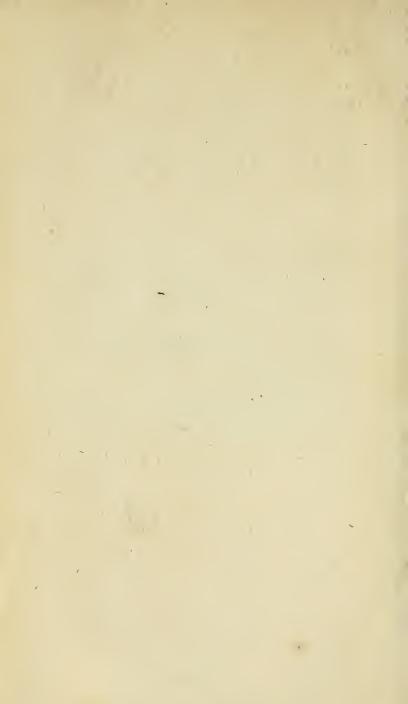


# MILHEUGH.

Ulrich Middeldorf





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# A VIEW OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN ITALY:

John Held day

WITH

ANECDOTES relating to fome EMINENT CHARACTERS.

#### BY JOHN MOORE, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque Quadrigis petimus bene vivere. Quod petis, hic eft. Hor.

#### LONDON:

Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand. MDCCLXXXI,



# ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following observations on Italy, and on Italian manners, occurred in the course of the fame Tour in which those contained in a book lately published, entitled A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany, were made. All who have read that book will perceive, at first fight, that the present work is a continuation of the former; but to those who have not, it was thought neceffary to account for the abrupt manner in which the following Letters begin.

> Clarges-freet, December 14, 1780.

# Just Published,

A NEW EDITION OF

A VIEW of SOCIETY and MANNERS in FRANCE, SWITZERLAND, and GERMANY; with ANECDOTES relating to fome EMINENT CHARACTERS. In Two Volumes. Price 105. in Boards.

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## A VIEW

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A

VIEW of SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN ITALY.

## LETTER I.

DEAR SIR,

Venice.

AVING left Vienna, we proceed-H H ed through the Duchies of Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to Venice. Notwithfianding the mountainous nature of those countries, the roads are remarkably good. They were formed originally at a vaft expence of labour to the inhabitants, but in fuch a durable manner, that it re-Vol. I. B quires

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quires no great trouble to keep them in repair, to which all neceffary attention feems to be paid. Some of the mountains are covered with wood, but more generally they are quite bare. Among them are many fields and vallies, fit for paflurage and the cultivation of grain; a few of thefe vallies are remarkably fertile, particularly in the Duchy of Carniola. The bowels of the earth abound in lead, copper, and iron. Stirian fteel is reckoned excellent; and the little town of Idra, in Carniola, is famous for the quickfilver mines in its neighbourhood.

It has been a matter of controverfy among the learned (for the learned difpute about many things which the ignorant think of little importance), by what road the original inhabitants came, who firft peopled Italy? And it has been decided by fome, that they muft have entered by this very country of Carniola. Thefe gentlemen

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men lay it down as an axiom, that the first inhabitants of every country in the world, that is not an island, must have come by land, and not by fea, on account of the ignorance of the early inhabitants of the earth in the art of navigation; but Italy being a peninfula, the only way to enter it by land, is at fome part of the ifthmus by which it is joined to the reft of Europe. The Alps form great part of that ifthmus, and, in the early ages, would exclude ftrangers as effectually as the fea. The eafieft, fhorteft, and only poffible way of avoiding feas and mountains, in entering Italy, is by the Duchy of Carniola and Friuli. Ergo, they came that way. Q. E. D.

In contradiction to the preceding demonftration, others affert, that the first inhabitants came in ships from Greece; and others have had the boldness to affirm, that Italy had as good a right as any other B 2 country

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country to have inhabitants of its own original production, without being obliged to any vagrants whatever.

I thought it right to give you the opinion of the learned on this country, becaufe it is not in my power to defcribe it from my own obfervation; for we paffed through those Duchies with a rapidity which baffles all *defcription*.

The inns are as bad as the roads are good; for which reafon we chofe to fleep on the latter rather than in the former, and actually travelled five days and nights, without flopping any longer than was neceffary to change horfes.

This method of travelling, however agreeable and improving it may be in other respects, is by no means calculated to give one the most perfect and lasting idea of the face of a country, or of the manners and

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and characters of the inhabitants; and therefore I hope you will not infift upon an exact account of either.

Among other curiofities which our uninterrupted and expeditious movement prevented us from observing with due attention, was the town of Gratz, the capital of Stiria, through which we unfortunately paffed in the middle of the night.

I did not regret this on account of the regularity of the fireets, the venerable afpect of the churches, the fublime fite of the caftle, and other things which we had heard extolled; but folely becaufe we had not an opportunity of vifiting the fhrine of St. Allan, a native of England, who formerly was a Dominican Monk of a convent in this town, and in high favour with the Virgin Mary, of which fhe gave him fome proofs as firong as they were extraordinary. Amongft other marks of

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her regard, fhe used to comfort him with milk from her breafts. This, to be fure, is a mark of affection feldom bestowed upon favourites above a year old, and will, I dare fay, furprife you a good deal. There is no great danger, however, that an example of this kind fhould fpread among virgins. Of the fact in the prefent inftance there can be no doubt; for it is recorded in an infcription underneath a portrait of the Saint, which is carefully preferved in the Dominican convent of this city. We continued our journey, in the full refolution of reaching Venice before we indulged in any other bed than the post-chaile; but were obliged to ftop fhort on a fudden for want of horfes, at a fmall town called Wipach, bordering on the county of Goritia, in Carniola.

Before fetting out from Vienna, we had been informed, that the Archduke and his Princels were about to return to Milan; for

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for which reafon we thought it advifeable to remain at Vienna eight days after their departure, to avoid the inconveniencies which might arife from a deficiency of post-horfes on fuch an unfrequented road.

Having taken our measures with so much forefight, we little expected, when we actually did set out, to meet with any delay in our progress.

The Archduke and his Duchefs, however, had thought proper to go out of the direct road as far as Triefte, to view the late improvements of that town, whofe commerce is greatly encouraged and protected by the Emperor; and remaining there a few days, all the poft-horfes which had been affembled to carry them to Triefte, were kept in the poft-houfes for their ufe; confequently we found none at Wipach. It began to grow dark when we arrived; the Poft-mafter was fmoking his

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pipe at the door. As foon as the chaife flopped, we called to him to get ready the horfes without lofs of time; for, I added, with a tone of importance, that we could not poffibly flay a moment. To this he replied coolly, that fince we were in fo very great a hurry, he fhould not attempt to detain us, but that he had no horfes to carry us on. I afked, how foon they could be got. He anfwered, when they returned from attending the Archduke; but whether that would be the next day, the following, or a day or two after, he could not tell.

It appeared a great hardfhip to be flopped fhort, fo unexpectedly, at a little paultry inn, and we agreed that nothing could have happened more unfortunately. After a few hafty ejaculations, which regarded the pofling eftablifhment, and the Lords of Police of this country, we refolved to make a virtue of neceffity, and bear our misfortunes with firmnefs and equanimity.

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As we flepped out of the chaife, I ordered the Poft-mafter, therefore, to get ready beds, a good fupper, and fome of his beft wine. Inftead of receiving these injunctions with marks of fatisfaction, as I expected, he answered without emotion, that he had no wine but for his own drinking; that he never gave fuppers to any but his own family; and that he had no bed, except that which he himself, his wife, and his child occupied, which could not easily hold any more than them three at a time.

I had not hitherto perceived that this man's houfe was not an inn: as foon as I was undeceived, I begged he would inform us where the inn was. He pointed with his pipe to a fmall houfe on the oppofite fide of the ftreet.

There we were told, that all the victuals in the houfe were already devoured—three or four guefis were in every fpare room the

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the family going to bed—and they could not poffibly receive any more company. We had nearly the fame account at another little inn, and an abfolute refufal at every houfe where we fued for admittance.

The town of Wipach is fo near Goritia, that no travellers, except those of the meanest kind, ever think of stopping at the former; and therefore the inhabitants have no idea of making preparations for other guests.

In this dilemma I returned to our Poftmafter, who was fill fmoking his pipe before the door. I informed him of our bad fuccefs, and, in a more foothing tone of voice than that in which I had formerly addreffed him, begged to know how we were to difpofe of ourfelves that night. He replied, with admirable composure, *that* was more than he could tell; but as the horfes were expected in a few days, if I 3 fhould

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fhould fend him word where we were to be found, he would take care to let us know the moment they fhould be ready: in the mean time, as it began to rain, and the evening was exceedingly cold, he wifhed us a very good night. So faying, he went into the houfe, flutting and bolting the door very carefully after him.

No philosopher, ancient or modern, ever fupported the diffress of others with more equanimity than this man.

We were now fully convinced, that to be under the neceffity of remaining all night at an inn, when they incline to proceed on their journey, is not the moft unfortunate thing that can befal travellers, and would have now been happy in that fituation which we had confidered with horror an hour or two before.

In this forlorn condition I turned to an Italian fervant of the Duke of H——-'s, a fhrewd

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a fhrewd fellow, who feldom wanted a refource in times of difficulty. He feemed, however, a little nonpluffed on the prefent emergency; he flood fhrugging his fhoulders, with his eyes fixed on the ground. At length, flarting as if he had that inftant awaked, he muttered, "Cent ore di maniconia non pangano un quattrino di debito," and then walked away with an air not to-.tally devoid of hope.

I attended him, without knowing upon what his expectations were founded. We came to a convent of Monks, and got admittance; the Italian called for the Superior, and told him, in a few words, our condition. The venerable old man heard him with an air of benevolence; he expressed forrow at the treatment we had received, and, defiring me to accompany him, faid he would endeavour to find us lodgings. He conducted us to a poor looking house, occupied by a widow and her children. As foon as the good Monk had mentioned our

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our cafe, fhe faid we fhould be most welcome to fuch entertainment as fhe could afford. We had an excellent fupper of four krout, and fallad. I fhall never forget it. I found her wine excellent, and her beds delightful; the good Monk feemed to enjoy the fatisfaction we expressed, and positively refused to accept of any other recompence for his trouble.

Had we found the most elegant inn, and the most luxurious supper at our arrival, we might possibly have spent the evening in repining at being disappointed in posthorses; but the dread of so small a misfortune as passing the night supperless in the fireets, reconciled us at once to the widow's hovel, and made us happy with her homely fare; so necessary is a certain portion of hardships or difficulties for giving a zeft to enjoyment. Without them, the comforts of life are apt to become inspind; and we see that the people who, inde-

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independent of any effort of their own, have every enjoyment at their command, are, perhaps, of all mankind, those who have the least enjoyment.

The widow, as we underftood in the morning, had fat up all night with her family, that we might be accommodated with beds. She had no reafon to repent her hofpitality. The poor woman's gratitude made her talk loudly of the D— of H——'s generofity; which coming to the ears of the Post-master, induced him to make an effort to get the chaifes dragged on to Goritia, without waiting the return of the post-horfes.

This was performed by three cart-horfes and two oxen, which were relieved in the most mountainous part of the road by buffalos. There is a breed of these animals in this country; they are strong, hardy, and docile, and found preferable to either horses horfes or oxen, for ploughing in a rough and hilly country.

MANNERS IN ITALY.

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When we arrived at Goritia, we found the inhabitants in their holiday dreffes, at the windows, and in the flreets, waiting with impatience for a fight of the Grand Duke and Duchefs. Having applied at the poft-houfe for horfes, we were informed that none could be granted, all being retained for the accommodation of his Highnefs. I could not help remarking to the D— of H——, that Dukes feemed to be in a very different predicament from prophets in their own countries.

Things turned out better than we had reafon to expect. Their Highneffes arrived in the evening; and as they did not propofe to leave Goritia till next morning, the Archduke had the politenefs to give orders that the D— of H—— fhould have what view OF SOCIETY AND what horfes he wanted from the pofthoufes.

We fet out immediately, and arrived at the next ftage between one and two in the morning. In that part of the world, raifing the people at midnight, and harneffing the horfes for two carriages, takes up, at leaft, as much time as driving two ftages in fome parts of England. Just as we were going out of the post-house court, the Archduke's butler and cook arrived; they were going forward, as usual, to prepare fupper,&c. at the inn where their Highneffes intended to lie. They knew that the horfes were all retained for their master, but had not heard of the particular order in fayour of the D- of H-----. Seeing ten horfes going to fet out, they exclaimed against the Post-master, and threatened him with the vengeance of the whole house of Austria through all its branches,

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branches, if he fhould permit a fingle horfe to leave the post-house till the Archduke and his fuite had passed.

The man, terrified with thefe threats, ordered the pofilions to difmount, and put up the horfes. This mandate was by no means agreeable to the D— of H——; and the Poft-mafter's fear of the indignation of the Imperial family, was that inftant loft in a danger which was prefented to his face, and more immediately threatened his perfon—he ordered the pofilions to drive on.

The next poft was at a finall town in the Venetian State, where we found that orders had come from Venice to the fame effect with those received at the different ftages we had already past. The D— of H——'s Italian fervant thought it would fave time to make us pass for part of the company to which these orders related— Vol. I. C he

he ordered horfes in the name of the Grand Duke, and was inftantly obeyed—but the butler and cook arriving foon after, told a different tale. Couriers were difpatched, one of whom overtook us, and, in the name of the magiftrates, ordered the poftilions to drive back, for we were a gang of impoftures, who had no connection with the Grand Duke. The fame arguments, however, which had fo good an effect on the German Poft-mafter, prevailed alfo on the courier to be filent, and the poftilions to proceed.

It was midnight before we arrived at Meftre, a fmall town on the banks of the Lagune, five miles from Venice, where we remained all night. Next morning we hired a boat, and in two hours were landed in the middle of this city.

We have taken very delightful apartments at an inn, on the fide of the great canal.

canal. They had been just quitted by his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, who is at prefent at Padua. Thus at length we are arrived in Italy—

Per varios casus, & tot discrimina rerum.

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## LETTER II.

## Venice

A Few days after our arrival at Venice, we met the Archduke and Duchefs, at the houfe of the Imperial Ambaffador. They were highly entertained with the hiftory of their cook and butler, which I gave them at full length.

The company confifted entirely of foreigners, the Venetian nobility never vifiting in the houfes of foreign ministers.

Among other strangers was the fon of the Duke of Berwick. This young gentleman has lately allied himself to the family from which he is descended, by marrying the fister of the Countes of Albany. I suppose

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fuppofe you have heard that the Pretender, now at Florence, has affumed the title of Count Albany.

Next day the D— of H—— accompanied the Archduke and Duchefs to the arfenal. They were attended by a deputation from the fenate.

Some Venetian ladies of the first diftinction, in compliment to the Archduchefs, were of the party.

The arfenal at Venice is a fortification of between two and three miles in compafs. On the ramparts are many little watchtowers, where centinels are flationed. Like the arfenal at Toulon, it is at once a dockyard, and repofitory for naval and military flores. Here the Venetians build their fhips, caft their cannon, make their cables, fails, anchors, &c. The arms are arranged here as in other places of the fame kind,  $C_3$  in

in large rooms divided into narrow walks by long walls of mufkets, pikes, and halberts. Every thing having been prepared before the Archduke and Duchefs arrived, a cannon was caft in their prefence. After this the company were conducted on board the Bucentaur, or veffel in which the Doge is carried to efpoufe the Adriatic. Here they were regaled with wine and fweetmeats, the Venetian nobles doing the honours of the entertainment.

The Bucentaur is kept under cover, and never taken out but for the efpoufals. It is formed for containing a very numerous company, is finely gilt and ornamented within, and loaded on the outfide with emblematical figures in fculpture. This veffel may poffibly be admired by landfmen, but will not much charm a feaman's eye, being a heavy broad-bottomed machine, which draws little water, and confequently may be eafily overfet in a gale of wind. Of

Of this, however, there is no great danger, as two precautions are taken to prevent fuch an accident; one of which feems calculated to quiet the minds of believers, and the other to give confidence to the most incredulous. The first is used by the Patriarch, who, as foon as the veffel is afloat, takes care to pour into the fea fome holy water, which is believed to have the virtue of preventing or allaying ftorms. The fecond is entrusted to the Admiral. who has the difcretionary power of postponing the marriage ceremony, when the bride feems in the fmallest degree boisterous. One of the virtues of the holy water, that of allaying ftorms, is by this means rendered fuperfluous.

But when the weather is quite favourable, the ceremony is performed every Afcenfion Day. The folemnity is announced in the morning by the ringing of belis and firing of cannon. About mid-day the C 4 Doge,

Doge, attended by a numerous party of the fenate and clergy, goes on board the Bucentaur; the vefiel is rowed a little way into the fea, accompanied by the fplendid yachts of the foreign Ambafiadors, the gondolas of the Venetian nobility, and an incredible number of barks and gallies of every kind. Hymns are fung, and a band of mulic performs, while the Bucentaur and her attendants flowly move towards St. Lido, a fmall island, two miles from Venice. Prayers are then faid; after which the Doge drops a ring, of no great value, into the fea, pronouncing thefe words-Defponfamus te, Mare, in fignum veri perpetuique dominii. The fea, like a modeft bride, affents by her filence, and the marriage is deemed valid and fecure to all intents and purpofes.

Certain it is, the time has been, when the Doge had entire poffession of, and dominion over, his spouse; but, for a considerable fiderable time paft, her favours have been fhared by feveral other lovers; or, according to that violent metaphor of Otway's,

TheirGreatDuke shrinks, trembling in hispalace, And fees his wife, the Adriatic, plough'd, Like a lewd whore, by bolder prows than his.

now

After viewing every thing in the arfenal, the Archduke and Duchefs, with all the company, were invited on board fome boats which had been prepared for their reception. They were directly rowed to that part of the lake from whence there was the moft advantageous view of Venice, a band of mufic performing all the time; while the failors, in two or three fmall boats, were employed in fifhing oyfters, which they opened and prefented to the company.

The amufements of this day had all the advantage of novelty to render them agree-2 able

able to ftrangers, and every additional pleafure which the attentive and polite behaviour of the Venetian nobility could give.

## LETTER III.

Venice.

A S this is not the time of any of the public folemnities which draw ftrangers to Venice, it is fortunate that we happen to be here with the Archduke and Duchefs. The great refpect which this ftate is anxious of fhewing the Imperial family, has brought many of the nobility to Venice, who would otherwife have been at their country feats on the continent, and has alfo given us opportunities of feeing fome things to more advantage than we could otherwife have done.

I had the honour of attending their Highnesses when they went to visit the island of Murano. This is about a mile from

from Venice, was formerly a very flourishing place, and ftill boafts fome palaces which bear the marks of former magnificence, though now in a state of decay. The island is faid to contain 20,000 inhabitants. The great manufactories of looking-glaffes are the only inducements which ftrangers have to visit this place. I faw one very fine plate, for a mirror, made in the prefence of the Archduke in a few minutes: though not fo large as fome I have seen of the Paris manufactory, yet it was much larger than I could have thought it in the power of human lungs to blow. Inftead of being caft, as in France and England, the Murano mirrors are all blown in the manner of bottles. It is aftonifhing to fee with what dexterity the workman wields a long hollow cylinder of melted glafs, at the end of an iron tube, which, when he has extended as much as poffible, by blowing, and every other means his art fuggefts, he flits with a fharp inftrument, removing

removing the two extremities from each other, and folding back the fides: the cylinder now appears a large fheet of glass, which being once more introduced into the furnace, is brought out a clear, finished plate.

This manufactory formerly ferved all Europe with looking-glaffes; the quantity made here is ftill confiderable; for although France and England, and fome other countries, make their own mirrors, yet, by the natural progrefs of luxury, those countries which still get their mirrors and other things from Murano, use a much greater quantity now than formerly; fo that on the fuppolition that the Murano manufacturers have loft three-fourths of their cuftomers, they may fill retain half as much trade as they ever had. It is furprifing that, inftead of blowing, they do not adopt the method of caffing, which I fhould think a much eafier process, and by which

which larger plates may be made. Befides mirrors, an infinite quantity of glafs trinkets (margaritini as they are called) of all fhapes and colours are made here. Women of the inferior ranks wear them as ornaments, and as rofaries ; they alfo mould this fubftance into many various whimfical forms, by way of ornamental furniture to houfes and churches. In fhort, there are glafs baubles enough made here to bribe into flavery half the inhabitants of the coaft of Guinea.

Since the departure of the Archduke and Duchefs, the D— of H—— has paffed his time mofily in the houfes of the foreign Ambaffadors, the beft refource here, next to the theatres, for ftrangers.

We were lately at a converfazione at the Spanifh Ambaffador's; it might have paffed for a pantomime entertainment. The Ambaffador, his lady, and daughters, fpeak no language

language but Spanish; and unfortunately this was understood by none of the company but the Duke of Berwick's fon. Hearing that Mr. Montague refided at Venice, the D- of H---- has had the curiofity to wait on that extraordinary man. He met his Grace at the flair-head, and led us through fome apartments, furnished in the Venetian manner, into an inner room in quite a different ftyle. There were no chairs, but he defired us to feat ourfelves on a fopha, whilft he placed himfelf on a cushion on the floor, with his legs croffed in the Turkish fashion. A young black flave fat by him, and a venerable old man, with a long beard, ferved us with coffee.

After this collation fome aromatic gums were brought, and burnt in a little filver veffel. Mr. Montague held his nofe over the fteam for fome minutes, and fnuffed up the perfume with peculiar fatisfaction; he afterwards

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afterwards endeavoured to collect the fmoke with his hands, fpreading and rubbing it carefully along his beard, which hung in hoary ringlets to his girdle. This manner of perfuming the beard feems more cleanly, and rather an improvement upon that ufed by the Jews in ancient times, as defcribed in the pfalms tranflated by Sternhold and Hopkins.

"Tis like the precious ointment, that Was pour'd on Aaron's head, Which from the beard down to the fkirts Of his rich garments fpread.

Or, as the Scotch translation has it :

Like precious ointment on the head That down the beard did flow; Even Aaron's beard, and to the fkirts Did of his garments go.

Which of these versions is preferable, I leave to the critics in Hebrew and English poefy to determine. I hope, for the sake of

of David's reputation as a poet, that neither have retained all the fpirit of the original. We had a great deal of converfation with this venerable looking perfon, who is, to the laft degree, acute, communicative, and entertaining, and in whofe difcourfe and manners are blended the vivacity of a Frenchman with the gravity of a Turk. We found him, however, wonderfully prejudiced in favour of the Turkifh characters and manners, which he thinks infinitely preferable to the European, or thofe of any other nation.

He defcribes the Turks in general as a people of great fenfe and integrity, the most hospitable, generous, and the happiest of mankind. He talks of returning, as soon as possible to Egypt, which he paints as a perfect paradife; and thinks that, had it not been otherwise ordered for wise purposes, of which it does not become us to judge, the children of Israel would cer-Vol. I. D tainly

tainly have chosen to remain where they were, and have endeavoured to drive the Egyptians to the land of Canaan.

Though Mr. Montague hardly ever flirs abroad, he returned the D-'s vifit; and as we were not provided with cufhions, he fat, while he flaid, upon a fopha, with his legs under him, as he had done at his own house. This posture, by long habit, is now become the most agreeable to him, and he infifts on its being by far the most natural and convenient; but, indeed, he feems to cherifh the fame opinion with regard to all the cuftom's which prevail among the Turks. I could not help mentioning one, which I fuspected would be thought both unnatural and inconvenient by at least one half of the human race; that of the men being allowed to engrofs as many women as they can maintain, and confining them to the most infipid of all lives, within their harams. " No doubt," replied

replied he, " the women are all enemies to " polygamy and concubinage; and there " is reafon to "imagine, that this averfion " of theirs, joined to the great influence they have in all Christian countries, has 60 " prevented Mahometanifm from making ..... any progrefs in Europe. The Turkifh " men, on the other hand," continued he, " have an averfion to Christianity, equal to " that which the Christian women have to " the religion of Mahomet : auricular " confession is perfectly horrible to their " imagination. No Turk, of any delicacy, " would ever allow his wife, particularly " if he had but one, to hold private con-" ference with a man, on any pretext " whatever."

I took notice, that this averfion to auricular confession, could not be a reason for the Turk's diflike to the *Protestant* religion. "That is true," faid he, "but you have "other tenets in common with the Catho-D 2 "lics,

" lics, which renders your religion as " odious as their's. You forbid polygamy " and concubinage, which, in the eyes of " the Turks, who obey the dictates of the " religion they embrace, is confidered as " an intolerable hardship. Besides, the " idea which your religion gives of heaven, " is by no means to their tafte. If they <sup>se</sup> believed your account, they would think " it the most tiresome and comfortless " place in the univerfe, and not one Turk " among a thoufand would go to the " Christian heaven if he had it in his " choice. Laftly, the Christian religion " confiders women, as creatures upon a " level with men, and equally entitled to " every enjoyment, both here and here-" after. When the Turks are told this," added he, " they are not furprifed at being " informed alfo, that women, in general, " are better Christians than men; but they " are perfectly aftonished that an opinion, " which they think fo contrary to common " fenfe,

" fenfe, fhould fubfift among the rational, " that is to fay, the male part of Christians. " It is impoffible," added Mr. Montague. " to drive it out of the head of a Muffulman, that women are creatures of a 66 " fubordinate fpecies, created merely to " comfort and amufe men during their journey through this vain world, but by 66 66 no means worthy of accompanying be-" lievers to paradife, where females, of a " nature far fuperior to women, wait with " impatience to receive all pious Muffulse men into their arms."

It is needlefs to relate to you any more of our converfation. A lady, to whom I was giving an account of it the day on which it happened, could with difficulty allow me to proceed thus far in my narrative; but, interrupting me with impatience, fhe faid, fhe was furprifed I could repeat all the nonfenfical, deteftable, impious maxims of those odious Mahometans; and D 3 fhe

fhe thought Mr. Montague fhould be fent back to Egypt, with his long beard, and not be allowed to propagate opinions, the bare mention of which, however reafonable they might appear to Turks, ought not to be tolerated in any Chriftian land.

## LETTER IV.

#### Venice.

THE view of Venice, at some little distance from the town, is mentioned by many travellers in terms of the highest admiration. I had been fo often forewarned of the amazement with which. I should be ftruck at first fight of this city, that when I actually did fee it, I felt little or no amazement at all. You will behold, faid those anticipators, a magnificent town, -or more frequently, to make the deeper impreffion, they gave it in detail-You will behold, faid they, magnificent palaces, churches, towers and steeples, all standing in the middle of the fea. Well ; this, unquestionably, is an uncommon scene; and there is no manner of doubt that a town, D 4 furrounded

furrounded by water, is a very fine fight; but all the travellers that have exifted fince the days of Cain, will not convince me, that a town, furrounded by land, is not a much finer. Can there be any comparison, in point of beauty, between the dull monotony of a watery furface, and the delightful variety of gardens, meadows, hills, and woods?

If the fituation of Venice renders it lefs agreeable than another city, to behold at a diftance, it muft render it, in a much ftronger degree, lefs agreeable to inhabit. For you will pleafe to recollect, that, inftead of walking or riding in the fields, and enjoying the fragrance of herbs, and the melody of birds; when you wifh to take the air here, you muft fubmit to be paddled about, from morning to night, in a narrow boat, along dirty canals; or, if you don't like this, you have one refource more, which is, that of walking in St. Mark's Place.

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These are the difadvantages which Vepice labours under, with regard to fituation; but it has other peculiarities, which, in the opinion of many, overbalance them, and render it, on the whole, an agreeable town.

Venice is faid to be built in the fea; that is, it is built in the midft of shallows, which ftretch fome miles from the fhore, at the bottom of the Adriatic Gulph. Though those shallows, being now all covered with water, have the appearance of one great lake, yet they are called Lagune, or lakes, becaufe formerly, as it is imagined, there were feveral. On failing on the Laguna, and looking to the bottom, many large hollows are to be feen, which, at fome former period, have, very poffibly, been diffinct lakes, though now, being all covered with a common furface of water, they form one large lake, of unequal depth. The intervals between those hollows, it is fupposed,

posed, were little islands, and are now shallows, which, at ebb, are all within reach of a pole.

When you approach the city, you come along a liquid road, marked by rows of ftakes on each fide, which direct veffels, of a certain burthen, to avoid the finallows, and keep in deeper water. These shallows are a better defence to the city than the ftrongest fortifications. On the approach of an enemy's fleet, the Venetians have only to pull up their flakes, and the enemy can advance no farther. They are equally beyond the infult of a land army, even in the midft of winter; for the flux and reflux of the fea, and the mildnefs of the climate, prevent fuch a ftrength of ice as could admit the approach of an army that way.

The lake in which Venice ftands, is a kind of fmall inner gulph, feparated from the

the large one by fome islands, at a few miles distance. These islands, in a great measure, break the force of the Adriatic ftorms, before they reach the Laguna; yet, in very high winds, the navigation of the lake is dangerous to gondolas, and fometimes the gondoleers do not truft themfelves, even on the canals within the city. This is not fo great an inconveniency to the inhabitants as you may imagine; becaufe most of the houses have one door opening upon a canal, and another communicating with the ftreet; by means of which, and of the bridges, you can go to almost any part of the town by land, as well as by water.

The number of inhabitants are computed at about 150,000; the fireets, in general, are narrow; fo are the canals, except the grand canal; which is very broad, and has a ferpentine courfe through the middle of the city. They tell you, there are feveral hundred

hundred bridges in Venice. What pass under this name, however, are fingle arches thrown over the canals; most of them paltry enough.

The Rialto confifts also of a fingle arch, but a very noble one, and of marble. It is built acrofs the grand canal, near the middle, where it is narroweft. This celebrated arch is ninety feet wide on the level of the canal, and twenty-four feet high. Its beauty is impaired by two rows of booths, or fhops, which are erected upon it, and divide its upper furface into three narrow streets. The view from the Rialto is equally lively and magnificent; the objects under your eye are the grand canal, covered with boats and gondolas, and flanked on each fide with magnificent palaces, churches, and fpires; but this fine profpect is almost the only one in Venice; for, except the Grand Canal, and the Canal - Regio, all the others are narrow and mean; fome

fome of them have no keys; the water literally wafhes the walls of the houfes. When you fail along those wretched canals, you have no one agreeable object to cheer the fight; and the smell is overwhelmed with the stench which, at certain seafons, exhales from the water.

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# LETTER V.

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#### Venice.

S the only agreeable view in Venice is from the grand canal, fo the only place where you can walk with eafe and fafety, is in the piazza di St. Marco. This is a kind of irregular quadrangle, formed by a number of buildings, all fingular in their kind, and very different from each other.

The Ducal palace—the church of St. Mark—that of St. Giminiano—a noble range of buildings, called Procuratie, the new and the old, in which are the Mufeum, the public library, and nine large apartments belonging to the Procurators of St. Mark; all thefe buildings are of marble. 7 There

There is an opening from St. Mark's Place to the fea, on which fland two lofty pillars of granite. Criminals condemned to fuffer death publicly, are executed between thefe pillars; on the top of one of them is a lion, with wings; and on the other, a faint—without wings;—there is, however, a large crocodile at his feet, which, I prefume, belongs to him. At one corner of St. Mark's church, contiguous to the palace, are two flatues of Adam and Eve; they have neither wings nor crocodile, nor any kind of attendant, not even their old acquaintance, the ferpent.

At the corner of the new Procuratie, a little diffant from the church, flands the fteeple of St. Mark. This is a quadrangular tower, about three hundred feet in height. I am told it is not uncommon in Italy for the church and fteeple to be in this flate of difunion; this flocked a clergyman, of my acquaintance, very much; he

he mentioned it to me, many years ago, amongft the errors and abfurdities of the church of Rome. The gentleman was clearly of opinion, that church and fleeple ought to be infeparable as man and wife, and that every church ought to confider its fleeple as mortar of its mortar, and flone of its flone. An old captain of a fhip, who was prefent, declared himfelf of the fame way of thinking, and fwore that a church, divorced from its fleeple; appeared to him as ridiculous as a fhip without a maft.

A few paces from the church are three tall poles, on which enfigns and flags are hung on days of public rejoicing. Thefe ftandards are in memory of the three kingdoms, Cyprus, Candia, and Negropont, which once belonged to this republic; the three crowns are ftill kept in the Ducal palace. Since the kingdoms are gone, I fhould think the crowns and the poles hardly

hardly worth preferving; they are, however, of the fame value to Venice, that the title of King of France is to his Britannic Majefty. At the bottom of the Tower of St. Mark, is a fmall neat building of marble, called the Loggietta, where fome of the Procurators of St. Mark conftantly attend to do bufinefs. Some people are of opinion that, particularly when the grand council, or the fenate, are affembled, thefe Procurators are placed there, as flate centinels, to give warning in cafe of any appearance of discontent or commotion among the populace, which must necessarily shew itself at this place, as there is no other in Venice where a mob could affemble.

The patriarchal church of St. Mark, though one of the richeft and most expenfive in the world, does not firike the eye very much at first; the architecture is of a mixed kind, mostly Gothic, yet many Vol. I. E of

of the pillars are of the Grecian orders; the outfide is incrusted with marble; the infide, cieling, and floor, are all of the finest marble; the numerous pillars which fupport the roof are of the fame fubstance; the whole is crowned by five domes;—but all this labour and expense have been directed by a very moderate state.

The front, which looks to the palace, has five brafs gates, with hiftorical basrelieves; over the principal gate are placed the four famous bronze horfes, faid to be the workmanfhip of Lycippus; they were given to the emperor Nero, by Tiridates, king of Armenia; the fiery fpirit of their countenances, and their animated attitudes, are perfectly agreeable to their original deftination, of being harneffed to the chariot of the Sun.—Nero placed them on the triumphal arch confecrated to him, and they are to be feen on the reverfe of fome of his medals; they were removed from Rome

Rome to Conftantinople, placed in the Hyppodrome by Conftantine, and remained there till the taking of Conftantinople by the French and Venetians in the beginning of the 13th century, when they were carried to Venice, and placed upon the gate of St. Mark's church.

The treafury of St. Mark is very rich in iewels and relics; and it was neceffary to apply to one of the Procurators of St. Mark for leave to fee it. I shall only mention a few of the most valuable effects kept here. Eight pillars from Solomon's temple at Jerufalem; a piece of the Virgin Mary's veil, fome of her hair, and a fmall portion of her milk; the knife used by our Saviour, at his last supper; one of the nails of the crofs, and a few drops of his blood. After these it would be impertinent to enumerate the bones, and other relics, of faints and martyrs, of which there is a plentiful flow in this church, and still lefs E 2 need.

need I take up your time with an inventory of the temporal jewels kept here; it would be unpardonable, however, to omit mentioning the picture of the Virgin, by St. Luke. From this, compared with his other works, it is plain, that St. Luke was a much better evangelift than painter: fome profeffions feem to be almost incompatible with each other. I have known many very good painters who would have made bad faints, and here is an inflance of an excellent faint who was but an indifferent painter.

The old Procuratie is built of a kind of black marble; the new is of the pietra dura of Istria.

The church of St. Geminiano is an elegant piece of architecture, by Sanfovino.

The Ducal palace is an immenfe building, entirely of marble. Befides the apartments

ments of the Doge, there are alfo halls and chambers for the fenate, and all the different councils and tribunals. The principal entrance is by a fpacious flair, called the Giants flair, on account of two Coloffal flatues of Mars and Neptune, placed at the top; they are of white marble, the work of Sanfovino, and intended to reprefent the naval and military power of this flate. Their gigantic fize might be proper enough formerly, but they would be jufter emblems of the prefent force of this republic if their flature were more moderate.

Under the porticoes, to which you afcend by this flair, you may perceive the gaping mouths of lions, to receive anonymous letters, informations of treafonable practices, and accufations of magistrates for abufes in office.

From the palace there is a covered bridge of communication to a flate prilon, on the  $E_3$  other

other fide of the canal. Prifoners pais to and from the courts over this bridge, which is named Ponte Dei Sofpiri.

The apartments and halls of the Ducal palace are ornamented by the pencils of Titian, Paul Veronefe, Tintoret, Palma, the Baffans, and other painters. The rape of Europa, and the ftorming of Zara, both by Paul Veronefe are amongft the higheft efteemed pieces of that master. The foot of Europa is honoured with the particular admiration of the connoiffeurs; the bull feems to be of their way of thinking, for he licks it as he bears her along above the waves. Some people admire even this thought of the painter; I cannot fay I am of the number : I think it is the only thing in the picture which is not admirable; it is making Jupiter enter a little too much into the character which he had affumed. There are a few pictures in this palace by Titian, but a great many by the other mafters.

MANNERS IN ITALY. 55 mafters. The fubjects are moftly taken from the hiftory of Venice.

Within the palace there is a little arfenal, which communicates with the hall of the great council. Here a great number of mufkets are kept, ready charged, with which the nobles may arm themfelves on any fudden infurrection, or other emergency.

The lower gallery, or the piazza under the palace, is called the Broglio. In this the noble Venetians walk and converfe: it is only here, and at council, where they have opportunities of meeting together; for they feldom vifit openly, or in a family way, at each other's houfes, and fecret meetings would give umbrage to the flate inquifitors; they chufe, therefore, to tranfact their bufinefs on this public walk. People of inferior rank feldom remain on the Broglio for any length of time when the nobility are there.

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# LETTER VI.

#### Venice.

Was led, in my laft, into a very particular (and I wifh you may not have also found it a very tedious) description of St. Mark's Place. There is no help for what is paft, but, for your comfort, you have nothing of the fame kind to fear while we remain here; for there is not another square, or *place*, as the French with more propriety call them, in all Venice. To compensate, however, for their being but one, there is a greater variety of objects to be feen at this one, than in any half dozen of the squares, or places, of London or Paris.

After our eyes had been dazzled with looking at pictures, and our legs cramped with

with fitting in a gondola, it is no fmall relief, and amulement, to faunter in the Place of St. Mark.

The number and diversity of objects which there prefent themfelves to the eye, naturally create a very rapid fucceffion of ideas. The fight of the churches awakens religious fentiments, and, by an eafy tranfition, the mind is led to contemplate the influence of superstition. In the midst of this reverie, Nero's four horfes appear. and carry the fancy to Rome and Conftantinople. While you are forcing your way, fword in hand, with the heroic Henry Dandelo, into the capital of Afia, Adam and Eve ftop your progrefs, and lead you to the garden of Eden. You have not long enjoyed a flate of innocence and happinefs in that delightful paradife, till Eve

----- her rafh hand in evil hour Forth reaching to the fruit, fhe plucks, fhe eats. After

After that unfortunate repait, no more comfort being to be found there, you are glad to mount St. Mark's winged lion, and fly back to the Ducal palace, where you will naturally reflect on the rife and progrefs of the Venetian state, and the various fprings of their government. While you admire the firength of a conflitution which has flood firm for fo many ages, you are appalled at the fight of the lion's mouth gaping for acculations; and turning with horror from a place where innocence feems exposed to the attacks of hidden malice, you are regaled with a profpect of the fea, which opens your return to a country of real freedom, where justice rejects the libel of the hidden accufer, and dares to try, condemn, and execute openly, the highest, as well as the lowest, delinquent.

I affure you I have, more than once, made all this tour, ftanding in the middle of St. Mark's fquare; whereas, in

in the French places, you have nothing before your eyes but monuments of the monarch's vanity, and the people's adulation; and in the greater part of the London fquares, and ftreets, what idea can prefent itfelf to the imagination, beyond that of the fnug neatnefs and conveniency of fubftantial brick houfes?

I have been fpeaking hitherto of a morning faunter; for in the evening there generally is, on St. Mark's Place, fuch a mixed multitude of Jews, Turks, and Chriftians; lawyers, knaves, and pickpockets; mountebanks, old women, and phyficians; women of quality, with mafks; ftrumpets barefaced; and, in fhort, fuch a jumble of fenators, citizens, gondoleers, and people of every character and condition, that your ideas are broken, bruifed, and diflocated in the crowd, in fuch a manner, that you can think, or reflect, on nothing; yet

yet this being a flate of mind which many people are fond of, the place never fails to be well attended, and, in fine weather, numbers pafs a great part of the night there. When the piazza is illuminated, and the fhops, in the adjacent flreets, lighted up, the whole has a brilliant effect; and as it is the cuftom for the ladies, as well as the gentlemen, to frequent the caffinos and coffee-houfes around, the Place of St. Mark anfwers all the purpofes of either Vauxhall or Ranelagh.

It is not in St. Mark's Place that you are to look for the fineft monuments of the art of Titian, or the genius of Palladio; for those you must visit the churches and palaces: but if you are inclined to make that tour, you must find another Cicerone, for I shall certainly not undertake the office. I do not pretend to be a competent judge of painting or architecture; I have no new remarka

remarks to make on those subjects, and I wish to avoid a hackneyed repetition of what has been faid by others.

Some people feem affected by paintings to a degree which I never could feel, and can fcarcely conceive. I admire the works of Guido and Raphael, but there are amateurs who fall downright in love with every man, woman, or angel, produced by those painters.

When the fubject is pathetic, I am often flruck with the genius and execution of the artift, and touched with the fcene reprefented, but without feeling those violent emotions of grief which fome others difplay. I have feen a man fo affected with the grief of Venus, for the death of Adonis, that he has wiped his eyes as if he had been shedding tears; and have heard another express as much horror at the martyrdom of a faint, as he could have 7 done

done had he been prefent at the real execution. Horace's observation is perfectly just, as he applies it,

Segniùs irritant animos demissa per aurem, Quàm quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus-

He is treating of dramatic pieces;

Aut agitur res in scenis, aut acta refertur,

is the preceding line. On the flage, what is actually reprefented, makes a ftronger impreffion than what is only related; and in real life, no doubt, we should be more fhocked by feeing a murder committed, than by hearing an account of it. But whether feeing a pathetic flory expressed in painting, or hearing it related, has the most powerful effect, is a different question. I only fay for myfelf, that, on contemplating a painted tragedy, I can never help recollecting that it is acted upon canvas. This never fails to dart fuch a ray of comfort into my heart, as cheers it up, in fpite of all the blood and carnage I fee before

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before my eyes. With a mind fo vulgarly fabricated, you will not be furprifed when I acknowledge, that I have felt more compaffion at the fight of a fingle highwayman going to Tyburn, than at the maffacre of two thoufand innocents, though executed by Nicholas Pouffin himfelf. This convinces me that I am not endued with the organs of a connoiffeur.

But if you are violently bent upon being thought a man of very refined tafte, there are books in abundance to be had, which will put you in poffeffion of all the terms of technical applaufe, or cenfure, and furnifh you with fuitable expressions for the whole climax of fensibility. As for myself, I was long ago taught a lesson, which made a deep impression on my mind, and will effectually prevent me from every affectation of that kind. Very early in life, I refided above a year at Paris, and happened one day to accompany five or fix of our countrymen,

countrymen, to view the pictures in the Palais Royal. A gentleman who affected an enthusiaftic passion for the fine arts, particularly that of painting, and who had the greatest defire to be thought a connoisseur, was of the party. He had read the lives of the painters, and had the Voyage Pittoresque de Paris by heart. From the moment we entered the rooms he began to difplay all the refinements of his tafte; he inftructed us what to admire, and drew us away with every fign of difguft when we flopped a moment at an uncelebrated picture. We were afraid of appearing pleafed with any thing we faw, till he informed us whether or not it was worth looking at. He shook his head at fome, toffed up his nofe at others; commended a few, and pronounced fentence on every piece, as he paffed along, with the most imposing tone of fagacity .-- " Bad, " that Caravaggio is too bad indeed, devoid " of all grace; - but here is a Caracci that " makes

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" makes amends; how charming the grief of that Magdalen! The Virgin, you'll obferve, gentlemen, is only fainting, but the Chrift is quite dead. Look at the arm, did you ever fee any thing fo dead? —Aye, here's a Madona, which they tell you is an original, by Guido; but any body may fee that it is only a tolerable copy.—Pray, gentlemen, obferve this St. Sebaflian, how delightfully he expires: Don't you all feel the arrow in your hearts? I'm fure I feel it in mine. Do let us move on; I fhould die with agony if I looked any longer."

We at length came to the St. John, by Raphael, and here this man of taffe flopped fhort in an extafy of admiration.—One of the company had already paffed it, without minding it, and was looking at another picture; on which the connoiffeur bawled out—" Good God, Sir ! what are "you about?" The honeft gentleman flarted, Vol. I. F and

and flared around to know what crime he had been guilty of.

"Have you eyes in your head, Sir?" continued the connoiffeur: "Don't you "know St. John when you fee him?"

" St. John !" replied the other, in amazement. " Aye, Sir, St. John the Baptift, " *in propria perfona.*"

"I don't know what you mean, Sir," faid the gentleman, peevifhly.

" Don't you?" rejoined the connoiffeur; then I'll endeavour to explain myfelf. I mean St. John in the wildernefs, by the divine Raffaelle Sanzio da Urbino, and there he flands by your fide.—Pray, my dear Sir, will you be fo obliging as to beflow a little of your attention on that foot? Does it not flart from the wall? Is it not perfectly out of the frame? Did "you

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" you ever fee fuch colouring? They talk " of Titian; can Titian's colouring excel " that? What truth, what nature in the " head! To the eloquence of the antique, " here is joined the fimplicity of nature."

We flood liftening in filent admiration, and began to imagine we perceived all the perfections he enumerated ; when a perfon in the Duke of Orleans' fervice came and informed us, that the original, which he prefumed was the picture we wished to fee, was in another room; the Duke having allowed a painter to copy it. That which we had been looking at was a very wretched daubing, done from the original by fome obscure painter, and had been thrown, wich other rubbish, into a corner; where the Swifs had accidentally difcovered it, and had hung it up merely by way of covering the vacant fpace on the wall, till the other fhould be replaced.

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How the connoiffeur looked on this trying occafion, I cannot fay. It would have been barbarous to have turned an eye upon him.—I ftepped into the next room, fully determined to be cautious in deciding on the merit of painting; perceiving that it was not fafe, in this fcience, to fpeak even from the book.

# LETTER VII.

#### Venice.

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E acquire an early partiality for Rome, by reading the claffics, and the hiftory of the ancient republic. Other parts of Italy alfo intereft us more on account of their having been the refidence of the old Romans, than from the regard we pay to what has been transfacted there during the last fourteen or fifteen centuries.

Venice claims no importance from ancient hiftory, and boafts no connection with the Roman republic; it fprung from the ruins of that empire; and whatever its annals offer worthy of the attention of mankind, is independent of the prejudice we feel in favour of the Roman name.

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The independence of Venice was not built on ufurpation, nor cemented with blood; it was founded on the firft law of human nature, and the undoubted rights of man.

About the middle of the fifth century, when Europe formed one continued fcene of violence and bloodfhed; a hatred of tyranny, a love of liberty, and a dread of the cruelty of Barbarians, prompted the Veneti, a people inhabiting a fmall diffrict of Italy, a few of the inhabitants of Padua, and fome peafants who lived on the fertile banks of the Po, to feek an afylum from the fury of Atilla, amongft the little iflands and marfhes at the bottom of the Adriatic Gulph.

Before this time fome fifhermen had built fmall houfes, or huts, on one of thefe iflands, called Rialto. The city of Padua, with a view to draw commercial advantages from this eftablifhment, encouraged fome of

of her inhabitants to fettle there, and fent every year three or four citizens to act as magistrates. When Attila had taken and destroyed Aquileia, great numbers from all the neighbouring countries fled to Rialto; whofe fize being augmented by new houfes, took the name of Venice, from the diffrict from which the greater number of the . earlieft refugees had fled. On the death of Attila, many returned to their former habitations; but those who preferred freedom and fecurity to all other advantages, remained at Venice. Such was the beginning of this celebrated republic. Some nice diftinguishers pretend, that this was the beginning of their freedom, but not of their independency; for they affert, that the Venetians were dependent on Padua, as their mother city. It is certain that the Paduans claimed fuch a prerogative over this infant state, and attempted to subject her to some commercial restrictions; these

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were rejected by the Venetians, as arbitrary and vexatious. Difputes arofe very dangerous to both; but they ended in Venice entirely throwing off the jurifdiction of Padua. It is curious, and not unworthy of ferious attention in the prefent age, to fee the parent now totally fubjected to the child, whom fhe wifhed to retain in too rigorous a dependence.

The irruption of the Lombards into Italy, while it fpread havoc and defiruction over the adjacent country, was the caufe of a great acceffion of firength to Venice, by the numbers of new refugees who fled to it with all the wealth they could carry, and became fubjects of this flate.

The Lombards themfelves, while they eftablished their kingdom in the northern parts of Italy, and subdued all the ancient district of the Veneti, thought proper to leave

leave this little flate unmolefted, imagining that an attempt against it would be attended with more trouble than profit; and while they carried on more important conquefts, they found it convenient to be on a good footing with Venice, whole numerous fquadrons of fmall veffels could render the moft effential fervices to their armies. Accordingly leagues and treaties were formed occafionally between the two flates; the Lombards in all probability imagining, that it would be in their power, at any time, to make themfelves mafters of this inconfiderable republic. But when that people had fully established their new kingdom, and were free from the expence of other wars, they then found Venice fo much increased in ftrength, that, however much they might have wished to comprehend it within their dominions, it appeared no longer confistent with found policy to make the attempt. They therefore chofe rather to confirm their ancient alliance by fresh treaties.

When

When Charlemagne overturned the kingdom of the Lombards, and, after having fent their king Didier prifoner to France, was crowned emperor at Rome, by Leo the Third, the Venetian flate cultivated the favour of that conqueror with fo much addrefs, that, inflead of attempting any thing against their independence; he confirmed the treaty they had made with the Lombards; by which, among other things, the limits, or boundaries, between the two flates, were afcertained.

In the wars with the eaftern empire, and in those of later date between France and the house of Austria, Venice always endeavoured to avoid the resentment of either of the contending parties; fecretly, however, affisting that which was at the greatest distance from her own dominions, and, of consequence, the least formidable to her. Those great powers, on their parts, were so eager to humble, or destroy, each other, 3 that

that the rifing vigour of Venice was permitted to grow, for ages, almost unobserved. Like the fame of Marcellus, it might have been faid of that republic,

Crefcit occulto velut arbor ævo.

And when, at length, fhe began to excite the jealoufy of the great flates of Europe, fhe had acquired flrength and revenues fufficient to refift not only one, but great combinations of those powers leagued for her deflruction.

This republic, in its various periods of increase, of meridian splendor, and of declension, has already existed for a longer time than any other of which history makes mention. The Venetians themselves affert, that this duration is owing to the excellent materials of which their government has been composed, by which they imagine it has long fince been brought to the highest degree of perfection.

As I have beflowed fome time fince we came hither in confidering the Venetian hiftory and government, I fhall, in my next, take a general view of those boasted materials, that we may be able to judge ' whether or not this high eulogium is well founded.

## LETTER VIII.

#### Venice.

THE first form of government established at Venice, was purely democratical. Magistrates were chosen by a general affembly of the people: they were called tribunes; and as this small community inhabited feveral little islands, a tribune was appointed to judge causes, and distribute justice on each of those islands. His power was continued one year; at the expiration of which, he was accountable for his conduct to the general affembly of the people, who annually elected a new set of tribunes.

This fimple form of government, while it marks a firict regard to that freedom fo delightful

delightful to the mind of man, was found fufficient, for the fpace of a hundred and fifty years, to maintain order in a fmall community, fituated as this was. At length the bad administration of fome of the tribunes, difcord and animofity among others, and fome fufpicions that the Lombards promoted civil diffention with a view to bring the republic under their dominion, awakened the fears of the people, and made them listen to the opinions of those who thought a change in the form of government neceffary.

After various debates and propofals, it was finally determined, that a chief magistrate should be elected, as the centre of public authority, whose power might give fuch vigour and efficacy to the laws, as was absolutely necessary in times of danger, and whose duty should be, to direct the force of the resources of the state with promptitude; uncramped by that opposition,

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fition, and confequent dilatorinefs, which had been too apparent under the tribunes. This magiftrate was not to be named King, but Duke, which has fince been corrupted to Doge; the office was not to be hereditary, but elective; and the Doge was to enjoy it for life. It was agreed that he fhould have the nomination of all the inferior magiftrates, and the power of making peace, and declaring war, without confulting any but fuch of the citizens as he fhould think proper.

When the election took place, all the fuffrages fell upon Paul Luc Anafeste, who entered into this new office in the year 697.

The Venetians must certainly have felt great inconveniences from their former government, or have been under great dread from domestic or foreign enemies, before

before they could fubmit to fuch a fundamental change in the nature of their constitution. It is evident, that, on this occasion, they feem to have loft that jealous attention to liberty which they formerly poffeffed; for while they withheld from their chief magistrate the name, they left him all the power, of a King. There is no period when real and enlightened patriots ought to watch with more vigilance over the rights of the people, than in times of danger from foreign enemies; for the public in general are then fo much engroffed by the dangers from without, that they overlook the encroachments which are more apt, at those times than any other, to be made on their conflitution from within: and it is of fmall importance that men defend their country from foreign foes, unless they retain fuch a share of internal freedom, as renders a country worth the defending.

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It is highly probable, that the great degree of popularity which their first Doge had acquired before he arrived at that dignity, and the great confidence the people had in his public and private virtues, rendered them unwilling to limit the power of a perfon who, they were convinced, would make a good use of it. If the man had been immortal, and incorruptible, they would have been in the right: however, it must be confessed, that this Doge justified their good opinion more than favourites of the people generally do.

In the councils which he called on any matter of importance, he fent meffages to those citizens, for whose judgment he had the greateft effeem, praying, that they. would come, and affift him with their advice. This method was observed afterwards by fucceeding Doges, and the citizens fo fent for were called Pregadi. The Doge's council are still called Pregadi, VOL. J. G though

# 82 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND though they have long fat independent of his invitation.

The first, and second Doge, governed with moderation and ability; but the third 's gave the Venetians reason to repent that they had not confined the powers of their chief magistrate within narrower limits. After having ferved the flate by his military talents, he endeavoured to enflave it; his projects were discovered; but as the improvident people, in the last arrangement of their conflictution, had preferved no legal remedy for fuch an evil, they were obliged to use the only means now in their power. They affaulted the Doge in his palace, and put him to death without farther ceremony.

The people had conceived fo much hatred for him, that, after his death, they refolved to abolifh the office. In the general affembly it was agreed, that the chief magiftrate, for

for the future, fhould be elected every year; that he fhould have the fame power as formerly, while he remained in office; but, as this was to be for a fhort time, they imagined he would behave with equity and moderation; and as they had an equal diflike to Doge and Tribune, he was called Mafter of the Militia.

The form of government, introduced by this revolution, was but of fhort duration. Factions arole, and became too violent for the transfient authority of the Masters of the Militia to restrain. The office expired five years after its institution; and, by one of those strange and unaccountable changes of fentiment, to which the multitude are fo subject, the authority of the Doge was restored in the person of the fon of their last Doge, whom, in a fit of furious discontent, they had associated. This refloration happened about the year 730.

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For a long time after this, the Venetian annals difplay many dreadful fcenes of cruelty, revolt, and affaffination; Doges abufing their power, endeavouring to effablifh a permanent and hereditary defpotifm, by having their eldeft fons affociated in the office with themfelves, and then oppreffing the people with double violence. The people, on the other hand, after bearing, with the most abject patience, the capricious cruelty of their tyrants, rifing at once, and murdering them, or driving them, with ignominy, out of their dominions. Unable to bear either limited or abfolute government, the impatient and capricious multitude with for things which have always been found incompatible: the fecrecy, promptitude, and efficacy, of a defpotic government, with all the freedom and mildnefs of a legal and limited conftitution.

It is remarkable, that when the Doge was, even in a fmall degree, popular, he feldom

feldom found any difficulty in getting his fon elected his affociate in the fovereign authority; and when that was not the cafe, there are many inftances of the fon being chofen directly on the death of his father.

Yet, about the middle of the tenth century, the fon of the Doge, Peter Candiano, took arms, and rebelled against his father. Being foon after defeated, and brought in chains to Venice, he was condemned to banishment, and declared incapable of being ever elected Doge. It appears, however, that this worthless perfon was a great favourite of the people; for no fooner was his father dead, than he was chosen to fucceed him, and conducted, in great pomp, from Ravenna, the place of his exile, to Venice.

The Venetians were feverely punifhed for this inflance of levity. Their new Doge G 3 fhewed

fhewed himfelf as tyrannical in the character of a fovereign, as he had been undutiful in that of a fon. He became a monfler of pride and cruelty. The people began to murmur, and he became fufceptible of that terror which usually accompanies tyrants. He established a body of life-guards, to defend his perfon, and lodged them within the palace. This innovation filled the people with indignation, and awakened all their fury. They attack the palace, are repulfed by the guards, and fet fire to the contiguous houfes. The wretched Doge, in danger of being confumed by the flames, appears at the gate of the palace, with his infant fon in his arms, imploring the compaffion of the multitude : they, inexorable as demons, tear in pieces both father and child. At fuch an inflance of favage fury, the human affections revolt from the oppreffed people, and take part with their oppreffor. We almoft

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almost with he had lived, that he might have fwept from the earth a fet of wretches more barbarous than himself.

Having fpent their fury in the deftruction of the tyrant, they leave the tyranny as before. No measures are taken to limit the power of the Doge.

For fome time after this, a fpirit of fuperfition feemed to lay hold of thofe who filled that office, as if they had intended to expiate the pride of the late tyrant by their own humility. His three immediate fucceffors, after each of them had reigned a few years with applaufe, abandoned their dignity, fhut themfelves up in convents, and paffed the latter years of their lives as Monks.

Whatever contempt those pious Doges displayed for worldly things, their example made little impression on their subjects, G 4 who,

who, about this time, began to monopolize the trade and riches of Europe. And fome years after, when all Chriftendom was feized with the religious phrenzy of recovering the Holy Land, the Venetians kept fo perfectly free from the general infection, that they did not foruple to fupply the Saracens with arms and ammunition, in fpite of the edicts of their Doges, and the remonftrances of the Pope, and other pious princes.

Those commercial cafuists declared, that religion is one thing, and trade another; that, as children of the church, they were willing to believe all that their mother required; but, as merchants, they must carry their goods to the best market.

In my next, I shall proceed with my review of the Venetian government.

# LETTER IX.

#### Venice.

THE minds of the Venetians were not fo totally engroffed by commercial ideas, as to make them neglect other means of aggrandizing their flate. All Iftria fubmitted itfelf to their government: many of the free towns of Dalmatia, haraffed by the Narentines, a nation of robbers and pirates on that coaft, did the fame. Thofe towns which refufed, were reduced to obedience, by Peter Urfeolo, the Doge of Venice, who had been fent with a fleet againft them, in the year 1000. He carried his arms alfo into the country of the Narentines, and deftroyed many of their towns.

On his return it was determined, in a general affembly of the people, that the conquered

conquered towns and provinces should be governed by magiftrates lent from Veniue. Those magistrates called fodestas, were appointed by the Do, c. The inhabitants of those new-accuired towns were not admitted to the privileges of citizens of Venice, nor allowed to vote at the general affembly: the fame rule was observed with regard to the inhabitants of all the dominions afterwards acquired by the republic. It will readily occur, that this acceffion of dominions to the flate greatly augmented the influence and power of the chief magistrate : this, and the practice of affociating the fon of the Doge with his father, raifed jealoufies among the people, and a law was made, abolifhing fuch affociations for the future.

In the year 1173, after the affaffination of the Doge Michieli, a far more important alteration took place in the government. At this time there was no other tribunal at Venice

Venice than that of forty judges. This court had been eftablished many years before: it took cognizance of all causes, civil as well as criminal, and was called the council of forty. This body of men, in the midst of the disorder and confusion which followed the murder of the Doge, formed a plan of new-modelling the government.

Hitherto the people had retained great privileges. They had votes in the affemblies; and, although the defcendants of the ancient tribunes, and of the Doges, formed a kind of nobility, yet they had no legal privileges, or exclusive jurifdiction; nothing to diffinguish them from their fellowcitizens, but what their riches, or the fpontaneous respect paid to the antiquity of their families, gave them. Any citizen, as well as them, might be elected to a public office. To acquire the honours of the flate, it was abfolutely neceffary for the greatest and proudest Venetian, to cultivate the good-will of the multitude,

multitude, whofe voice alone could raife him to the rank of Doge, and whofe rage had thrown fo many from that envied fituation. The inconveniences, the difcord, and confusion, of fuch a mixed multitude, had been long felt, but nobody had hitherto had the boldnefs to strike at this established right of the people.

The city was divided into fix parts, called Seftiers. The council of forty procured it to be eftablished, in the first place, that each of those festiers should annually name two electors; that those twelve electors should have the right of choosing, from the whole body of the people, four hundred and feventy counsellors, who should be called the Grand Council, and who should have the same power, in all respects, which the general assessed of the people formerly enjoyed.

It was pretended, that this regulation was contrived merely to prevent confusion, and

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to eftablifh regularity in the great national affembly; that the people's right of election remained as before, and, by changing the counfellors yearly, thofe who were not elected one year might retain hopes of being chofen the next. The people did not perceive that this law would be fatal to their importance: it proved, however, the foundation of the ariftocracy, which was foon after eftablifhed, and ftill fubfifts.

The forty judges next proposed another regulation, still more delicate and important. That, to prevent the tumults and diforders which were expected at the impending election of a Doge, they should (for that time only) name eleven commissioners, from those of the highest reputation for judgment and integrity in the state; that the choice of a Doge should be left to those commissioners, nine suffrages being indifpensably requisite to make the election valid.

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This evidently pointed at the exclusion of the people from any concern whatever in the creation of the chief magistrate, and certainly was the object in view; yet, as it was proposed only as a temporary expedient, to prevent diforders, when men's minds were irritated against each other, and factions ran high, the regulation was agreed to.

Having, with equal dexterity and fuccefs, fixed thofe reftraints on the power of the people, the council of forty turned their attention, in the next place, towards limiting the authority of the Doge. This was confidered as too exorbitant, even for good men; and, in the hands of wicked men, had always been perverted to the purpofes of tyranny, and for which no remedy had hitherto been found, but what was almost as bad as the evils themfelves; revolt on the part of the people, and all the horrors and exceffes with which fuch an expedient is ufually accompanied. The tribunal of forty therefore propoled, that the grand council should annually appoint fix perfons, one from each division of the city, who fhould form the privy council of the Dage. and, without their approbation, none of his orders should be valid; fo that, instead of appointing his own privy-council, which had been the cuftom hitherto, the authority of the chief magifirate would, for the future, in a great measure, depend on fix men. who, themfelves, depended on the grand council. To be conftantly furrounded by fuch a fet of counfellors, inftead of creatures of his own, however reafonable it may feem in the eyes of the impartial, would have been confidered by one in poffeffion of the dignity of Doge, as a most intolerable innovation, and probably would have been oppofed by all his influence; but there was no Doge exifting when the propofal was made, and confequently it paffed into a law with univerfal approbation.

Laftly,

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Laftly, it was proposed to form a fenate, confisting of fixty members, which were to be elected, annually, out of the grand council. This affembly was in the room of that which the Doge formerly had the power of convocating, on extraordinary occasions, by fending meffages, praying certain citizens to come, and affist him with their advice. The members of the new fenate, more fixed and more independent than those of the old, are still called the Pregadi. This also was agreed to without opposition; and immediately after the funeral of the late Doge, all those regulations took place.

They began by choosing the grand council of four hundred and feventy, then the fenate of fixty, then the fix counfellors, and lastly, the eleven electors. These last were publicly fworn, that in the election now entrusted to them, rejecting every motive of private interest, they should give their

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their voices for that perfon, whofe elevation to the dignity of Doge they believed, in their confciences, would prove most for the advantage of the State.

After this, they retired to a chamber of the palace, and Orio Malipier, one of the eleven, had the votes of his ten colleagues; but he, with a modefly which feems to have been unaffected, declined the office, and ufed all his influence with the electors to make choice of Sebaftian Ziani, a man diftinguisted in the republic on account of his talents, his wealth, and his virtues; affuring them that, in the prefent emergency, *be* was a more proper perfon than himfelf for the office. Such was their opinion of Malipier's judgment, that his colleagues adopted his opinion, and Ziani was unanimoully elected.

As this mode of election was quite new, and as there was reafon to imagine that Vol. I. H<sup>.</sup> the

the bulk of the people, on reflection, would not greatly approve of it, and that the new Doge would not be received with the ufual acclamations, Ziani took care that great quantities of money fhould be thrown among the multitude, when he was first prefented to them. No Doge was ever received with louder acclamations.

During the reign of Ziani, the fingular ceremony of elpoufing the fea was firft inftituted.

Pope Alexander the Third, to avoid the refentment of the emperor Frederic Barbaroffa, had taken refuge at Venice, and was protected by that State. The emperor fent a powerful fleet againft it, under the command of his fon Otho. Ziani met him with the fleet of Venice. A very obftinate engagement enfued, in which the Venetians were victorious. The Doge returned in triumph, with thirty of the enemy's veffels,

vessels, in one of which was their commander Otho. All the inhabitants of Venice rushed to the fea-fhore, to meet their victorious Doge: the Pope himfelf came, attended by the fenate and clergy. After embracing Ziani, his Holinefs prefented him with a ring, faying, with a loud voice, " Take this ring; use it as a chain " to retain the fea, henceforth, in fub-" jection to the Venetian empire; espoule " the fea with this ring, and let the mar--" riage be folemnized annually, by you " and your fucceffors, to the end of time, " that the lateft pofterity may know that " Venice has acquired the empire of the " waves, and that the fea is fubjected to " you, as a wife is to her hufband."

As this fpeech came from the head of the church, people were not furprifed to find it a little myfterious; and the multitude, without confidering whether it contained much reafon or common fenfe, re-H 2 ceived

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ceived it with the greatest applause. The marriage has been regularly celebrated every year fince that time.

After the death of Ziani, if the terms which had been agreed upon previous to the election, had been literally adhered to, the grand council of four hundred and feventy would have proceeded to choofe a Doge, fimply by the plurality of votes; but, for fome reafon which is not now known, that method was waved, and the following adopted. Four perfons were chofen by the grand council, each of whom had the power of naming ten; and the whole forty had the appointing of the Doge.

Their choice fell upon the fame Orio Malipier, who had declined the dignity in favour of his friend Ziani.

Under the administration of Malipier, two new forms of magistracy were created ; the

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the first was that of the Avogadors. Their duty is to take care that the laws in being fhall be punctually executed ; and while it is the bufiness of other magistrates to proceed against the transgreffors of the laws, it is theirs to bring a process against those magistrates who neglect to put them in execution. They decide also on the nature of accufations, and determine before which of the courts every caufe shall be brought, not leaving it in the power of either of the parties to carry a caufe to a high court, which is competent to be tried by one lefs expensive; and no refolution of the grand council, or fenate, is valid, unlefs, at leaft, one of the three Avogadors be prefent during the deliberation. It is also the duty of the Avogadors to keep the originals of all the decifions and regulations of the grand council and fenate, and to order them, and all other laws, to be read over, whenever they think proper, by way of refreshing the memories of the fenators. If H 3 the

the fenators are obliged to attend during those lectures, this is a very formidable power indeed. I am acquainted with fenators in another country, who would fooner give their judges the power of putting them to death at once, in a lefs lingering manner.

The fecond clafs of magiftrates, created at this time, was that called Judges al Foreflieri; there are alfo three of them. It is their duty to decide, in all caufes between citizens and ftrangers, and in all difputes which flrangers have with each other. This inflitution was peculiarly expedient, at a time when the refort from all countries to Venice was very great, both on account of commerce, and of the Crufades.

In the year 1192, after a very able administration, Malipier, who was of a very philosophical turn of mind, abdicated the office of Doge, and Henry Dandolo was elected in his place.

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I am a great deal too much fatigued with the preceding narrative, to accompany one of his active and enterprifing genius at prefent; and I have good reafon to fulpect, that you alfo have been, for fome time paft, inclined to repofe.

# LETTER X.

#### Venice.

Enry Dandolo had, in his early years, paffed, with general approbation, through many of the fubordinate offices of government; and had, a few years before he was elected to the dignity of Doge, been Ambaffador at the court of Manuel, the Greek emperor at Conftantinople. There, on account of his inflexible integrity, and his refufing to enter into the views of Manuel, which he thought contrary to the interest of his country, his eyes were almost entirely put out, by order of that tyrant. Notwithflanding this impediment, and his great age, being above eighty, he was now elected to the office of Doge.

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At this time, fome of the most powerful princes and nobles of France and Flanders, infligated by the zeal of Innocent the Third, and still more by their own pious fervour, refolved, in a fourth crufade, to attempt the recovery of the Holy Land, and the fepulchre of Chrift, from the hands of Infidels; and being, by the fate of others, taught the difficulties and dangers of tranfporting armies by land, they refolved to take their paffage from Europe to Afia by fea. On this occafion they applied to the Venetian State, who not only agreed to furnish ships for the transportation of the army, but alfo to join, with an armed fleet, as principals in the expedition.

The French army arrived foon after in the Venetian State; but fo ill had they calculated, that, when every thing was ready for the embarkation, part of the fum which they had agreed to pay for the transporting their troops, was deficient. This occasioned disputes

difputes between the French leaders and the State, which the Doge put an end to, by proposing, that they should pay in military fervices what they could not furnish in money. This was accepted, and the first exploits of the Crusade army were, the reduction of the town of Zara, and other places in Dalmatia, which had revolted from the Venetians. It had been previously agreed, that, after this fervice, the army should embark immediately for Egypt; but Dandolo, who had another project more at heart, represented that the feason was too far advanced, and found means to perfuade the French army to winter in Dalmatia.

During this interval, Dandolo, availing himfelf of fome favourable circumflances, had the dexterity to determine the French Crufaders, in fpite of the interdiction of the Pope, to join with the Venetian forces, and to carry their arms againft the emperor of Conftantinople; an expedition which,

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which, Dandolo afferted, would facilitate their original plan against the Holy Land, and which, he was convinced, would be attended with far greater advantages to both parties.

The crown of Conflantinople was never furrounded with greater dangers, nor has it ever known more fudden revolutions, than at this period.

Manuel, who had treated Dandolo, while ambaffador, with fo much barbarity, had been precipitated from the throne. His immediate fucceffor had, a fhort time after, experienced the fame fate. Betrayed by his own brother, his eyes had been put out, and, in that deplorable condition, he was kept clofe prifoner by the ufurper. The fon of this unfortunate man had efcaped from Conftantinople, and had arrived at Venice, to implore the protection of that State: the compaffion which his misfortune naturally excited,

excited, had confiderable effect in promoting the Doge's favourite feheme of leading the French and Venetian forces againft Conftantinople. The indefatigable Dandolo went, in perfon, at the head of his countrymen. The united army beat the troops of the ufurper in repeated battles, obliged him to fly from Conftantinople, placed his brother on the throne, and reflored to him his fon Alexis, who had been obliged to take refuge at Venice, from the cruelty of his uncle, and had accompanied Dandolo in this fuccefsful enterprife.

A mifunderstanding soon after ensued between the united armies and Alexis, now affociated with his father on the throne of Constantinople. The Greeks murmured at the favour which their emperor shewed to those foreigners, and thought his liberality to them inconfistent with his duty to his own subjects. The Crusaders, on the other hand, imagined, that all the wealth of

of his empire was hardly fufficient to repay the obligations he owed to them. The young prince, defirous to be just to the one, and grateful to the other, loft the confidence of both; and, while he ftrove to conciliate the minds of two fets of men, whole views and interefts were opposite, he was betrayed by Murtfuphlo, a Greek, who had gained his confidence, and whom he had railed to the higheft dignities of the empire. This traitor infinuated to the Greeks, that Alexis had agreed to deliver up Conftantinople to be pillaged, that he might fatisfy the avarice and rapacity of those ftrangers who had reftored his family to the throne. The people fly to arms, the palace is invested, Alexis and his father are put to death, and Murtfuphlo is declared emperor.

These transactions, though ascertained by the authenticity of history, seem as rapid as the revolutions of a theatrical representation.

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The chiefs of the united army, flruck with horror and indignation, affemble in council. Dandolo, always decifive in the moment of danger, gives it as his opinion, that they fhould immediately declare war against the ufurper, and make themfelves masters of the empire. This opinion prevails, and the conquest of the Greek empire is refolved upon.

After feveral bloody battles, and various affaults, the united armies of France and Venice enter victorious into Conftantinople, and divide the fpoils of that wealthy city.

The Doge, never fo much blinded with fuccefs as to lofe fight of the true intereft of his country, did not think of procuring for the republic, large dominions on the continent. The Venetians had, for their fhare, the iflands of the Archipelago, feveral ports on the coaft of the Hellefpont, the Morea, and the entire ifland of Candia. This This was a judicious partition for Venice, the augmentation of whofe ftrength dcpended on commerce, navigation, and the empire of the fea.

MANNERS IN ITALY.

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Though the ftar of Dandolo role in obfcurity, and fhone with no extraordinary luftre at its meridian height, yet nothing ever furpaffed the brilliancy of its fetting rays.

This extraordinary man died at Conflantinople, oppreffed with age, but while the laurels, which adorned his hoary head, were in youthful verdure.

The annals of mankind prefent nothing more worthy of our admiration. A man, above the age of eighty, and almost entirely deprived of his fight, despising the repose necessfary for age, and the secure honours which attended him at home; engaging in a hazardous enterprise, against a distant 7 and

and powerful enemy; fupporting the fatigues of a military life with the fpirit of youth, and the perfeverance of a veteran, in a fuperfitious age; and, whilft he led an army of religious enthuliafts, braving, at once, the indignation of the Pope, the prejudices of bigots, and all the dangers of war; difplaying the ardour of a conqueror, the judgment of a flatesman, and the difinterested spirit of a patriot; preparing distant events, improving accidental circumftances, managing the most impetuous characters; and, with admirable addrefs, making all fubfervient to the vaft plan he had conceived, for the aggrandizing his native country. Yet this man paffed his youth, manhood, and great part of his old age, unknown. Had he died at feventy, his name would have been fwept, with the common rubbish of courts and capitals, into the gulph of oblivion. So neceffary are occafions, and fituations, for bringing into light the concealed vigour of the greatest characters ;

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characters; and fo true it is, that while we fee, at the head of kingdoms, men of the moft vulgar abilities, the periods of whofe exiftence ferve only as dates to hiftory, many whofe talents and virtues would have fwelled her brighteft pages have died unnoted, from the obfcurity of their fituations, or the languor and flupidity of the ages in which they lived.

But the romantic flory of Henry Dandolo has feduced me from my original purpole, which was, to give you an idea of the rife and progrefs of the Venetian ariftocracy, and which I fhall refume in my next.

VOL. I.

## LETTER XI.

### Venice.

HE fenate of Venice, ever jealous of their civil liberty, while they rejoiced at the vaft acquifitions lately made by their fleet and army, perceived that those new conquests might tend to the ruin of the constitution, by augmenting the power and influence of the first magistrate.

In the year 1206, immediately after they were informed of the death of Dandolo, they created fix new magistrates, called Correctors; and this inflitution has been renewed at every interregnum which has happened fince.

The duty of those Correctors is, to examine into all abuses which may have taken place

place during the reign of the preceding Doge, and report them to the fenate, that they may be remedied, and prevented for the future, by wholefome laws, before the election of another Doge. At the fame time it was ordained, that the State fhould be indemnified out of the fortune of the deceafed magiftrate, from any detriment it had fuffained by his maladministration, of which the fenate were to be the judges. This law was certainly well calculated to make the Doge very circumfpect in his conduct, and has been the origin of all the future reftraints which have been laid on that very unenviable office.

Men accuftomed to the calm and fecure enjoyments of private life, are apt to imagine, that no mortal would be fond of any office on fuch conditions; but the fenate of Venice, from more extensive views of human nature, knew that there always was a fufficient number of men, cager to grasp the I 2, fceptre

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fceptre of ambition, in defiance of all the thorns with which it could be furrounded.

It was not the intention of the Venetian fenate to throw the fmalleft flain on the character of their late patriotic Doge; neverthelefs they thought the interregnum after his death, the moft favourable opportunity of paffing this law; becaufe, when the Inquifition had taken place after his glorious reign, no Doge could expect that it would ever afterwards be difpenfed with.

The Correctors having been chofen, and the inquifition made, Peter Ziani was elected Doge. In his reign a court for civil caufes, denominated the Tribunal of Forty, was created. Its name fufficiently explains the intention of effablifhing this court, to which there is an appeal from the decifions of all inferior magiftrates in civil caufes tried within the city. It is to be

be diffinguished from the court of Forty, formerly mentioned, whose jurifdiction was now confined to criminal causes: it afterwards got the name of *old* civil council of Forty, to diffinguish it from a third court, confisting also of forty members, which was established at a subsequent period, to decide, by appeal, in all civil causes, from the judgments of the inferior courts without the city of Venice.

Towards the end of his life, about the year 1228, Ziani abdicated his office. At the election of his fucceffor, the fuffrages were equally divided, between Rainier Dandolo, and James Theipolo. This prolonged the interregnum for two months; as often as they were balloted, during that time, each of them had twenty balls. The fenate, at laft, ordained them to draw lots, which decided in favour of Theipolo.

During his administration, the Venetian code was, in fome degree, reformed and I 3 abridged.

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abridged. One of the greateft inconveniences of freedom, is the number of laws neceffary to protect the life and property of each citizen; the natural confequences of which are, a multitude of lawyers, with all the fuits and vexations which they create; "les peines, les défpenfes, les "longueurs, les dangers mêmes de la juf-"tice," fays Montefquieu, "font le prix "que chaque citoyen donne pour fa liberté." The more freedom remains in a State, of the higher importance will the life and property of each citizen be confidered. A defpotic government counts the life of a citizen as of no importance at all.

The Doge Theipolo, who had himfelf been a lawyer, as many of the Venetian nobles at that time were, beftowed infinite labour in arranging and illuminating the vaft chaos of laws and regulations in which the jurifprudence of a republic, fo jealous of her liberty, had been involved. After a long reign, he abdicated the government; and,

and, to prevent the inconveniency which had happened at his election, the number of electors, by a new decree of the fenate, was augmented to forty-one.

In the reign of his fucceffor, Marino Marfini, two judges, called Criminal Judges of the Night, were appointed. Their function is to judge of what are called nocturnal crimes, under which denomination are reckoned robberies, wilful fire, rapes, and bigamy. We find alfo, that Jews lying with Chriftian women, is enumerated among nocturnal crimes; though, by an unjuftifiable partiality, a Chriftian man lying with a Jewifh woman, whether by night or day, is not mentioned as any crime at all.

A few years after, in the reign of the Doge Rainier Zeno, four more judges were added to this tribunal; and, during the interregnum which took place at his death,

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in the year 1268, a new form of electing the Doge was fixed, which, though fomewhat complicated, has been observed ever fince.

All the members of the grand council, who are paft thirty years of age, being affembled in the hall of the palace, as many balls are put into an urn as there are members prefent; thirty of thefe balls are gilt, and the reft white. Each counfellor draws one; and thofe who get the gilt balls, go into another room, where there is an urn, containing thirty balls, nine of which are gilt. The thirty members draw again; and thofe who, by a fecond piece of good fortune, get the gilt balls, are the *firft electors*, and have a right to choofe forty, among whom they comprehend themfelves.

Those forty, by balloting in the same manner as in the former instances, are reduced to twelve *fecond electors*, who choose twenty-

twenty-five, the first of the twelve naming three, and the remaining eleven two, a-piece. All those being affembled in a chamber apart, each of them draws a ball from an urn, containing twenty-five balls, among which are nine gilt. This reduces them to nine third electors, each of whom choofes five, making in all forty-five; who, as in the preceding inftances, are reduced by ballot, to eleven fourth electors, and they have the nomination of fortyone, who are the direct electors of the Doge. Being fhut up by themfelves, they begin by chooling three chiefs, and two fecretaries; each elector, being then called, throws a little billet into an urn, which flands on a table before the chiefs. On this billet is inferibed the perfon's name whom the elector wifnes to be Doge.

The fecretaries then, in the prefence of the chiefs, and of the whole affembly, open the billets. Among all the forty-one 7 there

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there are, generally, but a very few different names, as the election, for the most part, balances between two or three candidates. Their names, whatever is the number, are put into another urn, and drawn out one after another. As foon as a name is extracted, the Secretary reads it, and, if the perfon to whom it belongs is prefent, he immediately retires. One of the chiefs then demands, with a loud voice, whether any crime can be laid to this perfon's charge, or any objection made to his being raifed to the fovereign dignity? If any objection is made, the accufed is called in, and heard in his own defence; after which the electors proceed to give their decifion, by throwing a ball into one of two boxes, one of which is for the Ayes, the other for the Noes. The Secretaries then count the balls, and if there are twenty-five in the first, the election is finished; if not, another name is read, and the fame inquifition made as before. 3

MANNERS IN ITALY. 123 before, till there are twenty-five approving balls.

This form, wherein judgment and chance are fo perfectly blended, precludes every attempt to corrupt the electors, and all cabals for the Ducal dignity; for who could dream, by any labour or contrivance, of gaining an election, the mode of whofe procedure equally baffles the addrefs of a politician and a juggler ?

Lawrence Theipolo was the first Doge chosen according to this mode. In his reign the office of Grand Chancellor was created.

Hitherto the public acts were figned by certain perfons chofen by the Doge himfelf, and called Chancellors; but the Grand Council, which we find always folicitous to limit the power of the Doge, thought *that* method improper; and now propofed, that a Chancellor

Chancellor fhould be appointed by themfelves, with rights and privileges entirely independent of the Doge. At the fame time, as the people had fhewn fymptoms of difcontent, on account of the great offices being all in the diffinguifhed families, it was thought expedient to ordain, that the Chancellor fhould always be taken from among the Secretaries of the fenate, who were citizens. Afterwards, when the council of ten came to be eftablifhed, it was ordained, that the Chancellor might be chofen either from the Secretaries of that court, or from thofe of the fenate.

The Grand Chancellor of Venice is an officer of great dignity and importance; he has the keeping of the great feal of the Commonwealth, and is privy to all the fecrets of the State; he is confidered as the head of the order of citizens, and his office is the moft lucrative in the republic; yet, though he muft be prefent at MANNERS IN ITALY. 125 at all the councils, he has no deliberative voice.

In perufing the annals of this republic, we continually meet with proofs of the reftless jealousy of this government; even the private economy of families fometimes created fufpicion, however blamelefs the public conduct of the mafter might be. The prefent Doge had married a foreign lady; his two fons followed his example; one of their wives was a princefs. This gave umbrage to the fenate; they thought that, by fuch means, the nobles might acquire an intereft, and connexions, in other countries, inconfistent with their duty as citizens of Venice; and therefore, in the interregnum which followed the death of Theipolo, a law was proposed by the Correctors, and immediately paffed, by which all future Doges, and their fons, were interdicted from marriage with foreigners; under

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under the pain of being excluded from the office of Doge.

Though the people had been gradually, as we have feen, deprived of their original right of electing the chief magistrate; yet, on the elections which fucceeded the eftablifhment of the new mode, the Doge had always been prefented to the multitude affembled in St. Mark's Place, as if requefling their approbation ; and the people, flattered with this fmall degree of attention, had never failed to announce their fatisfaction by repeated fhouts : but the fenate feem to have been afraid of leaving them even this empty fhadow of their ancient power; for they ordained, that, inftead of prefenting the Doge to the multitude, to receive their acclamations, as formerly, a Syndic, for the future, should, in the name of the people, congratulate the new Doge on his election. On this occasion, the fenate do

do not feem to have acted with their ufual discernment. Show often affects the minds of men more than fubftance, as appeared in the prefent inftance; for the Venetian populace difplayed more refertment on being deprived of this noify piece of form, than when the fubftantial right had been taken from them. After the death of the Doge John Dandolo, before a new election could take place in the ufual forms, a prodigious multitude affembled in St. Mark's Place, and, with loud acclamations, proclaimed James Theipolo; declaring, that this was more binding than any other mode of election, and that he was Doge to all intents and purpofes. While the fenate remained in fearful fuspense for the confequences of an event fo alarming and unlooked-for, they were informed, that Theipolo had. withdrawn himfelf from the city, with a determination to remain concealed, till he heard how the fenate and people would fettle the difpute.

The people, having no perfon of weight to conduct or head them, renounced, with their ufual ficklenefs, a project which they had begun with their ufual intrepidity.

The Grand Council, freed from alarm, proceeded to a regular election, and chofe Peter Gradonico, a man of enterprife, firmnefs, and addrefs, in whofe reign we fhall fee the dying embers of democracy perfectly extinguished.

## LETTER XII.

#### Venice.

Radonico, from the moment he was in poffession of the office of Doge, formed a scheme of depriving the people of all their remaining power. An aversion to popular government, and refentment of some signs of personal diflike, which the populace had shewn at his election, seem to have been his only motives; for, while he completely annihilated the ancient rights of the people, he shewed no inclination to augment the power of his own office.

Although the people had experienced many mortifying deviations from the old conflitution, yet, as the Grand Council was chosen annually, by electors of their Vol. I. K own

own nomination, they flattered themfelves that they flill retained an important fhare in the government. It was this laft hold of their declining freedom which Gradonico meditated to remove, for ever, from their hands. Such a project was of a nature to have intimidated a man of lefs courage; but his natural intrepidity, animated by refertment, made him overlook all dangers and difficulties.

He began (as if by way of experiment) with fome alterations refpecting the manner of choofing the Grand Council; thefe, however, occafioned murmurs; and it was feared, that dangerous tumults would arife at the next election of that court.

But, fuperior to fear, Gradonico infpired others with courage; and, before the period of the election arrived, he ftruck the decifive blow.

A law

A law was published in the year 1297, by which it was ordained, that those who actually belonged to the Grand Council, fhould continue members of it for life : and that the fame right fhould defcend to their posterity, without any form of election whatever. This was at once forming a body of hereditary legiflative nobility, and eftablishing a complete aristocracy, upon the ruins of the ancient popular government.

This meafure ftruck all the citizens, who were not then of the Grand Council, with concern and aftonishment; but, in a particular manner, those of ancient and noble families; for although, as has been already observed, there was, strictly speaking, no nobility with exclusive privileges before this law, yet there were in Venice, as there must be in the most democratical republics, certain families confidered as more honourable than others, many of whom K 2 found

found themfelves, by this law, thrown into a rank inferior to that of the leaft confiderable perfon who happened, at this important period, to be a member of the Grand Council. To conciliate the minds of fuch dangerous malcontents, exceptions were made in their favour, and fome of the most powerful were immediately received into the Grand Council; and to others it was promifed that they should, at some future period, be admitted. By fuch hopes, artfully infinuated, and by the great influence of the members who actually composed the Grand Council, all immediate infurrections were prevented; and foreign wars, and objects of commerce, foon turned the people's attention from this mortifying change in the nature of the government.

A ftrong refentment of thole innovations, however, festered in the breasts of fome individuals, who, a few years after, under the direction of one Marino Bocconi, formed

formed a defign to affaffinate Gradonico, and maffacre all the Grand Council, without diffinction. This plot was difcovered, and the chiefs, after confeffing their crimes, were executed between the pillars.

The confpiracy of Bocconi was confined to malcontents of the rank of citizens; but one of a more dangerous nature, and which originated among the nobles themfelves, was formed in the year 1309.

This combination was made up of fome of the moft diffinguished of those who were not of the Grand Council when the reform took place, and who had not been admitted afterwards, according to their expectations; and of some others of very ancient families, who could not bear to see for many citizens raised to a level with themselves, and who, besides, were piqued at what they called the Pride of Gradonico. These men chose for their leader, the son of James K 3 Theipolo,

Theipolo, who had been proclaimed Doge by the populace. Their object was, to difpoffels Gradonico, and reftore the ancient conflication; they were foon joined by a great many of inferior rank, within the city, and they engaged confiderable numbers of their friends and dependents from Padua, and the adjacent country, to come to Venice, and affift them, at the time appointed for the infurrection. Confidering the numbers that were privy to this undertaking, it is aftonishing that it was not difcovered till the night preceding that on which it was to have taken place. The uncommon concourfe of ftrangers created the first fuspicion, which was confirmed by the confession of some who were acquainted with the defign. The Doge immediately fummoned the council, and fent expresses to the governors of the neighbouring towns and forts, with orders for them to haften with their forces to Venice. The confpisators were not difconcerted; they affembled,

bled, and attacked the Doge and his friends, who were collected in a body around the palace. The Place of St. Mark was the fcene of this tumultuous battle, which lasted many hours, but was attended with more noife and terror among the inhabitants, than bloodshed to the combatants. Some of the military governors arriving with troops, the contest ended in the rout of the confpirators. A few nobles had been killed in the engagement; a greater number were executed by order of the fenate. Theipolo, who had fled, was declared infamous, and an enemy to his country; his goods and fortune were confifcated, and his houfe razed to the ground. After these executions, it was thought expedient, to receive into the Grand Council, feveral of the most distinguished families of citizens.

Those two conspiracies having immediately followed one another, spread an K 4 universal

univerfal diffidence and dread over the city, and gave rife to the court called the Council of Ten, which was erected about this time, merely as a temporary Tribunal, to examine into the caufes, punifh the accomplices, and deftroy the feeds of the late confpiracy; but which, in the fequel, became permanent. I fhall wave farther mention of this court, till we come to the period when the State Inquifitors were eftablifhed; but it is proper to mention, that the Ecclefiaftical Court of Inquifition was alfo erected at Venice, in the reign of the Doge Gradonico.

The Popes had long endeavoured to introduce this court into every country in Europe; they fucceeded too well in many; but though it was not entirely rejected by the State of Venice, yet it was accepted under fuch refirictions as have prevented the difmal cruelties which accompany it in other countries.

This

This republic feems, at all times, to have a firong imprefion of the ambitious and encroaching fpirit of the court of Rome; and has, on all occafions, fhewn the greateft unwillingnefs to entruft power in the hands of ecclefiaftics. Of this, the Venetians gave an undoubted proof at prefent; for while they eftablifhed a new civil Court of Inquifition, with the moft unlimited powers, they would not receive the ecclefiaftical inquifitions, except on conditions to which it had not been fubjected in any other country.

The court of Rome never difplayed more addrefs than in its attempts to elude thofe limitations, and to prevail on the fenate to admit the inquifition at Venice, on the fame footing as it had been received elfewhere; but the fenate was as firm as the Pope was artful, and the Court of Inquifition was at laft eftablifhed, under the following conditions:

That

That three commissioners from the Senate should attend the deliberations of that court, none of whose decrees could be executed without the approbation of the commissioners.

Those commissioners were to take no oath of fidelity, or engagement of any kind, to the Inquisition; but were bound by oath to conceal nothing from the senate which should pass in the Holy Office.

That herefy fhould be the only crime cognifable by the Inquifition; and, in cafe of the conviction and condemnation of any criminal, his goods and money fhould not belong to the court, but to his natural heirs.

That Jews and Greeks should be indulged in the exercise of their religion, without being diffurbed by this court.

The

The commissioners were to prevent the registration of any statute made at Rome; or any where out of the Venetian State.

The Inquifitors were not permitted to condemn books as heretical, without the concurrence of the Senate; nor were they allowed to judge any to be fo, but those already condemned by the edict of Clement VIII.

Such were the refrictions under which the Inquifition was eftablished at Venice; and nothing can more clearly prove their efficacy, than a comparison of their numbers, who have fuffered for herefy here, with those who have been condemned to death by that court in every other place where it was eftablished.

An inftance is recorded of a man, named Narino, being condemned to a public punifhment, for having composed a book 3 in

in defence of the opinions of John Hufs. For this (the greateft of all crimes in the fight of Inquifitors) his fentence was, that he fhould be exposed publicly on a fcaffold, dreffed in a gown, with flames and devils painted on it. The moderation of the civil magiftrate appears in this fentence. Without his interposition, the flames which furrounded the prifoner would, in all probability, not have been *painted*. This, which is mentioned in the Hiftory of Venice as an inftance of feverity, happened at a time, when, in Spain and Portugal, many wretches were burnt, by order of the Inquifition, for fmaller offences.

In 1354, during the interregnum after the death of Andrew Dandolo, it was propofed, by the Correctors of Abufes, that, for the future, the three chiefs of the Criminal Council of Forty fhould be members of the College; and this paffed into a law.

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It may be neceffary to mention, that the College, otherwife called the Seigniory, is the fupreme cabinet council of the State. This court was originally composed of the Doge and fix counfellors only; but to thefe, at different periods, were added; first, fix of the Grand Council, chosen by the Senate; they were called Savii, or Sages, from their fupposed wildom; and afterwards, five Savii, of the Terra Firma, whole more immediate duty is to fuperintend the bufinefs of the towns and provinces belonging to the republic, on the continent of Europe, particularly what regards the troops. At one time there were also five Savii for maritime affairs. but they had little business after the Venetian navy became inconfiderable; and now, in the room of them, five young noblemen are chofen by the Senate every fix months, who attend the meetings of the Seigniory, without having a vote, though

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though they give their opinions when afked. This is by way of inftructing, and rendering them fit for the affairs of State. They are called Sages of the Orders, and are chosen every fix months.

To those were added, the three chiefs of the Criminal Court of Forty; the court then confisting, in all, of twenty-fix members.

The College is, at once, the cabinet council, and the reprefentative of the republic. This court gives audience, and delivers anfwers, in the name of the republic, to foreign Ambaffadors, to the deputies of towns and provinces, and to the generals of the army; it alfo receives all requefts and memorials on State affairs, fummons the Senate at pleafure, and arranges the bufinefs to be difcuffed in that affembly.

In

In the Venetian government, great care is taken to balance the power of one court by that of another, and to make them reciprocal checks on each other. It was probably from a jealoufy of the power of the College, that three chiefs of the Criminal Court of Forty were now added to it. 144

## LETTER XIII.

#### Venice.

THE hiftory of no nation prefents a greater variety of fingular events than that of Venice. We have feen a confpiracy against this State, originating among the citizens, and carried on by people of that rank only. We faw another, foon after, which took its origin among the body of the nobles; but the year 1355 prefents us with one of a ftill more extraordinary nature, begun, and carried on, by the Doge himfelf. If ambition, or the augmentation of his own power, had been the object, it would not have been fo furprifing; but his motive to the confpiracy was as fmall as the intention was dreadful.

Marino

Marino Falliero, Doge of Venice, was, at this time, eighty years of age; a time of life when the violence of the paffions is generally pretty much abated. He had, even then, however, given a ftrong inftance of the rafhnefs of his difpolition, by marrying a very young woman. This lady imagined fhe had been affronted by a young Venetian nobleman at a public ball, and fhe complained bitterly of the infult to her hufband. The old Doge, who had all the defire imaginable to pleafe his wife, determined, in this matter at leaft, to give her ample fatisfaction.

The delinquent was brought before the Judges, and the crime was exaggerated with all the eloquence that money could purchafe; but they viewed the affair with unprejudiced eyes, and pronounced a fentence no more than adequate to the crime. The Doge was filled with the most extravagant rage, and, finding that the body of Vol. I. L the

the nobles took no fhare in his wrath, he entered into a confpiracy with the Admiral of the Arfenal, and fome others, who were difcontented with the government on other accounts, and projected a method of vindicating his wife's honour, which feems rather violent for the occafion. It was refolved by thofe defperadoes, to maffacre the whole Grand Council. Such a feene of bloodfhed, on account of one woman, has not been imagined fince the Trojan war.

This plot was conducted with more fecrecy than could have been expected, from a man who feems to have been deprived of reafon, as well as humanity. Every thing was prepared; and the day, previous to that which was fixed for the execution, had arrived, without any perfon, but those concerned in the confpiracy, having the least knowledge of the horrid defign.

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It was difcovered in the fame manner in which that against the King and Parliament of England, was brought to light in the time of James the First.

Bertrand Bergamefe, one of the confpirators, being defirous to fave Nicolas Lioni, a noble Venetian, from the general maffacre, called on him, and earneftly admonifhed him, on no account, to go out of his houfe the following day; for, if he did, he would certainly lofe his life. Lioni preffed him to give fome reafon for this extraordinary advice; which the other obftinately refufing, Lioni ordered him to be feized, and confined; and, fending for fome of his friends of the Senate, by means of promifes and threats, they at length prevailed on the prifoner to difcover the whole of this horrid myftery.

They fend for the Avogadors, the Council of Ten, and other high officers, by L 2 whom

whom the prifoner was examined; after which, orders were given for feizing the principal confpirators in their houfes, and for fummoning those of the nobility and citizens, on whofe fidelity the Council could rely. These measures could not be taken fo fecretly as not to alarm many, who found means to make their escape. A confiderable number were arrefted, among whom were two chiefs of the confpiracy under the Doge. They being put to the question, confessed the whole. It appeared, that only a felect body of the principal men had been privy to the real defign; great numbers had been defired to be prepared with arms, at a particular hour, when they would be employed in attacking certain encinies of the State, which were not named; they were defired to keep those orders a perfect fecret, and were told, that upon their fidelity and fecrecy their future fortunes depended. Those men did not - know of each other, and had no fuspicion that

that it was not a lawful enterprise for which they were thus engaged; they were therefore fet at liberty; but all the chiefs of the plot gave the fullest evidence against the Doge. It was proved, that the whole fcheme had been formed by his direction, and supported by his influence. After the principal confpirators were tried, and executed, the Council of Ten next proceeded to the trial of the Doge himfelf. They defired that twenty fenators, of the highest reputation, might affift upon this folemn occasion; and that two relations of the Fallier family, one of whom was a member of the Council of Ten, and the other an Avogador, might withdraw from the court.

The Doge, who hitherto had remained under a guard in his own apartments in the palace, was now brought before this Tribunal of his own fubjects. He was dreffed in the robes of his office.

It

It is thought he intended to have denied the charge, and attempted a defence; but when he perceived the number and nature of the proofs against him, overwhelmed by their force, he acknowledged his guilt, with many fruitles and abject intreaties for mercy.

That a man, of eighty years of age, fhould lofe all firmnefs on fuch an occasion, is not marvellous; that he should have been incited, by a trifling offence, to such an inhuman, and such a deliberate plan of wickednefs, is without example.

He was fentenced to lofe his head. The fentence was executed in the place where the Doges are ufually crowned.

In the Great Chamber of the palace, where the portraits of the Doges are placed, there is a vacant fpace between the portraits of Fallier's immediate predeceffor MANNERS IN ITALY. 151 deceffor and fucceffor, with this infcription:

Locus Marini Fallieri decapitati.

The only other inftance which hiftory prefents to our contemplation, of a fovereign tried according to the forms of law, and condemned to death by a Tribunal of his own fubjects, is that of Charles the First, of Great Britain. But how differently are we affected by a review of the two cafes !

In the one, the original errors of the miguided Prince are forgotten in the feverity of his fate, and in the calm majeflic firmnels with which he bore it. Thole who, from public fpirit, had oppoled the unconflitutional measures of his government, were no more; and the men now in power were actuated by far different principles. All the paffions of humanity, therefore, take part with the royal fuf-L 4 ferer;

ferer; nothing but the ungenerous fpirit of party can feduce them to the fide of his enemies. In his trial we behold, with a mixture of pity and indignation, the unhappy monarch delivered up to the malice of hypocrites, the rage of fanatics, and the infolence of a low-born law ruffian.

In the other, every fentiment of compaffion is effaced by horror, at the enormity of the crime.

In the year 1361, after the death of the Doge John Delfino, when the laft electors were confined in the Ducal Chamber to choofe his fucceffor, and while the election vibrated between three candidates, a report arrived at Venice, that Laurentius Celfus, who commanded the fleet, had obtained a con-plete victory over the Genoefe, who were at that time at war with the Venetians. This intelligence was communicated to the electors, who immediately dropped all

all the three candidates, and unanimoufly chofe this commander. Soon after, it was found, that the rumour of the victory was entirely groundlefs. This could not affect the validity of the election; but it produced a decree to prevent, on future occafions of the fame kind, all communication between the people without, and the conclave of electors.

This Doge's father difplayed a fingular inflance of weaknefs and vanity, which fome of the hiftorians have thought worth tranfmitting to us. I do not know for what reafon, unlefs it be to comfort pofterity with the reflection, that human folly is much the fame in all ages, and that their anceftors have not been a great deal wifer than themfelves. This old gentleman thought it beneath the dignity of a father to pull off his cap to his own fon; and that he might not feem to condefcend fo far, even when all the other nobles fhewed this

this mark of respect to their sovereign, he went, from the moment of his fon's election, upon all occafions, and in all weathers, with his head uncovered. The Doge being folicitous for his father's health, and finding that no perfuafion, nor explanation of the matter, that could be given, were fufficient to overcome this obftinacy, recollected that he was as devout as he was vain, which fuggefted an expedient that had the defired effect. He placed a crofs on the front of his ducal coronet. The old man was as defirous to teftify his respect to the crofs, as he was averfe to pay obeifance to his fon; and unable to devife any way of pulling off a cap which he never wore, his piety, at length, got the better of his pride; he refumed his cap, as formerly, that, as often as his fon appeared, he might pull it off in honour of the crofs.

During the reign of Laurentius Celfus, the celebrated poet Petrarch, who refided for fome

fome time at Venice, and was pleafed with the manners of the people, and the wifdom of their government, made a prefent to the republic, of his collection of books; which, at that time, was reckoned very valuable. This was the foundation of the great library of St. Mark.

In perusing the annals of Venice, we continually meet with new inftitutions. No fooner is any inconveniency perceived, than measures are taken to remove it, or guard against its effects. About this time, three new magistrates were appointed. whofe duty is to prevent all oftentatious luxuries in drefs, equipage, and other expenfive fuperfluities, and to profecute those who tranfgrefs the fumptuary laws, which comprehend fuch objects. Those magistrates are called Sopra Proveditori alle Pompé; they were allowed a difcretionary power of levying fines, from people of certain profeffions, who deal entirely in articles of luxury.

luxury. Of this number, that of public courtefans was reckoned. This profeffion, according to all accounts, formerly flourifhed at Venice, with a degree of fplendour unknown in any other capital of Europe; and very confiderable exactions were raifed to the ufe of the State, at particular times, from the wealthieft of thofe dealers. This excife, it would appear, has been pufhed beyond what the trade could bear; for it is at prefent in a flate of wretchednefs and decay; the beft of the bufinefs, as is faid, being now carried on, for mere pleafure, by people who do not avow themfelves of the profeffion.

## LETTER XIV.

#### Venice.

O government was ever more punctual, and impartial, than that of Venice, in the execution of the laws. This was thought effential to the well-being, and very existence, of the State. For this, all refpect for individuals, all private confiderations whatever, and every compunctious feeling of the heart, is facrificed. To execute law with all the rigour of justice, is confidered as the chief virtue of a judge; and, as there are cafes in which the sternest may relent, the Venetian government has taken care to appoint certain magistrates, whose fole business is to fee that others perform their duty upon all occafions.

All

All this is very fine in the abstract, but we often find it detestable in the application.

In the year 1400, while Antonio Venier was Doge, his fon having committed an offence which evidently fprung from mere youthful levity, and nothing worfe, was condemned in a fine of one hundred ducats, and to be imprifoned for a certain time.

While the young man was in prifon, he fell fick, and petitioned to be removed to a purer air. The Doge rejected the petition; declaring, that the fentence muft be executed literally; and that his fon muft take the fortune of others in the fame predicament. The youth was much beloved, and many applications were made, that the fentence might be foftened, on account of the danger which threatened him. The father was inexorable, and the fon died in prifon.

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prifon. Of whatever refined fubstance this man's heart may have been composed, I am better pleafed that mine is made of the common materials.

Carlo Zeno was accufed, by the Council of Ten, of having received a fum of money from Francis Carraro, fon of the Seignior of Padua, contrary to an express law, which forbids all fubjects of Venice, on any pretext whatever, accepting any falary, penfion, or gratification, from a foreign Prince, or State. This acculation was grounded on a paper found among Carraro's accounts, when Padua was taken by the Venetians. In this paper was an article of four hundred ducats paid to Carlo Zeno, who declared, in his defence, that while he was, by the Senate's permiffion, governor of the Milanefe, he had vifited Carraro, then a prifoner in the cafile of Afti; and finding him in want of common necessaries, 8 he

he had advanced to him the fum in queftion; and that this Prince, having been liberated fome fhort time after, had, on his return to Padua, repaid the money.

Zeno was a man of acknowledged candour, and of the higheft reputation; he had commanded the fleets and armies of the State with the most brilliant fuccess; yet neither this, nor any other confiderations, prevailed on the Court to depart from their ufually feverity. They owned that, from Zeno's usual integrity, there was no reason to doubt the truth of his declaration ; but the affertions of an accufed perfon were not fufficient to efface the force of the prefumptive circumstances which appeared against him .- His declaration might be convincing to those who knew him intimately, but was not legal evidence of his innocence; and they adhered to a diffinguishing maxim of this Court, that it is of more importance to the State,

State, to intimidate every one from even the appearance of fuch a crime, than to allow a perfon, againft whom a prefumption of guilt remained, to efcape, however innocent he might be. This man, who had rendered the most effential fervices to the republic, and had gained many victories, was condemned to be removed from all his offices, and to be imprifoned for two years.

But the most affecting instance of the odious inflexibility of Venetian courts, appears in the case of Foscari, son to the Doge of that name.

This young man had, by fome imprudences, given offence to the Senate, and was, by their orders, confined at Trevifo, when Almor Donato, one of the Council of Ten, was affaffinated, on the 5th of November 1750, as he entered his own houfe.

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A reward,

A reward, in ready money, with pardon for this, or any other crime, and a penfion of two hundred ducats, revertible to children, was promifed to any perfon who would difcover the planner, or perpetrator, of this crime. No fuch difcovery was made.

One of young Foscari's footmen, named Olivier, had been observed loitering near Donato's house on the evening of the murder;—he fled from Venice next morning. These, with other circumstances of less importance, created a strong suspicion that Foscari had engaged this man to commit the murder.

Olivier was taken, brought to Venice, put to the torture, and confeffed nothing; yet the Council of Ten, being prepoffeffed with an opinion of their guilt, and imagining that the mafter would have lefs refolution, ufed him in the fame cruel manner.—The 4 unhappy

unhappy young man, in the midft of his agony, continued to affert, that he knew nothing of the affaffination. This convinced the Court of his firmnefs, but not of his innocence; yet as there was no legal proof of his guilt, they could not fentence him to death. He was condemned to pafs the reft of his life in banifhment, at Canéa, in the ifland of Candia.

This unfortunate youth bore his exile with more impatience than he had done the rack; he often wrote to his relations and friends, praying them to intercede in his behalf, that the term of his banifhment might be abridged, and that he might be permitted to return to his family before he died.—All his applications were fruitlefs; those to whom he addreffed himfelf had never interfered in his favour, for fear of giving offence to the obdurate Council, or had interfered in vain.

M 2

After

After languishing five years in exile, having loft all hope of return, through the interpolition of his own family, or countrymen, in a fit of despair he addreffed the Duke of Milan, putting him in mind of fervices which the Doge, his father, had rendered him, and begging that he would use his powerful influence with the State of Venice, that his fentence might be recalled. He entrusted his letter to a merchant, going from Canéa to Venice, who promifed to take the first opportunity of fending it from thence to the Duke; inftead of which, this wretch, as foon as he arrived at Venice, delivered it to the chiefs of the Council of Ten.

This conduct of young Foscari appeared criminal in the eyes of those judges; for, by the laws of the republic, all its subjects are expressly forbid claiming the protection of foreign Princes, in any thing which relates to the government of Venice.

/ Foscari

Foscari was therefore ordered to be brought from Candia, and shut up in the State prison. There the chiefs of the Council of Ten ordered him once more to be put to the torture, to draw from him the motives which determined him to apply to the Duke of Milan. Such an exertion of law is, indeed, the most flagrant injustice.

The miferable youth declared to the Council, that he had wrote the letter, in the full perfuation that the merchant, whofe character he knew, would betray him, and deliver it to them; the confequence of which, he forefaw, would be, his being ordered back a prifoner to Venice, the only means he had in his power of feeing his parents and friends; a pleafure for which he had languifhed, with unfurmountable defire, for fome time, and which he was willing to purchafe at the expence of any danger or pain.

The

The Judges, little affected with this generous inflance of filial piety, ordained, that the unhappy young man fhould be carried back to Candia, and there be imprifoned for a year, and remain banifhed to that ifland for life; with this condition, that if he fhould make any more applications to foreign Powers, his imprifonment fhould be perpetual. At the fame time they gave permiffion, that the Doge, and his lady, might vifit their unfortunate fon.

The Doge was, at this time, very old; he had been in poffeffion of the office above thirty years. Thofe wretched parents had an interview with their fon in one of the apartments of the palace; they embraced him with all the tendernefs which his misfortunes, and his filial affection, deferved. The father exhorted him to bear his hard fate with firmnefs; the fon protefted, in the most moving terms, that this was not in his power; that however others

others could fupport the difmal lonelinefs of a prifon, he could not; that his heart was formed for friendship, and the reciprocal endearments of focial life; without which his foul funk into dejection worfe than death, from which alone he fhould look for relief, if he should again be confined to the horrors of a prifon; and melting into tears, he funk at his father's feet, imploring him to take compassion on a fon who had ever loved him with the most dutiful affection, and who was perfectly innocent of the crime of which he was accufed; he conjured him, by every bond of nature and religion, by the bowels of a father, and the mercy of a Redeemer, to use his influence with the Council to mitigate their fentence, that he might be faved from the most cruel of all deaths, that of expiring under the flow tortures of a broken heart, in a horrible banishment from every creature he loved .- " My fon," replied the Doge, "fubmit to the laws of your country, M 4 " and

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" and do not afk of me what it is not in
" my power to obtain."

Having made this effort, he retired to another apartment; and, unable to fupport any longer the acutenels of his feelings, he funk into a flate of infenfibility, in which condition he remained till fome time after his fon had failed on his return to Candia.

Nobody has prefumed to defcribe the anguifh of the wretched mother; thofe who are endowed with the moft exquifite fenfibility, and who have experienced diffreffes in fome degree fimilar, will have the justeft idea of what it was.

The accumulated mifery of those unhappy parents touched the hearts of fome of the most powerful fenators, who applied with so much energy for a complete pardon for young Foscari, that they were on the 2 point

point of obtaining it; when a veffel arrived from Candia, with tidings, that the miferable youth had expired in prifon a fhort time after his return.

Some years after this, Nicholas Erizzo, a noble Venetian, being on his death-bed, confeffed that, bearing a violent refentment against the Senator Donato, he had committed the affaffination for which the unhappy family of Foscari had fuffered fo much.

At this time the forrows of the Doge were at an end; he had exifted only a few months after the death of his fon. His life had been prolonged, till he beheld his fon perfecuted to death for an infamous crime; but not till he fhould fee this foul. ftain wafhed from his family, and the innocence of his beloved fon made manifeft to the world.

The

The ways of heaven never appeared more dark and intricate, than in the incidents and cataftrophe of this mournful ftory. To reconcile the permiffion of fuch events, to our ideas of infinite power and goodnefs, however difficult, is a natural attempt in the human mind, and has exercifed the ingenuity of philofophers in all ages ; while, in the eyes of Chriftians, those feeming perplexities afford an additional proof, that there will be a future flate, in which the ways of God to man will be fully juftified.

# LETTER XV.

#### Venice.

Deferred giving you any account of the Council of Ten, till I came to mention the State Inquifitors, as the laft was ingrafted on the former, and was merely intended to ftrengthen the hands, and augment the power, of that court.

The Council of Ten confifts, in effect, of feventeen members; for, befides the ten noblemen chofen annually by the Grand Council, from whofe number this court receives its name, the Doge prefides, and the fix Counfellors of the Seigniory affift, when they think proper, at all deliberations.

This court was first instituted in the year 1310, immediately after Theipolo's conspiracy.

It is fupreme in all State crimes. It is the duty of three chiefs, chofen every month from this court, by lot, to open all letters addreffed to it; to report the contents, and affemble the members, when they think proper. They have the power of feizing accufed perfons, examining them in prifon, and taking their anfwers in writing, with the evidence against them; which being laid before the court, those chiefs appear as profecutors.

The prifoners, all this time, are kept in clofe confinement, deprived of the company of relations and friends, and not allowed to receive any advice by letters. They can have no counfel to affift them, unlefs one of the Judges choofes to affume that office; in which cafe he is permitted to manage their defence, and plead their caufe; after which the Court decide, by a majority of votes, acquitting the prifoner, or condemning him to private or public execution,

execution, as they think proper; and if any perfons murmur at the fate of their relations or friends, and talk of their innocence, and the injuffice they have met with, these malcontents are in great danger of meeting with the fame fate.

I am convinced you will think, that fuch a court was fufficiently powerful to anfwer every good purpole of government. This, it would appear, was not the opinion of the Grand Council of Venice; who thought proper, in the year 1501, to create the Tribunal of State Inquifitors, which is ftill more defpotic and brief in its manner of proceeding.

This court confifts of three members, all taken from the Council of Ten; two literally from the Ten, and the third from the Counfellors of the Seigniory, who alfo make a part of that Council.

Thefe

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These three perfons have the power of deciding, without appeal, on the lives of every citizen belonging to the Venetian State; the highest of the nobility, even the Doge himfelf, not being excepted. They keep the keys of the boxes into which anonymous informations are thrown. The informers who expect a recompence, cut off a little piece of their letter, which they afterwards shew to the Inquisitor when they claim a reward. To those three Inquifitors is given, the right of employing fpies, confidering fecret intelligence, iffuing orders to feize all perfons whofe words or actions they think reprehensible, and afterwards trying them when they think proper. If all the three are of one opinion, no farther ceremony is neceffary; they may order the prifoner to be ftrangled in prifon, drowned in the Canal Orfano, hanged privately in the night-time, between the pillars, or executed publicly, as they please;

pleafe ; and whatever their decifion be, no farther inquisition can be made on the fubject; but if any one of the three differs in opinion from his brethren, the caufe must be carried before the full assembly of the Council of Ten. One would naturally imagine, that by those the prisoner would have a good chance of being acquitted; because the difference in opinion of the three Inquifitors shews, that the cafe is, at least, dubious; and in dubious cafes one would expect the leaning would be to the favourable fide; but this court is governed by different maxims from those you are acquainted with. It is a rule here to admit of fmailer prefumptions in all crimes which affect the Government, than in other cafes: and the only difference they make between a crime fully proved, and one more doubtful, is, that, in the first cafe, the execution is in broad day-light; whereas, when there are doubts of the prifoner's guilt, he is only put to death privately. The

The State Inquifitors have keys to every apartment of the Ducal palace, and can, when they think proper, penetrate into the very bed-chamber of the Doge, open his cabinet, and examine his papers. Of courfe they may command accefs to the houfe of every individual in the State. They continue in office only one year, but are not refponfible afterwards for their conduct while they were in authority.

Can you think you would be perfectly compofed, and eafy in your mind, if you lived in the fame city with three perfons, who had the power of fhutting you up in a dungeon, and putting you to death when they pleafed, and without being accountable for fo doing ?

If, from the characters of the Inquifitors of one year, a man had nothing to dread, fill he might fear that a fet, of a different character, might be in authority the next; and

and although he were perfuaded, that the Inquifitors would always be chosen from among men of the most known integrity in the State, he might tremble at the malice of informers, and fecret enemies; a combination of whom might impole on the understandings of upright Judges, especially where the accused is excluded from his friends, and denied counfel to affift him in his defence; for, let him be never fo confcious of innocence, he cannot be fure of remaining unfuspected, or unaccused; nor can he be certain, that he fhall not be put to the rack, to fupply a deficiency of evidence: and finally, although a man were naturally poffeffed of fo much firmness of character as to feel no inquietude from any of those confiderations on his own account, he might still be under apprehenfions for his children, and other connexions, for whom fome men feel more anxiety than for themfelves.

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Such

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Such reflections naturally arife in the minds of those who have been born, and accullomed to live, in a free country, where no fuch despotic Tribunal is established; yet we find people apparently eafy in the midft of all those dangers; nay, we know that mankind fhew the fame indifference in cities, where the Emperor, or the Bafhaw, amufes himfelf, from time to time, in cutting off the heads of those he happens to meet with in his walks; and I make no doubt, that if it were usual for the earth to open, and fwallow a proportion of its inhabitants every day, mankind would behold this with as much coolnefs as at prefent they read the bills of mortality. Such is the effect of habit on the human mind, and fo wonderfully does it accommodate itfelf to those evils for which there is no remedy.

But these confiderations do not account for the Venetian nobles fuffering fuch Tribunals

5

Tribunals as those of the Council of Ten, or the State Inquisitors, to exist, because these are evils which it unquestionably is in their power to remedy; and attempts have been made, at various times, by parties of the nobility, to remove them entirely, but without success; the majority of the Grand Council having, upon trial, been found for preferving these institutions.

It is believed to be owing to the attention of thefe courts, that the Venetian republic has lafted longer than any other; but, in my opinion, the chief object of a government fhould be, to render the people happy; and if it fails in that, the longer it lafts, fo much the worfe. If they are rendered miferable by that which is fuppofed to preferve the State, they cannot be lofers by removing it, be the confequence what it may; and I fancy moft people would rather live in a convenient, comfortable houfe, which could ftand only a few centuries, than in a gloomy gothic fabric, which would laft to the day

of

of judgment. These despotic courts, the State Inquisitors, and Council of Ten, have had their admirers, not only among the Venetian nobility, but among foreigners; even among fuch as have, on other occafions, professed principles very unfavourable to arbitrary power.

I find the following paffage in a letter of Bishop Burnet, relating to Venice:

" But this leads me to fay a little to you " of that part of the conflitution, which is " fo cenfured by ftrangers, but is really " both the greatest glory, and the chief " fecurity, of this republic; which is, the " unlimited power of the Inquifitors, that se extends not only to the chief of the " nobility, but to the Duke himfelf; who 66 is fo fubject to them, that they may not " only give him fevere reprimands, but " fearch his papers, make his procefs, and, " in conclusion, put him to death, without " being bound to give any account of their " proceedings, except to the Council of " Ten.

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Ten. This is the dread, not only of all
the fubjects, but of the whole nobility,
and all that bear office in the republic,
and makes the greateft amongft them
tremble, and fo obliges them to an exact
conduct."

Now, for my part, I cannot help thinking, that a Tribunal which keeps the Doge, the nobility, and *all* the fubjects, in dread, and makes the greateft among them tremble, can be no great bleffing in any State. To be in continual fear, is certainly a very unhappy fituation; and if the Doge, the nobility, and *all* the fubjects, are rendered unhappy, I fhould imagine, with all fubmiffion, that the glory and fecurity of the reft of the republic muft be of very fmall importance.

In the fame letter which I have quoted above, his Lordship, speaking of the State. Inquisitors, has these words: "When " they find any fault, they are so inexo-" rable, and so quick as well as severe in N 3 " their

" their juffice, that the very fear of this is " fo effectual a reftraint, that, perhaps, the " only prefervation of Venice, and of its " liberty, is owing to this fingle piece of " their conflitution."

How would you, my good friend, relifh that kind of liberty in England, which could not be preferved without the affiftance of a despotic court? Such an idea of liberty might have been announced from the throne, as one of the mysteries of Government, by James the First, or the Second; but we are amazed to find it published by a counsellor, and admirer of William the Third. It may, indeed, be faid, that the fmallnefs of the Venetian State, and its republican form of government, render it liable to be overturned by fudden tumults, or popular infurrections : this renders it the more neceffary to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of individuals, and guard against every thing that may be the fource of public commotion or diforder. The

The inflitution of State Inquifitors may be thought to admit of fome apology in this view, like the extraordinary and irregular punishment of the Offracism established at Athens, which had a fimilar foundation. In a large State, or in a lefs popular form of government, the fame dangers from civil commotions cannot be apprehended; fimilar precautions for preventing them are therefore superfluous; but, notwithflanding every apology that can be made, I am at a lofs to account for the existence of this terrible Tribunal for fo long a time in the Venetian republic, becaufe all ranks feem to have an interest in its destruction; and I do not fee on what principle any one man, or any fet of men, should wish for its prefervation. It cannot be the Doge, for the State Inquifitors keep him in abfolute bondage; nor would one naturally imagine that the nobles would relish this court, for the nobles are more exposed to the jealoufy of the State Inquifitors than the citizens, or inferior people; and leaft of all ought the N 4

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the citizens to support a Tribunal, to which none of them can ever be admitted. As, however, the body of the nobility alone can remove this Tribunal from being part of the conflitution, and yet, we find, they have always supported it; we must conclude, that a junto of that body which has fufficient influence to command a majority of their brethren, has always retained the power in their own hands, and found means of having the majority at least of the Council of Ten, chofen from their own members; fo that this arbitrary court is, perhaps, always composed, by a kind of rotation, of the individuals of a junto. But if the poffibility of this is denied, becaufe of the precaution used in the form of electing by ballot, the only other way I can account for a Tribunal of fuch a nature being permitted to exift, is, by fuppofing that a majority of the Venetian nobles have fo great a relifh for unlimited power, that, to have a chance of enjoying it for a fhort period,

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period, they are willing to bear all the miferies of flavery for the reft of their lives.

The encouragement given by this Government to anonymous accufers, and fecret informations, is attended with confequences which greatly outweigh any benefit that can arife from them. They muft deftroy mutual confidence, and promote fufpicions and jealoufies among neighbours; and, while they render all ranks of men fearful, they encourage them to be malicious. The laws ought to be able to protect every man who openly and boldly accufes another.

If any fet of men, in a State, are fo powerful, that it is dangerous for an individual to charge them with their crimes openly, there must be a weakness in that government which requires a speedy remedy; but let not that be a remedy worse than the difease.

It is no proof of the boasted wisdom of this Government, that, in the use of the torture,

torture, it imitates many European States, whofe judicial regulations it has avoided where they feem far lefs cenfurable. The practice of forcing confession, and procuring evidence by this means, always appeared to me a complication of cruelty and abfurdity. To make a man fuffer more than the pains of death, that you may difcover whether he deferves death, or not, is a manner of distributing justice which I cannot reconcile to my idea of equity.

If it is the intention of the Legiflature, that every crime fhall be expiated by the fufferings of fomebody, and is regardlefs whether this expiation is made by the agonies of an innocent perfon, or a guilty, then there is no more to be faid; but, if the intention be to difcover the truth, this horrid device of the torture will very often fail; for nineteen people out of twenty will declare whatever they imagine will fooneft put an end to their fufferings, whether it be truth or falfehood.

# LETTER XVI.

#### Venice.

A Lthough many important events have happened fince the effablishment of the State Inquisition, which have greatly affected the power, riches, and extent of dominion of this republic, yet the nature of the Government has remained much the fame. In what I have to add, therefore, I shall be very short and general.

I have already obferved, that it was the ufual policy of this republic to maintain a neutrality, as long as poffible, in all the wars which took place among her neighbours; and when obliged, contrary to her inclinations, to declare for either party, fhe generally joined with that State whofe diftant fituation rendered its power and profperity the leaft dangerous of the two to Venice. This

This republic feems, however, to have too much neglected to form defensive alliances with other States, and by the continual jealoufy the thewed of them, joined to her immense riches, at last became the object of the hatred and envy of all the Powers in Europe: This universal jealoufy was roufed, and brought into action, in the year 1508, by the intriguing genius of Pope Julius the Second. A confederacy was fecretly entered into at Cambray, between Julius, the Emperor Maximilian, Lewis the Twelfth, and Ferdinand of Arragon, against the republic of Venice. A bare enumeration of the Powers which composed this league, gives a very high idea of the importance of the State against which it was formed.

The Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Farrara, and the Duke of Mantua, acceded to this confederacy, and gave in claims to part of the dominions of Venice. It was not difficult to form pretenfions to the beft part

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part of the dominions of a State, which originally poffeffed nothing but a few marshy islands at the bottom of the Adriatic Gulph. It was the general opinion of Europe, that the league of Cambray would reduce Venice to her original posses.

The Venetians, finding themfelves deprived of all hopes of foreign affiftance, fought fupport from their own courage, and refolved to meet the danger which threatened them, with the fpirit of a brave and independent people.

Their General, Count Alviano, led an army againft Lewis, who, being prepared before the other confederates, had already entered Italy. However great the magnanimity of the Senate, and the fkill of their General, the foldiery were by no means equal to the difciplined troops of France, led by a martial nobility, and headed by a gallant monarch. The army of Alviano was defeated; new enemies poured on the republic from all fides; and fhe loft, in one campaign,

campaign, all the territories in Italy which the had been ages in acquiring.

Venice now found that the could no longer depend on her own firength and refources, and endeavoured to break, by policy, a combination which fhe had not force to refift. The Venetian Senate, knowing that Julius was the foul of the confederacy, offered to deliver up the towns he claimed, and made every other fubmiffion that could gratify the pride, and avert the anger, of that ambitious Pontiff; they also find means to separate Ferdinand from the alliance. Lewis and Maximilian being now their only enemies, the Venetians are able to fuftain the war, till Julius, bearing no longer any refentment against the republic, and feized with remorfe at beholding his native country ravaged by French and German armies, unites with Venice to drive the invaders out of Italy; and this republic is faved, with the lofs of a fmall part of her Italian dominions, from a ruin which

which all Europe had confidered as inevitable. The long and expensive wars between the different Powers of Europe, in which this State was obliged to take part, prove that her firength and refources were not exhausted.

In the year 1570, the Venetians were forced into a ruinous war with the Ottoman Empire, at a time when the Senate, fenfible of the great need they flood in of repofe, had, with much addrefs and policy, kept clear of the quarrels which agitated the reft of Europe. But Solymon the Second, upon the most frivolous pretext, demanded from them the ifland of Cyprus.

It was evident to all the world, that he had no better foundation for this claim, than a flrong defire, fupported by a fufficient power, of conquering the ifland. This kind of right might not be thought complete in a court of equity; but, in the jurifprudence of monarchs, it has always been found preferable to every other.

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The Turks make a defcent, with a great army, on Cyprus; they inveft Famagousta, the capital; the garrison defends it with the most obstinate bravery; the Turks are repulfed in repeated affaults; many thousands of them are flain; but the ranks are constantly supplied by reinforcements. Antonio Bragadino, the commander, having displayed proofs of the highest military still, and the most heroic courage, his garrison being quite exhausted with fatigue, and greatly reduced in point of numbers, is obliged to capitulate.

The terms were, that the garrifon fhould march out with their arms, baggage, and three pieces of cannon, and fhould be transported to Candia in Turkish vessels; that the citizens should not be pillaged, but allowed to retire with their effects.

Mustapha, the Turkish Bashaw, no sooner had possession of the place, than he delivered it up to be pillaged by the Janiffaries; the garrison were put in chains, and made

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made flaves on board the Turkifh gallies. The principal officers were beheaded, and the gallant Bragadino was tied to a pillar, and, in the Bafhaw's prefence, flayed alive.

We meet with events in the annals of mankind, that make us doubt the truth of the moft authentic hiftory. We cannot believe that fuch actions have ever been committed by the inhabitants of this globe, and by creatures of the fame fpecies with ourfelves. We are tempted to think we are perufing the records of hell, whofe inhabitants, according to the moft authentic accounts, derive a conftant pleafure from the tortures of each other, as well as of all foreigners.

The conqueft of the island of Cyprus is faid to have coft the Turks fifty thousand lives. At this time, not Venice only, but all Christendom, had reason to dread the progress of the Turkish arms. The State of Venice folicited affistance from all the Ca-Vol. I. O tholic

tholic States; but France was, at that time, in alliance with the Turks; Maximilian dreaded their power; the Crown of Portugal was poffeffed by a child, and Poland was exhaufted by her wars with Ruffia. The Venetians, on this preffing occafion, received affiftance from Rome, whofe power they had fo often refifted, and from Spain, their late enemy.

Pope Pius the Fifth, and Philip the Second, joined their fleets with that of the republic. The confederate fleet affembled at Meffina. The celebrated Don John of Auftria, natural fon to Charles the Fifth, was Generalifimo ; Mark Antonio Colonna commanded the Pope's division, and Sebaftian Veniero the Venetian. The Turkish fleet was greatly superior in the number of vessels.

The two fleets meet in the Gulph of Lapanta: it is faid, that the Turkish gallies were entirely worked by Christian flaves, and the gallies of the Christians by Turkish:

ifh; a fhocking proof of the barbarous manner in which prisoners of war were treated in that age; and, in this inftance, as abfurd as it was barbarous; for a cartel for an exchange of prifoners would have given freedom to the greater number of those unhappy men, without diminishing the ftrength of either navy. The fleets engage, and the Turks are entirely defeated. Hiftorians affert, that twenty thoufand Turks were killed in the engagement, and one half of their fleet destroyed. This is a prodigious number to be killed on one fide, and in a fea fight; it ought to be remembered, that there is no Turkish writer on the fubject.

Pius the Fifth died foon after the battle of Lapanta. Upon his death the war languished on the fide of the Allies; Philip became tired of the expence, and the Venetians were obliged to purchafe a peace, by yielding the island of Cyprus to the Turks, and agreeing to pay them, for three O 2 years,

years, an annual tribute of one hundred thoufand ducats. Those circumftances have no tendency to confirm the accounts which Christian writers have given, of the immense loss which the Turks met with at the battle of Lapanta.

In the beginning of the feventeenth century, the republic had a difpute with the Pope, which, in that age, was thought a matter of importance, and engaged the attention of all Christendom.

Paul the Fifth fhewed as eager a difpolition as any of his predeceffors, to extend the Papal authority. He had an inveterate prejudice against the Venetian republic, on account of her having, on every occafion, refifted all ecclefiaftical encroachments.

He fought, with impatience, an opportunity of manifesting his hatred, and expected that he should be assisted by the pious Princes of Europe, in bringing this refractory

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tory child of the church to reafon. He began by demanding a fum of money, for the purpole of carrying on the war against the Turks in Hungary; he complained of certain decrees of the Senate, relating to the internal government of the republic, particularly one which forbad the building of any more new churches, without the permiffion of that affembly, and which, he faid, fmelt firongly of herefy; and above all, he exclaimed against the Council of Ten, for having imprifoned an Ecclefiaftic, and prepared to bring him to a public trial. This reverend perfon, for whom his Holinefs interefted himfelf fo warmly, was accufed of having poiloned five people, one of whom was his own father. He was alfo accufed of having caufed another to be affaffinated; and, to prevent a difcovery, had afterwards poifoned the affaffin.

The Senate refufed the money, confirmed their decree against the building of O 3 churches

churches, and applauded the conduct of the Council of Ten, in profecuting the Ecclefiaftic.

The authors of the age arranged themfelves on the one fide, or the other, and this became a war of controverfy; in which, though there was no blood fhed, yet it appeared, by the writings of the partifans, that a confiderable number of understandings were greatly injured. Those who fupported the Pope's caufe infifted, that the temporal power of Princes is fubordinate to his; that he has a right to deprive them of their dominions, and release their fubjects from their oaths of fidelity, as often as this shall be for the glory of God, and for the good of the Church; of which nobody could be fo good a judge as the Pope, fince all the world knew he was infallible; that ecclefiaftics were not fubjected to the civil power; that an ecclefiaftical court, or the Pope, only, had authority over that body of men; and nothing

thing could be more abominable, than to continue a profecution against a prisoner, whatever his crimes might be, after the Father of the church, who had the undoubted power of absolving finners, had interfered in his favour.

The Senate, in their answers, acknowledged, that the Pope was fupreme head of the Church, and that, in all subjects of religious belief, his power was unbounded; for which reafon they remained implicit and fubmiffive believers; that they were far from difputing the infallibility of his Holiness in ecclesiastical matters, particularly within his own dominions; but, with regard to the government of their fubjects, they would certainly take the whole trouble of that on themfelves, and would administer as impartial justice to-Ecclefiaftics, as to those of other professions. They imagined alfo, that they were competent judges when, and for what purpofes, they ought to levy money upon their own 04 fubjects,

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fubjects, and whether it would be neceffary to build any new churches in Venice, or not. Finally, they flattered themfelves, that the profecuting a murderer was no way inconfistent with the glory of God.

The greater number of the Princes of Chriftendom feemed to think the Senate were in the right. The Pope was difappointed in his expectations; and finding himfelf unfupported, was glad to fhelter his pride under the mediation of Henry the Fourth of France, who endeavoured to give his Holinefs's defeat the appearance of victory.

# LETTER XVII.

#### Venice.

THE year 1618 is diffinguished in the annals of Venice, by a confpiracy of a more formidable nature than any hitherto mentioned. The defign of other confpiracies was a change in the form of government, or, at most, the deflruction of fome particular class of men in power; but the prefent plot had for its object the total annihilation of the Venetian republic. I speak of the confpiracy formed by the Marquis of Bedmar, ambaffador from the Court of Spain, in conjunction with the Duke of Offono, and the Spanish governor of the Milanefe.

The interesting manner in which this dark defign has been described by the Abbé St. Real, has made it more univerfally known than any other part of the 2 Venetian

Venetian ftory. This writer is accufed of having ornamented his account with fome fanciful circumstances, an objection often envioufly urged against fome of the most agreeable writers, by authors whom nature has guarded from the poffibility of committing fuch an error; men, whofe truths are lefs interefting than fictions, and whofe fictions are as dull as the most infipid truths. Does any reader believe that the fpeeches of the Generals before a battle, as recorded by Livy, were actually pronounced in the terms of that author? Or, can any one wifh they were expunged from his hiftory? Abbé St. Real has alfo put speeches into the mouths of the confpirators, and has embellished, without materially altering, the real circumflances of the flory. For my own part, I feel a degree of gratitude to every perfon who has entertained me; and while my paffions are agreeably agitated with St. Real's lively hiftory, I cannot bear that a phlegmatic fellow should interrupt my enjoyment; and,

and, becaufe of a few embellifhments, declare, with an affected air of wifdom, that the whole is an idle romance.

The difcovery of this plot, and the impreffions of jealoufy and terror which it left on the minds of the inhabitants of Venice, probably first fuggested a plan of a more wicked nature than any of the confpiracies we have hitherto mentioned, and which was actually put in execution.

A fet of villains combined together to accufe fome of the nobility of treafonable practices, merely for the fake of the rewards beflowed upon informers. This horrid crime may be expected in all Governments where fpies and informers are encouraged; it certainly occurs frequently at Venice; fometimes, no doubt, without being detected, and fometimes it is detected, without being publicly punifhed, for fear of difcouraging the bufinefs of information: but on the difcovery of the prefent combination, all Venice was ftruck with fuch horror, 204 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND horror, that the Senate thought proper to publish every circumstance.

A certain number of those miscreants acted the part of accusers; the others, being feized by the information of their accomplices, appeared as witneffes.

A noble Venetian, of a refpectable character, and advanced in years, of the name of Foscarini, fell a victim to this horrid cabal; and Venice beheld with aftonishment and forrow, one of her most refpectable citizens accused, condemned, and executed as a traitor.

At length, accufations followed each other fo clofe, that they created fufpicions in the minds of the Judges. The informers themfelves were feized, and examined feparately, and the whole dreadful fcheme became manifeft. Thefe wretches fuffered the punifhment due to fuch complicated villan'y; the honour of Fofcarini was re-inftated, and every poffible compenfation

fation made to his injured family. An inftance like this, of the defpotic precipitancy of the Inquifitors, more than counterbalances all the benefit which the State ever receives from them, or the odious race of informers they encourage.

If the trial of the unfortunate Foscarini had been open, or public, and not in fecret, according to the form of the Inquisitor's Court; and if he had been allowed to call exculpatory evidence, and affisted by those friends who knew all his actions, the falsehood and villany of these accusers would probably have been discovered, and his life faved.

In the year 1645, the Turks made an unexpected and fudden defeent on the ifland of Candia. The Senate of Venice did not difplay their ufual vigilance on this occasion. They had feen the immenfe warlike preparations going forward, and yet allowed themfelves to be amufed by the Grand Seignior's declaring war againft Malta,

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Malta, and pretending that the armament was intended against that island. The troops landed without opposition, and the town of Canéa was taken after an obstinate defence.

This news being brought to Venice, excited an univerfal indignation against the Turks; and the Senate refolved to defend, to the utmost, this valuable part of the empire. Extraordinary ways and means of raising money were fallen upon: among others, it was proposed to fell the rank of nobility. Four citizens offered one hundred thousand ducats each for this honour; and, notwithstanding fome opposition, this measure was at last carried. Eighty families were admitted into the Grand Council, and to the honour and privileges of the nobility. What an idea does this give of the wealth of the inhabitants of Venice?

The fiege of Candia, the capital of the island of that name, is, in fome refpects, more memorable than that of any town, which

which hiftory, or even which poetry, has recorded. It lafted twenty-four years. The amazing efforts made by the republic of Venice aftonifhed all Europe; their courage interefted the gallant fpirits of every nation : volunteers from every country came to Candia, to exercife their valour, to acquire knowledge in the military art, and affift a brave people whom they admired. The Duke of Beaufort, fo much the darling of the Parifian populace during the war of the Fronde, was killed here, with many more gallant French officers.

During this famous fiege, the Venetians gained many important victories over the Turkifh fleets. Sometimes they were driven from the walls of Candia, and the Turkifh garrifon of Canéa was even befieged by the Venetian fleets. The flaughter made of the Turkifh armies is without example; but new armies were foon found to fupply their place, by a Government which boafts fuch populous dominions, 208 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND dominions, and which has defpotic authority over its fubjects.

Mahomet the Fourth, impatient at the length of this fiege, came to Negropont, that he might have more frequent opportunities of hearing from the Vizier, who carried on the fiege. An officer fent with difpatches, was directed by the Vizier, to explain to Mahomet the manner in which he made his approaches, and to affure him that he would take all poffible care to fave the lives of the foldiers. The humane Emperor answered, That he had fent the Vizier to take the place, and not to fpare the lives of foldiers; and he was on the point of ordering the head of the officer who brought this meffage, to be cut off, merely to quicken the Vizier in his operations, and to fhew him how little he valued the lives of men.

In fpite of the Vizier's boasted parsimony, this war is faid to have cost the lives of two hundred thousand Turks. Candia capitulated

capitulated in the year 1668: the conditions on this occasion were honourably fulfilled. Morfini, the Venetian General, after displaying prodigies of valour and capacity, marched out of the rubbisch of this well-disputed city, with the honours of war.

The expence of fuch a tedious war greatly exhausted the refources of Venice, which could not now repair them fo quickly as formerly, when she enjoyed the rich monopoly of the Asiatic trade; the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope having long since opened that valuable commerce to the Portuguese and other nations.

This republic remained in a flate of tranquillity, endeavouring, by the arts of peace, and cultivation of that fhare of commerce which fhe flill retained, to fill her empty exchequer, till fle was drawn into a new war, in the year 1683, by the infolence of the Ottoman Court. The Venetians had for fome time endeavoured, by Vol. I. P negociation,

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negociation, and many conciliatory reprefentations, to accommodate matters with the Turks; and though the haughty conduct of her enemies afforded fmall hopes of fuccefs, yet fuch was her averfion to war on the prefent occafion, that fhe fuill balanced, whether to bear those infults, or repel them by arms; when she was brought to decision by an event which gave the greatest joy to Venice, and astonished all Europe. This was the great victory gained over the Turkish army before the walls of Vienna, by Sobieski, King of Poland.

In this new war, their late General Morfini again had the command of the fleetsand armies of the republic, and fuftained the great reputation he had acquired in Candia. He conquered the Morea, which was ceded formally to Venice, with fome other acquifition, at the peace of Carlowitz; in the laft year of the laft century.

During

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During the war of the fucceffion, the State of Venice observed a strict neutrality. They confidered that difpute as unconnected with their interefts, taking care, however, to keep on foot an army on their frontiers in Italy, of fufficient force to make them respected by the contending Powers. But, foon after the peace of Utrecht, the Venetians were again attacked by their old enemies the Turks; who, beholding the great European Powers exhaufted by their late efforts, and unable to affift the republic, thought this the favourable moment for recovering the Morea, which had been to lately ravifhed from them. The Turks obtained their object, and at the peace of Paffarowitz, which terminated this unfuccefsful war, the Venetian State yielded up the Morea; the Grand Seignior, on his part, reftoring to them the fmall iflands of Cerigo and Cerigotto, with fome places which his troops had taken during the course of the war in Dalmatia. Those, with the islands of Corfou. P 2

Corfou, Santa Maura, Zante, and Cephalonia, the remains of their dominions in the Levant, they have fince fortified, at a great expence, as their only barriers against the Turk.

Since this period no effential alteration has taken place in the Venetian government, nor has there been any effential increase, or diminution, in the extent of their dominions. They have little to fear at prefent from the Turks, whose attention is fufficiently occupied by a more formidable enemy than the republic and the House of Austria united. Besides, if the Turks were more difengaged, as they have now firipped the republic of Cyprus, Candia, and their possessions in Greece, what remains in the Levant is hardly worth their attention.

The declenfion of Venice did not, like that of Rome, proceed from the increase of luxury, or the revolt of their own armies in the distant Colonies, or from civil

civil wars of any kind. Venice has dwindled in power and importance, from caufes which could not be forefeen; or guarded against by human prudence, although they had been forefeen. How could this republic have prevented the difcovery of a paffage to Afia by the Cape of Good Hope ? or hinder other nations from being infpired with a fpirit of enterprife, industry, and commerce ? In their prefent fituation there is little probability of their attempting new conquest; happy if they are allowed to remain in the quiet poffeffion of what they have. Venice has a most formidable neighbour in the Emperor, whole dominions border on those of this republic on all fides. The independency of the republic entirely depends on his moderation; or, in cafe he fhould lofe that virtue, on the protection of fome of the great Powers of Europe.

I have now finished the sketch I proposed, of the Venetian government, with which P 3

which I could not help intermingling many of the principal hiftorical events; indeed I enlarged on thefe, after you informed me, that you intended to give your young friend copies of my letters on this fubject, before he begins his tour. I wifh they were more perfect on his account; they will, at leaft, prevent his being in the fituation of fome travellers I have met with, who, after remaining here for many months, knew no more of the ancient or modern flate of Venice, than that the inhabitants went about in boats inflead of coaches, and, generally fpeaking, wore mafks.

# LETTER XVIII.

#### Venice.

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AVING travelled with you through the fplendid æras of the Venetian ftory, and prefented their flatesmen and heroes to your view, let us now return to the prefent race, in whofe life and converfation, I forewarn you, there is nothing heroic. The truth is, that in every country, as well as Venice, we can only read of heroes; they are feldom to be feen: for this plain reason, that while they are to be feen we do not think them heroes. The historian dwells upon what is vast and extraordinary; what is common and trivial finds no place in his records. When we hear the names of Epaminondas, Themistocles, Camillus, Scipio, and other great men of Greece and Rome, we think of their great actions, we know nothing elfe about them ;---

P 4

but

but when we fee the worthies of our own times, we unfortunately recollect their whole hiftory. The citizens of Athens and Rome, who lived in the days of the heroes above mentioned, very probably had not the fame admiration of them that we have; and our pofierity, fome eight or ten centuries hence, will, it is to be hoped, have a higher veneration for the great men of the present age, than their intimate acquaintance are known to have, or than those can be supposed to form, who daily behold them lounging in gaming-houfes. All this, you perceive, is little more than a commentary on the old observation, That no man is a hero to his Valet de Chambre. The number of playhouses in Venice is very extraordinary, confidering the fize of the town, which is not thought to contain above one hundred and fifty thoufand inhabitants, yet there are eight or nine theatres here, including the opera-houfes. You pay a trifle at the door for admittance; this entitles you to go into the pit, where

where you may look about, and determine what part of the houfe you will fit in. There are rows of chairs placed in the front of the pit, next the orchestra; the feats of these chairs are folded to their backs, and faftened by a lock. Those who choofe to take them, pay a little more money to the door-keeper, who immediately unlocks the feat. Very decentlooking people occupy thefe chairs; but the back part of the pit is filled with footmen and gondoleers, in their common working clothes. The nobility, and better fort of citizens, have boxes retained for the year; but there are always a fufficient number to be let to ftrangers: the price of those varies every night, according to the feafon of the year, and the piece acted.

A Venetian playhouse has a dismal appearance in the eyes of people accustomed to the brilliancy of those of London. Many of the boxes are fo dark, that the faces of the company in them can hardly be

be distinguished at a little distance, even when they do not wear mafks. The ftage, however, is well illuminated, fo that the people in the boxes can fee, perfectly well, every thing that is transacted there; and when they choose to be seen themfelves, they order lights into their boxes. Between the acts you fometimes fee ladies walking about, with their Cavalieri Serventés, in the back part of the pit, when it is not crowded. As they are masked, they do not fcruple to reconnoitre the company, with their spying glaffes, from this place: when the play begins, they return to their boxes. This continual moving about from box to box, and between the boxes and the pit, must create fome confusion, and, no doubt, is difagreeable to those who attend merely on account of the piece. There must, however, be found fome douceur in the midft of all this obfcurity and confusion, which, in the opinion of the majority of the audience, overbalances these obvious inconveniences.

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The

The music of the opera here is reckoned as fine as in any town in Italy; and, at any rate, is far fuperior to the praise of so very poor a judge as I am. The dramatic and poetical parts of those pieces are little regarded: the poet is allowed to indulge himfelf in as many anachronifms, and other inconfistencies, as he pleafes. Provided the mufic receives the approbation of the critic's ear, his judgment is not offended with any abfurdities in the other parts of the composition. The celebrated Metastafio has difdained to avail himself of this indulgence in his operas, which are fine dramatic compositions. He has preferved the alliance which ought always to fubfist between sense and music.

But as for the mufic of the ferious operas, it is, in general, infinitely too fine for my ear; to my fhame I muft confefs, that it requires a confiderable effort for me to fit till the end.

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It is furely happy for a man to have a real fenfibility for fine mufic; becaufe he has, by that means, one fource of enjoyment more, than thofe whofe auditory nerves are lefs delicately firung. It is, however, equally abfurd and filly to affect an exceffive delight in things which nature has not framed us to enjoy; yet how many of our acquaintance, accufed of this folly, have we feen doing painful penance at the Hay-market; and, in the midft of unfuppreffable yawnings, calling out, Charming ! exquifite ! bravifimo, &c.

It is amazing what pains fome people take to render themfelves ridiculous; and it is a matter of real curiofity to obferve, in what various fhapes the little defpicable fpirit of affectation fhews itfelf among mankind.

I remember a very honeft gentleman, who underfrood little or nothing of French; but having picked up a few phrafes,

phrafes, he brought them forward on every occafion, and affected, among his neighbours in the country, the most perfect knowledge, and higheft admiration, of that language. When any body, in compliance with his tafte, uttered a fentence in that tongue, though my good friend did not understand a syllable of it, yet he never failed to nod and finile to the fpeaker with the most knowing air imaginable. The parfon of the parish, at a country dinner, once addreffed him in these emphatic words: Monsteur, je trouve ce plum-pudding extrémement bon! which happening not to be in my friend's collection of phrafes, he did not comprehend. He nodded and fmiled to the clergyman, however, in his usual intelligent manner; but a perfon who fat near him, being ftruck with the fagacious and important tone in which the obfervation had been delivered, begged of my friend to explain it in English :-- on which, after fome hefitation, he declared, that the turn of the expression was fo gen-8 teel,

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teel, and fo exquisitely adapted to the French idiom, that it could not be rendered into English, without losing a great deal of the original beauty of the sentiment.

At the comic opera I have fometimes feen action alone excite the higheft applaufe, independent of either the poetry or the mufic. I faw a Duo performed by an old man and a young woman, fuppofed to be his daughter, in fuch an humorous manner, as drew an univerfal *encora* from the fpectators. The merit of the mufical part of the composition, I was told, was but very moderate, and as for the fentiment you fhall judge.

The father informs his daughter, in a fong, that he has found an excellent match for her; who, befides being rich, and very prudent, and not too young, was over and above a particular friend of his own, and in perfon and difposition, much fuch a man as himfelf; he concludes, by telling her, that the ceremony will be performed next

next day. She thanks him, in the gayeft air poffible, for his obliging intentions, adding, that fhe fhould have been glad to have shewn her implicit obedience to his commands, provided there had been any chance of the man's being to her tafte; but as, from the account he had given, there could be none, fhe declares fhe will not marry him next day, and adds, with a very long quaver, that if the were to live to eternity fhe fhould continue of the fame opinion. The father, in a violent rage, tells her, that inftead of to-morrow, the marriage flould take place that very day; to which the replies, Non: he rejoins Si; fhe, Non, non; he, Si, fi; the daughter, Non, non, non; the Father, Si, fi, fi; and fo the finging continues for five or fix minutes. You perceive there is nothing marvelloufly witty in this; and for a daughter to be of a different opinion from her father, in the choice of a hufband, is not a very new dramatic incident. Well, I told you the Duo was encoredthey

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they immediately performed it a fccond time, and with more humour than the first. The whole house vociferated for it again; and it was fung a third time in a manner equally pleasant, and yet perfectly different from any of the former two.

I thought the houfe would have been brought down about our ears, fo extravagant were the teflimonies of approbation.

The two actors were obliged to appear again, and fing this Duo a fourth time; which they executed in a ftyle fo new, fo natural, and fo exquifitely droll, that the audience now thought there had been fomething deficient in all their former performances, and that they had hit on the true comic only this laft time.

Some people began to call for it again; but the old man, now quite exhausted, begged for mercy; on which the point was given up. I never before had any idea that fuch strong comic powers could have MANNERS IN ITALY. 225 have been difplayed in the finging of a fong.

The dancing is an effential part of the entertainment at the opera here, as well as at London. There is certainly a much greater proportion of mankind deaf to the delights of mufic, than blind to the beauties of fine dancing. During the finging, and recitativo part of the performance, the fingers are often allowed to warble for a confiderable time, without any body's minding them; but the moment the ballet begins, private conversation, though pretty universal before, is immediately at an end, and the eyes of all the spectators are fixed on the flage. This, to be fure, has been always the cafe in London, and, in fpite of the pains fome people take to conceal it, we all know the reafon; but I own I did not expect to find the fame preference of dancing to mufic in Italy.

After feeing the dancing at the French opera, and coming fo lately from Vienna, Vol. I. Q where

where we had feen fome of Novere's charming ballets very well executed, we could have no high admiration of those performed here, though there are at prefent fome dancers highly effecmed, who perform every night.

The Italians, I am informed, have a greater relifh for agility and high jumping in their dancers, than for graceful movements.

It is extraordinary that they do not vary the ballets oftener. They give the fame every night during the run of the opera. There is a propriety in continuing the fame opera for a confiderable time; becaufe mufic is often better relifhed after it becomes a little familiar to the ear, than at first; but a ballet might be changed, without much difficulty, every night.

# LETTER XIX.

#### Venice.

ANY people are furprifed, that, in a Government fo very jealous of its power as that of Venice, there is no military eftablifhment within the city to fupport the executive power, and reprefs any popular commotion. For my own part, I am ftrongly of opinion, that it proceeds from this very jealoufy in government, that there is no military garrifon here.

An arbitrary Prince is fond of a flanding army, and loves to be always furrounded by guards; becaufe he, being the permanent fountain of honours and promotion, the army will naturally be much attached to him, and become, on all occafions, the blind inftruments of his pleafure; but at Venice, there is no vihible permanent object,

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to which the army can attach itfelf. The Doge would not be allowed the command of the garrifon, if there was one. The three State Inquifitors are continually changing; and before one fet could gain the affections of the foldiers, another would be chofen; fo that Government could not be fupported, but much more probably would be overturned, by a numerous garrifon being eftablifhed in Venice; for it might perhaps not be difficult for a few of the rich and powerful nobles to corrupt the garrifon, and gain over the commander to any ambitious plan of their own, for the deftruction of the conflitution.

But although there is no formal garrifon in a military uniform, yet there is a real effective force fufficient to fupprefs any popular commotion, at the command of the Senate, and Council of Ten. This force, befides the Sbirri, confifts of a great number of flout fellows, who, without any diffinguifhing drefs, are kept in the pay of Government,

Government, and are at the command of that Council. There is also the whole body of the gondoleers, the most hardy and daring of the common Venetians. This body of men are greatly attached to the nobility, from whom they have most of their employment, and with whom they acquire a certain degree of familiarity, by paffing great part of their time, fhut up in boats, in their contpany, and by being privy to many of their love intrigues. Great numbers of these gondoleers are in the fervice of particular nobles; and there is no doubt, that, in cafe of any popular infurrection, the whole would take the fide of the nobility and Senate, against the people. In ihort, they may be confidered as a kind of flanding militia, ready to rife as foon as the Government requires their fervices.

Laftly, there is the Grand Council itfelf, which, in cafe of any violent commotion of the citizens and populace, could be Q 3 armed

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armed directly, from the fmall arfenal within the Ducal palace, and would prove a very formidable force against an unarmed multitude; for the laws of Venice forbid, under pain of death, any citizen to carry fire-arms; a law which is very exactly executed by the State Inquisitors.

By those means the executive power of Government is as irrefistible at Venice, as at Petersburgh or Constantinople, while there is a far less chance of the Government itself being overthrown here by the instruments of its own power; for, although a regular army, or garrifon, might be corrupted by the address of an ambitious Doge, or by a combination of a few rich and popular nobles, in which cafe a revolution would take place at once; it is almost impossible to conceive, that all the different powers above mentioned could be engaged to act in favour of one man, or a small combination of men, without being detected by the vigilance of the Inquifitors,

Inquifitors, or the jealoufy of those who were not in the confpiracy. And if we fuppose a majority of the nobles inclinable to any change in the form of the Government, they have no occasion to carry on a fecret plot; they may come to the Council Chamber, and dictate whatever alterations they think proper.

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# LETTER XX.

#### Venice.

HERE is unqueftionably much reflection, and great depth of thought. displayed in the formation of the political conftitution of Venice; but I fhould admire it much more, if the Council of Ten, and State Inquifitors, had never formed any part of it. Their inflitution, in my opinion, deftroys the effect of all the reft. Like those misers who actually flarve themselves, by endeavouring to avoid the inconveniencies of poverty, the Venetians, in whatever manner it is brought about, actually fupport a despotic tribunal, under the pretext of keeping out defpotifm. In fome respects this fystem is worse than the fixed and permanent tyranny of one perfon; for that perfon's character and maxims would be known, and, by endeavouring to conform themfelves to his way of

of thinking, people might have fome chance of living unmolefted; but according to this plan, they have a free-thinker for their tyrant to-day, and a bigot tomorrow. One year a fet of Inquifitors, who confider certain parts of conduct as innocent, which, in the fight of their fucceffors, may appear State crimes; men do not know what they have to depend upon. An universal jealoufy must prevail, and precautions will be used to avoid the fufpicions of Government, unknown in any other country. Accordingly we find, that the noble Venetians are afraid of having any intercourse with foreign ambaffadors, or with foreigners of any kind; they are even cautious of vifiting at each other's houfes, and hardly ever have meetings together, except at the courts, or on the Broglio. The boafted fecrecy of their public councils proceeds, in all probability, from the fame principle of fear. If all conversation on public affairs were forbid, under pain of death, and if the members of the British Parlia-

ment were liable to be feized in the nighttime by general warrants, and hanged at Tyburn, or drowned in the Thames, at the pleafure of the Secretaries of State, I dare fwear the world would know as little of what paffes in either Houfe of Parliament, as they do of what is transfacted in the Senate of Venice.

It is not fafe for a noble Venetian to acquire, in a high degree, the love and confidence of the common people. This excites the jealoufy of the Inquifitors, and proves a pretty certain means of excluding him from any of the high offices. A Goverament which difplays fo much diffruft and fufpicion where there is little or no ground, will not fail to fnew marks of the fame difpolition where, in the general opinion, there is fome reafon to be circumspect. Ecclesiaftics, of every denomination, are excluded, by the conftitution of Venice, from a place in the Senate, or holding any civil office whatever; nor is it permitted them,

them, directly or indirectly, to intermeddle in State affairs. In many inflances, they are deprived of that kind of influence which, even in Protestant countries, is allowed to the clergy. The Patriarch of Venice has not the disposal of the offices belonging to St. Mark's church : all the Deans are pamed by the Doge and Senate.

Though it is forbid to the nobility, and to the clergy, to hold any conversation with Arangers upon politics, or affairs of State; yet it is remarked, the gondoleers are exceeding ready to talk upon these, or any other fubjects, with all who give them the fmalleft encouragement. Those who are not in the immediate fervice of any particular nobleman, are often retained by Government, like the Valets de-place at Paris, as fpies upon strangers. It is faid, that while those fellows row their gondolas, in feeming inattention to the converfation, they are taking notice of every thing which is faid, that they may report it

it to their employers, when they imagine it any way concerns the Government. If this is true, those are to be pitied who are obliged to liften to all the ftuff that fuch politicians may be fuppofed to relate. As foon as a ftranger arrives, the gondoleers who brought him to Venice immediately repair to a certain office, and give information where they took him up, to what house they conducted him, and of any other particulars they may have picked up. All those precautions recalled to my memory the garrifon of Darmstadt, of which I gave you an account in a letter from that place, where the firicteft duty is kept up by day and night, in winter as well as fummer, and every precaution used, as if an enemy were at the gates; though no mortal has the fmalleft defign against the place, and though it is perfectly underflood by all the inhabitants, that if an army was in reality to come with hoftile intentions, the town could not hold out a week. In the fame manner, I cannot help thinking,

thinking, that all this jealoufy and diffruft, thole numerous engines let a going, and all this complicated fystem for the difcovery of plots, and the defence of the constitution of this republic, ferves only to harafs their own fubjects. Their constitution is certainly in no fuch danger as to require fuch an apparatus of machines to defend it, unlefs, indeed, the Emperor were to form a plot against it; and, in that cafe, it is much to be feared, that the sondoleers, lions mouths, and State Inquisitors, would hardly prevent its fucces.

Exclusive of this State Inquisition, my abhorrence to which, I perceive, leads me fometimes away from my purpose, all ranks of people here might be exceeding happy. The business of the various courts, and the great number of offices in the State, form a constant employment for the nobles, and furnish them with proper objects to excite industry and ambition. The citizens form a respectable body in the State;

State; and, though theyare excluded from the Senate, they may hold fome very lucrative and important offices. By applying to the arts and fciences, which are encouraged at Venice, they have a fair chance of living agreeably, and laying up a competency for their families. Private property is no where better fecured than at Venice; and notwithstanding she no longer enjoys the trade of Afia without competitors, yet her commerce is still confiderable, and many individuals acquire great wealth by trade. The manufactories eftablifhed here employ all the industrious poor, and prevent that foualid beggary, that pilfering and robbery, one or other, or all of which, prevail in most other countries of Europe.

Their fubjects on the Terra Firma, I am informed, are not at all opprefied; the Senate has found that mild treatment, and good ufage, are the beft policy, and more effectual than armies, in preventing revolts.

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The Podeftas, therefore, are not allowed to abufe their power, by treating the people with feverity or injuffice. Thofe Governors know, that any complaints produced againft them, will be ferutinized by the Senate very carefully. This prevents many abufes of power on their part, and makes the neighbouring provinces which formerly belonged to this State, regret the chance of war which ravifhed them from the equitable government of their ancient mafters.

# LETTER XXÍ.

#### Venice.

HOUGH the Venetian Government is full under the influence of jealoufy, that gloomy Dæmon is now entirely banifhed from the bofoms of individuals. Inflead of the confinement in which women were formerly kept at Venice, they now enjoy a degree of freedom unknown even at Paris. Of the two extremes, the prefent, without doubt, is the preferable.

The hufbands feem at laft convinced, that the chaftity of their wives is fafeft under their own guardianfhip, and that when a woman thinks her honour not worth her own regard, it is ftill more unworthy of his. This advantage, with many others, muft arife from the prefent fyftem; that when a hufband believes that his wife has faithfully adhered to her con-4 jugal

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jugal engagement, he has the additional fatisfaction of knowing, that fhe acts from a love to him, or fome honourable motive; whereas, formerly, a Venetian hufband could not be certain that he was not obliged, for his wife's chaftity, to iron bars, bolts, and padlocks.

Could any man imagine, that a woman, whofe chaftity was preferved by fuch means only, was, in fact, more respectable than a common proftitute? The old plan of distrust and confinement, without even fecuring what was its object, must have had a ftrong tendency to debase the minds of both the hufband and the wife; for what man, whole mind was not perfectly abject, could have pleafure in the fociety of a wife, who, to his own conviction, languished to be in the arms of another man? Of all the humble employments that ever the wretched fons of Adam fubmitted to, furely that of watching a wife from morning to night, and all night too, is the most per-VOL. L. fectly R

fectly humiliating. Such ungenerous diftruft muft also have had the worft effect on the minds of the women; made them view their gaolers with difgust and horror; and we ought not to be much furprifed if fome preferred the common gondoleers of the lakes, and the vagrants of the ftreets, to fuch hufbands. Along with jealoufy, poi/on and the stiletto have been banifhed from Venetian gallantry, and the innocent mask is substituted in their places. According to the beft information I have received, this fame mafk is a much more innocent matter than is generally imagined. In general it is not intended to conceal the perfon who wears it, but only used as an apology for his not being in full drefs. With a mask stuck in the hat, and a kind of black mantle, trimmed with lace of the fame colour, over the shoulders, a man is fufficiently dreffed for any affembly at Venice.

Those who walk the fireets, or go to the playhouses with masks actually cover-

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ing their faces, are either engaged in fome love intrigue, or would have the fpectators think fo; for this is a piece of affectation which prevails here, as well as elfewhere; and I have been affured, by thofe who have refided many years at Venice, that *refined* gentlemen, who are fond of the reputation, though they fhrink from the cataftrophe, of an intrigue, are no uncommon characters here; and I believe it the more readily, becaufe I daily fee many feeble gentlemen tottering about in mafks, for whom a bafon of warm reftorative foup feems more expedient than the moft beautiful woman in Venice.

One evening at St. Mark's Place, when a gentleman of my acquaintance was giving an account of this curious piece of affectation, he defired me to take notice of a Venetian nobleman of his acquaintance, who, with an air of myftery, was conducting a female mafk into his Caffino. My acquaintance knew him perfectly well, ' R 2 and

and affured me, he was the most innocent creature with women he had ever been acquainted with. When this gallant perfon perceived that we were looking at him, his mask fell to the ground, as if by accident; and after we had got a complete view of his countenance, he put it on with much hurry, and immediately rushed, with his partner, into the Cassino.

Fugit ad falices, fed fe cupit ante videri.

You have heard, no doubt, of those little apartments, near St. Mark's Place, called Caffinos. They have the misfortune to labour under a very bad reputation; they are accused of being temples entirely confecrated to lawless love, and a thousand feandalous tales are told to farangers concerning them. Those tales are certainly not believed by the Venetians them felves, the proof of which is, that the Caffinos are allowed to exist; for I hold it perfectly abfurd to imagine, that men would fuffer their wives to enter fuch places, if they were not con-6 vinced

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vinced that those flories were ill-founded ; nor can I believe, after all we have heard of the profligacy of Venetian manners, that women, even of indifferent reputations, would attend Caffinos in the open manner they do, if it were underftood that more liberties were taken with them there than elfewhere.

The opening before St. Mark's church is the only place in Venice where a great number of people can affemble. It is the fashion to walk here a great part of the evening, to enjoy the mufic, and other amufements; and although there are coffeehouses, and Venetian manners permit ladies, as well as gentlemen, to frequent them, yet it was natural for the noble and most wealthy to prefer little apartments of their own, where, without being expoled to intrusion, they may entertain a few friends in a more cafy and unceremonious manner than they could do at their palaces. Inftead of going home to a R 3 formal

formal fupper, and returning afterwards to this place of amufement, they order coffee, lemonade, fruit, and other refreshments, to the Caffino.

That those little apartments may be occasionally used for the purposes of intrigue, is not improbable; but that this is the ordinary and avowed purpose for which they are frequented is, of all things, the least credible.

Some writers who have defcribed the manners of the Venetians, as more profligate than those of other nations, affert at the fame time, that the Government encourages this profligacy, to relax and diffipate the minds of the people, and prevent their planning, or attempting, any thing against the constitution. Were this the cafe, it could not be denied, that the Venetian legislators display their patriotism in a very extraordinary manner, and have fallen upon as extraordinary means of rendering their people good subjects. They first erect a despotic court to guard guard the public liberty, and next they corrupt the morals of the people, to keep them from plotting against the State. \_ This last piece of refinement, however, is no more than a conjecture of fome theoretical politicians, who are apt to take facts for granted, without fufficient proof, and afterwards difplay their ingenuity in accounting for them. That the Venetians are more given to fenfual pleafures than the inhabitants of London, Paris, or Berlin, I imagine will be difficult to prove; but as the State Inquifitors do not think proper, and the ecclefiaftical are not allowed, to interfere in affairs of gallantry; as a great number of flrangers affemble twice or thrice a year at Venice, merely for the fake of amusement; and, above all, as it is the cuftom to go about in masks, an idea prevails, that the manners are more licentious here than elsewhere. I have had occasion to observe, that this custom of wearing a mask, by conveying the ideas of concealment and intrigue, has contributed greatly R 4

greatly to give fome people an impression of Venetian profligacy. But, for my own part, it is not a piece of white or black paper, with distorted features, that I fuspect, having often found the most complete worthless concealed under a fmooth similing piece of human skin.

# LETTER XXII.

#### Venice.

A M very fenfible, that it requires a longer refidence at Venice, and better opportunities than I have had, to enable me to give a character of the Venetians. But were I to form an idea of them from what I have feen, I fhould paint them as a lively ingenious people, extravagantly fond of public amufements, with an uncommon relifh for humour, and yet more attached to the real enjoyments of life, than to thofe which depend on oftentation, and proceed from vanity.

The common people of Venice difplay fome qualities very rarely to be found in that fphere of life, being remarkably fober, obliging to ftrangers, and gentle in their intercourfe with each other. The Venetians in general are tall and well made. Though

Though equally robuft, they are not fo corpulent as the Germans. The latter alfo are of fair complexions, with lightgrey or blue eyes; whereas the Venetians are for the most part of a ruddy brown colour, with dark eyes. You meet in the ftreets of Venice many fine manly countenances, refembling those transmitted to us by the pencils of Paul Veronefe and Titian. The women are of a fine ftile of countenance, with expressive features, and a fkin of a rich carnation. They drefs their hair in a fanciful manner, which becomes them very much. They are of an eafy address, and have no aversion to cultivating an acquaintance with those firangers, who are prefented to them by their relations, or have been properly recommended.

Strangers are under lefs reftraint here, in many particulars, than the native inhabitants. I have known fome, who, after having tried most of the capitals of Europe,

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Europe, have preferred to live at Venice, on account of the variety of amufements, the gentle manners of the inhabitants, and the perfect freedom allowed in every thing, except in blaming the meafures of Government. I have already mentioned in what manner the Venetians are in danger of being treated who give themfelves that liberty. When a ftranger is fo imprudent as to declaim against the form or the measures of Government, he will either receive a message to leave the territories of the State, or one of the Sbirri will be fent to accompany him to the Pope's or the Emperor's dominions.

The houfes are thought inconvenient by many of the Englifh; they are better calculated, however, for the climate of Italy, than if they were built according to the London model, which, I fuppofe, is the plan those critics approve. The floors are of a kind of red plaister, with a brilliant glosfly furface, much more beautiful than

than wood, and far preferable in cafe of fire, whofe progrefs they are calculated to check.

The principal apartments are on the fecond floor. The Venetians feldom inhabit the first, which is often intirely filled with lumber : perhaps, they prefer the fecond, because it is farthest removed from the moifture of the lakes; or perhaps they prefer it, becaufe it is better lighted, and more cheerful; or they may have fome better reason for this preference than I am acquainted with, or can imagine. Though the inhabitants of Great Britain make ufe of the first floors for their chief apartments, this does not form a complete demonfiration that the Venetians are in the wrong for preferring the fecond. When an acute fenfible people univerfally follow one custom, in a mere matter of conveniency, however abfurd that cuftom may appear in the eyes of a ftranger at first fight, it will generally be found, that there

there is fome real advantage in it, which compensates all the apparent inconveniencies. Of this travellers, who do not hurry with too much rapidity through the countries they visit, are very sensible : for. after having had time to weigh every circumftance, they often fee reason to approve what they had formerly condemned. I could illustrate this by many examples; but your own recollection must furnish you with fo many, that any more would be fuperfluous. Cuftom and fashion have the greatest influence on our taste of beauty or excellence of every kind. What, from a variety of causes, has become the standard in one country, is fometimes just the contrary in another. The fame thing that makes a low-brimmed hat appear genteel at one time, and ridiculous at another, has made a different species of versification be accounted the model of perfection in old Rome and modern Italy, at Paris, or at London. In matters of tafte, particularly in dramatic poetry, the prejudices which each

each particular nation acquires in favour of its own is difficult to be removed. People feldom obtain fuch a perfect knowlege of a foreign language and foreign manners, as to underftand all the niceties of the one and the allufions to the other: of confequence, many things are infipid to them, for which a native may have a high relifh.

The dialogues in thime of the French plays appear unnatural and abfurd to Englifhmen when they firft attend the French theatre; yet thofe who have remained long in France, and acquired a more perfect knowledge of the language, affure us, that without rhime the dignity of the Tragic Mufe cannot be fupported; and that, even in Comedy, they produce an additional elegance, which overbalances every objection. The French language being more fludied and better underflood by the Englifh than our language is by the French nation, we find many of our country-

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countrymen who relifh the beauties, and pay the juft tribute of admiration to the genius of Corneille, while there is fcarcely a fingle Frenchman to be found who has any idea of the merit of Shakefpeare.

Without being juftly accused of partiality, I may affert that, in this inftance, the English display a fairness and liberality of fentiment fuperior to the French. The irregularities of Shakespeare's drama are obvious to every eye, and would, in the prefent age, be avoided by a poet not possefied of a hundredth part of his genius. His peculiar beauties, on the other hand, are of an excellence which has not, perhaps, been attained by any poet of any age or country; yet the French critics, from Voltaire down to the pooreft fcribbler in the literary journals, all ftop at the former, declaim on the barbarous tafte of the English nation, infist on the grotesque abfurdity of the poet's imagination, and illustrate both by partial extracts of the moft

# 256 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND moft exceptionable fcenes of Shakefpeare's plays.

When a whole people, with that degree of judgment which even the enemies of the Britifh nation allow them to have, unite in the higheft admiration of one man, and continue, for ages, to behold his pieces with unfated delight, it might occur to thofe Frenchmen, that there poffibly was fome excellence in the works of this poet, though they could not fee it; and a very moderate fhare of candour might have taught them, that it would be more becoming to fpare their ridicule, till they acquired a little more knowledge of the author againft whom it is pointed.

An incident which occurred fince my arrival at Venice, though founded on a prejudice much more excufable than the conduct of the critics above mentioned, has brought home to my conviction the rafhnefs of those who form opinions, without the MANNERS IN ITALY. 257 the knowledge requisite to direct their judgment.

I had got, I don't know how, the most contemptuous opinion of the Italian drama. I had been told, there was not a tolerable actor at prefent in Italy, and I had been long taught to confider their comedy as the most despicable stuff in the world, which could not amuse, or even draw a fmile from any perfon of tafte, being quite destitute of true humour, full of ribaldry, and only proper for the meaneft of the vulgar. Impressed with these fentiments, and eager to give his Grace a full demonftration of their justness, I accompanied the D- of H---- to the ftage-box of one of the playhouses the very day of our arrival at Venice.

The piece was a comedy, and the most entertaining character in it was that of a man who fluttered. In this defect, and in the fingular grimaces with which the actor Vol. I. S accompanied 258 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND accompanied it, confifted a great part of the amufement.

Difgusted at fuch a pitiful substitution for wit and humour, I expressed a contempt for an audience which could be entertained by such buffoonery, and who could take pleasure in the exhibition of a natural infirmity.

While we inwardly indulged fentiments of felf-approbation, on account of the refinement and fuperiority of our own tafte, and fupported the dignity of those fentiments by a difdainful gravity of countenance, the Stutterer was giving a piece of information to Harlequin which greatly interested him, and to which he listened with every mark of eagerness. This unfortunate speaker had just arrived at the most important part of his narrative, which was, to acquaint the impatient listener where his missing was concealed, when he unluckily stumbled on a word of fix

fix or feven fyllables, which completely obstructed the progress of his narration. He attempted it again and again, but always without fuccefs. You may have obferved that, though many other words would explain his meaning equally well. you may as foon make a Saint change his religion," as prevail on a Stutterer to accept of another word in place of that at which he has stumbled. He adheres to his first word to the laft, and will fooner expire with it in his throat, than give it up for any other you may offer. Harlequin, on the present occasion, presented his friend with a dozen; but he rejected them all with difdain, and perfifted in his unfuccefsful attempts on that which had first come in his way. At length, making a defperate effort, when all the fpectators were gaping in expectation of his fafe delivery, the cruel word came up with its broad fide foremost, and stuck directly across the unhappy man's wind-pipe. He gaped, and panted, and croaked; his face flushed, S 2 and

and his eyes feemed ready to flart from his head. Harlequin unbuttoned the Stutterer's waifcoat, and the neck of his fhirt; he fanned his face with his cap, and held a bottle of hartfhorn to his nofe. At length, fearing his patient would expire, before he could give the defired intelligence, in a fit of defpair he pitched his head full in the dying man's flomach, and the word bolted out of his mouth to the moft diftant part of the houfe.

This was performed in a manner fo perfectly droll, and the humorous abfurdity of the expedient came fo unexpectedly upon me, that I immediately burft into a moft exceffive fit of laughter, in which I was accompanied by the D—, and by your young friend Jack, who was along with us; and our laughter continued in fuch loud, violent, and repeated fits, that the attention of the audience being turned from the ftage to our box, occafioned a renewal of the mirth all over the playhoufe with greater vociferation than at firft.

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When we returned to the inn, the Dof H- afked me, If I were as much convinced as ever, that a man must be perfectly devoid of taste, who could condescend to laugh at an Italian comedy ?

# LETTER XXIII.

## Padua.

W E were detained at Venice feveral days longer than we intended, by exceffive falls of rain, which rendered the road to Verona impaffable. Relinquifhing, therefore, the thoughts of vifiting that city for the prefent, the D— determined to go to Ferrara by water. For this purpofe I engaged two barks ; in one of which the chaifes, baggage, and fome of the fervants, proceeded directly to Ferrara, while we embarked in the other for Padua.

Having croffed the Lagune, we entered the Brenta, but could continue our route by that river no farther than the village of Doglio, where there is a bridge; but the waters were fo much fwelled by the late rains, that there was not room for our boat to pafs below the arch. Quitting the

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the boat, therefore, till our return, we hired two open chaifes, and continued our journey along the banks of the Brenta to Padua.

Both fides of this river difplay gay, luxuriant fcenes of magnificence and fertility, being ornamented by a great variety of beautiful villas, the works of Palladio and his difciples. The verdure of the meadows and gardens here is not furpaffed by that of England.

The Venetian nobility, I am told, live with lefs reftraint, and entertain their friends with greater freedom, at their villas, than at their palaces in town. It is natural to fuppofe, that a Venetian muft feel peculiar fatisfaction when his affairs permit him to enjoy the exhilarating view of green fields, and to breathe the free air of the country,

As one who long in populous city pent, Where houfes thick, and fewers, annoy the air, 7 S 4 Forth

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Forth iffuing on a fummer's morn, to breathe Among the pleafant villages and farms Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight. The fmell of grain, or tedded grafs, or kine, Or dairy; each rural fight, each rural found.

I confess, for my own part, I never felt the beauty of those lines of Milton with greater fenfibility, than when I paffed through the charming country which is watered by the Brenta, after having been pent up in the terraqueous town of Venice. As one reafon which induced his Grace to vifit Padua at this time was, that he might pay his duty to his R-H- the Dof G----, we waited on that prince as foon as we had his permiffion. His R-H-has been here for fome time with his D-fs. He was very ill at Venice, and has been advised to remove to this place for the benefit of the air. It is with much fatisfaction I add, that he is now out of danger, a piece of intelligence with which you will have it in your power to

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to give pleafure to many people in England.

No city in the world has lefs affinity with the country than Venice, and few can have more than Padua; for great part of the circuit within the walls is unbuilt, and the town in general fo thinly inhabited, that grafs is feen in many places in the interflices of the flones with which the flreets are paved. The houfes are built on porticoes, which, when the town was well inhabited, and in a flourifhing condition, may have had a magnificent appearance; but, in its prefent flate, they rather give it a greater air of melancholy and of gloom.

The Franciscan church, dedicated to St. Antonio, the great patron of this city, was the place we were first led to by the Cicerone of our inn. The body of this holy person is inclosed in a farcophagus, under an altar in the middle of the chapel, and is faid to emit a very agreeable and refreshing

refreshing flavour. Pious Catholics believe this to be the natural effluvia of the faint's body; while Heretics affert, that the perfume (for a perfume there certainly is) proceeds from certain balfams rubbed on the marble every morning, before the votaries come to pay their devotions. I never prefume to give an opinion on contested points of this kind; but I may be allowed to fay, that if this fweet odour really proceeds from the holy Franciscan, he emits a very different smell from any of the brethren of that order whom I ever had an opportunity of approaching.

The walls of this church are covered with votive offerings of ears, eyes, arms, legs, nofes, and every part almost of the human body, in token of cures performed by this faint; for whatever part has been the feat of the difease, a representation of it is hung up in filver or gold, according to the gratitude and wealth of the patient.

At a fmall diffance from this church is a place called the School of St. Antonio. Here many of the actions of the Saint are painted in fresco; some of them by Titian. Many miracles of a very extraordinary nature are here recorded. I obferved one in particular, which, if often repeated, might endanger the peace of families. The Saint thought proper to loofen the tongue of a new-born child, and endue it with the faculty of fpeech; on which the infant, with an imprudence natural to its age, declared, in an audible voice, before a large company, who was its real father. The miracles attributed to this celebrated Saint greatly exceed in number those recorded by the Evangelists of our Saviour; and although it is not afferted, that St. Antonio has as yet raifed himfelf from the dead, yet his admirers here record things of him which are almost equivalent. When an impious Turk had fecretly placed fireworks under the chapel, with

with an intention to blow it up, they affirm, that St. Antonio hallooed three times from his marble coffin, which terrified the infidel, and difcovered the plot. This miracle is the more miraculous, as the Saint's tongue was cut out, and is actually preferved in a chrystal veffel, and shewn as a precious relic to all who have a curiofity to fee it. I flarted this as a difficulty which feemed to bear a little against the authenticity of the miracle; and the ingenious perfon to whom the objection was made, feemed at first somewhat nonplussed; but, after recollecting himfelf, he observed, that this, which at first feemed an objection, was really a confirmation of the fact; for the Saint was not faid to have spoken, but only to have hallooed, which a man can do without a tongue; but if his tongue had not been cut out, added he, there is no reason to doubt that the Saint would have revealed the Turkish plot in plain articulate language.

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From the Tower of the Franciscan church we had a very diftinct view of the beautiful country which furrounds Padua. All the objects, at a little diftance, seemed delightful and flourishing; but every thing under our eyes indicated wretchedness and decay.

# LETTER XXIV.

#### Padua:

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HE next church, in point of rank, but far fuperior in point of architecture, is that of St. Justina, built from a defign of Palladio, and reckoned, by fome people, one of the most elegant he ever gave. St. Justina is faid to have fuffered martyrdom where the church is built, which was the reafon of erecting it on that particular fpot. It would have been fortunate for the pictures in this church if the Saint had fuffered on a piece of drier ground, for they feem confiderably injured by the damps which furround the place where it now flands. There is a wide area in front of the church, called the Prato della Valle, where booths and fhops are erected for all kinds of merchandife during the fairs. Part of this, which is never allowed to be profaned by the buyers and fellers,

fellers, is called Campo Santo, becaufe there a great number of Christian martyrs are faid to have been put to death.

St. Justina's church is adorned with many altars, embellished with sculpture. The pavement is remarkably rich, being a kind of Mofaic work, of marble of various colours. Many other precious materials are wrought as ornaments to this church, but there is one species of jewels in which it abounds, more than, perhaps, any church in Chriftendom; which is, the bones of martyrs. They have here a whole well full, belonging to those who were executed in the Prato della Valle; and what is of still greater value, the Benedictines, to whom this church belongs, affert, that they are also in possession of the bodies of the two evangelists St. Matthew and St. Luke. The Franciscans belonging to a convent at Venice difpute the fecond of those two great prizes, and declare, that they are possessed of the true body of St. Luke, İ

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Luke, this in St. Juftina's church being only an impofture. The matter was referred to the Pope, who gave a decifion in favour of one of the bodies; but this does not prevent the proprietors of the other from ftill perfifting in their original claim, fo that there is no likelihood of the difpute being finally determined till the day of judgment.

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The hall of the Town-house of Padua is one of the largeft I ever faw. From the best guess I could make, after stepping it, I should think it about three hundred. English feet long, by one hundred in breadth: the emblematic and aftrological paintings, by Giotto, are much decayed. This immense hall is on the fecond floor, and is ornamented with the buffs and flatues of some eminent persons. The Cenotaph of Livy, the hiftorian, who was a native of Padua, is erected here. The University, formerly fo celebrated, is now, like every thing elfe in this city, on the decline; the Theatre for 7

anatomy could contain five or fix hundred fludents, but the voice of the Profession is like that of him who crieth in the wildernefs. The licentious spirit of the students, which formerly was carried fuch unwarrantable lengths, and made it dangerous to walk in the fireets of this city at night, is now entirely extinct: it has gradually declined with the numbers of the fludents. Whether the ardour for literature, for which the fludents of this univerfity were diftinguished, has abated in the fame proportion, I cannot determine; but I am informed, that by far the greater number of the young men who now attend the univerfity, are defigned for the priesthood, and apply to the fludy of divinity as a fcience, for comprehending and preaching the mysterious parts of which, a very fmall portion of learning has been obferved to fucceed better, than a great deal.

There is a cloth manufactory in this city; and I was told, that the inhabitants Vol. I. T of

of Venice, not excepting the nobles, wear no other cloth than what is made here. This particular manufactory, it may therefore be fuppofed, fucceeds very well; but the exceffive number of beggars with which this place fwarms, is a ftrong proof that trade and manufactures in general are by no means in a flourishing condition. In the course of my life I never faw fuch a number of beggars at one time, as attacked us at the church of St. Antonio. The Dof H---- fell into a miftake, analogous to that of Sable in the Funeral, who complains, that the more money he gave his mourners to look fad, the merrier they looked. His G- gave all he had in his pocket to the clamorous multitude which furrounded him, on condition that they would hold their tongues, and leave us; on which they became more numerous, and more vociferous than before. Strangers who visit Padua will do well, therefore, to obferve the gospel injunction, and perform their charities in fecret.

# LETTER XXV.

#### The Po.

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IN my letter from Padua I neglected to mention her high pretensions to antiquity: she claims Antenor, the Trojan, as her founder; and this claim is supported by classical authority. In the first book of the Æneid, Venus complains to Jupiter, that her son Æneas is still a vagabond on the feas, while Antenor has been permitted to establish himfelf, and build a city in Italy.

Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit.

Lucan alfo, in his Pharfalia, defcribing the augur who read in the fkies the events of that decifive day, alludes to the fame flory of Antenor;

Euganeo, si vera fides memorantibus, augur Colle sedens, Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit,

Atque Antenorei difpergitur unda Timavi Venit fumma dies, geritur res maxima dixit ; Impia concurrunt Pompeii et Cæfaris arma.

Some modern critics have afferted, that the two poets have been guilty of a geographical miftake, as the river Timavus empties itfelf into the Adriatic Gulph near Triefte, about a hundred miles from Padua; and that the Aponus is near Padua, and about the fame diftance from Timavus.

If, therefore, Antenor built a city where the river Timavus rufhes into the fea, that city muft have been fituated at a great diftance from where Padua now flands. The Paduan antiquarians, therefore, accufe Virgil, without fcruple, of this blunder, that they may retain the Trojan Prince as their anceftor. But those who have more regard for the character of Virgil than the antiquity of Padua, infist upon it, that the poet was in the right, and that the city which Antenor built, was upon the Banks of Timavus, and exactly a hundred miles from from modern Padua. As for Lucan, he is left in the lurch by both fides, though, in my poor opinion, we may naturally fuppofe, that one of the ftreams which run into Timavus was, at the time he wrote, called Aponus, which vindicates the poet, without weakening the relation between the Paduans and Antenor.

The inhabitants of Padua themfelves feem to have been a little afraid of trufting their claim entirely to claffical authority; for an old farcophagus having been dug up in the year 1283, with an unintelligible infeription upon it, this was declared to be the tomb of Antenor, and was placed in one of the flreets, and furrounded with a balluftrade; and, to put the matter out of doubt, a Latin infeription affures the reader, that it contains the body of the renowned Antenor, who, having efcaped from Troy, had drove the Euganei out of the country, and built this identical city of Padua.

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Though the Paduans find that there are people ill-natured enough to affert, that this farcophagus does not contain the bones of the illustrious Trojan, yet they can defy the malice of those cavillers to prove, that they belong to any other perfon; upon which negative proof, joined to what has been mentioned above, they reft the merit of their pretensions.

After remaining a few days at Padua, we returned to the village of Doglio, where we had left our veffel. We ftopped, and vifited fome of the villas on the banks of the Brenta. The apartments are gay and fpacious, and must be delightful in fummer; but none of the Italian houses feem calculated for the winter, which, nevertheles, I am informed, is fometimes as fevere in this country as in England.

Having embarked in our little veffel, we foon entered a canal, of about twentytwo Italian miles in length, which communicates with the Po, and we were drawn along,

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along, at a pretty good rate, by two horfes. We paffed laft night in the veffel, as we fhall this; for there is no probability of our reaching Ferrara till to-morrow. The banks of this famous river are beautifully fertile. Finding that we could keep up with the veffel, we amufed ourfelves the greateft part of the day in walking. The pleafure we feel on this claffical ground, and the intereft we take in all the objects around, is not altogether derived from their own native beauties; a great part of it arifes from the magic colouring of poetical defeription.

The accounts we have had lately of the King of Pruffia's bad health, I fuppofe, are not true; or if they are, I have good hopes he will recover: I found them on the calm and ferene afpect which Eridanus wears at prefent, which is not the cafe when the fate of any very great perfon is depending. You remember, what a rage he was in, and what a tumult he raifed, T 4 immediately

immediately before the death of Julius Cæfar.

Proluit infano contorquens vortice fylvas Fluviorum Rex Eridanus, campoíque per omnes<sub>5</sub> Cum ftabulis armenta tulit.

# Dryden translates these lines,

Then rifing in his might, the King of Floods Rufh'd thro' the forefts, tore the lofty woods ; And, rolling onward, with a fweepy fway, Bore houfes, herds, and labouring hinds away.

Rifing in his might is happy, but the reft is not fo fimple as the original, and much lefs expreffive; there wants the *infano contorquens vortice* fylvas.

It is not furprifing that the Po is fo much celebrated by the Roman poets, fince it is, unqueflionably, the fineft river in Italy.——

Where every fiream in heavenly numbers flows.

It feems to have been the favourite river of Virgil:

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Gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta In mare purpureum violentior influit amnis."

And Mr. Addison, at the fight of this river, is infpired with a degree of enthufiasm, which does not always animate his poetry.

Fired with a thoufand raptures, I furvey, Eridanus thro' flowery meadows ftray; The King of Floods! that, rolling o'er their plains,

The towering Alps of half their moifture drains, And, proudly fwoln with a whole winter's fnows, Diftributes wealth and plenty where he flows.

Notwithstanding all that the Latin poets, and, in imitation of them, those of other nations, have fung of the Po, I am convinced that no river in the world has been fo well fung as the Thames.

Thou too great father of the British floods ! With joyful pride furvey'st our lofty woods ; Where tow'ring oaks their growing honours rear, ' And future navies on thy shores appear,

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# Not Neptune's felf, from all her ftreams, receives

A wealthier tribute, than to thine he gives. No feas fo rich, fo gay no banks appear, No lake fo gentle, and no fpring fo clear; Nor Po fo fwells the fabling poets lays, While led along the fkies his current ftrays, As thine, which vifits Windfor's fam'd abodes.

If you are ftill refractory, and ftand up for the panegyrifts of the Po, I muft call Denham in aid of my argument, and I hope you will have the tafte and candour to acknowledge, that the following are, beyond comparison, the nobleft lines that ever were written on a river.

My eye defcending from the hill, furveys Where Thames among the wanton vallies ftrays. Thames, the moft loved of all the Ocean's fons, By his old fire, to his embraces runs; Hafting to pay his tribute to the fea, Like mortal Life to meet Eternity. Though with these ftreams he no resemblance

Though with those ftreams he no refemblance hold,

Whole foam is amber, and their gravel gold; His

His genuine and lefs guilty wealth t'explore, Search not his bottom, but furvey his fhore; O'er which he kindly fpreads his spaceous wing, And hatches plenty for th' enfuing spring; Nor then deftroys it with too fond a stay, Like mothers which their children overlay. Nor with a fudden and impetuous wave, Like profuse kings, refumes the wealth he gave. No unexpected inundations spoil

The mower's hopes, nor mock the plowman's toil:

But, godlike, his unweary'd bounty flows : First loves to do, then loves the good he does. Nor are his bleffings to his banks confined, But free and common, as the fea or wind; When he, to boaft, or to difperfe his ftores, Full of the tribute of his grateful fhores, Vifits the world, and in his flying towers, Brings home to us, and makes both Indies ours; Finds wealth where 'tis, beftows it where it wants, Cities in deferts, woods in cities plants. So that, to us, no thing, no place is ftrange, While his fair bofom is the world's exchange. O could I flow like thee, and make thy ftream, My great example, as it is my theme ! Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull:

Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full. 2 Heaven

Heaven her Eridanus no more shall boast, Whose fame in thine, like leffer current, 's lost.

You will fufpect that I am hard pufhed to make out a letter, when I fend you fuch long quotations from the poets. This, however, is not my only reafon. While we remain on the Po, rivers naturally become the fubject of my letter. I afferted, that the Thames has been more fublimely fung than the favourite river of claffical authors, and I wifhed to lay fome of my flrongeft proofs before you at once, to fave you the trouble of turning to the originals.

## LETTER XXVI.

#### Ferrara,

E arrived here early this morning. The magnificent freets and number of fine buildings fhew that this has formerly been a rich and flourishing city. The prefent inhabitants, however, who are very few in proportion to the extent of the town, bear every mark of poverty.

The happinels of the fubjects in a defpotic government depends much more on the perfonal character of the fovereign, than in a free flate; and the fubjects of little Princes, who have but a fmall extent of territory, are more affected by the good and bad qualities of those Princes, than the inhabitants of great and extenfive empires. I had frequent opportunities of making this remark in Germany, where, without having feen the Prince,

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or heard his character, one may often difcover his dispositions and turn of mind, from examining into the circumstances and general fituation of the people. When the Prince is vain and luxurious, as he confiders himfelf equal in rank, fo he endeavours to vie in magnificence with more powerful lovereigns, and thole attempts always terminate in the oppreffion and poverty of his fubjects; but 'when the Prince, on the other hand, is judicious, active, and benevolent, as the narrow limits of his territories make it eafy for him to be acquainted with the real fituation and true interest of his subjects, his good qualities operate more directly and effectually for their benefit, than if his dominions were more extensive, and he himself obliged to govern by the agency of minifters.

The Duchy of Ferrara was formerly governed by its own Dukes, many of whom happened to be of the character last mentioned, and the Ferrarese was, for several gene-

generations, one of the' happieft and moft flourifhing fpots in Italy. In the year 1597 it was annexed to the Ecclefiaftical State, and has ever fince been gradually falling into poverty and decay. It muft be owing to fome effential error in the Government, when a town like this, fituated in a fertile foil, upon a navigable river near the Adriatic, remains in poverty. Except the change of its Sovereign, all the other caufes, which I have heard affigned for the poverty of Ferrara, exifted in the days of its profperity.

Though the citizens of Ferrara have not been able to preferve their trade and induftry, yet they flill retain an old privilege of wearing fwords by their fides. This privilege extends to the loweft mechanies, who ftrut about with great dignity. Fencing is the only fcience in a flourifhing condition in this town, which furnifhes all the towns in Italy with fkilful fencing-mafters. Ferrara was famous formerly

merly for a manufactory of fword-blades. The Scotch Highlanders, who had a greater demand for fwords, and were nicer in the choice of their blades than any other people, ufed to get them from a celebrated maker in this town, of the name of Andrea di Ferrara. The beft kind of broadfwords are ftill called by the Highlanders True Andrew Ferraras.

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There are two brafs flatues oppofite to one of the principal churches. One is of Nicholo Marquis of Efte, and the other of Borfo of Efte, the firft Duke of Ferrara, whofe memory is flill held in great veneration in this city. I had the curiofity to go to the Benedictine church, merely to fee the place where Ariofto lies buried. The degree of importance in which men are held by their cotemporaries and by pofterity, is very different. This fine fanciful old bard has done more honour to modern Italy, than forty-nine in fifty of the Popes and Princes to which fhe has given birth, and,

and while thofe, who were the gaze of the multitude during their lives, are now entirely forgotten, his fame increafes with the progress of time. In his lifetime, perhaps, his importance, in the eyes of his countrymen, arose from the protection of the family of Este; now he gives importance, in the eyes of all Europe, to the illustrious names of his patrons, and to the country where he was born.

The Emperor, and two of his brothers, lodged lately at the inn where we now are. Our landlord is fo vain of this, that he cannot be prevailed on to fpeak on any other fubject ; he has entertained me with a thousand particulars about his illustrious guests; it is impossible he should ever forget those anecdotes, for he has been constantly repeating them ever fince the Royal Brothers left his houfe. I asked him what we could have for fupper. He answered, That we should sup in the very fame room in which his Imperial Majesty had dined. VOL. I. TT I re-

I repeated my quefion; and he replied, he did not believe there were three more affable Princes in the world. I faid, I hoped fupper would be foon ready; and he told me, that the Archduke was fond of fricaffee, but the Emperor preferred a fowl plain roafted. I faid, with an air of impatience, that I fhould be much obliged to him if he would fend in fupper. He bowed, and walked to the door; but, before he difappeared, he turned about and affured me, that although his Majefty ate no more than an ordinary man, yet he paid like an Emperor.

To perpetuate the memory of this great event, of the Emperor and his two brothers having dined at this houfe, the landlord got an Ecclefiaftic of his acquaintance to compose the following pompous infeription, which is now engraven upon a stone at the door of his inn.

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TABERNA HÆC DIVERSORIA HOSPITES HABUERIT TRES FRATRES CONSILIIS, MORIBUS, ET IN DEUM PIETATE, PRÆCLAROS, MARIÆ THERES. BOHEMIÆ ET HUNG. REGINÆ, &c. &c. ET TANTÆ MATRIS VIRTUTI SIMILLIMOS MAXIMILIANUM AUSTRIÆ ARCHIDUCEM; CENÆ ET QUIETATIS CAUSA; TERTIO CALEND. JUNII M.DCC.LXXV. DIE POSTERO PRANDIUM SUMPTUROS PETRUM LEOP. MAGN. HETRUC. DUCEM, ET JOSEPHUM SECUND. ROM. IMPERATOREM, SECULI NOSTRI ORNAMENTUM ET DECUS, NE TEMPORIS LONGITUDO HUJUSCE LOCI FELICITATEM OBLITERET PERENNE HOC MONUMENTUM.

No three perfons ever acquired immortality on eafier terms: it has only coft them one night's lodging at an indifferent inn, when better quarters could not be had.

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# LETTER XXVII.

#### Bologna.

W HEN we left Ferrara, our landlord infifted on our taking fix horfes to each chaife, on account of the badnefs of the roads, the foil about the town being moift and heavy. I attempted to remonftrate that four would be fufficient; but he cut me fhort, by protefting, that the roads were fo very deep, that he would not allow the beft friend he had in the world, not even the Emperor himfelf, were he there in perfon, to take fewer than fix. There was no more to be faid after this; the fame argument would have been irrefiftible, had he infifted on our taking twelve.

As you draw near to Bologna, the country gradually improves in cultivation; and, for fome miles before you enter the town, feems one continued garden. The vineyards are not divided by hedges, but by rows

rows of elms and mulberry trees; the vines hanging in a most beautiful pictures manner, in festoons from one tree to another. This country is not only fertile in vines, but likewise in corn, olives, and pasturage, and has, not without foundation, acquired the name of Bologna la Graffa.

This town is well built, and populous; the number of inhabitants amounting to feventy, or perhaps eighty thousand. The houses in general have lofty porticoes, which would have a better effect if the fireets were not so narrow; but in this particular, magnificence is facrificed to conveniency; for, in Italy, shade is considered as a luxury.

The Duchy of Bologna had conditions granted to it, upon fubmitting to the Papal dominion. Those conditions have been observed with a degree of punctuality and good faith, which many zealous Protestants would not expect in the Church of Rome.

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Bologna

Bologna retains the name of a republic, fends an ambaffador to the Pope's court, and the word Libertas is inferibed on the arms and coin of the State, with the flattering capitals S. P. Q. B. The civil government and police of the town is allowed to remain in the hands of the magistrates, who are chosen by the Senate, which formerly confiled of forty members; but fince this republic came under the protection, as it is called, of the Pope, he thought proper to add ten more, but the whole fifty fill retain the name of the Quaranta. Mankind, in general, are more alarmed by a change of name, in things which they have long regarded with veneration, than by a real change in the nature of the things themselves. The Pope may have had fome good political reafon for augmenting the number of the council to fifty; but he could have none for calling them the Council of Fifty, if the people chofe rather to call fifty men affembled together the Council of Forty: One of the

the Senators prefides in the Senate, and is called the Gonfalonier; from his carrying the ftandard (Gonfalone) of the republic. He is chief magistrate, is attended by guards, and is conftantly at the palace, or near it, to be ready on any emergency; but he remains only two months in office, and the Senators take it by turns.

In the midft of all this appearance of independency, a Cardinal Legate from Rome governs this republic; he is appointed by the Pope, with a Vice Legate, and other affiftants. The orders which the Legate iffues, are fuppofed to be with the approbation of the Senate; at leaft, they are never difputed by that prudent body of men. The office, which is of higher dignity than any other now in the gift of the Court of Rome, continues for three years: at the expiration of that time, his Holinefs either appoints a new Legate, or 'confirms the old one in the office for three years longer.

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This ecclefiaftical Viceroy lives in great magnificence, and has a numerous fuite of pages, equerries, and halberdiers, who attend him in the city. When he goes into the country, he is accompanied by guards on horfeback.

The Gonfalonier and magiftrates regulate all the ufual matters which regard the police, and decide, in common caufes, according to the laws and ancient forms of the republic; but there is no doubt that, in affairs of great importance, and, indeed, as often as he choofes to interfere, the Cardinal Legate influences decifions. This muft be mortifying to the Senators and noble families, but is lefs felt by the people in general, who have every appearance of living under a mild and beneficent Government.

The inhabitants of Bologna carry on a very confiderable trade in filks and velvets, which are manufactured here in great perfection. The country produces immenfe quantities quantities of oil, wine, flax, and hemp; and furnishes all Europe with fausages, Macaroni, liqueurs, and effences. The people feem to be industrious, and to be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labour; the markets are most plentifully supplied with provisions; fruit is to be had in great variety, and all excellent in its kind; the common wine of the country is a light white wine of an agreeable tafte, which ftrangers prefer to any of the French or German wines to be had here. Those who are not pleafed with the entertainment they meet with at the inns in this city, it will be a difficult matter to pleafe; they must be possessed of a degree of fuch nicety, both in their palates and tempers. as will render them exceedingly troublefome to themselves and others, not only in their travels through Italy, but in the whole courfe of their journey through life.

There are a great number of palaces in this city. What is called the Public Palace,

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is,

is, by far, the most spacious, but not the most elegant. In this the Cardinal Legate is lodged. There are also apartments for the Gonfalonier; and halls, or chambers, for fome of the courts of juffice. This building, though of a gloomy and irregular form without, contains fome very magnificent apartments, and a few good pictures : the most esteemed are, a large one, by Guido, of the Virgin, and the infant Jesus, seated on the rainbow; a Sampfon, by Guido alfo, refreshing himfelf with the water which iffues from the jaw-bone with which he has just defeated the Philistines; and a St. John the Baptist, by Raphael, a duplicate of that in the Palais Royal at Paris, but thought, by fome connoiffeurs, greatly inferior. For my part, I think it is to be regretted, that this great painter did not employ the time he fpent on one of them, at least, on some subject more worthy of his talents. A fingle figure, unemployed, can never please so much as a groupe, occupied in fome interefting

terefting action. It is a pity that a painter, capable, even in a moderate degree, of exciting the paffions, fhould confine his talents to folitary figures. How much more unworthy of *bim* who poffeffed all the fublimity and pathos of the art !

On his arrival at this town, the first object which ftrikes the eye of a ftranger, is a noble marble fountain, in the area before the Palazzo Publico. The principal figure is a flatue of Neptune, eleven feet in height; one of his hands is ftretched out before him, in the other he holds the Trident. The body and limbs are finely proportioned, the anatomy perfect, the character of the countenance fevere and majestic. This figure of Neptune, as well as all the others of boys, dolphins, and fyrens, which furround it, are in bronze. The whole is the workmanship of Giovanni di Bologna, and is highly efteemed; yet there feems to be an impropriety in making water

300 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND water flow in ftreams from the breafts of the fea nymphs, or fyrens.

Over the entrance of the Legate's palace, is a bronze statue of a Pope. The tiara, and other parts of the Papal uniform, are not fo favourable to the fculptor's genius, as the naked fimplicity in which Neptune appears. A female traveller, however, not extravagantly fond of the fine arts, would rather be observed admiring the fculptor's skill in imitating the folds of the Sacerdotal robes, than his anatomical accuracy in forming the majestic proportions of the Sea Divinity.

# LETTER XXVIII.

Bologna.

HE univerfity of Bologna is one of the moft ancient and moft celebrated feats of literature in Europe; and the academy for the arts and fciences, founded by the Count Marfigli at the beginning of the prefent century, is fufficient, of itfelf, to engage ftrangers to vifit this city, if there was nothing elfe worthy of their curiofity. Over the gate of this magnificent edifice is the following liberal infcription :

## BONONIENSE SCIENTIARUM ATQUE ARTIUM INSTITUTUM AD PUBLICUM TOTIUS ORBIS USUM.

Here is a most valuable library, in three spacious rooms, where any perfon may study, and have the use of the books, four hours every day; also apartments for the students of sculpture, painting, architecture, chemistry,

chemistry, anatomy, aftronomy, and every branch of natural philosophy. They are all ornamented with defigns, models, infruments, and every kind of apparatus requifite for illustrating those fciences. There are also Professions; who regularly read lectures, and inftruct the fludents in those various parts of knowledge. There is a hall, full of models in architecture and fortification, a valuable collection of medals, and another of natural curiofities, as animals, earths, ores, minerals, and a complete collection of specimens, to affist the fludy of the Materia Medica, and every part of Natural Hiftory. A gallery of flatues, confifting of a few originals, and very fine cafts of the best statues in Italy. I went one evening to the academy of painting and fculpture; two men ftood in different attitudes on a table, in the middle of the room; about fifty fludents fat in the amphitheatre around them, fome drawing their figures in chalks, others modelling them in wax, or clay. As each fludent 2

fludent viewed the two men from different points, the variety of manner in the different fludents, together with the alteration in the Chiaro Scuro under each point of view, gave every drawing the appearance of being done from a different figure. Nothing can be fo advantageous to the young fludent as this kind of exercife, which is fometimes practifed by day-light, and fometimes by the light of lamps, and must give a fuller idea of the effect of light and shade than any other method.

Honorary premiums are diffributed every year among the artifts, for the best defigns in painting, fculpture, and architecture.

The Anatomical Theatre is adorned with flatues of celebrated phyficians; and in the Mufeum, which belongs to it, there are abundance of anatomical preparations; alfo a complete fuite of anatomical figures in wax. A man and woman in the natural flate; the fame with the fkin and cellular membrane removed, the external mufcles

mufcles of the whole body and limbs appearing. In the fubfequent figures the more external muscles are gradually removed, till nothing but the fimple fkeleton remains. These figures are very well rendered, preferving the natural appearance and fituation of the muscles and bloodveffels, with as much exactness as could be expected in a work of this nature. There are also models in wax, of particular parts, and of feveral of the vifcera of the human body feparately; yet. those waxen models could not ftand in comparison with the preparations of the real parts in Dr. Hunter's muleum. If brought to that teft, the Bologna waxworks, though admirable in their kind, would appear as their best casts of the Vatican Apollo and Laocoon would, if placed befide the originals. Indeed, the real preparations to be feen here, are far inferior to those of that great anatomist; who is now possessed of the most complete, and most accurate collection of anatomical preparations, that ever was made

made by human fkill and induftry. We have faithfully performed our duty in vifiting all the churches and palaces of this city, which contain fome of the higheft fpecimens of art; yet, as the recital might be lefs amufing than the tour itfelf, I fhall exercife your patience with great moderation on that fubject.

The church of St. Petronius forms part of that large, irregular fquare, in which the fountain, formerly mentioned, flands; it is the largest in Bologna. In the pavement of this church, Caffini drew his meridian line; and within the walls of this fame edifice the Emperor Charles the Fifth was crowned. Those circumstances may intereft the aftronomer, and the hiftorian; but the statue of a foldier, which stands in one of the chapels, engages the attention of the pious Catholic. This man, being at play, and in danger of lofing all his money, offered up a very fervent prayer to the Virgin Mary, for a little better luck; VOL. I. X to

to which she, who never shewed any favour to gamesters, turned a deaf ear. When he found that his bad fortune continued, this furious wretch drew his fword, and wounded both the Virgin, and the Infant in her arms. He inftantly, as you may suppose, fell to the ground, deprived of motion; he was carried to prifon, and condemned to an ignominious and painful death. While he remained under confinement, he came to a proper fense of his wickednefs; and the bleffed Virgin was fo much foftened by his repentance, that fhe restored him to the use of his limbs; and the Judges, taking the hint, gave him a full pardon. As a fatisfactory proof of this memorable event, they fhew the identical fword with which the affault was made.

A Dominican convent, fituated on the top of a hill, about three miles from this city, is in pofferfion of a portrait of the Virgin, by St. Luke. It is not 4 perfectly

perfectly known how it came there; any enquiry of that nature favours of herefy, and might give offence. The people in general are perfuaded of its originality, and happy in the honour of fuch a neighbour. This portrait has wrought many miracles in favour of the inhabitants of Bologna. A curious gallery, open to the fouth, and closed by a wall to the north, is built all the way from this city to the convent. On the open fide it is supported by a long row of pillars, and was erected by voluntary contribution, in honour of the Virgin, and for the conveniency of pilgrims. This long colonade is about twelve feet in breadth, from the pillars to the wall, and of a convenient height; all the communities of the town walk once a year, in folemn proceffion, to the convent, and bring the holy picture to visit the city. It is carried through the principal fireets, attended by every inhabitant who can afford to purchafe a wax taper. During this pro-X 2 ceffion,

ceffion, the bells continue ringing, the cannon are fired; and the troops under arms obferve the fame ceremonies, when the picture paffes, as if it were Commander in Chief of the forces. The common people imagine, the picture is extremely fond of this annual vifit to the town of Bologna; they even are convinced, that, if it were not carried, it would defcend from the frame, and walk the whole way on foot; but they do not defire to fee the experiment made, both becaufe it might difoblige the Virgin, and becaufe, if the picture were once fet a walking, there is no knowing where it would ftop.

Though the nobility of Bologna are not now very rich, many of their palaces are furnished in a magnificent taste, and contain paintings of great value. The palaces were built, and ornamented, when the proprietors were richer, and when the finest works of architecture and painting could be procured on easier terms than

at prefent. The galleries, and apartments, are fpacious and magnificent; yet there are circumflances in the moft fplendid, that muft hurt the eye of thofe who are accuftomed to that perfect exactness in finishing which prevails in English houses. The glass of the windows of some palaces is divided into little square panes, which are joined together by lead; and the floors of all are so very indifferently laid, that you often see a loose brick shaking under your feet as you walk through the finest apartments.

The most precious ornaments of the palaces are the paintings, particularly those of the celebrated masters which this city had the honour of producing. Raphael is generally allowed to have excelled all painters in the fublimity of his ideas, the grouping of his figures, the beauty of his heads, the elegance of his forms, and the correctness of his outlines; yet, in the opinion of fome, he has oftener imitated X 3 those

those noble ideas of beauty, transmitted to us by the Greek fculptors, than what he faw, or could observe, in nature. Those who hold this opinion affert, that the best masters of the Lombard School studied, with equal affiduity, the elegance of the antique flatues, and the fimplicity of nature; and from this combined attention to both, with geniufes lefs fublime, and not fo univerfal, as that of the Roman painter, they have produced works equal, if not fuperior in fome respects, to his. In all this, I beg you may keep in your remembrance, that I am not affecting to give any opinion of my own, but merely repeating the fentiments of others.

Next to Rome itfelf, there is, perhaps, no town in the world fo rich in paintings as Bologna. The churches and palaces, befides many admired pieces by other mafters, are full of the works of the great mafters who were natives of this city. I must not lead you among those mafterpieces;

pieces; it is not for fo poor a judge as I am to point the peculiar excellencies of the Caraccis, Dominichino, Albano, or compare the energy of Guercino's pencil with the grace of Guido's. With regard to the laft, I fhall venture to fay, that the graceful air of his young men, the elegant forms, and mild perfuafive devotion, of his Madonas; the art with which, to all the inviting loveline's of female features, he joins all the gentlene's and modefly which belong to the female character, are the peculiar excellencies of this charming painter.

It requires no knowledge in the art of painting, no connoiffeurfhip, to difcover those beauties in the works of Guido; all who have eyes, and a heart, must fee and feel them. But the picture more admired than all the reft, and confidered, by the judges, as his master-piece, owes its eminence to a different kind of merit; it can claim none from any of the circumstances above enumerated. The piece I mean is in X 4 the

the Sampieri palace, and diffinguished by a filk curtain, which hangs before it. The fubject is, the Repentance of St. Peter, and confifts of two figures, that of the Saint who weeps, and a young apofile who endeavours to comfort him. The only picture at Bologna, which can difpute celebrity with this, is that of St. Cecilia, in the church of St. Georgio in Monte. This picture is greatly praifed by Mr. Addifon, and is reckoned one of Raphael's capital pieces. If I had nothing elfe to convince me that I had no judgment in painting, this would be fufficient. I have examined it over and over with great attention, and a real defire of discovering its superlative merit; and I have the mortification to find, that I cannot perceive it .--- After this confession, I prefume you will not defire to hear any thing farther from me on the fubject of painting.

# LETTER XXIX.

#### Ancona.

· · Samue - ·

N our way from Bologna to this place, we passed through Ravenna, a difagreeable town, though at one period the feat of empire; for, after Attila had left Italy, Valentinian chofe Ravenna, in preference to Rome, for his refidence, that he might always be ready to repel the Huns and other Barbarians, who poured from the banks of the Danube, and prevent their penetrating into Italy. The fame reafon afterwards induced Theodoric, King of the Offrogoths, to keep his court at this city of Ravenna, after he had defeated and killed Odoacer, and affumed the title of King of Rome. The ruins of his palace and his tomb now form part of the antiquities of Ravenna; among which I shall not detain you a moment, but proceed to the river of Pifatello, the famous Rubicon,

con, which lies between this town and Rimini, and was the ancient boundary between Italy and Cifalpine Gaul. No Roman, returning to Rome, could pafs in arms beyond this, without being deemed an enemy to his country. The fmall town of Cefenate is fituated near this brook, and the inhabitants value themselves not a little upon their vicinity to fo celebrated a neighbour. But the people of Rimini have had the malice to endeavour to deprive them of this fatisfaction : they affirm, that the rivulet Lufa, which is farther removed from Cefenate, and nearer to themfelves, is the true Rubicon. I have confidered this controverfy with all the attention it merits; and I am of opinion, that the pretensions of Pisatello, which is also called Rugone, are the best founded. That you may not fuspect my being influenced in my judgment by any motives but those of juffice, I beg leave to inform you, that it is a matter of no importance to me which of the rivers is the real Rubicon, for we had

MANNERS IN ITALY. 315 had the honour of paffing both in our way to Rimini.

What Suetonius mentions concerning Cæfar's hefitation when he arrived at the banks of this river, does not agree with what the hiftorian fays a little before. Quidam putant captum Imperii confuetudine, penfitatifque fuis & inimicorum viribus, ufum occafione rapiendæ dominationis, quam ætate prima concupiffet. And this, he adds, was the opinion of Cicero, who fays, that Cæfar had often in his mouth this verfe :

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

It is moft probable, that Cæfar took his refolution to crofs the Rubicon as foon as Antony and Curio arrived in his camp, and afforded him a plaufible pretext, by informing him and the army of the violent manner in which they had been driven from Rome by the Conful Lentulus and the adherents of Pompey. As for the phantom,

phantom, which Suetonius informs us determined the Dictator while he was yet in hefitation, we may either confider it intirely as a fiction, or as a fcene previoufly arranged by himfelf to encourage his army, who may be fuppofed to have had fcruples in difobeying a decree of the Senate; which declared those perfons facrilegious and parricides, devoting them at the fame time to the infernal gods, who should pass over this river in arms. Cæfar was not of a character to be diffurbed with religious scruples; he never delayed an enterprife, we are told, on account of unfavourable omens. Ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus unquam vel retardatus eft. Quum immolanti aufugiffet hoftia, profectionem adversus Scipionem & Jubam non distulit, &c. &c.

This hefitation, therefore, which is mentioned both by Suetonius and Plutarch, has no refemblance with the ambitious and decifive character of Julius Cæfar; the picture

picture which Lucan has drawn of him has much more fpirit, and in all probability more likeness.

Cæfar ut adverfam fuperato gurgite ripama Attigit, Hefperiæ vetitis & conftitit arvis, Hic, ait, hic pacem, temerataque jura relinquo; Te, Fortuna, fequor; procul hinc jam fædera funto.

Credidimus fatis, utendum est judice bello. Sic fatus, noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor Impiger, & torto Ballaris verbere fundæ Ocyor, & missa Parthi post terga fagitta; Vicinumque minax invadit Ariminum-

Though Rimini is in a flate of great decay, there are fome monuments of antiquity worthy the attention of the curious traveller. It is the ancient Ariminum, the first town of which Cæfar took possefilion after passing the Rubicon. In the marketplace there is a kind of stone pedestal, with an infeription, declaring, that on it Cæfar had stood and harangued his army; but the authenticity of this is not afcertained to the fatisfaction of antiquarians.

We

We next paffed through Pefaro, a very agreeable town, better built and paved than the other towns we have feen on the Adriatic shore. In the market-place there is a handfome fountain, and a statue of Pope Urban the Eighth, in a fitting posture. In the churches of this town there are fome pictures by Baroccio, a painter, whofe works fome people effeem very highly, and who is thought to have imitated the manner of Raphael and the tints of Correggio, not without fuccefs. He lived about the middle of the fixteenth century, and his colours feem to have improved by time. I fay, feem; for, in reality, all colours lofe by time: but the operation of fun and air on pictures bringing all the colours to a kind of unifon, occasions what is called Harmony, and is thought an improvement on some pictures. This road, along the Adriatic coaft, is extremely pleafant. From Pefaro we proceeded to Fano, a little town, of nearly the fame fize, but more populous. It derives its name from a Temple

a Temple of Fortune [Fanum Fortunæ], which flood here in the time of the Romans. All the towns of Italy, however religious they may be, are proud of their connections with those celebrated heathens. An image of the Goddess Fortune is erected on the fountain in the market-place, and the inhabitants flow fome ruins, which they pretend belong to the ancient Temple of Fortune; but what cannot be difputed, are the ruins of a triumphal arch in white marble, erected in honour of Augustus, and which was greatly damaged by the artillery of Pope Paul the Second, when he befieged this town in the year 1463. The churches of this town are adorned with fome excellent pictures; there is one particularly in the cathedral church, by Guercino, which is much admired. The fubject is the marriage of Joseph: it confifts of three principal figures; the High Prieft, Joseph, and the Virgin.

A few

A few miles beyond Fano, we croffed the river Metro, where Claudius Nero, the Roman Conful, defeated Afdrubal, the brother of Hannibal. This was, perhaps, the most important victory that ever was gained by a Roman General; for, had Afdrubal been victorious, or been able to effect a junction with his brother, the troops he brought from Spain would have become of triple value as foon as they were under the direction of Hannibal; and it is not improbable that, with fuch a reinforcement, that most confummate General would have put an end to the Roman State; the glory of Carthage would have begun where that of Rome ended; and the hiftory of the world would have been quite different from what it is. Horace feems fenfible of the infinite importance of this victory, and proclaims with a fine poetic enthusiasm, the obligations which Rome owed to the family of the hero who obtained it, and the terror which, before that

MANNERS IN ITALY. 321 that time, Hannibal had fpread over all Italy.

> Quid debeas, O Roma, Nerohibus, Teflis Metaurum flumen, et Afdrubal Devictus, et pulcher fugatis Ille dies Latio tenebris, Qui primus almâ rifit adoreâ ; Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas, Ceu flamma per tedas, vel Eurus Per Siculas equitavit undas.

We came next to Senegallia, another fea-port town upon this coaft. There is nothing remarkable in this town, except during the time of the fair, which is held there once a year, to which a great concourse of merchants refort, from Venice, and all the towns on both fides of the Adriatic; alfo from Sicily, and the Archipelago. England carries on a very profitable trade with all the towns in Romagnia, from which our merchants purchase great quantities of raw filk, and afterwards fell it, when manufactured, to the inhabitants. VOL. I. Y They

They provide them also in English cotton and linen cloths, of every kind.

The distance between Senegallia and Ancona, is about fifteen miles. We travelled most of this road after it was dark, much against the inclination of the Italian fervants, who assured us, that it is often infefted with robbers. Those fellows, they told us, come fometimes from the coaft of Dalmatia, attack travellers on this road, carry what booty can be got, on board their boats, which are never at a great diftance, and then fail to the opposite shore, or to fome other part of the coaft. As we travelled flowly over the fandy road, fome men, in failors dreffes, overtook us. Our Italians were convinced they belonged to the gang of pirates, or robbers, they had fpoken of. Our company was too numerous to be attacked ; but they attempted, fecretly, to cut off the trunks from the chaifes, without fucceeding.

# LETTER XXX.

#### Ancona.

323

A NCONA is faid to have been founded by Syracufans who had fled from the tyranny of Dionyfius. The town originally was built upon a hill, but the houfes have been gradually extended down the face of the eminence, towards the fea. The cathedral flands on the higheft part; from whence there is a most advantageous view of the town, the country, and the fea. This church is fuppofed to be placed on the fpot where a temple, dedicated to Venus, formerly flood; the fame mentioned by Juvenal, when he fpeaks of a large turbot caught on this coast, and prefented to the Emperor Domitian.

Incidit Adriaci fpatium admirabile rhombi, Anțe domum Veneris, quam Dorica fustineț Ancon.

The

The afcents and defcents, and great inequality of the ground, will prevent this from being a beautiful town, but it has much the appearance of becoming a rich one. Some of the nobility have the firmnefs and good fenfe to defpife an ancient prejudice, and avowedly profecute commerce. New houfes are daily building, and the fireets are animated with the buffle of trade. I met with feveral English traders on the Change, which feemed crowded with fea-faring men, and merchants, from Dalmatia, Greece, and many parts of Europe. There are great numbers of Jews eftablished in this city. I know not whether this race of men contribute greatly to the profperity of a country; but it is generally remarked, that those places are in a thriving condition to which they refort. They have a fynagogue here, and although all religions are tolerated, theirs is the only foreign worfhip allowed to be publicly exercifed. The commerce of Ancona has increased very rapidly of late years; and

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it is evident, that the Popes who first thought of making it a free port, of encouraging manufactures, and of building a mole, to render the harbour more fafe, have injured Venice in a more fensible manner, than those who thundered bulls against that republic; but it is much to be questioned, whether the former, by their encouragements to commerce, have augmented their own spiritual importance in the fame proportion they have the temporal riches of their subjects.

Men who have received a liberal education, and have adopted liberal fentiments previous to their engaging in any particular profeffion, will carry thefe fentiments along with them through life: and, perhaps, there is no profeffion in which they can be exercifed with more advantage and utility, than in that of a merchant. In this profeffion, a man of the character above defcribed, while he is augmenting his own private fortune, will enjoy the Y 3 agreeable

agreeable reflection, that he is likewife increafing the riches and power of his country, and giving bread to thousands of his industrious countrymen. Of all professions, his is in its nature the most independent : the merchant does not, like the foldier, receive wages from his fovereign; nor, like the lawyer and phyfician, from his fellow-fubjects. His wealth often flows from foreign fources, and he is under no obligation to those from whom it is derived. The habit which he is in, of circulating millions, makes him lay lefs ftrefs on a few guineas, than the proprietors of the largest estates; and we daily fee, particularly in countries where this profession is not confidered as degrading, the commercial part of the inhabitants giving the most exalted proofs of generofity and public fpirit. But in countries where nobody, who has the fmallest claim to the title of a gentleman, can engage in commerce without being thought to have demeaned himfelf, fewer examples of this nature will be found : and in every country, it must be acknowledged, that thofe

those who have not had the advantage of a liberal education; who have been bred from their infancy to trade; who have been taught to confider money as the most valuable of all things, and to value themfelves, and others, in proportion to the quantity they poffefs; who are continually revolving in their minds, to the exclusion of all other ideas, the various means of increafing their flock ; to fuch people, money becomes a more immediate and direct object of attention, than to any other class of men; it fwells in their imagination, is rated beyond its real worth, and, at length, by an invertion of the Christian precept, it is confidered as the one thing needful, to be fought with the most unremitting ardour, that all other things may be added thereunto.

In commercial towns, where every body finds employment, and is agitated by the buftle of bufinefs, the minds of the inhabitants are apt to be fo much engroffed Y 4. with

with the affairs of this world, as almost to forget that there is another; and neither the true religion, nor falfetones, have fuch hold of their minds, as in places where there is more poverty, and lefs worldly occupation. In the first, they confider the remonstrances of priests and confessors as interruptions to business; and, without daring to despife the ceremonies of religion, like the speculative Sceptic or Infidel, the hurried trader huddles them over as fast as poffible, that he may return to occupations more congenial with the habit of his mind. The preachers may cry aloud, and fpare not; they may lift up their voices like trumpets, proclaiming the nothingnels of this world, and all which it contains; it is in vain. Men who have been trained to the purfuit of money from their childhood, who have beftowed infinite pains to acquire it, and who derive all their importance from it, must naturally have a partiality for this world, where riches procure fo many flattering diffinctions; and a prejudice againft.

against that in which they procure none: but in towns where there is little trade, and great numbers of poor people, where they have much fpare time, and fmall comfort in this world, the clergy have an eafier tafk, if they are tolerably affiduous, in turning the attention of the inhabitants to the other. In Roman Catholic towns of this defcription, we fee the people continually pacing up and down the ftreets, with wax tapers in their hands. They liften, with fond attention, to all the prieft relates concerning that invifible country, that Land of Promife, where their hopes are placed; they ruminate, with complacency, on the happy period when they alfo shall have their good things; they bear their prefent rags with patience, in expectation of the white raiment and crowns of gold, which, they are told, await them; they languish for the happiness of being promoted to that lofty fituation, from whence they may look down, with fcorn, on those to whom they now look up with envy,

envy, and where they shall retaliate on their wealthy neighbours, whose riches, at present, they imagine, infult their own poverty.

This town being exposed, by the nature of its commerce with Turkey, to the contagious difeafes which prevail in that country, Clement XII., as foon as he determined to make it a free port, erected a lazzaretto. It advances a little way into the fea, is in the form of a pentagon, and is a very noble, as well as useful, edifice. He afterwards began a work, as neceffary, and still more expensive; I mean the Mole built in the fea, to fkreen the veffels in the harbour from the winds, which frequently blow from the opposite shore of the Adriatic with great violence. This was carried on with redoubled fpirit by Benedict XIV. after his quarrel with Venice, has been continued by the fucceeding Popes, and is now almost finished. This building was founded in the ruins of the ancient Mole, railed

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raifed by the Emperor Trajan. The ftone of Istria was used at first, till the exportation of it was prohibited by the republic of Venice, who had no reafon to wifh well to this work. But a quarry of excellent stone was afterwards found near Ancona, as fit for the purpole; and a kind of fand, which, when mixed with lime, forms a composition as hard as any stone, is brought from the neighbourhood of Rome; and no other is used for this building, which is above two thousand feet in length, one hundred in breadth, and about fixty in depth, from the furface of the fea. A flupendous work, more analogous to the power and revenues of ancient, than of modern, Rome.

Near to this flands the Triumphal Arch, as it is called, of Trajan. This is an honorary monument, erected in gratitude to that Emperor, for the improvements he made in this harbour at his own expence. Next to the Maison Quarrée at Nîmes, it is the 5

the most beautiful and the most entire monument of Roman tafte and magnificence I have yet feen. The fluted Corinthian pillars on the two fides are of the finest proportions; and the Parian marble of which they are composed, instead of having acquired a black colour, like the Ducal palace of Venice, and other buildings of marble, is preferved, by the fea vapour, as white and fhining as if it were fresh polifted from the rock. I viewed this charming piece of antiquity with fentiments of. pleafure and admiration, which fprang from a recollection of the elegant tafte of the artift who planned this work, the humane amiable virtues of the great man to whofe honour it was raifed, and the grandeur and policy of the people who, by fuch rewards, prompted their Princes to wife and beneficent undertakings.

# LETTER XXXI.

#### Loretto.

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HE road from Ancona to this place runs through a fine country, compofed of a number of beautiful hills and intervening vallies. Loretto itself is a small town, fituated on an eminence, about three miles from the fea. I expected to have found it a more magnificent, at least a more commodious, town for the entertainment of strangers. The inn-keepers do not diffurb the devotion of the pilgrims by the luxuries of either bed or board. I have not seen worse accommodations fince I entered Italy, than at the inn here. This feems furprifing, confidering the great refort of ftrangers. If any town in England were as much frequented, every third or fourth house would be a neat inn.

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The Holy Chapel of Loretto, all the world knows, was originally a fmall houfe in Nazareth, inhabited by the Virgin Mary, in which fhe was faluted by the Angel, and where fhe bred our Saviour. After their deaths, it was held in great veneration by all believers in Jefus, and at length confecrated into a chapel, and dedicated to the Virgin; upon which occafion St. Luke made that identical image, which is ftill preferved here, and dignified with the name of our Lady of Loretto. This fanctified edifice was allowed to fojourn in Galilee as long as that diffrict was inhabited by Christians; but when infidels got poffeffion of the country, a band of angels, to fave it from pollution, took it in their arms, and conveyed it from Nazareth to a castle in Dalmatia. This fact might have been called in queftion by incredulous people, had it been performed in a fecret manner; but, that it might be manifest to the moft fhort-fighted spectator, and evident to all who were not perfectly deaf as well as blind,

blind, a blaze of celeftial light, and a concert of divine mufic, accompanied it during the whole journey ; befides, when the angels, to reft themfelves, fet it down in a little wood near the road, all the trees of the foreft bowed their heads to the ground, and continued in that respectful posture as long as the Sacred Chapel remained among them. But, not having been entertained with fuitable respect at the caftle above mentioned, the fame indefatigable angels carried it over the fea, and placed it in a field belonging to a noble lady, called Lauretta, from whom the Chapel takes its name. This field happened unfortunately to be frequented at that time by highwaymen and murderers : a circumstance with which the angels undoubtedly were not acquainted when they placed it there. After they were better informed, they removed it to the top of a hill belonging to two brothers, where they imagined it would be perfectly fecure from the dangers of robbery or affaffination; but the two brothers,

thers, the proprietors of the ground, being equally enamoured of their new vifitor, became jealous of each other, quarrelled, fought, and fell by mutual wounds. After this fatal cataftrophe, the angels in waiting finally moved the Holy Chapel to the eminence where it now ftands, and has flood thefe four hundred years, having loft all relifh for travelling.

To filence the captious objections of cavillers, and give full fatisfaction to, the candid inquirer, a deputation of refpectable perfons was fent from Loretto to the city of Nazareth, who, previous to their fetting out, took the dimenfions of the Holy Houfe with the most ferupulous exactnes. On their arrival at Nazareth, they found the citizens fearcely recovered from their astonishment; for it may be easily supposed, that the fudden disappearance of a house from the middle of a town, would naturally occasion a confiderable degree of furprife, even in the most philofophic

sophic minds. The landlords had been alarmed in a particular manner, and had made enquiries, and offered rewards, all over Galilee, without having been able to get any fatisfactory account of the fugitive. They felt their interest much affected by this incident; for, as houfes had never before been considered as moveables, their value fell immediately. This indeed might be partly owing to certain evilminded perfons, who, taking advantage of the public alarm, for felfish purposes, circulated a report, that feveral other houses were on the wing, and would most probably disappear in a few days. This affair being fo much the object of attention at Nazareth, and the builders of that city declaring, they would as foon build upon quick-fand as on the vacant fpace which the Chapel had left at its departure, the deputies from Loretto had no difficulty in discovering the foundation of that edifice, which they carefully compared with the dimensions they had brought from Loretto, VOL. I. Z and

and found that they tallied exactly. Of this they made oath at their return; and in the mind of every rational perfon, it remains no longer a question, whether this is the real houfe which the Virgin Mary Inhabited, or not. Many of those particulars are narrated with other circumfrances in books which are fold here; but I have been informed of one circumstance, which has not hitherto been published in any book, and which, I dare fwear, you will think ought to be made known for the befit of future travellers. This morning, immediately before we left the inn, to visit the Holy Chapel, an Italian fervant, whom the D- of H- engaged at Venice, took me afide, and told me, in a very ferious manner, that ftrangers were apt fecretly to break off little pieces of the ftone belonging to the Santa Cafa, in the hopes that fuch precious relics might bring them good fortune; but he earneftly entreated me not to do any fuch thing : for he knew a man at Venice, who had broken

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broken off a fmall corner of one of the flones, and flipt it into his breeches pocket unperceived; but, fo far from bringing him good fortune, it had burnt its way out, like aqua fortis, before he left the Chapel, and fcorched his thighs in fuch a miferable manner, that he was not able to fit on horfeback for a month. I thanked Giovanni for his obliging hint, and affured him I fhould not attempt any theft of that nature.

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# LETTER XXXII.

Loretto.

HE Sacred Chapel stands due east and weft, at the farther end of a large church of the most durable stone of Istria, which has been built around it. This may be confidered as the external covering, or as a kind of great coat to the Cafa Santa, which has a fmaller, coat of more precious materials and workmanship nearer its body. This internal covering, or case, is of the choicest marble, after a plan of San Savino's, and ornamented with baffo relievos, the workmanship of the best fculptors which Italy could furnish in the reign of Leo the Tenth. The fubject of those baffo relievos are, the history of the Bleffed Virgin, and other parts of the Bible. The whole cafe is about fifty feet long, thirty in breadth, and the fame in height; but the real house itself is no more than thirty-

thirty-two feet in length, fourteen in breadth, and at the fides, about eighteen feet in height; the centre of the roof is four or five feet higher. The walls of this little Holy Chapel are composed of pieces of a reddifh fubstance, of an oblong square shape, laid one upon another, in the manner of brick. At first fight, on a superficial view, these red-coloured oblong fubftances appear to be nothing elfe than common Italian bricks: and, which is still more extraordinary, on a fecond and third view, with all poffible attention, they still have the fame appearance. There is not, however, as we were affured, a fingle particle of brick in their whole composition, being entirely of a stone, which, though it cannot now be found in Paleftine, was formerly very common, particularly in the neighbourhood of Nazareth. There is a finall interval between the walls of the ancient houfe, and the marble cafe. The workmen, at first, intended them to be in Z 3 contact.

contact, from an opinion, founded either upon grofs ignorance or infidelity, that the former flood in need of fupport from the latter; but the marble either started back of itself, from fuch impious familiarity, being confcious of its unworthinefs; or elfe was thruft back by the coynefs of the Virgin brick, it is not faid which. But it has certainly kept at a proper diftance ever fince. While we examined the baffo relievos of the marble cafe, we were not a little incommoded by the numbers of pilgrims who were con-· flantly crawling around it on their knees, kiffing the ground, and faying their prayers with great fervour. As they crept along, they discovered some degree of eagerness to be nearest the wall; not, I am perfuaded, with a view of faving their own labour, by contracting the circumference of their circuit; but from an idea that the evolutions they were performing, would be the more beneficial to their fouls, the nearer they were

were to the Sacred Houfe. This exercife is continued in proportion to the zeal and frength of the patient.

Above the door there is an infeription; by which it appears, that any perfon who enters with arms is, ipfo facto, excommunicated.

### INGREDIENTES CUM ARMIS SUNT EXCOMMUNICATI.

There are alfo the feverest denunciations against those who carry away the smallest particle of the stone and mortar belonging to this Chapel. The adventure of the burnt breeches, and others of a similar nature, which are industriously circulated, have contributed as much as any denunciation, to prevent such attempts. Had it not been for the impressions they make, so great was the eargerness of the multitude to be possessed of any portion of this little edifice, that the whole was in danger of being carried away; not by angels, but piecemeal in the pockets of the pilgrims.

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The Holy Houfe is divided, within, into two unequal portions, by a kind of gratework of filver. The division towards the weft is about three-fourths of the whole; that to the east is called the Sanctuary. In the larger division, which may be confidered as the main body of the house, the walls are left bare, to fhew the true original fabric of Nazareth ftone. These ftones, which bear fuch a ftrong refemblance to bricks, are loofe in many places. I took notice of this to a pilgrim, who entered with us: he fmiled, faying, " Che la non " habbia paura, Padron mio, questi muri " fono piu folidi degli Appenini." At the lower, or western wall, there is a window, the fame through which the angel Gabriel entered at the Annunciation. The architraves of this window are covered with filver. There are a great number of golden and filver lamps in this Chapel; I did not count them, but I was told there were above fixty; one of them is a prefent from the republic of Venice: it is of gold, and weighs

weighs thirty-feven pounds: fome of the filver lamps weigh from one hundred and twenty, to one hundred and thirty pounds. At the upper end of the largest room is an altar, but fo low, that from it you may fee the famous image which stands over the chimney, in the fmall room, or Sanctuary. Golden and filver angels, of confiderable fize, kneel around her, fome offering hearts of gold, enriched with diamonds, and one an infant of pure gold. The wall of the Sanctuary is plated with filver, and adorned with crucifixes. precious stones, and votive gifts of various kinds. The figure of the Virgin herfelf by no means corresponds with the fine furniture of her house: she is a little woman, about four feet in height, with the features and complexion of a negro. Of all the fculptors that ever exifted, affuredly St. Luke, by whom this figure is faid to have been made, is the least of a flatterer; and nothing can be a ftronger proof of the bleffed Virgin's contempt for external beauty.

beauty, than her being fatisfied with this representation of her; especially if, as I am inclined to believe, her face and perfon really refembled those beautiful ideas of her, conveyed by the pencils of Raphael, Corregio, and Guido. The figure of the infant Jesus, by St. Luke, is of a piece with that of the Virgin : he holds a large golden globe in one hand, and the other is extended in the act of bleffing. Both figures have crowns on their heads, enriched with diamonds : these were presents from Ann of Austria, Queen of France. Both arms of the Virgin are inclosed within her robes, and no part but her face is to be feen; her drefs is most magnificent, but in a wretched bad tafte : this is not furprifing, for the has no female attendant. She has particular clothes for the different feafts ' held in honour of her, and, which is not quite fodecent, is always dreffed and undreffed by the priefts belonging to the Chapel; her robes are ornamented with all kinds of precious flones, down to the hem of her There garment.

There is a fmall place behind the Sanctuary, into which we were alfo admitted. This is a favour feldom refused to ftrangers of a decent appearance. In this they fhew the chimney, and fome other furniture. which, they pretend, belonged to the Virgin when the lived at Nazareth; particularly a little earthen porringer, out of which the infant used to eat. The pilgrims bring rofaries, little crucifixes, and Agnus Dei's, which the obliging prieft fhakes for half a minute in this difh; after which, it is believed, they acquire the virtue of curing various difeafes, and prove an excellent preventative of all temptations of Satan. The gown which the image had on when the chapel arrived from Nazareth, is of red camblet, and carefully kept in a glafs fhrine.

Above a hundred maffes are daily faid in this Chapel, and in the church in which it flands. The mufic we heard in the Chapel

Chapel was remarkably fine. A certain number of the chaplains are eunuchs, who perform the double duty of finging the offices in the choir, and faying maffes at the altar. The canonical law, which excludes perfons in their fituation from the priefthood, is eluded by a very extraordinary expedient, which I fhall leave you to guefs.

The jewels and riches to be feen at any one time in the Holy Chapel, are of fmall value in comparison of those in the treasury, which is a large room adjoining to the vestry of the great church. In the press of this room are kept those presents which royal, noble, and rich bigots of all ranks have, by oppressing their subjects, and injuring their families, fent to this place. To enumerate every particular, would fill volumes. They consist of various utensis, and other things in filver and gold; as lamps, candless, goblets, crowns, and crucifixes; lambs, eagles, faints, aposses, angels,

angels, virgins, and infants : then there are cameos, pearls, gems, and precious ftones of all kinds, and in great numbers. What is valued above all the other jewels is, the miraculous pearl, wherein they affert, that Nature has given a faithful delineation of the Virgin, fitting on a cloud, with the infant Jefus in her arms. I freely acknowledge, that I did fee fomething like a woman with a child in her arms; but whether Nature intended this as a portrait of the Virgin Mary, or not, I will not take upon me to fay; yet I will candidly confes (though, perhaps, fome of my friends in the north, may think it is faying too much in fupport of the Popifh opinion) that the figure in this pearl bore as great a likeness to some pictures I have seen of the Virgin, as to any female of my acquaintance.

There was not room in the preffes of the treafury, to hold all the filver pieces which have been prefented to the Virgin. 2 Several

Several other preffes in the veftry, they told us, were completely full, and they made offer to fhew them; but our curiofity was already fatiated.

It is faid, that those pieces are occasionally melted down, by his Holinefs, for the use of the State; and also, that the most precious of the jewels are picked out, and fold for the same purpose, false stores beingfubstituted in their room. This is an affair entirely between the Virgin and the Pope: if she does not, I know no other person who has a right to complain.

# LETTER XXXIII.

#### Loretto.

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DILGRIMAGES to Loretto are not fo frequent with foreigners, or with Italians of fortune and diffinction, as formerly, nineteen out of twenty of those, who make this journey now, are poor people, who depend for their maintenance on the charity they receive on the road. To those who are of such a rank in life as precludes them from availing themfelves of the charitable inflitutions for the maintenance of pilgrims, fuch journies are attended with expence and inconveniency; and I am informed, that fathers and hufbands, in moderate or confined circumflances, are frequently brought to difagreeable dilemmas, by the rafh vows of going to Loretto, which their wives or daughters are apt to make on any fuppofed deliverance from danger. To refuse, is con.

confidered, by the whole neighbourhood, as cruel, and even impious; and to grant; is often highly diffreffing, particularly to fuch hufbands as, from affection, or any other motive, do not choose that their wives should be long out of their fight. But the poor, who are maintained during their whole journey, and have nothing more than a bare maintenance to expect from their labour at home, to them a journey to Loretto is a party of pleafure, as well as devotion, and by much the most agreeable road they can take to heaven. This being a year of jubilee, there is a far greater concourse of pilgrims of all ranks here, at prefent, than is usual. We have feen a few in their carriages, a greater number on horfeback, or on mules; or, what is still more common, on affes. Great numbers of females come in this manner, with a male friend walking by them, as their guide and protector; but the greateft number, of both fexes, are on foot. When we approached near Loretto, the road was crowded

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crowded with them: they generally fet out before fun-rife; and, having repofed themfelves during the heat of the day, continue their journey again in the evening. They fing their matins, and their evening hymns, aloud. As many have fine voices and delicate ears, those vocal concerts have a charming effect at a little distance. During the stillness of the morning and the evening, we were ferenaded with this folemn religious mulic for a confiderable part of the road. The pilgrims on foot, as foon as they enter the fuburbs, begin a hymn in honour of the Virgin, which they continue till they reach the church. The poorer fort are received into an hospital, where they have bed and board for three days.

The only trade of Loretto confifts of rofaries, crucifixes, little Madonnas, Agnus Dei's, and medals, which are manufactured here, and fold to pilgrims. There are great numbers of fhops full of these Vol. I. A a commodities,

commodities, some of them of a high price; but infinitely the greater part are adapted to the purfes of the buyers, and fold for a mere trifle. The evident poverty of those manufacturers and traders, and of the inhabitants of this town in general, is a fufficient proof that the reputation of our Lady of Loretto is greatly on the decline.

In the great church, which contains the Holy Chapel, are confessionals, where the penitents from every country of Europe may be confeffed in their own language, priefts being always in waiting for that purpole : each of them has a long white rod in his hand, with which he touches the heads of those to whom he thinks it proper to give abfolution. They place themselves on their knees, in groupes, around the confessional chair; and when the Holy Father has touched their heads with the expiatory rod, they retire, freed from the burden of their fins, and with renewed

MANNERS IN ITALY. 355 renewed courage to begin a fresh account.

In the spacious area before this church, there is an elegant marble fountain, fupplied with water from an adjoining hill, by an aqueduct. Few even of the most inconfiderable towns of Italy are without the useful ornament of a public fountain. The embellishments of sculpture and architecture are employed, with great propriety, on fuch works, which are continually in the people's view; the air is refreshed, and the eye delighted, by the ftreams of water they pour forth; a fight peculiarly agreeable in a warm climate. In this area there is also a statue of Sixtus V., in bronze. Over the portal of the church itfelf, is a flatue of the Virgin; and above the middle gate, is a Latin infcription, importing, that within is the Houfe of the Mother of God, in which the Word was made flesh. The gates of the church are likewise of bronze, embellished with basso relievos,

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relievos, of admirable workmanship; the fubjects taken partly from the Old, and partly from the New, Teftament, and divided into different compartments. As the gates of this church are fhut at noon, the pilgrims who arrive after that time can get no nearer the Santa Cafa than these gates, which are, by this means, fometimes exposed to the first violence of that holy ardour which was defigned for the Chapel it felf. All the fculpture upon the gates, which is within reach of the mouths of those zealots. is, in fome degree, effaced by their kiffes. The murder of Abel, by his brother, is upon a level with the lips of a perfon of an ordinary fize, when kneeling. Poor Abel has been always unfortunate; had he been placed a foot higher, or lower, on the gate, he might have remained there, in fecurity, for ages; but, in the unlucky place that the fculptor has put him, his whole body has been almost entirely kiffed away by the pilgrims; whilft Cain ftands, untouched,

MANNERS IN ITALY. 357 untouched, in his original altitude, frowning and fierce as ever.

I have faid nothing of the paintings to be feen here, though fome are highly efteemed, particularly two in the Treafury. The fubject of one of these is, the Virgin's Nativity, by Annibale Carracci; and of the other, a Holy Family, by Raphael. There are fome others of confiderable merit, which ornament the altars of the great church. Thefe altars, or little chapels, of which this fabric contains a great number, are lined with marble, and embellished by sculpture; but nothing within this church interefled me fo much as the iron grates before those chapels, after I was informed that they were made of the fetters and chains of the Christian flaves, who were freed from bondage by the glorious victory of Lepanto. From that moment these iron grates commanded my attention more than all the golden lamps and candle-Aa 3 flicks,

# 358 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND flicks, and angels and jewels, of the Holy Chapel.

The ideas that rush into one's mind on hearing a circumstance of this kind, are affecting beyond expression. To think of four thousand of our fellow-creatures, torn from the fervice of their country and the arms of friendship, chained to oars, fubjected continually to the revilings of enemies, and every kind of ignominious treatment, at once, when their fouls were finking under the weight of fuch accumulated calamity, and brought to the very verge of despair; at once, in one bleffed moment, freed from flavery, reftored to the embraces of their friends, and enjoying, with them, all the rapture of victory. Good God, what a fcene! what a number of scenes! for the imagination, after glancing at the whole, diffinguishes and separates objects, and forms a thousand groupes of the most pathetic kind; the fond recognition

nition of old companions, brothers flying into each other's arms, and the ecftacy of fathers on the recovery of their loft fons. Many fuch pictures did my fancy form, while I flood contemplating those grates fo truly ornamental of a Christian church, and fo perfectly congenial with a religion which requires men to relieve the oppressed, and set the captive free.

Happy if the followers of that religion had always observed this divine admonition. I speak not of those men who affume the name of Christians for the purposes of interest or ambition, but of a more abfurd class of mankind ; those who, believing in Christianity, endeavour to reconcile it to a conduct, and doctrines, entirely repugnant to its nature. This abfurdity has appeared in the human character from the earlieft ages of Christianity. Men have displayed unaffected zeal, and endeavoured to fupport and propagate the most benevolent and rational of all religions, by actions Aa4 worthy

worthy of demons, and arguments which thock common fenfe.

The fame perfons who praifed and admired the heavenly benevolence of this fentiment, Bleffed are the merciful, for they fhall obtain mercy; have thought it a duty to condemn their fellow-creatures to cruel deaths for fpeculative opinions. The fame men who admired the founder of Chriftianity for going about, continually, doing good, have thought it a duty to fpend their whole lives in cells, doing nothing.

And can any thing be more opposite to those dark and inexplicable doctrines, on the belief of which, according to the conviction of many, our falvation depends, than this plain rule, Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ? a rule so plain, as to be undershood by the most simple and ignorant; and so just, complete, and comprehensive, as to be admired by the wifest and most learned.

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If this equitable maxim is the law and the prophets, and we learn from the higheft authority that it is, what becomes of all those mysterious webs, of various texture, which, fince the beginning of the Christian æra, Popes, Priest, and many of the leaders of sectaries, have wove around it?

# LETTER XXXIV.

#### Spoletto.

JE left Loretto after dinner, and proceeded through a beautiful country to Macerata, a small town, fituated on a hill, as the towns in Italy generally are. We only flayed to change horfes, and continued our journey to Tolentino; where, not thinking it expedient to begin to afcend the Apennines in the dark, we took up our quarters at an inn, the beft in the place, but, by many degrees, the pooreftwe had feen in Italy. However, as it was not for good eating or convenient bedchambers we came to this country, that circumstance affected us very little. Indeed, the quantity of victuals prefented us at fupper, would have been as difpleafing to a perfon of Sancho Pancho's way of thinking, on the fubject of eating, as the manner they were dreffed would have been

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to a nicer fenfualist in that refined science. The latter circumstance prevented our regretting the former; and although we had felt fome uneasiness when we were told how little provisions there were in the house, the moment they appeared on the table we were all convinced there was more than enough.

The poor people of this inn, however, shewed the utmost defire to please. They must have unfortunate tempers indeed, who, observing this, could have shocked them by fretfulnefs, or an air of diffatisfaction. Befides, if the entertainment had been still more homely, even those travellers who are accuftomed to the greateft delicacies, might be induced to bear it with patience for one night, from this confideration, That the people of the place, who have just as good a natural right to the luxuries of life as themfelves, are obliged to bear it always. Nothing is more apt to raife indignation, than to behold men repining and fretting,

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on account of little inconveniencies, in the hearing of thole who are bearing much greater every day with cheerfulnels. There is a want of fenfe, as well as a want of temper, in fuch behaviour. The only use of complaining of hardships to thole who cannot relieve them, must be to obtain fympathy; but if thole to whom they complain, are suffering the fame hardships in a greater degree, what fympathy can thole repiners expect? They certainly find none.

Next morning we encountered the Apennines. The fatigue of this day's journey was compenfated by the beauty and variety of the views among those mountains. On the face of one of the highest, I remarked a small hut, with a garden near it. I was told this was inhabited by an old infirm Hermit. I could not understand how a perfon in that condition could scramble up and down such a mountain to procure for himself the necessaries of life. I was informed, he had not quitted his hermitage for

for feveral years, the neighbouring peafants fupplying him plentifully with all he requires. This man's reputation for fanctity is very great, and those who take the trouble of carrying him provisions, think themfelves well repaid by his prayers.

I imagine I am acquainted with a country where provisions are in greater plenty than in the Apeninnes; and yet the greateft faint in the nation, who should take up his refidence on one of its mountains, would be in great danger of ftarving, if he depended for his fustenance upon the provisions that should be carried up to him in exchange for his prayers,

There are mountains and precipices among the Apennines, which do not appear contemptible in the eyes even of those who have travelled among the Alps; while on the other hand, those delightful plains, contained within the bosom of the former, are infinitely fuperior, in beauty and fertility, to the vallies among the latter. We

now entered the rich province of Umbria, and foon after arrived at Foligno, a thriving town, in which there is more appearance of industry than in any of the towns we have feen, fince we left Ancona; there are confiderable manufactures of paper, cloth, and filk. In a convent of Nuns, is a famous picture by Raphael, generally vifited by travellers, and much admired by connoiffeurs.

The fituation of this town is peculiarly happy. It flands in a charming valley, laid out in corn-fields and vineyards, interfected by mulberry and almond trees, and watered by the river Clitumnus; the view terminating on one fide by hills crowned with cities, and on the other by the loftieft mountains of the Apennines. I never experienced fuch a fudden and agreeable change of climate, as on defcending from thofe mountains, in many places, at prefent, covered with fnow, to this pleafant valley of Umbria,

Where western gales eternally refide, And all the feasons lavish all their pride.

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From Foligno to Vene, the road lies through this fine plain. A little before you come to the post-house at Vene, on the right hand, there is a little building; the front which looks to the valley, is adorned with fix Corinthian pillars; the two in the middle enriched by a laurel foliage: on one fide, is a crucifix in baffo relievo, with vine branches curling around it. On this building, there are fome infcriptions which mention the resurrection. Some, who think the architecture too fine for the first ages of Christianity, and the Temple too old to have been built fince the revival of that art, have conjectured, that this little edifice is antique, and originally erected by the ancient inhabitants of Umbria, as a temple, in honour of the river God Clitumnus; but, at some subsequent period, converted into a Chriftian chapel, and the crucifix and infcriptions added after its confectation. Other very respectable judges think,

think, the flyle of architecture is by no means pure, but adulterated by meretricious ornament, and worthy enough of the first ages of Christianity.

Mr. Addison has given many quotations from the Latin poets, in honour of this river, all of which countenance the popular opinion with regard to the quality of the water. The breed of white cattle, which gave fuch a reputation to the river, ftill remains in this country. We faw many of them as we passed, fome milk white, but the greatest numbers of a whitish grey. The common people still retain the ancient opinion, with respect to the effect of the water. Spoletto, the capital of Umbria, is fituated on a high rock, the afcent to which is very fleep on all fides. This town retains little appearance of its ancient importance. Keyfler fays, that, like other paltry towns in Italy, it exhibits bombaffic inferiptions concerning its antiquity, and many trivial occurrences which have happened there; the only infeription,

feription, however, which he quotes, and the only one which I faw, is that over the Porta di Fuga, from which the Carthaginian army is fuppofed to have been repulfed.

#### ANNIBAL

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CÆSIS AD THRASYMENUM ROMANIS ÚRBEM ROMAM INFENSO AGMINE PETENS, SPOLETO MAGNA SUORUM CLADE REPULSUS, - INSIGNI FUGA PORTÆ NOMEN FECIT.

I cannot perceive any thing bombaftic in this; Livy mentions the fact in his twentyfecond book, in the following terms:

Annibal recto itinere per Umbriam ufque ad Spoletum venit, inde quum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus effet, cum magna cæde fuorum repulfus, conjectans ex unius coloniæ haud nimis profpere tentatæ viribus quanta moles Romanæ urbis effet.

If the inhabitants of the greateft capital in the world had equal authority for their anceftors having repulfed fuch a general as Hannibal, would they not be inclined to Vol. I. B b receive

370 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND receive it as truth, and to transmit it to the latest posterity?

This town is ftill fupplied with water, by means of an antique aqueduct, one of the most entire, and the highest in Europe. In the centre, where the height is greatest, there is a double arcade; the other arches diminish in height, as they recede from it, towards the floping fides of the two mountains which this magnificent work unites.

In the cathedral, there is a picture of the Virgin by St. Luke; but we had already feen fufficient fpecimens of this faint's abilities, as a fculptor and a painter, and we had not the leaft curiofity to fee any more.

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# LETTER XXXV.

#### Rome.

EAVING Spoletto, we paffed over the I higheft of the Apennines, and then descended through a forest of olive trees, to the fruitful valley in which Terni is fituated, on the river Nera. It was formerly called Interamna, on account of its ftanding between two branches of that river. The valley which ftretches from this town to Terni, is exuberantly fertile, being finely exposed to the fouth fun, and watered by the Nera, which, by its beauteous windings, divides the plain into peninfulas of various shapes. The Emperor Tacitus, and his brother Florianus, were natives of Terni; but the greatest pride of that city is, its having given birth to Tacitus the Hiftorian.

I am almost ashamed to tell you, that we did not go to see the famous cataract, near B b 2 this

this town, which is ufually vifited by travellers, and which, by all accounts, is fo worthy of their curiofity. Innumerable flreams from the higheft Apennines, meeting in one channel, form the river Velino, which flows placidly, for fome time, through a plain almost horizontal, and afterwards, when the river becomes more rapid by the contracting and floping of the channel, the plain terminates of a fudden in a precipice three hundred feet high, over which, the river rushing, dashes with fuch violence against the rocky bottom, that a vaft cloud of watery fmoke is raifed all around. The river Velino does not long furvive the fall, but broken, groaning, and foaming, foon finishes his courfe in the Nera. Mr. Addison is of opinion, that Virgil had this gulph in his eye when he defcribed the place in the middle of Italy, through which the Fury Alecto descended into Tartarus.

A very heavy rain which fell while we were at Terni, the fatigue and difficulty of 4 climbing 1

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climbing up the Monte di Marmore, from whence this fall appears to the greateft advantage, and our impatience to be at Rome, prevented us from feeing that celebrated cataract, which we regretted the lefs, as we had frequently feen one of the fame kind in Scotland, about twelve miles above Hamilton, at a place called Corace, where the river Clyde, falling perpendicular from a vaft height, produces the fame effects, in every refpect, unlefs, that he outlives the accident, and continues his courfe for near fifty miles before he joins the Atlantic ocean.

The diftance from Terni to Narni is about feven miles; the road is uncommonly good, and the country on each fide delightful. When we came near Narni, while the chaifes proceeded to the town, I walked to take a view of the bridge of Auguftus. This ftately fabric is wholly of marble, and without cement, as many other antique buildings are. Only one of the B b 3 arches

arches remains intire, which is the first on the fide of the river where I was; under it there was no water; it is one hundred and fifty feet wide. The next arch, below which the river flows, is twenty feet wider, and has a confiderable flope, being higher on the fide next the first arch, than on that next the third. The remaining two arches are, in every respect, smaller than the two first. What could be the reason of such ungraceful irregularity in a work, in other respects fo magnificent, and upon which fo much labour and expence must have been bestowed, I cannot imagine. It is doubtful, whether there were originally four arches, or only three; for that which is fuppofed by fome to be the bafis from which the two leffer arches fprung; is thought by others, to be the remains of a fquare pillar, raised some time after the bridge was built, to fupport the middle of the third arch; which, on the fuppolition that there were but three, must have been of a very extraordinary width.

This

This fabric is ufually called Auguftus's Bridge, and Mr. Addifon thinks that without doubt Martial alludes to it, in the ninety-fecond Epigram of the feventh book; but fome other very judicious travellers imagine, it is the remains of an aqueduct, becaufe thofe arches joined two mountains, and are infinitely higher than was neceffary for a bridge over the little river which flows under them. It has alfo been fuppofed, not without great appearance of probability, that this fabric was originally intended to ferve the purpofes of both.

As the rain fill continued, my curiofity to fee this fine ruin procured me a fevere drenching: this I received with due refignation, as a punithment for having been intimidated by rain, from vifiting the fine cafcade at Terni. It was with great difficulty I got up the hill, by a path which I thought was fhorter and eafier than the high road; this unfortunately led to no

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gate.

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gate. At last, however, I observed a broken part of the wall, over which I immediately clambered into the town. Martial takes notice of the difficulty of access to this town.

Narnia, fulphureo quam gurgite candidus amnis Circuit, ancipiti vix adeunda Jugo.

The town itfelf is very poor, and thinly inhabited. It boafts, however, of being the native city of the Emperor Nerva, and fome other celebrated men.

The road from Narni to the poft-houfe at Otricoli, is exceeding rough and mountainous. This is a very poor village, but advantageoufly fituated on a rifing ground. Between this and the Tiber, at fome little diffance from the road, there is a confiderable tract of ground, covered with many loofe antique fragments and vaults : thefe are generally confidered as the ruins of the ancient Ocriculum. We paffed along this road early in the morning, and were entertained, great part of the way, with vocal mufic

mufic from the pilgrims, feveral hordes of whom we met near this place, on their return from Rome, where they had been on account of the jubilce.

The only place of note between Otricoli and Rome, is Civita Castellana. Terni is the last town of the province of Umbria, and Castellana the first of ancient Latium. coming to Rome by the Flaminian way. Caftellana is confidered, by many antiquarians, as the Fescennium of the ancients; a fchoolmaster of which, as we are informed by Livy, by an unexampled inftance of wickedness, betrayed a number of the fons of the principal citizens into the power of the Dictator Camillus, at that time befieging the place. The generous Roman, equally abhorring the treachery and the traitor, ordered this bafe man to be ftripped, to have his hands tied behind, and to be delivered over to the boys, who, armed with rods, beat him back to Fescennium, and delivered him up to their parents, to be used as they should think he deferved.

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Civita

CivitaCastellana stands upon a high rock, and must formerly have been a place of great strength, but is now in no very flourishing condition. Many of the towns I have mentioned, lying on the road to Rome, by the Flaminian way, have suffered, at different periods, more than those of any other part of Italy; by the inroads of Visigoths and Huns, as well as by some incursions of a later date.

This, I am convinced, is the only country in the world, where the fields become more defolate as you approach the capital. After having traverfed the cultivated and fertile vallies of Umbria, one is affected with double emotion at beholding the deplorable flate of poor neglected Latium. For feveral pofts before you arrive at Rome, few villages, little cultivation, and fcarcely any inhabitants, are to be feen. In the Campania of Rome, formerly the beft cultivated and beft peopled fpot in the world, no houfes, no trees, no inclofures; nothing

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nothing but the fcattered ruins of temples and tombs, prefenting the idea of a country depopulated by a peftilence. All is motionlefs, filent, and forlorn.

In the midst of these deferted fields the ancient Mistress of the World rears her head, in melancholy majesty.

# LETTER XXXVI.

#### Rome.

TOU will not be furprifed at my filence for fome weeks paft. On arriving at a place where there are fo many interefting objects as at Rome, we are generally felfifh enough to indulge our own curiofity very amply, before we gratify that of our friends in any degree. My first care was to wait on the Prince Guistiniani, for whom we had letters from Count Mahoni, the Spanish ambaffador at Vienna, to whole niece that Prince is married. Nothing can exceed the politeness and attention the Prince and Princess have shewn. He waited immediately on the D- of H----, and infifted on taking us, in his own carriage, to every house of distinction. Two or three hours a day were spent in this ceremony. After being once prefented,

MANNERS IN ITALY. 381 for the introduction or invitation is

no farther introduction or invitation is neceffary.

Our mornings are generally fpent in vifiting the antiquities, and the paintings in the palaces. On those occasions we are accompanied by Mr. Byres, a gentleman of probity, knowledge, and real tafte. We generally pafs two or three hours every evening at the conversazionis; I speak in the plural number, for we are fometimes at feveral in the fame evening. It frequently happens, that three or four, or more, of the nobility, have these affemblies at the fame time; and almost all the company of a certain rank in Rome make it a point, if they go to any, to go to all; fo that, although there is a great deal of buffle, and a continual change of place, there is fcarcely any change of company, or any variation in the amufement, except what the change of place occafions: but this circumstance alone is often found an useful accomplice in the murder of a tedious evening;

evening; for when the company find no. great amufement in one place, they fly to another, in hopes they may be better entertained. These hopes are generally difappointed; but that does not prevent them from trying a third, and a fourth; and although to whatever length the experiment is pushed, it always terminates in new disappointments, yet, at last, the evening is difpatched; and, without this locomotive refource, I have feen people in danger of difpatching themfelves. This buftle, and running about after objects which give no permanent fatisfaction, and without fully knowing whence we came, or whither we are going, you'll fay, is a mighty filly bufinefs. It is fo;-and, after all the fwelling importance that fome people affume, Pray what is human life?

Having told you what five or fix converfazionis are, I fhall endeavour to give you fome idea what one is. Thefe affemblies are always in the principal apartment of

of the palace, which is generally on the fecond, but fometimes on the third floor. It is not always perfectly eafy to find this apartment, becaufe it fometimes happens that the flaircafe is very ill lighted. On entering the hall, where the footmen of the company are affembled, your name is pronounced aloud, by fome fervants of the family, and repeated by others, as you walk through feveral rooms. Those whose names are not known, are announced by the general denomination of i Cavalieri Foreftieri, or Inglefi, as you pass through the different rooms, till you come to that in which the company are affembled, where you are received by the mafter or miftrefs of the house, who fits exactly within the door for that purpole. Having made a fhort compliment there, you mix with the company, which is fometimes fo large, that none but the ladies can have the conveniency of fitting. Notwithstanding the great fize and number of the rooms in the Italian palaces, it frequently happens that

that the company are fo preffed together, that you can with difficulty move from one room to another. There always is a greater number of men than women; no lady comes without a gentleman to hand her. This gentleman, who acts the part of Cavaliero Servente, may be her relation in any degree, or her lover, or both. It is allowed him to be connected with her in any way but one-he must not be her hufband. Familiarities between man and wife are ftill connived at in this country however, provided they are carried on in private; but for a man to be feen hand in hand with his wife, in public, would not be tolerated.

At Cardinal Berni's affembly, which is ufually more crowded than any in Rome, the company are ferved with coffee, lemonade, and iced confections of various kinds; but this cuftom is not univerfal. In fhort, at a converfatione, you have an opportunity of feeing a number of well-dreffed people, you fpeak a few

a few words to those you are acquainted with, you bow to the reft, and enjoy the happinefs of being fqueezed and preffed among the best company in Rome. I do not know what more can be faid of thefe affemblies; only it may be neceffary, to prevent mistakes, to add, that a converfazione is a place where there is no converfation. They break up about nine o'clock, all but a small felect company, who are invited to supper. But the prefent race of Romans are by no means fo fond of convivial entertainments, as their predeceffors. The magnificence of the Roman nobility difplays itfelf now in other articles than the luxuries of the table: they generally dine at home, in a very private manner. Strangers are feldom invited to dinner, except by the foreign ambaffadors. The hospitality of Cardinal Bernis alone makes up for every deficiency of that nature. There is no ambaffador from the Court of Great Britain at Rome, but the English feel no want of one. If the VOL. I. Сc French

French Cardinal had been inftructed by his court to be peculiarly attentive to them, he could not be more fo than he is. Nothing can exceed the elegant magnificence of his table, nor the fplendid hofpitality in which he lives. Years have not impaired the wit and vivacity for which he was diffinguished in his youth; and no man could fupport the pretensions of the French nation to fuperior politenes, better than their ambaffador at Rome.

There are no lamps lighted in the fireets at night; and all Rome would be in utter darknefs, were it not for the candles, which the devotion of individuals fometimes place before certain flatues of the Virgin. Thofe appear faintly glimmering at vaft intervals, like flars in a cloudy night. The lackeys carry dark lanthorns behind the carriages of people of the first diffinction. The Cardinals, and other Ecclefiastics, do not choose to have their coaches feen before the door of every house they visit. In the midft

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midft of this darknefs, you will naturally conclude, that amorous affignations in the ftreets are not unfrequent among the inferior people. When a carriage, with a lanthorn behind it, accidentally comes near a couple who do not wifh to be known, one of them calls out, "Volti la lanterna," and is obeyed; the carriage paffing without farther notice being taken. Venus, as you know, has always been particularly refpected at Rome, on account of her amour with Anchifes.

Albanique patres, atque alta mœnia Romæ."

The Italians, in general, have a remarkable air of gravity, which they preferve even when the fubject of their conversation is gay. I observed fomething of this at Venice, but I think it is much stronger at Rome. The Roman ladies have a languor in their countenances, which promises as much fensibility as the brisk look of the French; and, without the volubility of  $\mathbb{C} c 2$  the

the latter, or the franknels of the Venetian women, they feem no way averle to form connections with ftrangers. The D— of H—— was prefented to a beautiful young Lady at one of the affemblies. In the courfe of conversation he happened to fay, That he had heard she had been married very lately. She answered, with precipitation, "Signor si— ma mio marito è uno " Vecchio." She then added, shaking her head, and in a most affecting tone of voice, " O fantissima Virgine quanto è Vecchio!"

# LETTER XXXVII.

#### Rome.

UTHORS differ very much in opinion with respect to the number of inhabitants which Rome contained at the period when it was most populous. Some accounts make them feven millions, and others a still greater number. These feem all to be incredible exaggerations. It is not probable, that what is properly called the city of Rome, ever extended beyond the wall built by Belifarius, after he had . defeated the Goths. This wall has been frequently repaired fince, and is fill flanding; it is about thirteen or fourteen miles in circuit, which is nearly the fize that Rome was of, according to Pliny, in the days of Vespalian. Those who affert, that the number of inhabitants in ancient Rome. when it was most populous, could not exceed a million, exclusive of flaves, are Cc3 thought

thought moderate in their calculation; but when we confider that the circumference of thirteen or fourteen miles is not equal to that of either Paris or London; that the Campus Martius, which is the beft built part of modern Rome, was a field, without a houfe upon it, anciently; and that the rifing ground, where St. Peter's church and the Vatican stand, was no part of old Rome; it will be difficult to conceive that ever Rome could boaft a million of inhabitants. For my own part, if the wall of Belifarius is admitted as the boundary of the ancient city, I cannot imagine it to have, at any time, contained above five or fix hundred thousand, without supposing the masters of the world to have been the worft lodged people in it.

But if, in the computations above mentioned, the fuburbs are included; if those who lived without the walls are confidered as inhabitants; in that case there will be room enough for any number, the limits of the fuburbs not being ascertained.

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The buildings immediately without the walls of Rome, which were connectedly continued fo as to merit the name of suburbs, were certainly of vaft extent; and with those of the town itself, must have contained a prodigious number of people. By a calculation made by Mr. Byres, the Circus Maximus was of fufficient fize to accommodate three hundred and eighty thousand spectators; and we are told by the Latin poets, that it was usually full. Now if allowance is made for the fuperannuated, the fick, and infirm; alfo for children, and those employed in their private bufinefs, and for flaves, who were not permitted to remain in the Circus during the games; Mr. Byres imagines that fuch a number as three hundred and eighty thousand spectators could not be supplied by a city and fuburls the number of whofe inhabitants were much under three millions.

Cc4

Whatever

Whatever may have been the extent of the fuburbs of Rome, it is probable they were only formed of ordinary houfes, and inhabited by people of inferior rank. There are no remains of palaces, or magnificent buildings of any kind, to be now feen near the walls, or indeed over the whole Campania; yet it is afferted by fome authors, that this wide furface was peopled, at one period, like a continued village; and we are told of ftrangers, who, viewing this immenfe plain covered with houfes, imagined they had already entered Rome, when they were thirty miles from the walls of that city.

Some of the feven hills on which Rome was built, appear now but gentle fwellings, owing to the intervals between them being greatly raifed by the rubbifh of ruined houfes. Some have hardly houfes of any kind upon them, being entirely laid out in gardens and vineyards. It is generally thought,

thought, that two-thirds of the furface within the walls are in this fituation, or covered with ruins; and, by the information I have the greatest reliance on, the number of the inhabitants at prefent is about one hundred and feventy thousand, which, though greatly inferior to what Rome contained in the days of its ancient power, is more than it has been, for the most part, able to boast fince the fall of the Empire. There is good authority for believing that this city, at particular periods fince that time, fome of them not very remote, has been reduced to between thirty and forty thousand inhabitants. The numbers have gradually increafed during the whole of this century. As it was much lefs expensive to purchase new ground for building upon, than to clear any ruins which, by time, had acquired the confiftence of rock, great part of the modern city is built on what was the ancient Campus Martius.

Some

Some of the principal fireets are of confiderable length, and perfectly firaight. That called the Corfo, is the moft frequented. It runs from the Porto del Popolo, along the fide of the Campus Martius, next to the ancient city. Here the nobility difplay their equipages during the carnival, and take the air in the evenings in fine weather. It is indeed the great fcene of Roman magnificence and amufement:

The fhops on each fide, are three or four feet higher than the fireet; and there is a path for the conveniency of foot paffengers, on a level with the fhops. The palaces, of which there are feveral in this fireet, range in a line with the houfes, having no court before them, as the hotels in Paris have; and not being flut up from the fight of the citizens by high gloomy walls, as Devonfhire and Burlington houfes in London are. Such difmal barricades are merg fuitable to the unfocial character of a proud

proud Baron, in the days of ariftocratic tyranny, than to the hospitable benevolent disposition of their present proprietor.

The Corfo, I have faid, commences at the fine area immediately within the Porto del Popolo. This is the gate by which we entered Rome; it is built in a noble flyle of elegant fimplicity, from the defign of Michael Angelo, executed by Bernini.

The Strada Felice, in the higher part of the city, is about a mile and a half in length from the Trinità del Monte; to the church of St. John Lateran, on the Pincean hill. This freet runs in a ftraight line, but the view is interrupted by a fine church called St. Maria Maggiore. The Strada Felice is croffed by another ftraight ftreet, called the Strada di Porta Pia, terminated at one end by that gate; and at the other by four coloffal ftatues in white marble, of two horfes led by two men; fuppofed by fome, to be reprefentations of Alexander taming Bucephalus; and according to others, of

of Caftor and Pollux. They are placed before the Pope's palace, on the Quirinal Hill, and have a noble effect.

It would be more difficult to convey an idea of the smaller and lefs regular ftreets. I shall therefore only observe, in general, that Rome at prefent exhibits a strange mixture of magnificent and interefling, common and beggarly objects ; the former confifts of palaces, churches, fountains, and above all, the remains of antiquity. The latter comprehend all the reft of the eity. The church of St. Peter's, in the opinion of many, furpaffes, in fize and magnificence, the finest monuments of ancient architecture. The Grecian and Roman temples were more diffinguifhed for the elegance of their form, than their magnitude. The Pantheon, which was erected to all the Gods, is the most entire antique temple in Rome. It is faid, that Michael Angelo, to confirm the triumph of modern over ancient architecture, made the

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the dome of St. Peter's of the fame diameter with the Pantheon; raifing the immense fabric upon four pilasters; whereas the whole circle of the rotunda refts upon the ground. This great artift, perhaps, was delighted with the idea of being thought as fuperior to the ancient architects, as he was confcious of being inferior to fome of the sculptors of antiquity.

All who have feen St. Paul's in London may, by an enlargement of its dimensions, form fome idea of the external appearance of St. Peter's. But the refemblance fails entirely on comparing them within; St. Peter's being lined, in many parts, with the most precious and beautiful marble, adorned with valuable pictures, and all the powers of fculpture.

The approach to St. Peter's church excells that to St. Paul's in a still greater proportion, than the former furpaffes the latter either in fize, or in the richness and beauty of the internal ornaments. A magnificent

nificent portico advances on each fide from the front, by which means a fquare court is formed immediately before the steps which lead into the church. The two porticoes form two fides of the fquare, the third is clofed by the front of the church, and the fourth is open. A colonnade, four columns: deep, commences at the extremities of the porticoes; and embracing, in an oval direction, a space far wider than the square, forms the most magnificent area that perhaps ever was feen before any building. This oval colonnade is crowned with a baluftrade, ornamented by a great number of flatues; and confifts of above three. hundred large pillars, forming three feparate walks, which lead to the advanced portico, and from that into the church. In the middle of the immense area, stands an Egyptian obelifk of granite; and to the right and left of this, two very beautiful fountains refresh the atmosphere with ftreams of clear water. The delighted eye glancing over these splendid objects, would reft

reft with complete fatisfaction on the flupendous fabric to which they ferve as embellifhments, if the façade of this celebrated church had been equal in beauty and elegance to the reft of the building. But this is by no means the cafe, and every impartial judge must acknowledge, that the front of St. Peter's is, in those particulars, inferior to that of our St. Paul's.

The length of St. Peter's, taken on the outfide, is exactly feven hundred and thirty feet; the breadth five hundred and twenty; and the height, from the pavement to the top of the crofs, which crowns the cupola, four hundred and fifty. The grand portico before the entrance, is two hundred and fixteen feet in length, and forty in breadth.

It is ufual to defire ftrangers, on their firft entering this church, to guess at the fize of the objects, which, on account of the distance, always feem less than they are in reality. The statues of the Angels, in particular, which support the sounds of holy water,

water, when viewed from the door, feem no bigger than children; but when you approach nearer, you perceive they are fix feet high. We make no fuch mistake on feeing a living man at the fame, or a greater diftance; becaufe the knowledge we have of a man's real fize precludes the poffibility of our being mistaken, and we make allowance for the diminution which diftance occafions; but Angels, and other figures in fculpture, having no determined standard, but being under the arbitrary will of the flatuary, who gives them the bulk of giants or dwarfs as best fuits his purpole, we do not know what allowance to make; and the eye, unufed to fuch large maffes, is confounded, and incapacitated from forming a right judgment of an object fix feet high, or of any other dimensions, which it was not previoufly acquainted with.

It is not my defign to attempt a defcription of the flatues, baffo relievos, columns, pictures, and various ornaments of this church; fuch

Such an account, faithfully executed, would fill volumes. The finest of all the ornaments have a probability of being longer preferved than would once have been imagined, by the aftonishing improvements which have of late been made in the art of copying pictures in Mofaic. Some of the artifts here, have already made copies with a degree of accuracy, which nobody could believe who had not feen the performances. By this means, the works of Raphael, and other great painters, will be transmitted to a later posterity than they themfelves expected; and although all the beauty of the originals cannot be retained in the copy, it would be grofs affectation to deny that a great part of it is. How happy would it make the real lovers of the art in this age, to have fuch specimens of the genius of Zeuxis, Apelles, and other ancient painters !

It has been frequently remarked, that the proportions of this church are fo fine, Vol. I. D d and

and the fymmetry of its different parts fo exquifite, that the whole feems confiderably fmaller than it really is. It was, however, certainly intended to appear a great and fublime object, and to produce admiration by the vastness of its dimensions. I cannot, therefore, be of opinion, that any thing which has a tendency to defeat this effect, can with propriety be called an excellence. I fhould on the contrary imagine, that if the architect could have made the church appear larger than it is in reality, this would have been a more defirable effect; provided it could have been produced without diminishing our admiration in fome more material point. If this could not be accomplished; if it is absolutely certain, that those proportions in architecture, which produce the most beautiful effect on the whole, always make a building feem fmaller than it is; this ought rather to be mentioned as an unfortunate than as a fortunate circumstance. The more I reflect on this, it appears to me the more certain, that

that no fyftem of proportions, which has the effect of making a large building appear fmall, is *therefore* excellent. If the property of reducing great things to little ones is inherent in all harmonious proportions; it is, in my opinion, an imperfection, and much to be lamented. In fmall buildings, where we expect to derive our pleafure from grace and elegance, the evil may be borne; but in edifices of vaft dimenfions, capable of fublimity from their bulk, the vice of diminifhing is not to be compenfated by harmony. The fublime has no equivalent.

# LETTER XXXVIII.

#### Rome.

HE grand proceffion of the Poffeffo took place a few days ago. This is a ceremony performed by every Pope, as foon as conveniency will permit, after the Conclave has declared in his favour. It is equivalent to the coronation in England, or the confectation at Rheims. On this occafion, the Pope goes to the Bafilica of St. John Lateran, and, as the phrafe is, takes poffeffion of it. This church, they tell you, is the most ancient of all the churches in Rome, and the mother of all the churches in chriftendom. When he has got poffession of this, therefore, he must be the real head of the Christian church, and Chrift's vicegerent upon earth. From St. John Lateran's, he proceeds to the Capitol, and receives the keys of that fortrefs; after which, it is equally clear, that as an earthly 6

ly prince, he ought, like the ancient poffession of the Capitol, to have a supremacy over all kings.

The Prince Guistiniani procured a place for us, at the Senator's houfe in the Capitol, from whence we might fee the proceffion to the greatest advantage. On arriving, we were furprifed to find the main body of the Palace, as well as the Palazzo dé Confervatori, and the Museum, which form the two wings, all hung with crimfon filk, laced with gold. The bafes and capitals of the pillars and pilasters, where the filk could not be accurately applied, were gilt. Only imagine, what a figure the Farnefian Hercules would make, dreffed in a filk fuit, like a French petit-maitre. To cover the noble fimplicity of Michael Angelo's architecture with fuch frippery by way of ornament, is, in my mind, a piece of refinement equally laudable.

Throwing an-eye on the Pantheon, and comparing it with the Campidoglio in its D d 3 prefent

prefent drefs, the beauty and juftnefs of the following lines feemed more firiking than ever.

Mark, how the dread Pantheon flands, Amid the domes of modern hands, Amid the toys of idle flate, How fimply, how feverely great !

We were led to a balcony, where a number of ladies of the first distinction in Rome were affembled. There were no men excepting a very few ftrangers; most part of the Roman noblemen have fome function in the proceffion. The inftant of his Holinefs's departure from the Vatican, was announced by a difcharge of cannon from the caftle of St. Angelo; on the top of which, the flandard of the church had been flying ever fince morning. We had a full view of the cavalcade, on its return from the church, as it ascended to the Capitol. The officers of the Pope's horfe guards were dreffed in a flyle equally rich and becoming. It was fomething between

between the Hungarian and Spanish drefs. I do not know whether the King of Pruffia would approve of the great profusion of plumage they wore in their hats; but it is picturesque, and showy qualities are the most effential to the guards of his Holinefs. The Swifs guards were, on this occafion, dreffed with lefs propriety; their uniforms were real coats of mail, with iron helmets on their heads, as if they had been to take the Capitol by florm, and expected a vigorous refistance. Their appearance was ftrongly contrasted with that of the Roman Barons, who were on horfeback, without boots, and in full drefs; each of them was preceded by four pages, their hair hanging in regular ringlets to the middle of their backs: they were followed by a number of fervants in rich liveries. Bifhops and other ecclefiaftics fucceeded the Barons; and then came the Cardinals on horfeback, in their purple robes, which covered every part of the horfes, except Dd4 the

the head. You may be fure that the horfes employed at fuch ceremonies are the gentlell that can be found; for if they were at all unruly, they might not only injure the furrounding crowd, but throw their Eminencies, who are not celebrated for their skill in horsemanship. Last of all comes the Pope himfelf, mounted on a milk white mule, distributing bleffings with an unsparing hand among the multitude, who follow him with acclamations of Viva il Santo Padre, and, proftrating themfelves on the ground before his mule, Benedizione Santo Padre. The Holy Father took particular care to wave his hand in the form of the crofs, that the bleffings he pronounced at the fame inftant might have the greater efficacy. As his Holinefs is employed in this manner during the whole proceffion, he cannot be fupposed to give the least attention to his mule, the bridle of which is held by two perfons who walk by his fide, with fome others.

others, to catch the *infallible*. Father of the Church, and prevent his being thrown to the ground, in cafe the mule fhould flumble.

At the entrance of the Capitol he was met by the Senator of Rome, who, falling on his knees, delivered the keys into the hands of his Holinefs, who pronounced a bleffing over him, and reftored him the keys. Proceeding from the Capitol, the Pope was met by a deputation of Jews, foon after he had paffed through the Arch of Titus. They were headed by the chief Rabbi, who prefented him with a long fcroll of parchment, on which is written the whole law of Mofes in Hebrew. His Holinefs received the parchment in a very gracious manner, telling the Rabbi at the fame time, that he accepted his present out of respect to the law itself, but entirely rejected his interpretation ; for the ancient law, having been fulfilled by the coming of the

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the Meffiah, was no longer in force. As this was not a convenient time or place for the Rabbi to enter into a controverfy upon the fubject, he bowed his head in filence, and retired with his countrymen, in the full conviction, that the fallehood of the Pope's affertion would be made manifeft to the whole univerfe in due time. His Holinefs, mean while, proceeded in triumph, through the principal fireets, to the Vatican.

This proceffion, I am told, is one of the moft fhowy and magnificent which takes place, on any occafion, in this city; where there are certainly more folemn exhibitions of the fame kind than in any other country; yet, on the whole, I own it did not afford me much fatisfaction; nor could all their pomp and finery prevent an uneafy recollection, not unmixed with fentiments of indignation, from obtruding on my mind. To feel unmixed admiration in beholding

holding the Pope and his Cardinals marching in triumph to the Capitol, one muft forget thofe who walked in triumph formerly to the fame place; forget entirely that fuch men as Camillus, Scipio, Paulus Æmilius, and Pompey, ever exifted; they muft forget Cato, whofe campaign in Africa was fo much admired by Lucan, that he declares, he would rather have had the glory of that fingle campaign than Pompey's three triumphs, and all the honour he obtained by finifhing the Jugurthan war.

Hunc ego per Syrtes, Libyæque extrema triumphum Ducere maluerim, quam ter Capitolia curru Sçandere Pompeii, quam frangere colla Jugurthæ.

We must forget Caius Caffius, Marcus Brutus, and all the great and virtuous men of ancient Rome, whom we have admired from our childhood, and of whose great qualities our admiration increases with our experience and knowledge of the present race

race of mankind. To be in the Capitol, and not think and fpeak of the worthies of the ancient Republic, is almost impoffible.

Quis te magne Cato tacitum; aut te Coffe relinquat?

Quis Gracchi genus ? aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,

Scipiadas, &c. &c.

# LETTER XXXIX.

#### Rome.

Rome. AVING faid fo much of St. Peter's, unquestionably the finest piece of modern architecture in Rome, allow me to mention fome of the best specimens of the ancient. I shall begin with the Pantheon, which, though not the largest of the Roman temples, is the most perfect which now remains. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the Temple of Peace, if we may truft to the accounts we have of the first, and to the ruins of the fecond, in the Campo Vaccino, were both much larger than the Pantheon. In fpite of the depredations which this laft has fustained from Goths, Vandals, and Popes, it still remains a beauteous monument of Roman tafte. The pavilion of the great altar, which stands under the cupola in St. Peter's, and the four wreathed pillars

pillars of Corinthian brafs which fupport it, were formed out of the fpoils of the Pantheon, which, after all, and with the weight of eighteen hundred years upon its head, has still a probability of outliving its proud rapacious rival. From the round form of this temple, it has obtained the name of Rotunda. Its height is a hundred and fifty feet, and its diameter nearly the fame. Within, it is divided into eight parts; the gate at which you enter forming one: the other feven compartments, if they may be fo called, are each of them diftinguished by two fluted Corinthian pillars, and as many pilasters of Giallo Antico. The capitals and bafes are of white marble; thefe fupport a circular entablature. The wall is perpendicular for half the height of the temple; it then flopes forward as it afcends, the circumference gradually diminishing, till it terminates in an opening of about twenty-five feet diameter. There are no windows; the central opening in the vault admitting a fufficiency

fufficiency of light, has a much finer effect than windows could have had. No great inconveniency can happen from this opening. The conical form of the temple prevents the rain from falling near the walls where the altars now are, and where the flatues of the Gods were formerly placed. The rain which falls in the middle immediately drills through holes which perforate a large piece of porphyry that forms the centre of the pavement, the whole of which confifts of various pieces of marble, agate, and other materials, which have been picked up from the ruins, and now compose a fingular kind of Mofaic work.

The portico was added by Marcus Agrippa, the fon-in-law of Augustus. It is supported by fixteen pillars of granite, five feet in diameter, and of a single piece each. Upon the frieze, in the front, is the following infeription in large capitals:

M. AGRIPPA L. F. CONSUL TERTIUM FECIT. Some

Some are of opinion, that the Pantheon is much more ancient than the Augustan age, and that the portico, which is the only part those antiquarians admit to be the work of Agrippa, though beautiful in itself, does not correspond with the simplicity of the temple.

As the Pantheon is the most entire, the Amphitheatre of Vespasian is the most stupendous, monument of antiquity in Rome. It was finished by his fon Titus, and obtained the name of Coloffeum, afterwards corrupted into Colifeum, from a coloffal statue of Apollo which was placed before it. This vaft furucture was built of Tiburtine stone, which is remarkably durable. If the public buildings of the ancient Romans had met with no more inveterate enemy than Time, we might, at this day, contemplate the greater number in all their original perfection; they were formed for the admiration of much remoter ages than the prefent. This Amphitheatre in particular might have flood

flood entire for two thousand years to come: For what are the flow corrofions of time, in comparison of the rapid deftruction from the fury of Barbarians, the zeal of Bigots, and the avarice of Popes and Cardinals? The first depredation made on this stupendous building, was by the inhabitants of Rome themselves, at that time greater Goths than their conqueror. We are told, they applied to Theodoric, whofe court was then at Ravenna, for liberty to take the flones of this Amphitheatre for some public work they were carrying on. The marble cornices, the friezes, and other ornaments of this building, have been carried away, at various times, to adorn palaces; and the flones have been taken to build churches, and fometimes to repair the walls of Rome, the most useles work of all. For of what importance are walls to a city, without a garrifon, and whofe most powerful artillery affects not the bodies, but only the minds, of men? About one-half of the external circuit still remains, from which, and

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and the ruins of the other parts, a pretty exact idea may be formed of the original flructure. By a computation made by Mr. Byres, it could contain eighty-five thoufand fpectators, making a convenient allowance for each. Fourteen chapels are now erected within fide, reprefenting the flages of our Saviour's paffion. This expedient of confecrating them into Chriftian chapels and churches, has faved fome of the fineft remains of Heathen magnificence from utter deftruction.

Our admiration of the Romans is tempered with horror, when we reflect on the use formerly made of this immense building, and the dreadful scenes which were acted on the Arena; where not only criminals condemned to death, but also prifoners taken in war, were obliged to butcher each other, for the entertainment of an inhuman populace. The combats of Gladiators were at first used in Rome at funerals only, where prisoners were obliged to

to affume that profeffion, and fight before the tombs of deceafed Generals or Magiftrates, in imitation of the barbarous cuftom of the Greeks, of facrificing captives at the tombs of their heroes.

This horrid piece of magnificence, which, at first, was exhibited only on the death of Confuls, and men of the higheft diffinction, came gradually to be claimed by every citizen who was fufficiently rich to defray the expence; and as the people's fondnels for these combats increased every day, they were no longer confined to funeral folemnities, but became cuftomary on days of public rejoicing, and were exhibited, at amazing expence, by fome Generals after victories. In the progress of riches, luxury, and vice, it became a profession in Rome to deal in gladiators. Men called Lanistæ made it their business to purchase prifoners and flaves, to have them inftructed in the use of the various weapons; and when any Roman chofe to amufe the Ee 2 people

people with their favourite show, or to entertain a select company of his own friends upon any particular occafion, he applied to the Lanislæ; who, for a fixed price, furnished him with as many pairs of those unhappy combatants as he required. They had various names given to them, according to the different manner in which they were armed. Towards the end of the republic, fome of the rich and powerful citizens had great numbers of gladiators of their own, who were daily exercifed by the Lanista, and always kept ready for fighting when ordered by their proprietor. Those who were often victorious, or had the good fortune to please their masters, had their liberty granted them, on which they generally quitted their profession; though it fometimes happened, that those who were remarkably skilful, continued it, either from vanity or poverty, even after they had obtained their freedom; and the applause bestowed on those gladiators, had the effect of inducing men born free, to choofe r

choofe this for a profession, which they exercised for money, till age impaired their strength and address. They then hung up their arms in the temple of Hercules, and appeared no more on the Arena.

Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro, Ne populum extrema toties exoret Arena.

There were many Amphitheatres at Rome, in other towns of Italy, and in many provinces of the empire; but this of Vefpafian was the largeft that ever was built. That at Verona is the next in fize in Italy, and the remains of the Amphitheatre at Nimes, in the fouth of France, prove, that it was the moft magnificent ftructure of this kind in any of the Roman provinces. The Romans were fo exceffively fond of thefe exhibitions, that wherever colonies were eftablifhed, it was found requifite to give public fhews of this kind, to induce the emigrants to remain in their new country: and in the provinces where

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it was thought neceffary that a confiderable body of troops fhould remain conftantly, ftructures of this kind were erected, at vaft labour and expence, and were found the beft means of inducing the young officers to fubmit cheerfully to a long abfence from the capital, and of preventing the common foldiers from desertion. The profusion of human blood, which was shed in the Arena, by the cruel prodigality of the Emperors, and the refinements which were invented to augment the barbarous pleafure of the fpectators, are proofs of the dreadful degree of corruption and depravity to which human nature is capable of attaining, even among a learned and enlightened people, when unreftrained by the mild precepts of a benevolent religion. We are told, that the gladiators bred for the ufe of particular patricians, as well as those kept for hire by the Lanista, were, for fome weeks before they appeared in the Arena, fed upon fuch fucculent diet, as would fooneft fill their veins, that they might

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might bleed freely at every wound. They were inftructed by the Laniftæ, not only in the art of fighting, but alfo in the moft graceful manner of dying; and when thofe wretched men felt themfelves mortally wounded, they affumed fuch attitudes as they knew pleafed the beholders; and they feemed to receive pleafure themfelves from the applaufe beftowed upon them in their laft moments.

When a gladiator was thrown by his antagonift to the ground, and directly laid down his arms, it was a fign that he could refift no longer, and declared himfelf vanquifhed; but fill his life depended on the fpectators. If they were pleafed with his performance, or, in a merciful difpofition, they held up their hands, with the thumb folded down, and the life of the man was fpared; but if they were in the humour to fee him die, they held up the hand clenched, with the thumb only crect. As foon as the proftrate victim

beheld that fatal fignal, he knew all hopes of life were vain, and immediately prefented his breaft to the fword of his adverfary, who, whatever his own inclinations might be, was obliged to put him to death inftantly.

As these combats formed the supreme pleasure of the inhabitants of Rome, the most cruel of their Emperors were fometimes the most popular; merely because they gratified the people, without reftraint, in their favourite amusement. When Marcus Aurelius thought it neceffary, for the public fervice, to recruit his army from the gladiators of Rome; it raifed more difcontent among the populace, than many of the wildeft pranks of Caligula. In the times of some of the Emperors, the lower class of Roman citizens were certainly as worthlefs a fet of men as ever existed; stained with all the vices which arife from idlenefs and dependence; living upon the largeffes of the great; paffing their whole time in the Circus and Amphi-

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Amphitheatres, where every fentiment of humanity was annihilated within their breafts, and where the agonies and torments of their fellow-creatures were their chief paftime. That no occafion might be loft of indulging this favage tafte of the populace, criminals were condemned to fight with wild beafts in the Arena, or were expofed, unarmed, to be torn in pieces by them; at other times, they were blindfolded, and in that condition obliged to cut and flaughter each other. So that, inftead of victims folemnly facrificed to public juffice, they feemed to be brought in as buffoons to raife the mirth of the fpectators.

The practice of domeftic flavery had alfo a great influence in rendering the Romans of a cruel and haughty character. Mafters could punish their flaves in what manner, and to what degree, they thought proper. It was as late as the Emperor Adrian's time, before any law was made, ordaining that a mafter who should put his flave to death

death without fufficient caufe, fhould be tried for his life. The ufual porter at the gate of a great man's houfe in ancient Rome, was a chained flave. The noife of whips and lafhes refounded from one houfe to another, at the time when it was cuftomary for the mafters of families to take an account of the conduct of their fervants. This cruel difpolition, as is the cafe wherever domeftic flavery prevails, extended to the gentle fex, and hardened the mild tempers of the women. What a picture has Juvenal drawn of the toilet of a Roman lady !

Nam fi conflituit, folitoque decentius optat Ornari------Componit crinem laceratis ipfa capillis, Nuda humerosPfecas infelix, nudifque mamillis. Altior hic quare cincinnus? Taurea punit. Continuo flexi crimen facinufque capilli.

It was cuftomary for avaricious mafters, to fend their infirm and fick flaves, to an ifland in the Tiber, where there was a Temple of Æfculapius; if the God pleafed

to

to recover them, the mafter took them back to his family; if they died, no farther inquiry was made about them. The Emperor Claudius put a check to this piece of inhumanity, by ordaining, that every fick flave, thus abandoned by his mafter, fhould be declared free when he recovered his health.

From these observations, are we to infer, that the ancient Romans were naturally of a more cruel turn of mind, than the present inhabitants of Europe? Or is there not reason to believe that, in the same circumstances, modern nations would act in the same manner? Do we not perceive, that the practice of domessic flavery has, at this day, a strong tendency to render men haughty, capricious, and cruel. Such, I am afraid, is the nature of man, that if he has power without controul, he will use it without justice; absolute power has a strong tendency to make good men bad, and never fails to make bad men worfe.

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It was an obfervation of the late Marefchal Saxe, that in all the contefts between the army waggoners and their horfes, the waggoners were in the wrong ; which he imputed to their having abfolute authority over the horfes. In the qualities of the head and heart, and in most other refuects, he thought the men and horfes on an equality. Caprice is a vice of the temper, which increases faster than any other by indulgence; it often spoils the best qualities of the heart, and, in particular fituations, degenerates into the most unfufferable tyranny. The first appearance of it in young minds ought to be oppofed with firmnefs, and prevented from farther progress, otherwise our future attempts to arrest it may be fruitless; for

Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo.

The combats in the Amphitheatres were, as I have already faid, introduced by degrees at Rome. The suftom of making prifoners fight around the funeral piles of deceafed

deceased heroes, was a refinement on a more barbarous practice; and the Romans, no doubt, valued themfelves on their humanity, in not butchering their prifoners in cold blood, as was the cuftom in the earlieft ages of Greece. The inflitution of obliging criminals to fight in the Arena, and thus giving them a chance for their lives, would also appear to them a very merciful improvement on the common manner of execution. The groffeft fophiftry will pass on men's understandings, when it is uled in fupport of measures to which they are already inclined. And when we confider the eagerness with which the populace of every country behold the accidental combats which occur in the fireets, we need not be furprifed to find, that when once the combats of gladiators were permitted among the Roman populace, on whatever pretext, the tafte for them would daily increase, till it erased every idea of compunction from their breafts, and became their ruling paffion. The Patricians, enriched

enriched by the pillage of kingdoms, and knowing that their power at Rome, and confequently all over the world, depended on the favour and fuffrages of the people, naturally fought popularity by gratifying their favourite tafte. Afterwards the Emperors might imagine, that fuch fhows would keep the citizens from reflecting on their loft liberties, or the enormities of the new form of government; and, exclusive of every political reason, many of them, from the barbarous disposition of their own minds, would take as much pleasure in the fcenes acted on the Arena, as the most favage of the vulgar.

While we express horror and indignation at the fondness which the Romans displayed for the bloody combats of the Amphitheatre, let us reflect, whether this proceeded from any peculiar cruelty of disposition inherent in that people, or belongs to mankind in general; let us reflect, whether it is probable, that the people of any other nation

nation would not be gradually led, by the fame degrees, to an equal paffion for fuch horrid entertainments. Let us confider, whether there is reafon to fufpect that those who arm cocks with fteel, and take pleafure in beholding the fpirited little animals cut one another to death, would not take the fame, or fuperior delight, in obliging men to flaughter each other if they had the power .- And what reftrains them? Is there no reason to believe, that the influence of a purer religion, and brighter example, than were known to the Heathen world, prevents mankind from those enormities now, which were permitted and countenanced formerly ? As foon as the benevolent precepts of Christianity were received by the Romans as the laws of the Deity. the prifoners and the flaves were treated with humanity, and the bloody exhibitions in the Amphitheatres were abolished.

# LETTER XL.

#### Rome.

TOU are furprifed that I have hitherto faid nothing of the Capitol, and the Forum Romanum, which is by far the most interesting scene of antiquities in Rome. The objects worthy of attention are fo numerous, and appear fo confused, that it was a confiderable time before I could form a tolerable diffinct idea of their fituation with respect to each other, though I have paid many more vifits to this than any other fpot fince I have been in this city. Before we entered a church or palace, we ran thither with as much impatience as if the Capitol had been in danger of falling before our arrival. The approach to the modern Campidoglio is very noble, and worthy of the genius of Michael Angelo. The building itfelf is alfo the work of that great artift; it is raifed on part

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part of the ruins of the ancient Capitol, and fronts St. Peter's church, with its back to the Forum and old Rome. Afcending this celebrated hill, the heart beats quick, and the mind warms with a thousand interefting ideas. You are carried back, at once, to the famous robber who first founded it. Without thinking of the wafte of time which must have effaced what you are looking for, you caft about your eyes in fearch of the path by which the Gauls climbed up, and where they were oppofed and overthrown by Manlius. You withdraw your eyes, with difdain, from every modern object, and are even difpleafed with the elegant ftructure you fee before you, and contemplate, with more respect, the ruins on which it is founded; becaufe they are more truly Roman.

The two Sphynxes of bafalte, at the bottom of the alcent, though excellent fpecimens of Egyptian fculpture, engage little of your attention. Warm with the Vol. I. F f glory

glory of Rome, you cannot beftow a thought on the hieroglyphics of Egypt. At fight of the trophies erected in honour of C. Marius, all those bloody scenes acted by the fury of party and demon of revenge, during the most calamitous period of the republic, rush upon the memory; and you regret that Time, who has fpared the monuments of this fierce foldier, has deftroyed the numerous trophies raifed to the Fabii, the Scipio's, and other heroes, diftinguished for the virtues of humanity, as well as the talents of Generals. You are ftruck with the coloffal ftatues of Caftor and Pollux, and, in the heat of enthuliafm, confounding the fictions of poetry with historical truth, your heart applauds their fraternal affection, and thanks them for the timely affiftance, they afforded the Romans in a battle with the Volfci. You rejoice at their good fortune, which, on earth, has procured them a place in the Capitol, and, in heaven, a feat by Hercules. Horace informs us, that Augustus drinks his °F . nectar.

MANNERS IN ITALY. 435 nectar, reclined between them and that demigod—

Quos inter Augustus recumbens Purpureo bibit ore nectar.

From them you move forward, and your admiration is fixed by the animated equeftrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which naturally brings to your memory that happy period, when the Roman empire was governed by a Prince who, during a long reign, made the good of his fubjects the chief object of his government. You proceed to the upper end of the area; your eye is caught by a majeftic female figure, in a fitting attitude; you are told it is a Roma Triumphans; you view her with all the warmth of fond enthusiasm, but you recollect that fhe is no longer Triumphans; you caft an indignant eye on St. Peter's church, to which fhe alfo feems to look with indignation. Is there fuch another instance of the vicifitude of human things; the proud Mistrefs of the World under the Ff 2 dominion

dominion of a prieft? Horace was probably accufed of vanity when he wrote these lines:

Crefcam laude recens, dum Capitolium Scandet cum tacita virgine Pontifex.

Yet the poet's works have already outlived this period fourteen hundred years; and Virgil has transmitted the memory of the friendship and fame of Nisus and Euryalus; the fame space of time beyond the period which he himself, in the ardour of poetic hope, had fixed for its limits.

Fortunati ambo fi quid mea carmina poffunt, Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo: Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile faxum Accolet, imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit.

In the two wings of the modern palace, called the Campidoglio, the Confervators of the city have apartments; their office is analogous to that of the ancient Ædiles. In the main body an Italian nobleman, appointed by the Pope, has his refidence, I with

with the title of Senator of Rome; the miserable representation of that Senate which gave laws to the world. The most defaced ruin, the most shapeless heap of antique rubbish in all Rome, cannot convey a feebler image of the building to which they belonged, than this deputy of the Pope does of that august assembly. The beautiful approach to this palace, and all the ornaments which decorate the area before it, cannot detain you long from the back view to which the ancient Capitol fronted. Here you behold the Forum Romanum, now exhibiting a melancholy but interesting view of the devastation wrought by the united force of time, avarice, and bigotry. The first objects which meet your eye, on looking from this fide of the hill, are three fine pillars, two-thirds of them buried in the ruins of the old Capitol. They are faid to be the remains of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Augustus, in gratitude for having narrowly escaped death from a ftroke of lightning. Near thefe are the remains Ff 3 of

of Jupiter Stator, confifting of three very elegant small Corinthian pillars, with their entablature; the Temple of Concord, where Cicero affembled the Senate, on the discovery of Catiline's conspiracy; the Temple of Romulus and Remus, and that of Antoninus and Fauftina, just by it, both converted into modern churches; the ruins of the magnificent Temple of Peace, built immediately after the taking of Jerufalem, the Roman empire being then in profound peace. This is faid to have been the fineft temple in old Rome; part of the materials of Nero's Golden Houfe, which Vespalian pulled down, were ufed in erecting this grand edifice. The only entire pillar remaining of this temple, was placed by Paul V. before the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. It is a most beautiful fluted Corinthian column, and gives a very high idea of the temple to which it originally belonged. His Holinefs has crowned it with an image of the Virgin Mary; and, in the infeription on the pedeftal, he gives his

his reafon for choofing a column belonging to the Temple of Peace, as an ornament to a church dedicated to the Virgin.

# Ex cujus visceribus Princeps veræ Pacis genitus est.

Of many triumphal arches which flood formerly in Rome, there are only three now remaining, all of them near the Capitol, and forming entries to the Forum; those of Titus, Septimius Severus, and Conftantine. The laft is by much the fineft of the three; but its chief beauties are not genuine, nor, properly fpeaking, its own; they confift of some admirable baffo relievos, ftolen from the Forum of Trajan, and reprefenting that Emperor's victories over the Dacians. This theft might, perhaps, not have been fo notorious to posterity, if the artifts of Constantine's time had not added fome figures, which make the fraud apparent, and, by their great inferiority, evince the degeneracy of the arts in the interval between the reigns of thefe two Emperors.

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The relievos of the arch of Titus reprefent the table of fhew-bread, the trumpets, the golden candlefticks with feven branches, and other utenfils, brought from the Temple of Jerusalem. The quarter which is allotted for the Jews is not at a great distance from this arch. There are about nine thousand of that unfortunate nation at prefent in Rome; the lineal descendants of those brought captive, by Titus, from Jerufalem. I have been affured that they always cautioufly avoid paffing through this arch, though it lies directly in their way to the Campo Vaccino, choofing rather to make a circuit, and enter the Forum at another place. I was affected at hearing this inftance of fenfibility in a people who, whatever other faults they may have, are certainly not deficient in patriotifm, and attachment to the religion and cuftoms of their forefathers. The fame delicacy of fentiment is difplayed by a poet of their own country, in the 137th pfalm, as it is finely tranflated by Buchanan :

Dum

Dum procul a Patria mœsti Babylonis in oris,

Fluminis ad liquidas forte fedemus aquas ; Illa animum fubiit fpecies miferanda Sionis,

Et numquam Patrii tecta videnda foli. \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* O Solymæ, O adyta, et facri penetralia templi

Ullane vos animo deleat hora meo? &c.

You may read the whole; you will perhaps find fome poetical beauties which efcaped your obfervation when you heard it fung in churches; but the poet's ardour feems to glow too violently towards the end of the pfalm.

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# LETTER XLI.

#### Rome.

THERE are many other interefting ruins in and about the Campo Vaccino, befides those I have mentioned; but of fome ftructures which we know formerly ftood here, no vestige is now to be feen. This is the cafe with the arch which was erected in honour of the Fabian family. There is the ftrongest reason to believe, that the ancient Forum was entirely furrounded with temples, bafilicæ, and public buildings of various kinds, and adorned with porticoes and colonades. In the time of the Republic, affemblies of the people were held there, laws were propofed, and juffice administered. In it was the Roftrum, from whence the orators harangued the people. All who afpired at dignities came hither to canvals fuffrages. The Bankers had their offices near the Forum.

Forum, as well as those who received the revenues of the Commonwealth; and all kind of bufiness was transacted in this place. In my vifits to the Campo Vaccino, I arrange the ancient Forum in the beft manner I can, and fix on the particular fpot where each edifice flood. In this I am fometimes a little cramped in room; for the fpace between the Palatine Hill and the Capitol is fo fmall, and I am fo circumfcribed by arches and temples, whofe ruins still remain, that I find it impossible to make the Forum Romanum larger than Covent Garden. I looked about for the Via Sacra, where Horace met with his troublesome companion. Some people imagine, this was no other than the Forum itfelf; but I am clearly of opinion, that the Via Sacra was a fireet leading to the Forum, and loft in it, as a street in London terminates at a square. I have, at last, fixed on the exact point where it joins the Forum, which is very near the Meta Sudans. If we should ever meet here, I shall convince

convince you by local arguments, that I am in the right; but I fear it would be very tedious, and not at all convincing, to tranfmit them to you in writing.

As Rome increased in fize and number of inhabitants, one Forum was found too small, and many others were erected in process of time; but when we speak of the Forum, without any distinguishing epithet, the ancient one is understood.

The Tarpeian Rock is a continuation of that on which the Capitol was built; I went to that part from which criminals condemned to death were thrown. Mr. Byres has meafured the height; it is exactly fifty-eight feet perpendicular; and he thinks the ground at the bottom, from evident marks, is twenty feet higher than it was originally; fo that, before this accumulation of rubbifh, the precipice mult have been about eighty feet perpendicular. In reading the hiftory of the Romans, the vaft idea we form of that people, naturally extends

tends to the city of Rome, the hills on which it was built, and every thing belonging to it. We image to ourfelves the Tarpeian Rock as a tremendous precipice; and, if afterwards we ever have an opportunity of actually feeing it, the height falls fo fhort of our expectations, that we are apt to think it a great deal lefs than it is in reality. A mistake of this kind, joined to a carelefs view of the place, which is not in itfelf very interefting, has led Bishop Burnet into the strange affertion, that the Tarpeian Rock is fo very low, that a man would think it no great matter to leap down it for his diversion. Criminals thrown from this precipice, were literally thrown out of the city of old Rome into the Campus Martius, which was a large plain, of a triangular shape; two sides of the triangle being formed by the Tiber, and the bafe by the Capitol, and buildings extending three miles nearly in a parallel line with it. The Campus Martius had its name from a fmall temple built in it, at a very early

early period, and dedicated to Mars; or it might have this name from the military exercifes performed there. In this field; the great affemblies of the people, called Census or Lustrum, were held every fifth year; the Confuls, Cenfors, and Tribunes, were elected; the levies of troops were made; and there the Roman youth exercifed themfelves in riding, driving the chariot, fhooting with the bow, using the fling, darting the javelin, throwing the difcus or quoit, in wreftling, running; and when covered with fweat and duft, in confequence of these exercises, they washed their bodies clean by fwimming in the Tiber. Horace accufes Lydia of ruining a young man, by keeping him from those manly exercises in which he formerly excelled.

### -----Cur apricum

Oderit campum, patiens pulveris atque folis : Cur neque militaris

Inter equales equitet, Gallica nec lupatis Temperet ora frænis?

Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere ?

The /

The dead bodies of the most illustrious citizens were also burnt in this field, which was adorned gradually by statues and trophies, erected to the memory of distinguished men. But every feature of its ancient appearance, is now hid by the streets and buildings of modern Rome.

The inhabitants of Rome may be excufed for chufing this fituation for their houfes, though by fo doing, they have deprived us of a view of the Campus Martius. But furely they, or their Governors, ought to fhow more folicitude for preferving the antiquities than they do; and they might, without inconveniency, find fome place for a Cow Market, of lefs importance than the ancient Forum. It is not in their power to reftore it to its former fplendor, but they might, at leaft, have prevented its falling back to the ftate in which Æneas found it, when he came to vifit the poor Evander.

Talibus inter fe dictis ad tecta fubibant Pauperis Evandri : passimque armenta videbant Romanoque Foro et lautis mugire carinis.

I have already faid, that belides this, there were feveral Forums in Rome, where Basilicæ were built, justice administered, and bufiness transacted. The Emperors were fond of having fuch public places named after them. The accounts we have of the Forums of Nerva, and that of Trajan, give the higheft idea of their grandeur and elegance; three Corinthian pillars, with their entablature, are all that remain of the former; of the latter, the noble column placed in the middle, ftill preferves all its original beauty. It confifts of twentythree circular pieces of white marble, horizontally placed one above the other; it is about twelve feet diameter at the bottom. and ten at the top. The plinth of the bafe is a piece of marble twenty-one feet fquare. A staircase, consisting of one hundred and eighty-three fteps, and fufficiently wide to admit a man to afcend, is cut out of the folid marble, leaving a fmall pillar in the middle, round which the flair winds from the bottom to the top. I obferved

ferved a piece broken, as I went up, which thewed, that those large maffes of marble have been exquisitely polished on the flat fides, where they are in contact with each other, that the adhesion and Arength of the pillar might be the greater. The flairs are lighted by forty-one windows, exceedingly narrow on the outlide, that they might hot interrupt the connection of the baffo relievos, but which gradually widen within, and by that means give fufficient light. The bafe of the column is ornamented with baffo relievos, reprefenting trophies of Dacian armour. The most memorable events of Trajan's expedition against the Dacians, are admirably wrought in a continued fpiral line from the bottom of the column to the top. The figures towards the top, are too far removed from the eye to be feen perfectly. To have rendered them equally visible with those below, it would have been neceffary to have made them larger proportionably as they afcended. VOL. I. Gg Viewed

Viewed from any confiderable diftance, all the sculpture is lost,' and a plain fluted pillar, of the fame proportions, would have had as fine an effect. But fuch a frugal plan would not have been fo glorious to the Prince, whole victories are engraven, or fo interesting to the legionary foldiers, many of whom, no doubt, are here perfonally reprefented. Befides, it would not now be near fo valuable a monument, in the eyes of antiquarians, or fo uleful a fludy to fculptors and painters, who have occafion to reprefent the military drefs of the Romans, or the coftume of the Eaft in that age. Exclusive of the flatue, this beautiful pillar is a hundred and twenty feet high. The ashes of Trajan were depofited in an urn at the bottom, and his ftatue at the top. Pope Sixtus the Fifth, in the room of the Emperor's, has placed a flatue of St. Peter upon this column. I observed to a gentleman, with whom I vifited this pillar, that I thought there was not

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not much propriety in placing the figure of St. Peter upon a monument, reprefenting the victories, and erected in honour of the Emperor Trajan. ". There is "fome propriety, however," replied he coldly, "in having made the flatue of "*brafs*."

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### LETTER XLII.

### Rome.

Have been witnefs to the beatification of a Saint; he was of the order of St. Francis, and a great many brethren of that order were prefent, and in very high fpirits on the occasion. There are a greater number of ecclesiaftics beatified, and canonized, than any other order of men. In the first place, because, no doubt, they deferve it better; and alfo, becaufe they are more folicitous to have Saints taken from among men of their own profession, and particular order, than people in other fituations in life are. Every monk imagines, it reflects personal honour on himself, when one of his order is canonifed. Soldiers, lawyers, and phyficians, would probably be happy to fee fome of their brethren diftinguished in the fame manner; that they have not had this gratification of late years,

years, may be imputed to the difficulty of finding fuitable characters among them. Ancient hiftory, indeed, makes mention of fome commanders of armies who were very great faints; but I have heard of no phyfician who acquired that title fince the days of St. Luke; or of a fingle lawyer, of any age or country.

A picture of the prefent Expectant, a great deal larger than life, had been hung up on the front of St. Peter's church, feveral days before the beatification took place. This ceremony was alfo announced by printed papers, diffributed by the happy brethren of St. Francis. On the day of the folemnity, his Holinefs, a confiderable number of Cardinals, many other ecclefiaftics, all the Capucin Friars in Rome, and a great concourfe of fpectators attended. The ceremony was performed in St. Peter's church. An ecclefiaftic of my acquaintance procured us a very convenient place for feeing the whole. The ceremony of beatification

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is

is a previous flep to that of canonization. The Saint, after he is beatified, is entitled to more distinction in Heaven than before ; but he has not the power of freeing fouls from purgatory till he has been canonized; and therefore is not addreffed in prayer till he has obtained the fecond honour. On the present occasion, a long discourse was pronounced by a Franciscan Friar, setting forth the holy life which this Expectant had led upon earth, his devotions, his voluntary penances, and his charitable actions; and a particular enumeration was made, of certain miracles he had performed when alive, and others which had been performed after his death by his bones. The most remarkable miracle, by himfelf in perfon, was, his replenishing a lady's cupboard with bread, after her housekeeper, at the Saint's infligation, had given all the bread of the family to the poor.

This bufinefs is carried on in the manner of a law-fuit. The Devil is fuppofed

to have an intereft in preventing men from being made Saints. That all juffice may be done, and that Satan may have his due, an advocate is employed to plead against the pretenfions of the Saint Expectant, and the perfon thus employed is denominated by the people, the Devil's Advocate. He calls in question the miracles faid to have been wrought by the Saint and his bones, and raifes as many objections to the proofs brought of the purity of his life and conversation as he can. It is the business of the Advocate on the other fide, to obviate and refute these cavils. The controversy was carried on in Latin. It drew out to a great length, and was by no means amufing. Your friend Mr. R-y, who fat near me, lofing patience, from the length of the ceremony, and fome twitches of the gout, which he felt at that moment, whilpered me, " I with, from my heart, " the Devil's Advocate were with his " client, and this everlafting Saint fairly in "Heaven, that we might get away." The whole Gg4

whole party, of which I made one, were feized with frequent and long-continued yawnings, which I imagine was obferved by fome of the Cardinals, who fat oppofite to us. They caught the infection, and although they endeavoured to conceal their gaping under their purple robes, yet it feemed to fpread and communicate itfelf gradually, over the whole affembly, the Franciscan Friars excepted ; they were too deeply interested in the issue of the dispute, to think it tedious. As often as the Devil's Advocate stated an objection, evident figns of impatience, contempt, furprise, indignation, and refentment, appeared in the countenances of the venerable brotherhood, according to their different characters and tempers. One shook his head, and whispered his neighbour; another raifed his chin, and pushed up his under-lip with a difdainful smile; a third flarted, opened his eyelids as wide as he could, and held up both his hands, with his fingers extended; a. fourth raifed his thumb to his mouth, bit the

the nail with a grin, and jerked the thumb from his teeth towards the adverfary; a fifth stared, in a most expressive manner, at the Pope, and then fixed his eyes, frowning, on the Advocate. All were in agitation, till the Saint's Counfel began to fpeak, when a profound filence took place. and the moment he had made his answer. their countenances brightened, a smile of fatisfaction fpread around, and they nodded and shook their beards at each other with mutual congratulations. In the mean time, the Cardinals, and the other auditors, who were not afleep, continued yawning ; for my own part, I was kept awake only by the interlude of grimaces, played off by the Capucins between the arguments. Exclufive of these, the making a Saint of a Capucin, is the dulleft bufinefs I ever was witnefs to. I hope the man himfelf enjoys much felicity fince the ceremony, in which cafe no good-natured perfon will grudge the tedium and fatigue which he fuffered on the occafion. I ought to have told you, that

that the Advocate's reafoning was all in vain; the Devil loft his caufe, without the poffibility of appeal. The Saint's claim being confirmed, he was admitted into all the privileges of beatification; the Convent defraying the expense of the process.

As we returned, Mr. R—y afked, if I recollected the Saint's name. I faid, I did not. "We muft inform ourfelves," faid he; "for when I meet him above, I "fhall certainly claim fome merit with him, "from having done penance at his beatifi-"cation \*."

\* I have been fince informed, this new Saint is called St: Buonavantura; he was by birth a Neapolitan.

# LETTER XLIII.

### Rome.

Ravellers are too apt to form hafty, and, for the most part, unfavourable opinions of national characters. Finding the cuftoms and fentiments of the inhabitants of the foreign countries through which they pafs, very different from their own, they are ready to confider them as erroneous, and conclude, that those who act and think in a manner fo oppofite to themfelves, must be either knaves, fools, or both. In fuch hafty decifions they are often confirmed by the partial representations of a few of their own countrymen, or of other foreigners who are established in some profession in those countries, and who have an interest in giving bad impreffions of the people among whom they refide.

That the Italians have an uncommon fhare of natural fagacity and acutenefs, is pretty generally allowed; but they are accufed of being deceitful, perfidious, and revengeful; and the frequent affaffinations and murders which happen in the ftreets of the great towns in Italy, are brought as proofs of this charge. I have not remained a fufficient length of time in Italy, fuppofing I were, in all other refpects, qualified to decide on the character of the inhabitants; but from the opportunities I have had, my idea of the Italians is, that they are an ingenious fober people, with quick feelings, and therefore irritable; but when unprovoked, of a mild and obliging difposition, and less subject to avarice, envy, or repining at the narrowness of their own circumftances, and the comparative wealth of others, than most other nations. The murders which occasionally happen, proceed from a deplorable want of police, and fome very impolitic cuftoms, which have, from various causes, crept among them, and

and would produce more frequent examples . of the fame kind, if they prevailed to the fame degree, in some other countries. I beg you will keep in your mind, that the affaffinations which difgrace Italy, whatever may have been the cafe formerly, are now entirely confined to the accidental fquabbles which occur among the rabble. No fuch thing has been known for many years past among people of condition, or the middle rank of citizens; and with regard to the flabbings which happen among the vulgar, they almost always proceed from an immediate impulse of wrath, and are feldom the effect of previous malice, or a premeditated plan of revenge. I do not know whether the flories we have of mercenary bravos, men who formerly are fupposed to have made it their profession to affaffinate, and live by the murders they committed, are founded in truth; but I am certain, that at prefent there is no fuch trade in this country. That the horrid practice of drawing the knife and flabbing each

each other, still fublists among the Italian vulgar, I am perfuaded, is owing to the fcandalous impunity with which it is treated. The afylum which churches and convents offer to criminals, operates against the peace of fociety, and tends to the encouragement of this shocking custom in two different manners: First, it increases the criminal's hopes of efcaping; fecondly, it diminishes, in vulgar minds, the idea of the atrocity of the crime. When the populace fee a murderer lodged within the facred walls of a church, protected and fed by men who are revered on account of their profession, and the supposed fanctity of their lives; must not this weaken the horror which mankind naturally have for fuch a crime, and which it ought to be the aim of every government to augment?

Those who are willing to admit that this last confideration may have the effect I have ascribed to it, on the minds of the vulgar, vulgar, still contend, that the hopes of impunity can have little influence in keeping up the practice of flabbing; becaufe, as has been already observed, these stabbings are always in confequence of accidental guarrels and fudden burfts of paffion, in which men have no confideration about their future fafety. All I have to fay in answer is, that if the obfervations I have been able to make on the human character are well founded, there are certain confiderations which never entirely lofe their influence on the minds of men, even when they are in the height of paffion. I do not mean that there are not inflances of men being thrown into fuch paroxyims of fury, as totally deprive them of reflection, and make them act like madmen, without any regard to confequences; but extraordinary inflances, which depend on peculiarities of conflitution, and very fingular circumflances, cannot destroy the force of an obfervation which, generally speaking, is found juft. We every day fee men, who have

have the character of being of the most ungovernable tempers, who are apt to fly into violent fits of paffion upon the most trivial occasions, yet, in the midst of all their rage, and when they feem to be entirely blinded by fury, are still capable of making diffinctions; which plainly evince, that they are not fo very much blinded by anger, as they would feem to be. When people are fubject to violent fits of choler, and to an unreftrained licence of words and . actions, only in the company of those who; from their unfortunate fituation in life, are obliged to bear fuch abufe, it is a plain proof that confiderations which regard their own perfonal fafety, have fome influence on their minds in the midft of their fury, and instruct them to be mad certo ratione modeque. This is frequently unknown to those choleric people themfelves, while it is fully evident to every perfon of obfervation around them. What violent fits of paffion do fome men indulge themfelves in against their flaves and fervants, which they always 2

always impute to the ungovernable nature of their own tempers, of which, however, they display the most perfect command upon much greater provocations given by their fuperiors, equals, or by any fet of people who are not obliged to bear their ill humour. How often do we fee men who are agreeable, cheerful, polite, and good-tempered to the world in general, gloomy, peevifh, and paffionate, to their wives and children ? When you happen to be a witnefs to any inflance of unprovoked domeftic rage, into which they have allowed themfelves to be transported, they will very probably lament their misfortune, in having more ungovernable tempers than the reft of mankind. But if a man does not speak and act with the same degree of violence on an equal provocation, without confidering whether it comes from superior, equal, or dependant, he plainly fhews that he can govern his temper, and that his not doing it on particular occafions, VOL. I. Hh proceeds

# 466 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND proceeds from the bafeft and most despicable of all motives.

I remember, when I was on the continent with the English army, having feen an officer beat a foldier very unmercifully with his cane: I was then flanding with fome officers, all of whom feemed to be filled with indignation at this mean exercife of power. When the perfon who had performed the intrepid exploit came to join the circle, he plainly perceived marks of difapprobation in every countenance; for which reason he thought it necessary to apologize for what he had done. "No-" thing," fays he, " provokes me fo much " as a fellow's looking faucily when I " fpeak to him. I have told that man fo " fifty times ; and yet, on my reprimand-" ing him just now, for having one of the " buttons of his waillcoat broken, he " looked faucily full in my face; which " threw me into fuch a paffion, that I " could not help threshing him .- How-8 " ever,

\*\* ever, I am forry for it, becaufe he has \*\* the character of being an honeft man, \*\* and has always done his duty, as a fol-\*\* dier, very well. How much," continued he, \*\* are those people to be envied, \*\* who have a full command of their \*\* tempers !"

"No man can command it more per-"fectly than yourfelf," faid a gentleman who was then in the foot-guards, and has fince been a general officer.

"I often endeavour to do it," replied the choleric man, "but always find it out of my power. I have not philosophy enough to check the violence of my temper when once I am provoked."

"You certainly do yourfelf injuffice,
"Sir," faid the officer; " no perfon feems
" to have their paffions under better difci" pline. With your brother officers, I
" never faw you, in a fingle inflance,
" break through the rules of decorum, or
H h 2 " allow

# 468 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND " allow your anger to overcome your po-" litenefs to them."

" They never provoked me," faid the paffionate man.

" Provoked you!" rejoined the other; " yes, Sir, often, and in a much greater " degree than the poor foldier. Do not I, " at this moment, give you ten thoufand " times more provocation than he, or any " of the unfortunate men under your " command, whom you are fo apt to beat " and abufe, ever did ?—and yet you feem " perfectly mafter of your temper."

There was no way left by which the choleric man could prove the contrary, except by knocking the other down; but that was a method of convincing his antagonift which he did not think proper to ufe. A more intrepid man, in the fame predicament, would very probably have had recourfe to that expedient; but in general mankind are able, even in the violence of paffion,

paffion, to effimate, in fome meafure, the rifk they run; and the populace of every country are more readily kindled to that *inferior* degree of rage, which makes them lofe their horror for the crime of murder, and difregard the life of a fellow-creature, than to that *bigher* pitch, which deprives them of all confideration for their own perfonal fafety.

In England, Germany, or France, a man knows, that if he commits a murder, every perfon around him will, from that inftant, become his enemy, and ufe every means to feize him, and bring him to juffice. He knows that he will be immediately carried to prifon, and put to an ignominious death, amidft the execrations of his countrymen. Impreffed with thefe fentiments, and with the natural horror for murder which fuch fentiments augment, the populace of thofe countries hardly ever have recourfe to ftabbing in their accidental quarrels, however they may be inflamed with anger and rage.

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The loweft blackguard in the ftreets of London will not draw a knife againft an antagonift far fuperior to himfelf in ftrength. He will fight him fairly with his fifts as long as he can, and bear the fevereft drubbing, rather than use a means of defence which is held in deteftation by his countrymen, and which would bring himfelf to the gallows.

The murders committed in Germany, France, or England, are therefore comparatively few in number, and happen generally in confequence of a pre-concerted plan, in which the murderers have taken meafures for their efcape or concealment, without which they know that inevitable death awaits them. In Italy the cafe is different; an Italian is not under the influence of fo ftrong an imprefiion, that certain execution muft be the confequence of his committing a murder; he is at lefs pains to reftrain the wrath which he feels kindling within his breaft; he allows his rage full

full fcope; and, if hard preffed by the fuperior firength of an enemy, he does not fcruple to extricate himfelf by a thruft of his knife ; he knows, that if some of the Sbirri are not present, no other person will feize him; for that office is held in fuch deteftation by the Italian populace, that none of them will perform any part of its functions. The murderer is therefore pretty certain of gaining fome church or convent, where he will be protected, till he can compound the matter with the relations of the deceased, or escape to some of the other Italian States; which is no very difficult matter, as the dominions of none are very extensive.

Befides, when any of these affaffins has not had the good fortune to get within the portico of a church before he is feized by the Sbirri, and when he is actually carried to prison, it is not a very difficult matter for his friends or relations to prevail, by their entreaties and tears, on some of the H h 4 Cardinals

Cardinals or Princes, to interfere in his favour, and endeavour to obtain his pardon. If this is the cafe, and I am affured from authority which fully convinces me, that it is, we need be no longer furprifed that murder is more common among the Italian populace than among the common people of any other country. As foon as afylums for fuch criminals are abolifhed, and justice is allowed to take its natural courfe, that foul ftain will be entirely effaced from the national character of the modern Italians. This is already verified in the Grand Duke of Tuscany's dominions. The same edict which declared that churches and convents fhould no longer be places of refuge for murderers, has totally put a ftop to the ufe of the stiletto; and the Florentine populace now fight with the fame blunt weapons that are used by the common people of other nations.

I am afraid you will think I have been a little prolix on this occasion; but I had two

two objects in view, and was folicitous about both. The first was to shew, that the treacherous and perfidious disposition imputed to the Italians, is, like most other national reflections, ill founded; and that the facts brought in proof of the acculation, proceed from other caufes: the fecond was, to demonstrate to certain choleric gentlemen, who pretend to have ungovernable tempers, as an excule for rendering every creature dependent on them miferable, that in their furious fits they not only behave ridiculoufly, but bafely. In civil life, in England, they have the power of only making themfelves contemptible; but in the army or navy, or in our illands, they often render themfelves the objects of horror.

# LETTER XLIV.

### Rome.

HEFTS and crimes which are not capital are punished at Rome, and fome other towns of Italy, by imprifonment, or by what is called the Cord. This laft is performed in the ftreet. The culprit's hands are bound behind by a cord, which runs on a pully; he is then drawn up twenty or thirty feet from the ground, and, if lenity is intended, he is let down fmoothly in the fame manner he was drawn up. In this operation the whole weight of the criminal's body is fuftained by his hands, and a ftrong man can bear the punishment inflicted in this manner without future inconveniency; for the ftrength of the muscles of his arms enables him to keep his hands preffed on the middle of his back, and his body hangs in a kind of horizontal polition. But when they intend

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to be fevere, the criminal is allowed to fall from the greateft height to which he had been raifed, and the fall is abruptly checked in the middle; by which means the hands and arms are immediately pulled above the head, both fhoulders are diflocated, and the body fwings, powerlefs, in a perpendicular line. It is a cruel and injudicious punifhment, and left too much in the power of thofe who fuperintend the execution, to make it fevere or not, as they are inclined.

Breaking on the wheel is never ufed in Rome for any crime; but they fometimes put in practice another mode of execution, which is much more fhocking in appearance than cruel in reality. The criminal being feated on a fcaffold, the executioner, who ftands behind, ftrikes him on the head with a hammer of a particular conftruction, which deprives him, at once, of all fenfation. When it is certain that he is completely dead, the executioner, with a large knife, cuts his throat from ear to ear. This laft

last part of the ceremony is thought to make a stronger impression on the minds of the spectators, than the bloodless blow which deprives the criminal of life. Whether the advantages resulting from this are fufficient to compensate for shocking the public eye with such abominable sights, I very much question.

Executions are not frequent at Rome, for the reafons already given: there has been only one fince our arrival; and thofe who are of the moft forgiving difpolition will acknowledge, that this criminal was not put to death till the measure of his iniquity was fufficiently full; he was condemned to be hanged for his fifth murder. I shall give you fome account of his execution, and the ceremonies which accompanied it, because they throw fome light on the fentiments and character of the people.

First of all, there was a procession of priest, one of whom carried a crucifix on a pole hung with black; they were followed

ed by a number of people in long gowns which covered them from head to foot, with holes immediately before the face, through which those in this difguise could fee every thing perfectly, while they could not be recognized by the fpectators. They are of the Company della Mifericordia, which is a fociety of perfons who, from motives of piety, think it a duty to vifit criminals under fentence of death. endeavour to bring them to a proper fenfe of their guilt, affift them in making the beft use of the short time they have to live, and who never forfake them till the moment of their execution. People of the first rank are of this fociety, and devoutly perform the most laborious functions of it. All of them carried lighted torches, and a few shook tin boxes, into which the multitude put money to defray the expence of maffes for the foul of the criminal. This is confidered by many as the most meritorious kind of charity; and fome, whole circumstances do not permit them to bestow much, confine

confine all the expence they can afford in charity to the fingle article of purchafing maffes to be faid in behalf of those who have died without leaving a farthing to fave their fouls. The rich, fay they, who have much fuperfluous wealth, may throw away part of it in acts of temporal charity; but it is, in a more particular manner, the duty of those who have little to give, to take care that this little shall be applied to the most beneficial purposes. What is the relieving a few poor families from the frivolous diftreffes of cold and hunger, in comparison of freeing them from many years burning in fire and brimftone? People are reminded of this effential kind of charity, not only by the preachers, but alfo by infcriptions upon the walls of particular churches and convents; and fometimes the aid of the pencil is called in to awaken the compunction of the unfeeling and hardhearted. On the external walls of fome convents, immediately above the box into which you are directed to put your money, views

views of purgatory are painted in the most flaming colours, where people are feen in all the agonics of burning, raifing their indignant eyes to those unmindful relations and acquaintances, who, rather than part with a little money, allow them to remain in those abodes of torment. One can hardly conceive how any mortal can pafs fuch a picture without emptying his purfe into the box, if, by fo doing, he believed he could redeem, I will not fay a human creature, but even a poor incorrigible dog, or vicious horfe, from fuch a dreadful fituation. As the Italians in general feem to have more fenfibility than any people I am acquainted with, and as I fee fome, who cannot be supposed totally in want of money, pafs by those pictures every day without putting a farthing into the box, I must impute this stinginess to a lack of faith rather than of fenfibility. Such unmindful paffengers are probably of the number of those who begin to suspect that the money of the living can be of little ufe

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to the dead. Being abfolutely certain that it gives themfelves much pain to part with it in this world, and doubtful whether it will have any efficacy in abridging the pains of their friends in the other, they hefitate for fome time between the two rifks, that of lofing their own money, and that of allowing their neighbour's foul to continue in torture; and it would appear that those feeptics generally decide the difpute in favour of the money.

But in fuch a cafe as that which I have been deferibing, where a poor wretch is juft going to be thruft by violence out of one world, and folicits a little money to fecure him a tolerable reception in another, the paffions of the fpectators are too much agitated for cold reafoning, and the moft niggardly feeptic throws his mite into the boxes of the Compagnia della Mifericordia. Immediately after them came the malefactor himfelf, feated in a cart, with a Capucin Friar on each fide of him. The hangman, with

with two affiftants, dreffed in scarlet jackets, walked by the cart. This procession having moved flowly round the gallows, which was crected in the Piazza del Populo, the culprit descended from the cart, and was led to a house in the neighbourhood, attended by the two Capucins. He remained there about half an hour; was confeffed, and received absolution; after which he came out, exclaiming to the populace to join in prayers for his foul, and walked with a hurried pace to the gallows; the hangman and his affiftants having hold of his arms, they fupported him up the ladder, the unhappy man repeating prayers as fast as he could utter till he was turned off. He was not left a moment to himfelf. The executioner stepped from the ladder, and flood with a foot on each of his shoulders. fupporting himfelf in that fituation with his hands on the top of the gallows, the affiftants at the fame time pulling down the malefactor's legs, fo that he must have died in an inftant. The executioner, in a VOL. I. flort Ii

fhort time, flid to the ground along the dead body, as a failor flides on a rope. They then removed the cloth which covered his face, and twirled the body round with great rapidity, as if their intention had been to divert the mob; who, however, did not shew any disposition to be amused in that manner. The multitude beheld the fcene with filent awe and compaffion. During the time appointed by law for the body to hang, all the members of the proceffion, with the whole apparatus of torches, crucifixes, and Capucins, went into a neighbouring church, at the corner of the Strada del Babbuino, and remained there till a mass was faid for the foul of the deceafed; and when that was concluded, they returned in proceffion to the gallows, with a coffin covered with black cloth. On their approach, the executioner, with his affiftants, haftily retired among the crowd, and were no more allowed to come near the body. The condemned perfon having now paid the forfeit due to his crimes, was

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no longer confidered as an object of hatred; his dead body was therefore refeued from the contaminating touch of those who are held by the populace in the greatest abhorrence. Two perfons in masks, and with black gowns, mounted the ladder and cut the rope, while others below, of the same society, received the body, and put it carefully into the cossin. An old woman then faid, with an exalted voice, "Adesso " spero che l'anima fua fia in paradiso;" " Now I hope his soul is in heaven;" and the multitude around seemed all inclined to hope the same.

The ferious and compaffionate manner in which the Roman populace beheld this execution, forms a prefumption of the gentlenefs of their difpofitions. The crimes of which this man had been guilty muft naturally have raifed their indignation, and his profession had a tendency to increase and keep it up; for he was one of the Sbirri, all of whom are held in the most I i 2 perfect

perfect deteftation by the common people; yet the moment they faw this object of their hatred in the character of a poor condemned man, about to fuffer for his crimes, all their animofity ceafed; no rancour was difplayed, nor the leaft infult offered, which could difturb him in his laft moments. They viewed him with the eyes of pity and forgiveness, and joined, with earnestness, in prayers for his future welfare.

The manner in which this man was put to death was, no doubt, uncommonly mild, when compared with the atrocity of his guilt; yet I am convinced, that the folemn circumftances which accompanied his execution, made a greater imprefilion on the minds of the populace, and would as effectually deter them from the crimes for which he was condemned, as if he had been broken alive on the wheel, and the execution performed in a lefs folemn manner.

Convinced as I am that all horrid and refined cruelty in the execution of criminals

nals is, at beft, unnecessary, I never heard of any thing of that nature without horror and indignation. Other methods, no way connected with the fufferings of the prifoner, equally deter from the crime, and, in all other respects, have a better influence on the minds of the multitude. The proceffion defcribed above, I plainly perceived, made a very deep impression. I thought I faw more people affected by it than I have formerly observed among a much greater crowd, who were gathered to fee a dozen or fourteen of their fellowcreatures dragged to the fame death for houfe-breaking and highway robbery, mere venial offences, in comparison of what this Italian had perpetrated. The attendance of the Capucins, the crucifixes, the Society of Mifericordia, the ceremony of confeffion, all have a tendency to firike the mind with awe, and keep up the belief of a future state; and when the multitude behold fo many people employed, and fo much pains taken, to fave the foul of one

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of the most worthless of mankind, they must think, that the faving of a foul is a matter of great importance, and therefore naturally infer, that the fooner they begin to take care of their own, the better. But when criminals are carried to execution with little or no folemnity, amidst the shouts of an unconcerned rabble, who applaud them in proportion to the degree of indifference and impenitence they difplay, and confider the whole fcene as a fource of amusement; how can such exhibitions make any useful impreffion, or terrify the thoughtless and desperate from any wicked propenfity? If there is a country in which great numbers of young inconfiderate creatures are, fix or eight times every year, carried to execution in this tumultuous, unaffecting manner, might not a firanger conclude, that the view of the legislature was to cut off guilty individuals in the leaft alarming way poffible, that others might not be deterred from following their example?

# LETTER XLV.

### Rome.

THOSE who have a real pleafure in contemplating the remains of antique, and the nobleft fpecimens of modern architecture, who are ftruck with the inimitable delicacy and expression of Greek sculpture, and wish to compare it with the most fuccessful efforts of the moderns, and who have an unwearied admiration of the charms of painting, may, provided they have not more important avocations elfewhere, employ a full year with fatisfaction in this city.

What is called a regular courfe with an Antiquarian, generally takes up about fix weeks; employing three hours a-day, you may, in that time, vifit all the churches, palaces, villas, and ruins, worth feeing, in or near Rome. But after having made this I i 4 courfe

courfe, however diffinctly every thing may have been explained by the Antiquarian, if you do not vifit the moft interefting again and again, and reflect on them at more leifure, your labour will be of little ufe; for the objects are fo various, and thofe you fee on one day, fo apt to be effaced by, or confounded with, thofe you behold on another, that you muft carry away a very faint and indiffinct recollection of any. Many travellers have experienced the truth of this obfervation.

One young English gentleman, who happens not to be violently fmitten with the charms of virtù, and scorns to affect what he does not feel, thought that two or three hours a-day, for a month or fix weeks together, was rather too much time to beflow on a pursuit in which he felt no pleafure, and faw very little utility. The only advantage which, in his opinion, the greater part of us reaped from our fix weeks tour, was, that we could fay, we had 2

feen a great many fine things which he had not feen. This was a fuperiority which he could not brook, and which he refolved we fhould not long enjoy. Being fully convinced, that the business might be, with a little exertion, difpatched in a very short space of time, he prevailed on a proper perfon to attend him; ordered a post-chaife and four horfes to be ready early in the morning, and driving through churches, palaces, villas, and ruins, with all poffible expedition, he fairly faw, in two days, all that we had beheld during our crawling course of fix weeks. I found afterwards, by the lift he kept of what he had feen, that we had not the advantage of him in a fingle picture, or the moft mutilated remnant of a statue.

I do not propole this young gentleman's plan, as the very beft poffible; but of this I am certain, that he can give as fatisfactory an account of the curiofities of Rome, as fome people of my acquaintance who viewed

# 490 VIEW OF SOCIETY AND viewed them with *equal* fenfibility, and at 2 great deal more leifure.

Those travellers who cannot remain a confiderable time at Rome, would do well to get a judicious lift of the most interesting objects in architecture, fculpture, and painting, that are to be feen here; they ought to vifit these frequently, and these only, by which means they will acquire a ftrong and diffinct impreffion of what they fee; inftead of that transient and confused idea which a vaft number of things, viewed fuperficially, and in a hurry, leave in the mind. After they have examined, with due attention, the most magnificent and best preferved remains of ancient architecture, very few have fatisfaction in viewing a parcel of old bricks, which, they are told, formed the foundation of the baths of fome of the Emperors. And there are not many who would regret their not having feen great numbers of flatues and pictures of inferior merit, when they had beheld all that

that are univerfally effeemed the beft. Would it not be highly judicious, therefore, in the greatest number of travellers, without abridging the usual time of the courfe, to make it much less comprehensive?

Befides churches, there are about thirty palaces in Rome, as full of pictures as the walls can bear. The Borghefe Palace alone is faid to contain above fixteen hundred, all original. There are alfo ten or twelve villas in the neighbourhood of this city, which are usually visited by ftrangers. You may judge from this, what a tafk they undertake, who refolve to go through the whole; and what kind of an idea they are likely to carry away, who perform this talk during a ftay of a few months. Of the villas, the Pineiana, which belongs to the Borghefe family, is the most remarkable. I shall confine myself to a few curfory remarks on fome of the most efteemed curiofities it contains. The Hermaphrodite

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maphrodite, of which you have feen fo many prints and models, is accounted by many, one of the finest pieces of sculpture in the world. The mattrefs, upon which this fine figure reclines, is the work of the Cavalier Bernini, and nothing can be more admirably executed. Some critics fay, he has performed his tafk too well, becaufe the admiration of the spectator is divided between the statue and the mattrefs. This, however, ought not to be imputed as a fault to that great artift; fince he condescended to make it all, it was his businefs to make it as perfect as poffible. I have heard of an artist at Versailles, in a different line, who attempted fomething of the fame nature; he had exerted all his abilities in making a periwig for a celebrated preacher, who was to preach on a particular occasion before the court; and he imagined he had fucceeded to a miracle. " I'll be hanged," faid he to one of his companions, " if his Majefty, or any man " of

MANNERS IN ITALY. 493 66 of tafte, will pay much attention to the 66 fermon to-day."

Among the antiques, there is a Centaur in marble, with a Cupid mounted on his back. The latter has the ceftus of Venus, and the ivy crown of Bachus, in allufion to beauty and wine; he beats the Centaur with his fift, and feems to kick with violence to drive him along. The Centaur throws back his head and eyes with a look of remorfe, as if he were unwilling, though forced, to proceed. . The execution of this. group, is admired by those who look upon it merely as a jeu d'esprit; but it acquires additional merit, when confidered as allegorical of men who are hurried on by the violence of their paffions, and lament their own weaknefs, while they find themfelves unable to refift.

There is another figure which claims attention, more on account of the allegory than the fculpture. This is a fmall flatue of Venus Cloacina, trampling on an impregnated

nated uterus, and tearing the wings of Cupid. The allegory indicates, that proftitution is equally deftructive of generation and love. Keyfler mentioning this, calls it a ftatue of Venus, lamenting her rafhnefs in clipping Cupid's wings.

The flatue called Zingara, or the Fortune-teller, is antique, all but the head, which is Bernini's; the face has a firong expression of that fly shrewdness, which belongs to those whose trade it is to impose on the credulity of the vulgar; with a great look of some modern gypsies I have seen, who have imposed most egregiously on the felf-love and credulity of the great.

Seneca dying in the Bath, in touchftone; round his middle is a girdle of yellow marble; he ftands in a bafon of blueith marble lined with porphyry; his knees feem to bend under him, from weaknefs; his features denote faintnefs, languor, and the approach of death; the eyes are enamelled, which gives the countenance a fierce

fierce and difagreeable look. Colouring the eyes always has a bad effect in fculpture; they form too violent a contraft with the other features, which remain of the natural colour of the marble. When the eyes are enamelled, it is requifite that all the face fhould be painted, to produce the agreeable harmony of life.

The Faun dandling an infant Bacchus, is one of the gayeft figures that can be imagined.

In this Villa, there are alfo fome highly effecemed pieces by Bernini. Æneas carrying his father; David flinging the flone at Goliah; and Apollo purfuing Daphne: the laft is generally reckoned Bernini's mafterpiece; for my part, I have fo bad a tafte as to prefer the fecond. The figure of David is nervous, with great anatomical juftnefs, and a ftrong expreffion of keennefs and exertion to hit his mark, and kill his enemy; but the countenance of David wants dignity. An antique artift, perhaps, could

could not have given more ardour, but he would have given more noblenefs to the features of David. Some may fay, that as he was but a shepherd, it was proper he should have the look of a clown; but it ought to be remembered, that David was a very extraordinary man; and if the artift who formed the Belvedere Apollo, or if Agafias the Ephefian, had treated the fame fubject, I imagine they would have rendered their work more interefting, by blending the noble air of an hero with the fimple appearance of a shepherd. The figures of Apollo and Daphne err in a different manner. The face and figure of Apollo are deficient in fimplicity; the noble fimplicity of the best antique statues: he runs with affected graces, and his aftonishment at the beginning transformation of his mistrefs is not, in my opinion, naturally expressed, but feems rather the exaggerated aftonifhment of an actor. The form and shape of Daphne are delicately executed; but in her face, beauty is, in some degree, facrificed to

to the expression of terror; her features are too much difforted by fear. An antique artift would have made her lefs afraid, that fhe might have been more beautiful. In expreffing terror, pain, and other impreffions, there is a point where the beauty of the finest countenance ends, and deformity begins. I am indebted to Mr. Lock for this observation. In some conversations I had with him at Cologny, on the fubject of Sculpture, that gentleman remarked, that it was in the skilful and temperate exertion of her powers, in this nobleft province of the art, expression, that ancient fculpture fo much excelled the modern. She knew its limits, and had afcertained them with precision. As far as expression would go hand in hand with grace and beauty, in fubjects intended to excite fympathy, fhe indulged her chifel; but where agony threatened to induce diffortion, and obliterate beauty, she wifely set bounds to imitation, remembering, that though it may be moral to pity ugliness in diffres, VOL. I. Kk it

it is more natural to pity beauty in the fame fituation; and that her business was not to give the ftrongest representation of nature. but the reprefentation which would intereft us most. That ingenious gentleman, I remember, obferved at the fame time, that the Greek artifts have been accufed of having facrificed character too much to technical proportion. He continued to observe. that what is ufually called character in a face, is probably excefs in fome of its parts, and particularly of those which are under the influence of the mind, the leading paffion of which marks fome feature for its own. A perfectly fymmetrical face bearsno mark of the influence of either the palfions or the understanding, and reminds you of Prometheus's clay without his fire. On the other hand, the moderns, by facrificing too liberally those technical proportions, which, when religiously observed, produce beauty, to expression, have generally loft the very point which they contended for. They feemed to think, that when

when a paffion was to be expressed, it could not be expressed too ftrongly; and that fympathy always followed in an exact proportion with the ftrength of the paffion, and the force of its expression. But paffions, in their extreme, instead of producing fympathy, generally excite feelings diametrically opposite. A vehement and clamorous demand of pity is received with neglect, and fometimes with difguft; whilft a patient and filent acquiescence under the preffure of mental affliction, or fevere bodily pain, finds every heart upon an unifon with its fufferings. The ancients knew to what extent expression may be carried, with good effect. The author of the famous Laocoon, in the Vatican, knew where to ftop, and if the figure had been alone, it would have been perfect; there is exquifite anguish in the countenance, but it is borne in filence, and without diffortion of features. Puget thought he could go beyond the author of Laocoon; he gave voice to his Milo; he made him roaring with pain, Kk 2 and

and loft the fympathy of the fpectator. In confirmation of this doctrine, Mr. Lock defired, that when I fhould arrive at Rome, I would examine, with attention, the celebrated statue of Niobe, in the Villa de Medici. I have done fo again and again, and find his remarks most firikingly juft. The author of the Niebe has had the judgment not to exhibit all the diffrefs which he might have placed in her countenance. This confummate artift was afraid of diffurbing her features too much, knowing full-well, that the point where he was to expect the most fympathy was there, where diffrefs co-operated with beauty, and where our pity met our love. Had he fought it one step farther, in expression, he had lost it. It is unjust, you will fay, that men fhould not fympathife with homely women in diftrefs, in the fame degree as they do with the beautiful. That is very true; but it is the bufinefs of the fculptor to apply his art to men as he finds them, not as they ought to be. Befide, this principle has

has full force, and is firicily true, only in fculpture and painting. For, in real life, a woman may engage a man's effect and affections by a thousand fine qualities, and a thousand endearing ties, though she is entirely deficient in beauty.

This Villa is also enriched by one of the most animated statues in the world, and which, in the opinion of many men of tafte, comes nearest, and in the judgment of fome, equals the Apollo of the Vatican. I mean the statue of the fighting Gladiator. It is difficult, however, to compare two pieces whofe merits are fo different. The Apollo is full of grace, majefty, and confcious fuperiority; he has fhot his arrow, and knows its fuccefs. There is, indeed, a firong expression of indignation, which opens his lips, diftends his noftrils, and contracts his brows; but it is the indignation of a fuperior being, who punifhes while he fcorns the efforts of his enemy. The Gladiator, on the contrary, full of fire Kk 3 and

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and youthful courage, oppofes an enemy that he does not fear; but whom, it is evident, he thinks worthy of his utmoft exertion; every limb, nerve, and finew, is in action; his ardent features indicate the ftrongest defire, the highest expectation, but not a perfect fecurity of victory. His shape is elegant as well as nervous, expressive of agility as well as ftrength, and equally diftant from the brawny ftrength of the Farnefian Hercules, and the effeminate foftnefs of the Belvedere Antinous. The action is transitive (if the term may be fo used), and preparatory only to another disposition of body and limbs, which are to enable him to ftrike, and which he cannot do in his prefent polition; for the moment his right arm croffed the perpendicular line of his right leg, the whole figure would be out of its centre. His action seems a combination of the defensive and offensive ; defenfive in the present moment, the left arm being advanced to fecure the adverfary's blow;

blow; and preparing for offence in the next, the left leg already taking its fpring to advance in order to give the figure a centre, which may enable it to ftrike, without rifk of falling, if the blow fhould not take place. The action of the right arm, however, will always remain in fome degree problematical, the ancient being loft; by whom the modern arm is reftored, I never heard.

Though this fine figure generally goes by the name of the fighting Gladiator, fome antiquarians cannot allow, that ever it was intended to reprefent a perfon of that profeffion, but a Victor at the Olympic games; and allege, that Agafias of Ephefus, the fculptor's name, being inferibed upon the pedeftal, fupports their opinion, becaufe the Greeks never ufed gladiators. But I fear this argument has little weight; for the Greek flaves at Rome put their name to their work; and the free Greek artifts, working in Greece, in public works, K k 4 found

found difficulty in obtaining the fame indulgence. Those who wish to refeue this flatue from the ignoble condition of a common Gladiator, fay further, that he looks up as if his adversary were on horseback, adding, that gladiators never fought on foot against horsemen on the Arena. Here again, I am afraid, they are mistaken. He looks no higher than the eye of an enemy on foot; the head must have a much greater degree of elevation to look up to the eye of an horseman, which is the part of your adversary which you always fix.

Some learned gentlemen, not fatisfied that this flatue fhould be thrown indiferiminately among Gladiators and Victors of the Olympic games, have given it a particular and lafting character; they roundly affert, that it is the identical flatue, made by order of the Athenian State, in honour of their countryman Chabrias; and that it is precifely in the attitude which, according to Cornelius Nepos, that hero affumed, when

when he repulfed the army of Agefilaus. This idea is in the true fpirit of an antiquary.

If, upon turning to that author, you remain unconvinced, and are interefted in the honour of the flatue, I can furnifh you with no prefumptive proof of its original dignity, except, that the character of the face is noble and haughty, unlike that of a flave and mercenary Gladiator. And there is no rope around the neck, as the Gladiator Moriens has, whom that circumflance fufficiently indicates to have been in that unfortunate fituation.

# LETTER XLVI.

### Rome.

Few days fince I went to call on an artift of my acquaintance. I met, coming out of his door, an old woman, and a very handfome girl, remarkably well shaped. I rallied him a little on the fubject of his visitors, and his good fortune in being attended in a morning by the prettieft girl I had feen fince I came to Rome. " I think " myfelf fortunate," faid he, " in having " found a girl fo perfectly well made, who " allows me to fludy her charms without " reftraint, and at a reasonable price; but " I affure you, I can boaft of no 'other kind " of good fortune with her." " I am con-" vinced," rejoined I, " that you take great " pleafure in your fludies, and there can be " no doubt that you have made a very de-" firable progrefs." " Of that you shall be " the judge," replied he, leading me into another

another room, where I faw a full length painting of the girl, in the character of Venus, and in the ufual drefs of that goddefs. "There," faid he, " is the only " effect my studies have had hitherto, and " I begin to fuspect that they will never " produce any thing more nearly connect-" ed with the original." He then informed me, that the old woman I had feen was the girl's mother, who never failed to accompany her daughter, when the came as a model to him; that the father was a tradefman, with a numerous family, who thought this the most innocent use that his daughter's beauty could be put to, till fhe should get a husband; and to prevent, its being put to any other, his wife always accompanied her. " I have drawn her as " Venus," added he; " but, for any thing " I know to the contrary, I fhould have ap-" proached nearer to her real character if I " had painted her as Diana. She comes " here merely in obedience to her parents, # and gains her bread as innocently as if " the

" fhe were knitting purfes in a convent " from morning to night, without feeing " the face of a man."

"However innocent all this may be," faid I, "there is fomething at which the mind revolts, in a mother's being prefent when her daughter acts a part which, if not criminal, is, at leaft, highly indelicate."

"To be fure," replied the painter, "the woman has not quite fo much delicacy as to flarve, rather than let her daughter fland as a model; yet fhe feems to have attention to the girl's chaftity, too."

"Chaftity !" anfwered I, "why this would fhock an *Englifb* woman more than any thing which could be proposed to her. Every other kind of liberty must have been previously taken with her. She must be a complete proftitute in every fense of the word, before the could be brought to fubmit to appear in this manner."

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" Your observation is true," replied he ; " but it does not prove that those who fub-" mit to this, to prevent their becoming " proftitutes, do not judge better than those " who become proftitutes, and then fubmit " to this. In different countries," continued he, " people think very differently on " fubjects of this kind. The parents of " this girl, to my knowledge, have refused " confiderable offers from men of fortune, " to be allowed the privilege of vifiting her. "They are fo very careful of preventing " every thing of that nature, that fhe actu-" ally lies in the fame bed with them " both, which is another piece of indelicacy " not uncommon among the lower people " in Italy. These parents have the more " merit in refufing fuch offers, as their act-" ing otherwife would by no means be " thought extraordinary; nor would it raife " the fame degree of indignation here as in " fome other countries of Europe. Breach " of chaftity, in females of low rank, is not " confidered here in the fame heinous light " that 6

" that it is in fome parts of Germany and " Great Britain; where it is deemed a crime " of fuch magnitude, as to require expia-" tion, by a public rebuke from the parfon " in the middle of the church. I have " heard of a clergyman in the North, who " had occasion to rebuke a young woman " for having borne a child before marriage. " The accomplice in her guilt had married " her immediately after her recovery; but " this did not abate the parfon's indigna-" tion against the wickedness they had pre-" vioufly committed. Magdalen," faid he, with an aweful tone of voice, to the woman, " you fland before this congregation " to be rebuked for the barbarous and un-" natural crime of fornication."

"The reverend clergyman, faid I, in all "probability intended to terrify his pa-"rifhioners from fuch irregularities; and "for this purpofe imagined there would be "no harm in putting them in the moft "odious point of view." "This is attend-" ed,

"ed, however, by one dreadful confe-"quence," replied the artift, "that thefe "unhappy creatures, to conceal a fault of "which fuch a horrible idea is given, and "to prevent the fhame of a public expofition in the church, are fometimes tempted to commit a crime which is in reality barbarous, and unnatural in the higheft "degree."

"There is nothing," continued he, "which has a greater tendency to ren-"der any fet of people worthlefs, than the "idea that they are already confidered as "fuch. The women all over Great Bri-"tain, who live in an open and avowed "breach of chaftity, are generally more "daringly wicked, and devoid of principle, "than the Italian women who take the "fame liberties."

"Would you then," faid I, " have women of that kind more refpected in Great Britain, in hopes that it might, in time, make them more refpectable?" "I exprefs

"I express no defire on the subject," replied he. " I was only going to remark, " that, in avoiding one inconveniency, " mankind often fall into another; and that " we are too apt to cenfure and ridicule cuf-" toms and opinions different from those " which prevail in our own country, with-" out having fufficiently confidered all their " immediate and remote effects. I did not " intend to decide, whether the indulgence " with which women of a certain class are " viewed in Italy, or the ignominy with " which they are treated in Great Britain, " has, upon the whole, the best effect in " fociety. But I have observed, that the " public courtezans in England often be-" come quite abandoned, and forget all fense " of gratitude or affection, even to their pa-" rents. But in Italy, women who never " put any value on the virtue of chaftity, " those who fell their favours for money, " difplay a goodnefs of character in other " refpects, and continue their duty and at-" tachment to their parents as long as they " live.

" live. Foreigners who form a connection " with a girl in this country, find them-" felves very often obliged to maintain the " father, mother, and whole family to " which fhe belongs. The lover generally " confiders this as a very troublefome cir-" cumftance, and endeavours to infpire his " Italian miftrefs with that total neglect of " her family which prevails among women " of her ftamp in other countries; but he " very feldom fucceeds. An Italian woman " is unwilling to quit her native city and " her family, even for a man fhe loves; " and feldom does, till he makes fome pro-" vifion for her neareft relations."

"You feem to have a very great affection for the Italian ladies; and, as far as I can perceive," faid I, "your paffion is univerfal to the whole clafs in queffion; but you have faid nothing to the effential article of religion. It is to be hoped, they do not allow the duties of their profeffion to make them neglect their fouls." Vol. I, L 1 "I fee,"

" I fee," replied the painter, " you are " difpofed to laugh at all I have faid in " their favour; but in answer to your " question, I will fairly own, that their re-" ligious, or, if you pleafe, we shall rather " call them their fuperflitious, fentiments, " feem to be no way influenced by their " profession; nor are the duties of their " profession in any degree affected by these " fentiments. They attend mafs, and the " ceremonies of devotion, with as much " punctuality as if their lives were regular " in all other refpects; and they pass their " lives, in other respects, as if they had " never heard of any religious system but " that of Epicurus. In fome countries of " Europe, women of their ftamp often de-" fpife every appearance of decency, affume " the difgufting depravity of male debau-" chees, with all the airs of affected in-" fidelity, and real profligacy; but here " they always remember they are women; " and, after they have loft the most valued " and brighteft ornament of their fex, " ftill

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MANNERS IN ITALY. 515 "fill endeavour to retain fome of the "others."

" After all you have faid in their fa-" vour," faid I, " their condition is cer-" tainly not to be envied. If, therefore, " you have any regard for your young " Venus, you will do well to leave her under " the care of her mother, and never en-" deavour to introduce her into the com-" munity whofe eulogium you have been " making."

When I returned from the houfe of this artift, I found Mr. — waiting for me at our lodgings. He has of late paid his court very affiduoufly to a lady of high rank in this place : fhe is diftinguifhed, even here, for a punctilious obfervance of all the ceremonies appointed by the church, and could not eat meat on a meagre-day, or deviate from the canonical regulations in any point of equal importance, without remorfe; but in matters of gallantry, fhe has the reputation of being infinitely more liberal, both

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in her fentiments and practice. She has been for fome time provided with a very able and respectable lover, of her own country. This did not make her blind to the good qualities of Mr. ----, with whom she formed a very intimate connection, foon after his arrival here; not that fhe prefers him to her other lover, but merely from a ftrong fenfe of the truth and beauty of his arithmetical axiom-one and one make two. The new arrangement with our countryman, however pleafing to the lady, gave offence to her Father Confessor. The fcrupulous ecclesiaftic was of opinion, that a connection of this nature with a heretic was more criminal than with a man of her own communion. Mr. ---- was just come from the lady to our lodgings; he had found her in worfe humour than he had ever observed before, though her temper is not the mildest in the world. Mr. ---entered as the Confessor went out; she shut the door after him with a violence which shook the whole house, muttering, as she returned

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returned to her feat, Che ti possino Cascar le braccia Vecchio Dondolone. Mr. ---- expreffed his concern on feeing her fo much agitated. " No wonder," faid fhe, " that " ftubborn Animalaccio who is just gone "out, has had the infolence to refuse " me abfolution. As I expected you this " morning, I fent for him betimes, that " the matter might have been expedited " before you fhould come; but here I have " been above an hour endeavouring to per-" fuade him, but all to no purpofe; nothing " I could fay was able to mollify the ob-"finate old greafy rafcal." Mr. ----joined in abusing the Confessor's perversenefs, hinting, at the fame time, that fhe ought to defpise it as a matter of little importance; that fhe was fure of receiving abfolution fooner or later; and, whenever it happened, all the transactions of the interval would be comprehended within that act of grace. Upon the firength of this reasoning, Mr. ---- was proceeding to fulfil the purpose of his visit with as much alacrity

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alacrity as if the moft complete difcharge had been granted for all proceedings— "*Pian Piano Idol mio*," cried the lady, "*bifogn.1 rimetterfi alla voluntà di Dio*." She then told her lover, that although fhe defpifed the Confeffor as much as he could do, yet fhe muft take care of her own foul; that not having fettled her accounts with heaven for a confiderable time, fhe was determined not to begin a new fcore till the old thould be cleared; adding, for her principal reafon, *Patto chiaro, amico caro.* 

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



