latin Narrative in Manuscript.
In it he gives an account of a fine Manuscript of Strabo, belonging to the Ecclesiastical Library at Moscow—He informs me, this MS. is in Folio; contains 427 Leaves; is beautifully written by one, whom he calls a learned and diligent scribe, at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth Century; and came, as appears by a memorandum in the Manuscript, from the celebrated Greek Monastery at Mount Athos.

He adds (which is worth attention) that almost all the Greek Manuscripts, which are now preserved at Moscow, were originally brought thither from this Monastery; and that, in the last Century, by order of the Emperor Alexius Michaelowitz, and the Patriarch Nico, by means of the Monk Arsenius. So early in this Country did a Gleam of Literature shew itself.

He strongly denies the Fact, that there is any other MS. of Strabo besides this either at Moscow, or at Petersburg.

Of the present MS. he has been so kind as to send me Collations, taken from the first and second Book.

After this he mentions the unpublished Hymn of Homer upon Ceres, and the Fragment of another by the same Poet upon Bacchus; both of which, since I heard from him, have been published by Runkenius at Leyden, to whom my Correspondent had sent them from the Moscowan Library.
He has been generous enough to send me Copies of all the Books he has published, for which valuable Donation I take this public opportunity of making my grateful acknowledgments.

With regard to all the Publications here mentioned, it is to be observed, that those from Petersburgh are said to be printed in the Imperial Academy of Sciences; those from Moscow, by the Types of the Imperial University; each Place by its file indicating its Establishment.

In justice to my Son, his Majesty's Minister to the Court of Russia, it is incumbent upon me to say, that all this Information, and all these Literary Treasures have been procured for me by his Help, and thro' his Interest.

I must not conclude without observing (tho' perhaps it may be a Repetition) that the Efforts to Civilize this country did not begin from Peter the Great, but were much older. A small Glimmering, like the first Day-break, was seen under Czar Iwan, in the middle of the sixteenth Century.

This Dawn of Civilizing became more conspicuous a Century afterwards, under Czar Alexius Michaelowitz; of whom, as well as of his son Theodore or Fædor we have spoken already.

But under the Great Peter it burst forth, with all the splendor of a Rising Sun, and (if I may be
be permitted to continue my Metaphor) has continued ever since to ascend towards its Meridian.

More than fifty years have past since the Death of Peter; during which period, with very little exception, this vast Empire has been governed by Female Sovereigns only. All of them have pursued more or less the Plan of their great Predecessor, and none of them more, than the illustrious Princess, who now reigns.

And so much for Literature in Russia, and for its Progress towards being civilized.
ADVERTISEMENT.

It was proposed, as mentioned in p. 41 of this Work, to have joined a few Notes to the Pieces contained in the preceding Appendix; but, the Work growing larger than was expected, the Notes, as not being essentially Parts of it, have been omitted.

One Omission however we beg to supply, because it has happened thro' Inadvertence. Besides the Arabic Translations from the Greek, mentioned in the Appendix, Part the First, there are also Translations of Hippocrates, Galen, and the old Greek Physicians, whom the Arabians, as they translated, illustrated with Comments, and upon whose Doctrines they formed many Compositions of their own, having been remarkably famous for their Study and Knowledge of Medicine.
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We here repeat, what we have said already, that the two Capital Letters, A and B, which occur in this Index, denote the two Volumes: for example. A 112, denotes page 112, of the former Volume; B 337, denotes page 337 of the latter Volume; and so, in other instances.

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