

contrived to turn the finest materials to the most insignificant purposes, and provoke criticism where admiration might have been commanded. Unfortunately, the most fantastical fashions have generally had the greatest run, and of all the modern architects few have had more employment than the absurd Borromini\*. This man seems to have laid it down as a rule, that a strait line is a mark of deformity, and of course that the grand study of an architect is to avoid it upon all occasions. Hence cornices for ever broken and interrupted, angles and curves in succession, niches, twisted pillars, inverted capitals, and all the freaks of a delirious imagination, playing with the principles and materials of architecture. It is easier to imitate extravagance than simplicity; it has followed therefore that while the plainer, nobler, and more graceful models of Bramante and Palladio have been often neglected, the absurd deformities of Borromini have been very generally copied, and after having infected the source of taste Rome itself, have spread over Italy, Spain, and indeed almost every region of the world.

From the contemplation of this evil, which has disfigured some of the noblest edifices and squandered away the richest materials for near three centuries, we will now turn to the consideration of the progress of the art at Rome, and follow it in its different stages. For this purpose we may divide the history of Roman architecture into five eras, the boundaries of which are strongly marked. The first commences with the kings, includes the infancy of the republic, and may be considered as extending to the destruction of the city by the Gauls. The ar-

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\* Borromini was born in the year 1597, and died 1667.

chitecture of this period was entirely Etruscan, and its characteristic qualities were solidity and grandeur, in both which features it resembled the Egyptian, with more graceful but less gigantic forms. The principal edifices of this age were constructed by the kings, and prove that the foundations of Roman taste and Roman greatness were laid at the same time. Of these early monuments that seem formed for eternal duration, the principal, the Cloaca Maxima, still remains, and some massy traces of the foundations of the Capitol laid by Tarquinius Superbus, may be seen under the palace of the Senator. It is to be observed, that these edifices were all of public utility or rather necessity, and that their magnificence was the result and not the object of their destination.

The second era commences with the restoration of the city, and extends to the fall of the commonwealth. Public utility was still the object, and grandeur still accompanied the progress of the art. The celebrated roads, and more celebrated aqueducts, were its first productions, and even now continue its noblest monuments. A few tombs simple and solid, such as that of Caius Publicius erected at the public expense, and that of the Scipios lately discovered, with a few temples now disfigured, such in particular as that of Fortuna Virilis, attest the same manly taste though on a smaller scale.

Towards the termination of this period the public temper, influenced by the luxuries and opulence of Asia then flowing in full tide into the Republic, seemed to demand more splendor and ornament, and was gradually prepared for the magnificence and glory of the imperial era, which opened with the reign of Augustus. As this prince retained himself and encouraged in

others the simplicity of republican manners, so like his father Julius Cæsar, and the other great popular leaders before him, he was content to inhabit a plain unadorned mansion, while he displayed all his riches and munificence in edifices devoted to public use\*. Nero was the first who ventured to expend the public treasures in the erection of an imperial residence, and built that celebrated palace of which Pliny † relates some wonderful particulars, and which from the gold that shone in such profusion on every side was called *Domus Aurea*‡. His example, however, was deemed opposite to the civic character affected by the earlier Emperors, who, as Tacitus judiciously observes, satisfied with the reality avoided the parade of power. Hence Vespasian ordered the *Domus Aurea* to be destroyed, and he and his immediate successors, Titus and Domitian, erected on its site, various edifices of less cost perhaps, but

\* Suet. Oct. 72.

† Lib. xxxvi.

‡ Suet. Nero. 31.

The latter gives some curious details of this enormous edifice. In the vestibule stood a colossal statue of Nero, one hundred and twenty feet in height: there were three porticos, each a mile in length, and supported by three rows of pillars; the garden seems to have resembled a park, and contained an immense piece of water, woods, vineyards, and pasture ground, herds, and even wild beasts. On the banks of the lake rose various edifices that resembled towns. In the palace itself the rooms were lined with gold, gems, and mother of pearl. The ceilings of the dining-rooms were adorned with ivory pannels, so contrived as to scatter flowers, and shower perfumes on the guests. The principal banquetting room revolved upon itself, representing the motions of the heavens; the baths were supplied with salt water from the sea, and mineral water from the *Albula* (now *Solfiorata*) near *Tibur*.

equal magnificence and greater utility—such as the temple of Peace, the *Thermæ* called by the name of Titus, and the Flavian amphitheatre or *Coliscum*, &c. Forums, porticos, *thermæ*, triumphal arches, and mausoleums, still continued the favorite objects of imperial pride and expense, and Rome daily increased in beauty for the space of three hundred years, till the empire was divided under Diocletian, when the seat of the sovereign was translated to the East, and the capital of the world abandoned to hostile attacks and rapacity.

However, its decay was slow and gradual. The solidity of its edifices guarded it against the sudden devastations of time or weather, while the barbarian was often checked in the full career of victory, and awed into reluctant reverence by the irresistible majesty that still encompassed the Imperial City.

The most remarkable edifices erected during this long era, first of declining taste, and then of barbarism, were the churches, the principal of which were raised by Constantine, and the Christian Emperors, on the model and oftentimes with the very materials of the ancient Basilicæ. Of these some still remain, and display in their different appearances, strong features of the greatness of manner that still survived, and the bad taste that too much prevailed in their respective ages. One of the most striking peculiarities of these edifices is the construction of arches over the pillars instead of a regular entablature, a deformity introduced a little before or during the reign of Diocletian, and adopted or rather imitated in our modern arcades.

All the buildings that rose successively on the ruins of the ancient city, so long the sepulchre of Taste and Beauty, from



the fifth to the fifteenth century, were formed indeed of costly materials, but these materials were heaped together with little regard to order, proportion and symmetry. At length a happier period succeeded, the arts and sciences smiled once more upon their ancient seat, and architects of high name and reputation succeeded each other—their exertions were called forth and rewarded by the authority and munificence of Pontiffs—they had sites formed by nature before them, and every material ready prepared at hand. In such circumstances, and with such models as Rome presents on every side, who would not have expected to see architecture carried to its highest perfection, and even the ideal fair and beautiful, so long conceived in theory, at length realized in practice? But such was not the event. Architects imagined that with so many advantages it would be mean to copy, and easy to surpass antiquity. They sought in the luxuriancy of an irregular imagination forms more fair, combinations more majestic, and even proportions more beautiful than the ancient world had beheld. They all made the attempt and have all failed, and by their failure have proved that in the same proportion as we follow or abandon the ancients, we approach or deviate from perfection.

It must be acknowledged however, notwithstanding the censure which I have ventured to pass upon modern architecture, that it has produced edifices splendid, rich, and magnificent, with all their defects inferior only to the models of antiquity, and still sufficiently great and numerous to render Rome the first of cities. The grandeur that results from these modern structures, combined with the majesty of the ancient monu-

ments, induced a French writer\* to observe, that Rome is a map of the world in relievō, presenting to the eye the united wonders of Asia, of Egypt, and of Greece; of the Roman, Macedonian, and Persian empires; of the world ancient and modern†. But the glory of man, although consigned to marble and bronze, is doomed to perish; even those noble features which it was believed would bloom for ever and confer immortal beauty on the city fondly entitled *Eternal*, have, each in its season, flourished and faded away.

Of the five eras of architecture, four have already departed, and left vast and often shapeless heaps of ruin to mark the spot where their lofty structures once rose: the fifth age is on the decline; some of its proudest palaces are deserted, and not a few of its noblest temples already forsaken and neglected. A century or two will probably strew the seven hills with its splendid embellishments, and the future traveller may have to admire and to deplore the ruins of the Medicean as of

\* Montaigne.

† This compliment is nearly copied from Propertius—

Omnia Romanæ cedent miracula terræ  
 Natura hic posuit quidquid ubique fuit.  
 Armis apta magis tellus, quam commoda noxæ.  
 Famam, Roma, tuæ non pudet historiæ.

*Lib. III. Eleg. 22.*

Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and some other imperial monsters, nearly deprived Rome of the eulogium contained in the two last verses.

the Augustan age, the fragments of pontifical as of imperial grandeur\*.

## OBSERVATIONS.

The contemplation of the ancient monuments, and the study of Vitruvius, had first excited attention and then, awakened a spirit of emulation. Bramante and Sangallo began the work of reformation with spirit, and at the same time with singular modesty, and a well-founded apprehension of the danger of forsaking the traces of antiquity. Peruzzi and Raffaello pursued the work with equal intelligence but more boldness. The principles of Vitruvius were reduced into a system, and adapted to modern edifices by Palladio. So far there was

\* The *Villa Medici*, *Villa Sacchetti*, &c. in ruins; *Villa Medici*, *Palazzo Farnese*, *Palazzo Giustiniani*, &c. &c. uninhabited, unfurnished, almost abandoned.

Vos operum strætæ moles, collesque superbi  
 Queis modo nunc Romæ nomen inane manet  
 Vosque triumphales arcus, cæteroque colossi  
 Æquati, Pariis cæsa columna jugis :  
 Edita Pyramidum fastigia, templa deorum  
 Digna vel æthereis amphitheatra locis :  
 Vos ævi tandem attrivit longinqua vetustas !  
 Vos longa tandem fata tulere die.  
 At Romæ Æneadum magnam et memorabile nomen  
 Tempus edax rerum tollere non potuit.  
 Nec poterit, donec clarî monumenta vigeant  
 Ingenjî, quæ non ulla senecta rapit.  
 Cætera l buntur tacito fugientia cursu  
 Calliope æternum vivere sola potest.

Bonamico. *op. Fab.*

much to praise, and little to criticise in the new system. But the genius of Michael Angelo, sublime, daring, and impatient of control, is accused of deviating from antiquity and of introducing innovations, which, copied and exaggerated by his followers, soon degenerated into defects, and became at length the bane of the art itself in the following century, when the check of his authority was removed, and the impulse only which he had given, remained. The defects of the style to which this great man is supposed to have given rise, and which Borromini finally carried to the very height of deformity and folly, are, principally the following:—1. Pillars that support nothing, that are coupled together and hid in niches and recesses.—2. The repetition of the same order on a different scale, or the introduction of another order in the same story or on the same plane.—3. The same order carried through different stories and the consequent confusion of proportions.—4. Multiplicity of pedestals and pilasters.—5. Prodigality of ornaments.—6. Breaks, interruption, or waving of the cornice.—7. Profusion of pediments, and pediments of various forms, such as curves, semicircles, arcs of circles, advancing, receding, &c.—8. Abuse of the rustic.—9. The introduction of low stories, called *Mezzanini*, and little windows between the principal stories.—10. The protuberance of columns in the shaft.—11. Multiplication of slips of columns and pilasters, with portions of capitals crowded together in the angles of edifices. Though many more might be mentioned, these are sufficient to give the reader an idea of the censure passed by the rigid admirers of antiquity on the modern style; and certain it is, that if greatness of manner consist in presenting few, and those essential parts to the eye, the more breaks, interruptions, and divisions there are,

the more the appearance of the whole must tend to littleness and deformity\*.

### THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT.

Of the Roman government the reader may expect some account, although ere these pages become public, that government may cease to exist; all that can be said of it at present is, that though despotic and above all control, it is exercised by the Pontiff with mildness and submitted to by the people with respect. The sacred character of the bishop influences both the sovereign and the subject. The love and reverence with which it inspires the latter may be useful; but its effects on the former are perhaps less beneficial, as the justice of the prince is often suspended, and sometimes defeated by the indulgence of the pastor. But of this inconvenience we ought not to complain; it is not now, nor ever was it, a common or characteristic defect of any government, and few sovereigns recorded in history are reproached with want of severity. The worst consequences of pure unmixed monarchy, the general indolence which it inspires, and the lethargy in which it involves all the powers of the mind, by excluding the nation from all share in the management of its own interests, are felt without doubt in the Roman terri-

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\* To enlarge upon this subject is the business of a professed architect, whose observation might easily enable him to fill an useful and entertaining volume on the subject. It is a pity that some gentleman of the profession, whose mind has been enlarged, and taste matured by travelling, does not undertake the work.

tory, but perhaps in a less degree than in other countries under the influence of the same perverted system. The government is elective; promotion depends in a great degree upon talents and virtues, and consequently there is a stimulus to exertion, and a scope for honorable ambition; moreover many salutary regulations have been made by the present Pontiff, and some vague reports have been circulated, and have excited an hope that he intends to establish a senate, and govern his states by their advice and with their concurrence. Such a step, the result of an enlightened policy, would contribute more to the prosperity of Rome and the independence and union of Italy, than all the edifices he can erect at home, and all the alliances he can contract abroad. But this report is probably the effusion of patriotism, or perhaps the modest expression of the public wish and opinion. But be it as it may, Rome is now under the iron sceptre of the French ruler: no change can take place without his approbation, and the amelioration of its government, most undoubtedly, forms no part of his system.

As for the origin of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes it may, without any reference to imperial donations real or imaginary, be most honorably and firmly established on the free consent of a grateful and admiring people\*. After the expulsion of the Goths, when the arms of the Eastern Emperors had reconquered but were incapable of protecting Italy, when the incursions and menaces of the Lombards kept the city in constant alarm, and pestilence and famine preyed upon it, the

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\* Gibbon.

Romans naturally turned their eyes to their bishops, and found in them the support which they had vainly solicited from their sovereigns. The Pontiffs had till that period been as eminent for their virtues as for their station, and when forced by public distress to take a considerable share in the administration of the state, they displayed a prudence equal to their sanctity, and a benevolence as extensive as the possessions of the Roman church, even when augmented by their own private fortunes\*. We see them in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries protecting Rome on one side against the attacks of the Lombards, and securing it on the other from the rapacity and treachery of the Exarchs, repairing its walls, feeding its inhabitants, engaging distant princes in its interests, and finally restoring the majesty of its name in the new empire. In fact, Rome seems to owe her existence to her Pontiffs, and had not the chair of St. Peter replaced the throne of the Cæsars, and the seat of empire become the sanctuary of religion, Rome would probably have sunk into a heap of uninhabited ruins, and left to posterity nothing more than the *whistling of a mighty name*.

From the re-establishment of the Western Empire to the tenth century the Popes employed their influence in opposing the growing power of the Saracens, and protecting the coasts of Italy and the Capital itself against the predatory incursions of those barbarians. Shortly after commenced their contests with the German Cæsars, contests which arose more perhaps from Roman pride and a rooted hatred to Transalpine, that is, in their

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\* If the reader wishes to know how great were the exertions, how extensive the charities, how active the patriotism of the Popes in the sixth and seventh centuries, he need only peruse the epistles of Gregory the Great.

eyes, barbarian domination, than from prelatical arrogance; the cause to which however they are very generally and very confidently attributed. That such arrogance existed is indeed sufficiently evident, and that it operated as a very active principle is equally clear; but it may be questioned whether the singular claims of universal dominion, advanced by Gregory VII. did not originate as much from the lofty spirit of the Roman as from the ambition of the Pontiff. Certain it is, that this extraordinary personage seemed better formed to fill the imperial throne than the pontifical chair, and that if he had been a prince only and not a bishop, he might, with such a daring and intrepid spirit, have restored the grandeur of the empire, and fixed its seat once more on the seven hills. But however we may censure the Popes as ecclesiastics in these bloody and destructive quarrels, as princes and as Romans they may perhaps challenge our indulgence if not approbation, as they struggled against foreign influence, and finally succeeded in freeing Italy from the yoke of a German, that is, a barbarian and absentee ruler. The disputes of the Popes with the barons and the Roman people were founded on the just opposition of a firm government, to the arrogance and tyranny of an aristocratic body on the one side, and to the licentiousness of a turbulent populace on the other; but Rome has just cause to deplore and condemn the folly and perversity of her pastors when they forsook her venerable walls, and instead of discharging in the Vatican the sublime duties of prince and pastor, submitted to while away their unprofitable days in voluntary exile, alternately the instruments and the victims of French intrigue and ambition.

Of all the disasters that befel Rome in the long series of



her eventful history, this, perhaps, was the most pernicious both in its immediate effects and distant consequences, and to it may be ascribed the degradation of some of the noblest monuments, the depopulation of the capital and its neighborhood, and the multiplicity of evils that anarchy and tyranny never fail to bring in their train. These evils continued to operate, as is natural in political as well as physical distempers, long after their efficient causes had ceased to exist; and the Popes, during many ages after their re-establishment in Rome, had to struggle with the restless and unbridled passions excited by the guilt or the folly of their absentee predecessors. Sixtus Quintus at length succeeded in the arduous undertaking, and after having broken the stubborn spirit of the barons, and tamed the people to submission, restored order, peace, and industry in the Roman states.

From this period Rome rapidly increased in prosperity, riches, and population, and became the seat of the arts and sciences, the centre of political negotiation, and not unfrequently, of courtly intrigue. Most of the succeeding Popes did not fail to take an active part in the public transaction of the times, sometimes indeed as mediators, a character well becoming the common Father of Christians, but too frequently as parties concerned, with a view to national interests or family aggrandizement. Their conduct in this respect, though little conformable to the principles of their profession, was however very advantageous to their territories, as it brought wealth to the inhabitants, and reflected lustre on a city, at the same time the metropolis of the christian world and the capital of an extensive and flourishing country.

The reformation produced at the time little or no diminution of the temporal greatness and consideration of the Popes; so little indeed that, in the century following that event, Rome seems to have enjoyed a splendor and prosperity not witnessed within her walls since the fall of the empire. In fact, a judicious historian has observed, that if Pyrrhus' ambassador could with propriety call the Roman senate in his time a congress of kings\*, a similar appellation might with equal veracity be applied to the modern senate of Rome the college of cardinals, during the seventeenth century. That assembly was, strictly speaking, then composed of princes, the sons, nephews, brothers, or uncles of the first sovereigns in Europe; men who not unfrequently, as statesmen and ministers, had held the reins of empire at home, or as ambassadors, represented their royal relatives abroad. They either generally resided or frequently assembled at Rome, not only to discharge their duties about the person of the Pontiff, but to support the interests of their respective courts; and in order to attain this object the more effectually, they displayed a splendor and magnificence nearly royal. The officers of their household were often nobles of high rank; their secretaries and chaplains were men of talents, and business; a long train of guards, servants, and retainers attended their persons when they appeared in public, and the blaze of the purple in itself so dazzling, was heightened by all the adventitious circumstances of birth, power, and opulence. The union of so many illustrious personages, vying with each other in talents and magnificence, gave Rome the appearance of an universal court,

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\* Denina *Rev. d'Ita.* l. **xxiii.** 12. or 4 vol. 317.

where all the sovereigns of Europe were assembled to discuss the general interests of Christendom, and display their rival glories in peace and security. Such indeed was its state under the Pontiffs of the Borghese, Barberini, and Panfili families, as it had been before under those of the Medicean and Farnesian houses; nor is it wonderful if at such periods of glory it should have recalled to the memory of the classic spectators the republican era, when Pompey and Cæsar, Crassus and Lucullus were seen to parade the streets and forum, surrounded by their friends and clients.

From this epoch the character of the Pontiffs became more episcopal and pacific; occupied with the government of the Catholic church over which they preside, and with the civil administration of their own territories sufficiently extensive to engross their utmost attention, they seem to have lost sight of foreign or at least, of *ultramontane* politics, and only interfered, as far as decency permitted or necessity required, their interposition. Their fondness for their families, a defect pardonable in an old man, has, where it may have existed, betrayed them perhaps into hasty promotions, but seldom engaged them as formerly, in ambitious and mischievous projects of aggrandizement. The arts and sciences have at all times, but particularly during the latter centuries, met with their special encouragement; and Rome, enlivened by their constant presence, embellished by their munificence, and fed by the produce of several extensive, populous, and well cultivated provinces, had gradually resumed her robes of glory, and began to promise herself once more the return of ease, dignity, and permanent prosperity. She had been great even in her fall, and venerable in her disasters. She had ceased to be the mistress of the world in arms,

but she still remained the mistress of the world in arts; she was no longer the capital but she was the metropolis of Europe, not the residence of the first sovereign but the see of the first pastor. She had not been subjected to slavery as Athens; she had not been reduced to a heap of shapeless ruins as Babylon. She still reigned, widowed, but independent; and still claimed and enjoyed the veneration of kings and nations. Without fleets or armies she reposed in fearless tranquillity: public reverence, more mighty than military power, covered her head with an invisible Ægis, guarded her frontiers, and secured her repose\*. Even the nations which had forsaken her communion, and in days of irritation had defied the thunders of her fulminating Pontiffs, now looked towards her with respect, and beheld with affection and reverence the benevolence, the sanctity, and the humility of her pastors†. Such was the state of Rome during the eighteenth century; a state happy in the present enjoyment of peace, plenty, and increasing improvement, and big with the hopes of future and accumulating prosperity. The French invasion closed the scene.

The reader may expect some account of the conduct of the republican army while in possession of Rome, and of the consequences of their invasion. On the first of these topics little need

\* Forti eserciti allor ti armaro; ed ora . . .

T'arma il rispetto.

*Felicia. Conz. xx.*

† A passage from a speech of Mr. Pitt may explain this observation. Alluding to the suppression of the papal government by the agents of Bonaparte, he says, *a transaction accompanied by outrages and insults towards the pious and venerable Pontiff, in spite of the sanctity of his age, and the unsullied purity of his character, which, even to a protestant, seem hardly short of the guilt of sacrilege.*—Speech of Mr. Pitt, Feb. 3, 1800.

be said ; the public papers have given various details, and where they are silent, there are accounts in every body's hands that make up the deficiency. From these we learn that the behaviour of the soldiery and subalterns was in general civil and orderly, but that of the generals and their immediate dependents in the highest degree insolent and rapacious. For this assertion we have the best authority, that of the army itself, expressed, first, in a representation to *Massena*, then commander, and next in an address to the citizens of Rome, published the 23d and 24th Feb. 1798.

With regard to the public plunder of the churches and pontifical palaces, as also of some private houses, many of the masterpieces in statuary and painting were sent to Paris, a valuable collection of gold medals dispersed, several inestimable manuscripts purloined, and without doubt much mischief done in every respect. But when the reader recollects that there are sixty thousand ancient statues in Rome, that of most of the masterpieces in painting that have been carried away, there are mosaic copies, superior in coloring and duration to the originals; nay, that the first of paintings, those which form the very school of the art itself, are imprest on the walls of the Vatican, and may indeed be disfigured but cannot be removed; and, in short, that the models of modern skill and the monuments of antiquity stand yet untouched, he will agree with me that so far the evil is neither very great nor irreparable. Rome is still the seat of the arts; and the painter, the sculptor, the architect, must frequent its schools, if they wish to attain perfection and aim at any reputation. I mean not to excuse, much less defend, the atrocious deed of the French government or the conduct of its generals. How

far such acts of plunder are justifiable even in a legitimate war, carried on according to the lenient maxims of modern times, I know not; but neither Louis XIV. nor Louis XV. thus pillaged the libraries, galleries, or churches of the Netherlands, notwithstanding the allurements which the works of Vandyke and Rubens held out to them, particularly at Brussels and Antwerp. Nor did Frederic of Prussia, though passionately fond of pictures, and not easily controlled by considerations of justice and humanity, take from the gallery of Dresden one painting, not even the *Notte* of Correggio, notwithstanding his enthusiastic admiration of that masterpiece. But the war which the French waged on Rome (I may add; on Venice, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, &c. &c.) was an unprovoked attack, a speculation of rapacity, an act of wanton violence, an abuse of confidence, and a cowardly stratagem, where every means had been employed first to deceive, and then overturn an unsuspecting and, as they themselves at their first entrance into Rome called it, a friendly government. In such a ruffian aggression, for it merits not the appellation of war, every subsequent deal of rapacity is a violation of the law of nations, and every life sacrificed to usurpation is a murder.

The example of the Romans has, I know, been adduced in justification or at least extenuation of this national felony. But, in the first place, the Romans did not take one statue from the Greeks during the first war, nor even the second, till the Etolians and their allies brought down upon themselves a reluctant and long-suspended chastisement. In the next place, this high-minded and generous people never by public authority compelled the Greeks to surrender the masterpieces that adorned their cities; they never entered as friends

and acted as enemies; they never employed cunning and intrigue, to deceive their enemies, but open declaration to caution them, and power and wisdom to subdue them. The destruction of *Corinth*\* was a signal act of vengeance justifiable by the laws of war as then admitted, but yet it was more the act of the General than of the Roman people, and not altogether sanctioned by the senate†. When the Romans became corrupt, their prætors and proconsuls were often personally unjust, but never was such pillage publicly authorized till the maxims of Roman justice were neglected, and the majesty of public rule was abused and turned into an instrument of tyranny by the Emperors. The French since the revolution have indeed

\* That very Mummius, who destroyed *Corinth*, rebuilt the temple of Jupiter on or near the site of that city, erected a brass statue to Jupiter at *Olympia*, and contributed very largely to the embellishment of the temple of Delphi. In fact, the Romans were so far from depriving the cities which fell under their power of their statues and public ornaments, that they even restored to the owners those which had been carried away. Thus when Scipio took and destroyed Carthage, he restored to the Sicilian cities the various articles, and particularly the statues and paintings, which the Carthaginians, a cruel pilfering people, had deprived them of. He extended this benefit not to Italy only, as that was just and natural, but even to Africa, and directed that every community should be allowed to resume all the articles of public property which it could identify.—*Liv. Supp.* LI. 50.

We find moreover, that so late as the era of Pliny, when Greece had felt not the resentment of Sylla only, but the madness of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, the different cities were in possession of several of the masterpieces which had distinguished them at an earlier period.—*Lab.* xxxiv. & xxxv.

† Cicero hints censure of this act of severity.—*De Off.* i. 11.

often compared themselves to the Romans, but the resemblance is only in vice; here they equal the original\*.

But to come to the consequences of the French invasion; the evil here is of very different, and indeed of very alarming magnitude. In the first place, they have separated the opulent city and territory of *Bologna*, and almost all the Adriatic coast from the Roman state, thus retrenching near one-half of its income and one-third of its population; a defalcation which must considerably affect the dignity and resources of the Capital, and consequently reduce the number of its inhabitants. In the next place, by the enormous contributions which they raised, they annihilated the credit, and swallowed up the income of the state, burthened the rich with debt, and deprived the poor of employment. The fall of public credit occasioned the ruin of the greater part of the hospitals, schools, and charitable establishments, which, generally speaking, derived their income from the apostolical exchequer. However the fertility of the soil, and the industry of the inhabitants, aided by the exertions of government, might perhaps repair even this evil; and it is said that Cardinal *Ruffo*, by an improved system of finance, the suppression of exemptions, and a more equal distribution of burthens, has already made a very considerable progress towards that desirable object.

But another and greater evil still remains. A secret and, it is much to be feared, a well-founded suspicion exists that the

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\* Nero, it is true, took five hundred statues from Greece in the course of his reign (fourteen years). The French took twice as many from Italy in one year.



French have other and, if possible, far more mischievous designs in contemplation than any they have hitherto attempted to execute; and so deep is the policy and so great the influence of the First Consul, that the success of his projects, whatever they may be, is scarcely problematical. In such circumstances, when the last years have been all calamity, and the future are all uncertainty, there can be no energy, no decision, and little dignity in public administration. To what purpose, it will be said, are ameliorations in a system not destined to last? or regulations shortly to be abrogated? why ornament a city which may be plundered again next year? why repair ancient monuments to be disfigured by a barbarian soldiery? or why discover and restore statues to see them borne away by our enemies? While such are the fears of government, individuals cannot indulge themselves in much security. Why embrace a profession, one may say, from which I may perhaps derive no adequate provision? why, says another, build a house in a city open to a second attack? The nobles partake, as may well be supposed, the general apprehension, and while on the one side they are obliged to sell the valuable furniture of their cabinets and galleries to meet the exigencies of the moment; on the other hand they have no means to replace them, nor indeed can they have any inclination to amass with great difficulty and expense objects to allure and gratify foreign rapacity. The French therefore have deprived Rome of its credit, its resources, its dignity, and its independence; they have robbed it of all that constitutes the prosperity and security of a state, and have thus caused it more real and permanent injury than the predatory attacks of Genseric and Bourbon, or the transient fury of Odoacer and Totila.

The Gauls have, indeed, at all times been the bane of public felicity, and the torment of the human species; in ancient times, restless, bold, and ferocious, they invaded and ravaged Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. Tamed by the power and civilized by the arts of Rome they slumbered for a few centuries, till they were conquered and barbarized again, first by the Franks and then by the Normans, when they arose with redoubled impetuosity to disturb the neighbouring states, and convulse all Europe with an uninterrupted succession of ambitious projects, plundering excursions, and unprovoked attacks. One consolatory reflection is suggested by the history of this turbulent race, and upon its solidity we must for the present rest all hopes of liberty and independence in Europe. It is this, that while the ardor, impetuosity, and numbers of the French have almost constantly given them the advantage in the beginning, the insolence and frivolity, apparently inseparable from the national character, have as invariably foiled them in the end, and involved them in shame and disaster. Their present leader, it is true, is an Italian: his depth, perseverance, and solidity may perhaps fix for a time the volatility, and with it, the fate of the nation over which he presides; but durability, so seldom granted to the wisest of human institutions, can never be annexed to French domination.

It may perhaps be asked, what will be the probable fate of Rome? Is it destined to be a dependence, or the capital of the Italian republic? or rather may it not be left in its present state as the destined seat of the Consul's uncle, when placed by his influence in the papal chair? Rome, if united to the Italian republic, would probably in a short time become

the capital of all Italy, and form as anciently a state of such power and magnitude as might rival and perhaps humble France herself\*. To raise such a rival cannot be the object of the First Consul. To keep Rome in a state of dependence is certainly his intention, but whether as a republic under the government of one of his brothers, or as the pontifical residence of his uncle, is still a matter of mere conjecture. The latter may be the most probable destination of Rome.

As the catholic religion is the most extensive christian communion, and has numerous votaries, not only in the countries where it is exclusively established, but even in those where the reformation prevails, it is without doubt the interest, of every government, that the head of such a body should be independent, and that his residence, for different motives, should be regarded as sacred. Here the piety of the catholic and the prudence of the politician must agree. To this consideration another may be added. The residence of the common Father of Christians ought to be the seat of universal charity and untroubled peace; its gates ought to be open to all nations; and all tribes of the human species, whatever their variances and wars may be elsewhere, ought there at least to meet as brethren, and find the comforts of a common home. It would indeed be an inestimable advantage to have one city thus exempt from the destructive influence of human passions, impervious to the horrors and alarms of war, and wholly consecrated to peace, benevolence, and humanity, to the study

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\* To realize this event is the interest and ought to be the grand political object of England, of Austria, and of Russia.

of religion, the improvement of science, and the perfection of art.

#### CAMPAGNA DI ROMA.

One of the most striking objects in the approach to Rome is, as I have elsewhere observed, that vast uninhabited, and in many places uncultivated extent of country that surrounds it on all sides, and is called the *Campagna*. Its present state of desolation is certainly singular, and naturally calls for enquiry. Some travellers attribute it to the destructive influence of papal government and catholic superstition working here as in their very focus, and with all their pernicious activity. It must appear fortunate in the eyes of such *observers*, that causes which strike the earth with barrenness and taint the air with pestilence, have not also darkened the face of heaven and involved Rome in clouds and tempests. And singularly lucky it must be considered that ~~their~~ malignity is restricted to the plains, and that while it extends on one side to thirty it is on the other confined to twelve or sixteen miles; that they sometimes spare certain favored regions, and now and then fix on others apparently more distant from their sphere of action; and in short, that they are not very regular and systematical in their progress, as otherwise they must have reached the mountains of *Albano*, *Tibur*, and *Sabina* extended over *Umbria*, and spreading from the Tuscan to the Adriatic Sea, from *Bologna* to *Terracina*, they must have long since turned one of the most fertile countries in the world into a dreary desert. But as these causes, so active in the *Campagna*, are perfectly inefficient in every other part of the Roman territory, and particularly at *Loretto*, *Ancona*, *Fano*, and in all

the delicious environs of *Bologna*, though as much under their deadly influence as *Rome* and its immediate neighborhood, the reader may be disposed to seek for some more satisfactory solution of the difficulty. To obtain it we must go back to antiquity.

Strabo observes, that the coasts of *Latium* were in some places unhealthy, and ascribes that quality to the marshes that border them\*. It naturally follows that in ancient as well as in modern times the air of the coast must not unfrequently be carried by sea breezes into the interior, and as the *Campagna* is surrounded by mountains on every other side, these vapors may, particularly in the calm and sultry months of summer, remain suspended in the air, and considerably affect its salubrity. The same effect is produced in the gulph of *Corinth* by a similar cause, every autumn, when the exhalations from the swamps and marshes at the mouth of the *Achelous*, are carried up the gulph, and being confined by the high hills and mountains that border it, hang brooding over the sea and neighbouring shore, and oftentimes rise so high as to render *Corinth* itself, though seated on an eminence, for some months almost uninhabitable. To confirm this conjecture, I need only observe, that several ancient writers, and among others Horace, Martial, and Frontinus represent the air of *Rome* itself as unwholesome during the great heats, and at present, the wind which blows from the coasts in summer, particularly since the forests that formerly covered them have

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\* Lib. v. — Columella indeed seems to consider the vicinity of the sea as generally insalubrious. "Præstat," says he, "a mari longo potius intervallo quam brevi refugisse, quia media sunt spatia gravioris halitus."

been thinned by the late Pope, is considered as peculiarly noxious\*. In fact, a marshy soil, under the influence of a warm sun, must naturally emit gross exhalations, and the more serene the sky, the more permanent and destructive must be their influence.

We must recollect at the same time, that the *Campagna* is not the only unhealthy tract in Italy; that *Etruria* has its *maremnæ*, and that its coasts were never remarkable for salubrity. "Est sane," says the younger Pliny, "gravis et pestilens ora Tuscorum, quæ per littus extenditur†. Rutilius confirms this observation when he describes *Graviscæ* and *Cosa*.

Inde Graviscarum fastigia rara videmus  
Quas premit æstivæ sæpe paludis odor . . .  
Cernimus antiquas, nullo custode ruinas,  
Et desolatæ mania fæda Cosæ . . .

\* *Agues*, intermitting fevers, and pthysical symptoms were common in Rome anciently as well as now, according to Asclepiades, who flourished in the time of Pompey, and is quoted by Galen, who confirms his report.

Of the insalubrity of the immediate neighbourhood of Rome we have a striking instance in Columella, who, speaking of *Regulus*, says—*Nam Pupiniæ pestilentis simul et exilis agricultorem fuisse eum loquuntur historię*. Now this tract gave its name to the *Tribus Pupinia*, and was only seven or eight miles distant from Rome towards *Tusculum*.

The Vatican valley, now called *Val d'Inferno*, and anciently *Vallis Infera*, was formerly, as it is at present, though close to the city, deserted because unhealthy.—See *Tac. Hist.* 11. 93.

† L. v. Ep. 6.

Silius, speaking of another town on the same coast, alludes to the same insalubrity produced by the same cause.

. . . . . *obsessæ campo squalente Fregenzæ.*

*Lib. viii.*

Even in England, where the summer heat is so moderate, and of such short duration, and where the wind blows strong from one point or other ten months out of the twelve, the fens, marshes, and low lands in Essex, Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire, diffuse their influence wide enough to enable us to calculate its effects in a hotter climate. Freedom and industry united have not yet been able to purify the air of the fenny islands of Zealand.

From these observations I am inclined to infer, that the air of the *Campagna* could never have been much more healthy than it is at present. I admit however, that cultivation and population might then have counteracted the causes above mentioned; and I must observe also, that at a very remote period those causes did not perhaps exist, and that many portions of land, now marshes, might then have been covered with the sea, as the flatness of the coast and the consequent shallowness of the water must have been considerably increased in the course of time by the perpetual depositions of the *Tiber*. The population of this territory seems to have been greatest during the infancy of the Roman republic, whose energies were first displayed in contests within her immediate vicinity, and almost in sight of the Capitol.

Not to mention *Gabii*, *Fidenæ*, *Collatium*, &c., Pliny enu-  
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merates more than fifty nations inhabiting *Latium* at the same time; and what must appear more extraordinary, placés thirty-three towns within the narrow compass of the *Pomptine* marshes. These towns, like the cities mentioned in the Scripture during the time of Abraham, were probably little more than our ordinary villages. But whatever they were, the fifty nations and the thirty-three cities had disappeared, and scarcely left any trace behind.—*Ita, ex antiquo Latio \* populi interiire sine vestigiis†.*

Among these tribes Pliny enumerates the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, the *Coriolani*; and indeed of the depopulation of the *Campagna* during the most flourishing period of Roman prosperity, we have sufficient and unquestionable evidence. Horace, to give a full idea of a lonely deserted spot, says,

Gabiis desertior atque,  
Fidenis vicus——

It is<sup>¶</sup> to be observed that *Fidenæ* was five, *Gabii* ten miles from Rome †. ‡. Propertius expresses the solitude of *Gabii* in a very concise but emphatical manner.

Et qui nunc nulli, ~~maxima~~ turba *Gabi*.      *Lib. 4to.*

\* LIII.

† *Lib. III.*

‡ It is probable, that most of the persons killed by the fall of an amphi-



Strabo, who lived in the time of Tiberius, represents the cities of *Ardea* and *Laurentum* as having been destroyed by the *Samnites*, and still in ruins in his time. To these he adds many others, such as *Lavinium*, *Collatia*, *Antemnae*, *Fregellæ*\*, &c. which he says had dwindled into villages; so that the central regions of Italy, and *Latium* itself, do not appear to have abounded with population, even during that prosperous period. That *Ostia*, though the sea-port of Rome, should lose almost all its inhabitants, when the capital was on the decline, must appear very natural, when we consider that the air was infected by the neighbouring marshes and the harbor nearly choaked up with sand. Every reader is acquainted with the beautiful description of *Lucan*, who, as a poet, affects to foretel at the battle of *Pharsalia*, the desolation which he himself witnessed†. *Juvenal* represents the *Pomptine* marshes as a receptacle of

theatre at *Fidene* in the reign of Tiberius, were Romans, who flock<sup>d</sup> from the capital to the amusements of a neighbouring village or rather suburb.—*Tac. Ann.* III.

\* Strabo, Lib. v.

†                      Gentes Mars iste futuras  
Obruēt, et populos ævi venientis in orbem  
Erepto natale feret. Tunc omne Latinum  
Fabula nomen erit: Gabios, Veiosque, Coramque  
Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ;  
Albanosque Lares, Laurentinosque penates  
Rus vacuum, quod non habitat, nisi nocte coacta  
Invitus.

*Lucan, Lib. VII.*

robbers, and speaks of guards employed for the protection of travellers\*. I need not repeat what I have related elsewhere, that Cicero mentions an attack made upon a friend of his at the foot of *Mount Albanus*; that the *Via Appia* was lined with tombs and mausoleums from the very walls of the city to the neighbourhood of *Alba*, that the other roads were by no means void of such gloomy decorations, and that amidst this crowd of monuments little room was left for habitable mansions.

From all these circumstances I should be led to suspect that the population of the *Campagna* was not very great even in the time of Augustus and Trajan; and if this should really have been the case, I know of no satisfactory method of accounting for a deficiency so extraordinary in the neighbourhood of such an immense capital other than the unwholesomeness of the air. That there were anciently a very great number of villas rising in every part of this region I admit, but this multiplicity of country houses cannot be adduced as a proof of its general salubrity because many of them were erected in places acknowledged even then to be unwholesome, and were moreover designed for temporary accommodation, and as occasional retreats in winter, spring, and the beginning of summer, seasons when the whole *Campagna* is perfectly salubrious. The *Laurens* or *Laurentine* villa of Pliny seems to have been of this description, as we may very fairly infer from the many precautions taken to catch every gleam of

sunshine, and exclude all the cooler winds. He speaks also of the convenience of one particular apartment, especially during the *Saturnalia*, that is, in December.

As for the cultivation of this territory, a very considerable part was anciently, as it is now, entirely given up to pasturage. Such in particular was the territory of *Laurentum*, *multi greges ovium, multa ibi equorum, bouumque armenta*\*, says Pliny the younger, when describing his villa near *Laurentum*; he also in the same epistle alludes to the woods which covered the coasts, and extended in various directions around his house. *Modo occurrentibus silvis via coarctatur, modo latissimis pratis diffunditur et patescit*, are his expressions when describing the way to it. *Suggerunt*†, adds he, *affatim ligna proximæ silvæ*. Such is precisely the present appearance of the coast from *Ostia* to the promontory of *Circe*, a vast extent of plain covered in many places with forests, and in others expanding into wide meadows and pastures. Much does not seem to have been anciently under corn, as immense supplies were regularly conveyed to Rome from Sicily, Egypt, and Africa, supplies which the fertility of the plains of *Latium* and *Etruria*, if called forth by the arts of cultivation, would have rendered unnecessary †.

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\* Plin. ii. Epist. 17.

† We find in ancient historians frequent mention made of years of scarcity at Rome, an evil which could not have occurred so frequently, if Italy had been as well cultivated anciently as it is at present. Thus in the earliest ages of the republic we find Rome reduced to the greatest distress for want of corn, as in the

At present several extensive tracts are cultivated, particularly on the left of the *Via Tiburtina*, and of the *Via Appia*, in the *Pomptine* marshes. The fields in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and on the banks of the *Tiber*, excepting however the gardens that lie between that river and the *Monte Mario*, are used as meadows, and produce vast quantities of the finest hay. It is in fact a grievous mistake arising partly from inattention and partly from prejudice, to imagine that the *Campagna*, because uninhabited, is therefore totally neglected and unproductive. At stated periods the population of the neighbouring towns is employed in its cultivation, and the yearly produce, if I may believe the assurance of a very intelligent Scotch gentleman, who had passed twenty years at Rome, and was thoroughly acquainted with the state of the capital and the country around, was upon an average valued at two pounds per acre. Such a produce seems to imply no small attention to cultivation, especially when it is considered that in some parts, the soil neither is nor probably ever was very fit for

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year U. C. 301, again in the year 314 and 343. I am aware that the scarcity on both these occasions is ascribed by Livius to other causes than the sterility of the soil, such as the dissensions that occupied the minds and time of the people, and the harangues of tribunes that captivated and rivetted them to the forum. But this cause of neglect must be confined to citizens, or at least to freemen, and they were only a part, or rather the masters of the cultivators, who were in general slaves or bonds-men. But the same scarcity returned more frequently, without the same or any similar cause, under the Emperors, twice during the reign of Tiberius, as often under Claudius, &c. &c. A similar evil is seldom heard of in Rome in modern times, though its population exceeds one hundred and eighty thousand souls.

agricultural purposes. Such at least is the opinion of a very candid, learned, and most worthy author, who viewed it without prejudice, and examined it with scientific minuteness. His words are—"I will boldly affirm, that the most striking parts, the whole plain between Rome and Tivoli, and the Pomptine marshes, never were or could be in a much better state than at present. I have walked over in shooting great part of the plain between Rome and Tivoli, and the soil, which consists of a deep white crystallized sand, generally covered with a coat of black sand not half an inch, and oftener not a quarter of an inch deep, evidently proves that it never could be in a state of ordinary cultivation. Immense expense may have carried soil to some spots to make gardens; but even that adventitious fertility could not be of long duration, it would soon disappear through the hungry unconnected sand beneath\*.

Whether any, or if any, what degree of blame may attach to the papal government, it is difficult to determine, because it is not very easy to discover what right the sovereign has to interfere in the management of individual property, and the cultivation of private estates. That the Roman government and nobility have hitherto, like all continental governments and nobles, paid little attention to agriculture is I believe generally admitted, and that the system of corn laws established in the papal territory was impolitic and pernicious, is equally acknowledged on all sides; but the last of these defects has been removed by the recent suppression of all the ancient

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\* Theory of the Earth, by Philip Howard, Esq.

regulations on this head, and the introduction of a new code, founded upon more enlightened principles; while the former can only be remedied by time, and a very general revolution in continental manners and feelings. The papal government is not indeed in its very nature active, and that agriculture is not, or rather has not hitherto been one of its principal objects is undeniable; a defect which is the more to be lamented, as few territories are better calculated for all the purposes of cultivation, in consequence of the fertility and variety of the soil, the profound peace which the character of the Pontiff generally insures to his subjects, and the site of the country itself, in the very centre of Italy, commanding two seas, and affording all the means of easy exportation\*.

A spirit of improvement is at present gone abroad in the various states of Italy, and as it has reached Rome in its progress, it is to be hoped that its influence will be active and efficient. One means of amelioration the authority of government might without any difficulty introduce into the *Campagna*, by planting the road sides, and increasing the growth of the forests, which belong to it, along the shore, and giving by premiums and every other incentive, all possible encouragement to that

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\* Non sine causâ dii hominesque hunc urbi condendæ locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex Mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur; mare vicinum ad commoditates . . . . . regionum Italiæ medium, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum.—*Tit. Liv.* lib. v. 54.

particular branch of agriculture. The multiplication of trees ornamental and useful in most countries, would be particularly so in the *Campagna*, where wood only is wanting to complete the picture, and shelter at the same time the capital and inland tracts from the exhalations of the marshes along the coast\*.

The *malaria* or unwholesomeness of the *Campagna* is supposed to commence with the great heats or dog-days, and lasts till the autumnal rains precipitate the noxious vapors, refresh the earth, and purify the atmosphere. During this period of time, that is during the space of two months, the country is deserted, and except the delightful retreats of *Tivoli* and the *Alban Mount* placed by their elevation above the reach of infection, every villa, casino, and even abbey and convent is deserted. So strong is the prejudice of the Romans in this respect, that it is considered as dangerous and almost mortal to sleep out of the walls, though perhaps not twenty yards from the very gates of the city†. It is certainly reasonable to allow that the natives of a country are the best judges of its climate, and it is prudent and right that strangers should follow their advice and example in guarding against its inconveniencies; yet it is impossible not to suspect that there is on this occasion a considerable degree of groundless apprehension. In fact, if a cold is taken in a rural excursion during the hot months, it is attributed to the *malaria*. Every

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\* See Veneti on the Cultivation of the *Campagna*.

† As in the *Villa Borghese* for instance.

fever, and indeed every indisposition caught by travellers who pass the *Pomptine* marshes, or the *Campagna* during the summer months, is ascribed to the influence of the air; while such disorders might very naturally be supposed to arise from heat and fatigue, causes sufficiently active to produce fatal distempers in any climate.

The conclusion which I am inclined to draw from these observations is, that the *Campagna di Roma* may, from very obvious causes, be in some places and at certain seasons unhealthy; that active cultivation, draining, extensive plantations, and, above all, an increase of population, might in a great degree remedy this insalubrity; but, that it is unjust and uncandid to attribute to the Popes an evil which the ancient Romans either did not or could not remove, though they might command and combine for that purpose all the skill, and all the riches of the universe\*. In fine, if there be any difference between ancient and modern Rome in point of healthiness, I am inclined to think that the latter must have the advantage, as the site of the modern city is considerably raised by the ruins,

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\* The appearance of the few peasants that inhabited the *Campagna* is frightful and disgusting; bloated bellies, distorted features, dark yellow complexion, livid eyes and lips, in short, all the symptoms of dropsy, jaundice, and ague, seem united in their persons. But though I am far from maintaining that the qualities of the air have no share in the production of these deformities, yet I am inclined to attribute them in some degree also to bad water and bad diet. The first of these causes produces similar appearances in several mountainous countries, particularly in Switzerland, and the latter disposes the constitution to receive with tenfold effect the action of the air, and the impression of noxious exhalations.



and consequently the inundations of the *Tiber* are less frequent and less mischievous, and the quantity of stagnant water much diminished. In fact, whatever the air of Rome may be, for infants and youth, it is now considered as peculiarly favorable to riper age, and said to be as anciently highly conducive to longevity.

## CHAP. V.

DEPARTURE FROM ROME—CHARACTER OF THE ROMANS  
ANCIENT AND MODERN.

AT length the day fixed for our departure approached, and on the second of August we made a last visit to the Forum, the Coliseum, the Pantheon, and the Capitol. We once more hailed the genius of Rome in the colonnade of St. Peter, and retired after sunset to the gardens of the *Villa Medici* on the *Pincian Mount* (*Collis Hortulorum*.) There we seated ourselves under a cluster of pines and poplars that hung waving over the ancient walls of the city, and as we enjoyed the freshness of the evening air, reflected upon the glorious objects we had seen, and the many happy hours we had passed in this grand Capital of the civilized world, the seat of taste, literature, and magnificence. We were now about to take our leave for ever probably, of these noble scenes, and felt, and who would not have felt? no inconsiderable degree of regret at the reflection, that we now beheld the towers of Rome vanishing in darkness for the last time! It is indeed impossible to leave this city without emotion; so many claims has it to our attention; so many holds upon our best passions.

As the traveller paces along her streets, spacious, silent, and majestic, he feels the irresistible genius of the place working in his soul, his memory teems with recollections, and his heart swells with patriotism and magnanimity; two virtues that seem to spring from the very soil, and flow spontaneously from the climate—so generally do they pervade every period of Roman history. While the *great republic*, the parent of so many heroes rises before him, he looks around like Camillus at the hills—the plain—the river—for ever consecrated by their fame, and raises his eyes with reverence to the sky that seemed to inspire their virtues. In truth, no national character ever appeared so exalted, rose with such an accumulation of honor from so many trials, or retained its hard-earned glory for so long a <sup>†</sup>period, as that of the Romans. *Nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit*, says Titus Livius \*, and the assertion was not the effusion of national vanity, for the Romans were too great to be vain, but the result of well-grounded conviction. That deep sense of religion which distinguished the republic from every other state, and was according to Cicero one of the sources of its grandeur; that benevolence which taught them to respect human nature in their enemies, at a time when to slaughter or at best enslave the conquered, was deemed even by the Greeks themselves the right of the victor; that strict attention to justice and the law of nations in proclaiming and carrying on war<sup>†</sup>; that contempt or rather defiance of danger and calm perseverance in spite of difficulties and obstacles; that disinterestedness and neglect of all personal indulgence, and above

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\* Lib. I. Prof.

† Cic. de Off. lib. I. cap. XI.

all, that manly and unalterable consistency which in a peculiar manner marked and supported their conduct both in public and private\*: these were the grand and distinguishing features of the Roman character, features which they have imprinted on their edifices, their writings, their laws, and their language, and bequeathed to posterity as an endless claim to its gratitude and admiration. That each of these qualities may have shone forth most conspicuously in other nations, and in many individuals, must be admitted; but never were they so intimately interwoven with the whole existence and being of an active people either before or since, and in consistency in particular they must be acknowledged to stand unrivalled. The Greeks, more lively and ingenious, but at the same time more changeable and fantastic, appear when compared to the Romans, as children put in contrast with men; and Virgil has most philosophically as well as poetically struck off the characters of the two nations, when to the acuteness and subtlety of the Greeks he grants superiority in the arts and sciences, while to Roman firmness and wisdom he consigns the sceptre of the universe†.

To seek for parallels in modern history, would be a vain pursuit, though our sprightly neighbours are wont in a delirium of self-complacency, to compare themselves to the Greeks and Romans alternately, and interweave the virtues of both these renowned races, in the texture of modern French perfection.

\* *Maxime ipse populus Romanus animi magnitudine excellit.*

*Cic. Off. l. 1. 18.*

† *Excudent alii, &c. Tu regere, &c. —Æn. vi.*

But while we give them in unison with the voice of Europe, much of the valor and ingenuity, with all the levity, and all the vanity of the Greeks, we cannot allow them one spark of Roman magnanimity. The Roman Pontiffs have occasionally emulated the firmness of the Consuls, and the Venetian not unfrequently displayed the wisdom of the senate, while owing to the manly and generous spirit of a free government the British nation may be allowed to possess a considerable portion of the patriotism and intrepidity of the Roman people.

The ambition with which the Romans are so often charged, cannot with justice be considered as a flaw in their character, as no great nation, or illustrious individual, ever was or indeed, can well be entirely exempt from that active passion, that *vivida vis animi*, which always accompanies great talents, and is designed by Providence to develop and bring them into action. To which we may add, that a spirit of conquest generally originates from the necessity and success of self-defence; and it must be admitted that the far greater part of the early wars in which the republic was engaged, arose from the jealousy of the petty states in her vicinity. The subjugation of these states and their incorporation with the victors, awakened the suspicion of more distant and powerful rivals, and brought the Samnites, the Lucanians, and the Bruttii successively into the field, till the war of Pyrrhus showed the necessity of uniting Italy under one head, to prevent her jarring cities from introducing foreign powers into her provinces, and from thus sacrificing her independence to a momentary interest. This struggle tried and proved the strength of Rome, enabled her to unite all the energies of Italy, and prepared her for the more dangerous and more extensive contest with

the Carthaginians. The Punic wars originated from sound policy, which pointed out the necessity of keeping so powerful a rival at a distance from the coasts of Italy, and were at the same time the unavoidable effect of two states, whose interests and views were so opposite, coming into immediate contact. The first was an essay and a mere prelude to the second, which decided the contest, and in fact laid Carthage at the feet of her more magnanimous rival. Never did a more arduous struggle engage two powerful nations, and never did mortals witness a more splendid display of the heroic virtues than that which Rome then exhibited to the astonished universe.

The dissensions among the Greeks, and the far-famed Peloponesian war itself, sink into insignificance when compared not only with the mighty weight, and wide sweeping desolation of the second Punic war, but with the perseverance, the wisdom, the spirit, and the magnanimity with which it was prosecuted; nor is there a period in the annals of the world which furnishes more instruction, or presents human nature in a nobler point of view, than the history of this most sanguinary contest. Every page of it is a record of heroism that sets the soul in a blaze; it ought to be read over and over again, and every line committed to memory by the youth of every free state, and particularly of Britain, that they may learn how to appreciate the liberty and independence of their country, how to fight, and how to die in its defence.

The insidious policy of *Macedon* next engaged the attention of Rome, and the punishment she inflicted upon its temporizing despots cannot but deserve our applause. In her conduct towards

the Greeks the republic first displayed its moderation and generosity, and on the glorious day when at the Isthmian games she proclaimed the liberty of Greece by her victorious general, gave an instance of magnanimity that even now melts the soul into fond admiration. But the age of heroes and of sages was passed in Greece. Incapable alike of liberty and control, proud of their former power, and unconscious of their actual weakness, jealous of each other's prosperity, and perpetually engaged either in open hostility or secret intrigue, her states alternately flattered and insulted, invited and betrayed their benefactors, till at length they extorted from the reluctant Romans the chastisement due to folly and ingratitude. In fact, in all transactions between these two extraordinary nations the former seem uniformly to have acted like froward children spoiled by flattery and indulgence, and the latter like men habitually mild though sometimes teased into resentment.\*

So far the Roman character shone unclouded; that at subsequent periods its splendor was sometimes tarnished by the ambition or the avarice of its chiefs may be admitted; but even when intoxicated by power and corrupted by luxury the city had become a vast theatre of opposite factions and turbulent passions, yet the greatness and magnanimity inherent in the national character still predominated, and shewed itself even in the vices and crimes of its perverted citizens. Though fired with lawless ambition and stained with civil blood, Marius and Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey, Augustus and Antony, were lofty and towering minds that soared far above the usual reach of human greatness, and stand yet unrivalled in the lists of fame. Even Catiline and Cinna, with much of the malignity,

have also much of the greatness of Milton's demons, and like those tremendous phantoms excite by the magnitude of their crimes our terror rather than our contempt. Nor was this magnanimity extinguished, or indeed always repressed by the despotism of the Emperors. Though subdued and chained, yet the Roman glared at his tyrant, and made him feel not unfrequently the effects of his indignation. Cherea and Sabinus, Corbulo and Vindex, displayed the courage and the virtue of Brutus and Cassius; the softer sex emulated the fame of Clelia and Lucretia; and Arria and Epiccharis continued to shew the influence of Roman firmness on female minds. The imperial race itself was distinguished above all other royal lines, not only by pre-eminent vices but fortunately for mankind by pre-eminent virtues also; and if Caligula and Nero, Domitian and Caracalla, surpass in cruelty all other tyrants, so Titus and Trajan, Aurelius and Antoninus, excel all other monarchs in wisdom and benevolence.

Of the character of greatness which the Romans have given to their works I have already spoken; here I need only remind the reader that while in the pyramids of Egypt we admire massive vastness, and in the edifices of Greece, just proportion, in Roman structures, we applaud the union of magnitude and beauty with convenience and utility. In her temples Rome was more magnificent, because more opulent than Greece, but her temples however splendid were not her noblest works. Behold that vast amphitheatre, equal in size, but how superior in form, grace, and destination to the useless bulk of the pyramids. See those aqueducts that bestride extensive regions, and convey rivers into distant cities to re-



fresh nations and fertilize a whole country. Their arches still stand gracing not the capital only and its vicinity, but the most remote provinces, and astonish travellers by their solidity and their elevation. Consider those bridges which eighteen centuries, aided by inundations and earthquakes, have not in many places even shaken; and see the Danube itself for once submitting to the yoke, and still respecting the traces of his subjection. See their almost interminable roads intersecting the immensity of the empire, from the borders of *Persia* to the *Orcades*, from the *Tanais* to the *Nile*, and opening a free communication through all parts of the civilized world. These are monuments which no other nation has left behind, monuments not of taste and art only, but of wisdom and benevolence, which claim not merely our admiration but our gratitude, and rank their authors among the best benefactors of mankind.

Inventas qui vitam excoluere per artes  
 Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

*Æneid vi.*

To apply this remark to works of genius would be to enter a field of criticism too extensive for the present work, but we may be allowed to assume that there is in all the great Roman authors, whether in verse or prose, a certain loftiness of thought peculiar to themselves, and very different from the terseness of the Greek, particularly the Attic writers. Majesty, though the characteristic of Virgil, and more eminently conspicuous in his divine poems, is yet strongly perceptible in Lucretius, Lucan, and Juvenal. The subjects of Horace and Ovid were not in general very susceptible of this quality, and yet even in

them it occasionally transpires, and gives a certain weight and dignity to their *mugæ canoræ*. Their muse is still the Roman muse, like Minerva reserved, and majestic even when playful. But this distinctive feature of the Roman mind is most apparent in the historians, for however different Sallust, Cæsar, Titus Livius, and Tacitus may be in style, yet there is in them all an elevation of thought, a boldness of sentiment, and a dignity of language, superior, I will not say, to modern historians, but even to the compositions of the Greeks, in every other respect so perfect. In perusing them the reader finds himself raised above the common level of human thought, and placed out of the reach of ordinary feelings; he is conversing with an intermediate race of beings, a species of heroes and demigods.

*Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.*

*En. vi.*

Virtue, patriotism, benevolence, the love of his country, and of mankind, rise in his estimation, and engross his whole soul. Self-preservation and self-interest, the cares and the pleasures of life shrink in comparison into trifles almost beneath his attention. His heart glows as he reads, and every page he turns over makes him a better and fits him to be a greater man. But above even these exalted spirits, *above all Greek and Roman fame*, towers the immortal genius of Cicero, collecting in itself all the lights of human intellect, and scattering them over every subject on which it shines—Orator, Philosopher, and Statesman, and in all these characters unrivalled, he makes them all subservient to that of Roman and Consul, and whatever topic he treats, he never fails to display the spirit of the one, and the majesty of the other.

The Greek philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, &c. passed their days, if not in absolute retreat, at least in learned leisure; speculation was the business of their lives, and their works were the result of a long life of study and reflection.

Cicero devoted his youth only to study; his riper years he gave to the active duties of Roman magistracy, the direction of the senate, the management of the people, the command of legions, and the government of an empire. In the midst of these occupations, each of which seems sufficient to absorb all the time and engross all the attention of the most vigorous mind, he found leisure to plead the causes of his friends, to prescribe the laws of eloquence, and to sound the depths of philosophic inquiry. Thus he excelled his master Plato, and by uniting practice with theory, brought philosophy from the shades of retirement into public life, introduced her into the forum, and seated her in the senate. In perusing the varied compositions of this illustrious Roman, it is impossible not to feel and admire that national magnanimity, that senatorial and consular dignity which pervade them, ennobling every subject, whether public or private, literary or political; and communicating to the mind of the reader a congenial elevation and grandeur, well calculated to counteract the narrow contracted views and selfish passions of these degenerate days\*.

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\* Rousseau has ventured to call Cicero a mere rhetorician, and asks insultingly whether, without the writings of Plato, he would have been able to compose his *Offices*? Without doubt the Roman philosopher owed much to the sublime doctrines of Plato, and seldom omits an opportunity of acknowledging the obligation;

I have already alluded to the Roman laws, and will therefore confine myself at present to one single remark. The laws of the Greeks were either the result of the meditations of a particular legislator, Lycurgus, Solon, &c. or the dictates of some momentary emergency; not unfrequently the effusion of popular passions, and in most cases applicable only to the commonwealth or country for which they were originally enacted. Hence, though Liberty was in general their object, and so far their effects were beneficial; yet their duration was short, and their influence contracted. But the Roman code was compiled with the same view indeed, but on principles far more permanent and universal. It was founded not upon the convenience of the moment, nor upon the interest of one particular commonwealth, but upon the comprehensive basis of the law of nature, embracing alike all times and all places, and applicable to all governments and to all emergencies. Hence Cicero declares that the *Twelve Tables* contain a system of morality, superior, in his opinion, to the writings of all the philosophers, and

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but though a disciple of Plato he often surpasses his master, and gives substance and body to the refined and ideal visions of the Athenian. That very treatise *De Officiis* is an abridgment of morality more perfect and useful than any particular work of Plato. Surely his *Epistles* are not imitations of Plato, and yet they alone are sufficient to establish Cicero's reputation, and place him among the first of statesmen, and of authors. As for the contemptuous term *rhétor*, if Cicero was not an orator in the highest sense of the word, who ever was? But the eloquent Genevan loved singularity, and sought for it by paradoxes; he seems to have read but little of Cicero, and if we may credit the account he gives of his own education, could not have had a very perfect knowledge of Cicero's language.

form a code of laws at the same time, that transcends all the institutions of the Grecian legislators\*.

Hence the Roman became the *universal* law, the code of nations, and to its prevalence over Europe we may perhaps in part ascribe the superior advantage in liberty and property which its inhabitants enjoyed during the darkness and barbarism of the middle ages. In fact, the Roman laws and language were the two great barriers that resisted and repelled the violence and ignorance of those savage times, and conveyed down to us the maxims and the sciences of the preceding more enlightened generations.

Of that language I may now be expected to speak, but as I have treated the subject elsewhere, my remarks shall be few and cursory. It is a trite observation that the language of each nation is attuned to its feelings, habits, and manners, or in other words to its character; and it has consequently been remarked, that Italian is soft and musical; Spanish, stately; French, voluble; German, rough; and English short and pithy. To apply this common observation to the subject before us, the language of the ancient Romans is a manly and majestic dialect, full, expressive, and sonorous, and well adapted to the genius and the dignity of a magnanimous and imperial people. Inferior in some respects, but in the qualities just mentioned

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\* *Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio: bibliothecas mehercule omnium philosophorum, unus mihi videtur xii. tabularum libellus, si quis legum fontes et capita viderit, et auctoritatis pondere, et utilitatis ubertate superare, &c. De Orator. Lib. 1. 43, 44.*

superior to the Greek, it corresponded well with its object, and became the vehicle, first of the edicts of the conquerors, and then of jurisprudence, philosophy, and the sciences in general, that is, the grand instrument of civilization, the universal language, and the parent of all the more refined dialects of Europe\*.

Such were the Romans: born as it were to empire they had nationally the same elevation of mind and dignity of sentiment as the heirs of kingdoms and principalities are observed to possess individually; and this grandeur of thought and manners they communicated to all their achievements, and stamped on all their monuments. Who can reflect on those achievements without astonishment? who can walk amid those monuments without emotion? the very ground trod by such a race is sacred, and were Rome with all its magnificent edifices and noble remains annihilated, the seven hills would be still dear to genius and to virtue. The pilgrim would still come from distant re-

\* "Ita sentio," says Cicero, "et sæpe disserui, Latinam linguam non modo non inopem, ut vulgo putarent, sed locupletissimam esse quam Græcam."—*De Finibus*, Lib. 1. 3. He repeats the same assertion in the third book, cap. 2.

Gibbon has exemplified its superior majesty when compared to Greek, in the two names Diocles and Diocletianus, and it may be exemplified still more satisfactorily in contrasting certain passages of Virgil with the corresponding verses, from whence they are copied in Homer; to which I may add, that if the vowels and diphthongs were pronounced by the ancient Greeks as they are by the modern, and there are many reasons for supposing that they were, Latin must have had at all times, in fulness and variety of sound, a decided superiority.

gions to visit with reverence the spot on which once stood the first of cities—"quæ una in omnibus terris domus fuit virtutis, imperii, dignitatis\*."

But, of the heroic qualities of the ancient Romans, what share do the modern inherit? are they high-spirited and inflexible as their ancestors? or are they not rather a tame, pusillanimous race? not the descendants of the masters of the world, but the mongrel offspring of every invading tribe? or as a French writer expresses it, not Romans, but worms that prey upon the carcase of fallen Rome? It is easy to supply the want of observation by sarcasm and antithesis; let us endeavor to follow a different process. National character, though it may be influenced both by the soil and the climate, is not the effect of either. Government and education, as I have elsewhere observed, are the grand and efficient causes in the formation of character both public and private. Is that government free, and that education liberal? the character will be open and manly. Is the one oppressive, and the other confined? the character will necessarily be abject and contracted. Rome is no longer mistress of the world; she is not even free; her sons of course have not from their infancy a brilliant career open before them; public honors are not held out to them as incentives to exertion, nor are their labors and sacrifices rewarded by triumphs and titles of glory; they are not now as anciently taught even by their nurses to raise their heads, to tread with dignity, to look,

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\* Cic. De Orat. 1.

move, and feel as *lords of human kind*. To submit to the will of a sovereign without sharing his counsels is their fate, and domestic concerns are their only occupation. To conform them to this humble destiny is the object of education, and when they have passed some years in college confinement under the superintendency of suspicious and prying masters, they return to their families to pass their days in indolent repose. Yet notwithstanding these disadvantages some features of the ancient are still strongly marked in the character of the modern Roman ; as amid the palaces of the present there still arise many traces of the former city. This resemblance is very naturally preserved by various circumstances ; in the first place as the language of their ancestors is an essential part of their education, and as their application to it commences at a very early period, they soon become acquainted of the ancient glories of their country, and with its history imbibe a certain generous pride not totally devoid of magnanimity. The same effect is necessarily produced by the contemplation of the grand monuments that tower around them, and force themselves upon the observation of the most inattentive. In the next place, the superiority which Rome has always enjoyed in the liberal arts, such as architecture, painting, and sculpture, and consequently her superior beauty and magnificence, which, while they attract strangers from the most remote countries, must unavoidably awaken in the bosom of a citizen some emotions of self-importance and complacency. Thirdly, Rome has always been considered as the capital of the empire and the metropolis of Christendom. In the first quality she gives title and precedence to the first sovereign in Europe ; and in the second, she confers upon her bishops rank and pre-eminence above all others even though primates.



and patriarchs ; privileges in both cases so brilliant as to reflect upon Rome a lustre still unequalled, and inspire her inhabitants with lofty sentiments of her grandeur and their own dignity. Rome is still the *holy*, the *eternal* city, the *citadel of imperial power*, the *centre of christian unity*—"Deorum domicilium, arx orbis terrarum, portus omnium gentium." Crowds of strangers flow through her gates, attracted by the magnificence of her monuments, the sanctity of her temples, or the glories of her name. *Et antiquitas amabilis, sed et religio venerabilis saepe eo vocant*, says *Lipsius*, speaking of Rome. The S. P. Q. R. that still blaze on the edicts of her magistrates, and ennoble her public edifices, though now a sound only, is yet an awful and venerable sound, which brings with it a train of ideas formed of all that is grand and impressive in history.

The natives of a city, whose destinies are so glorious, neither are, nor can be altogether a low-minded grovelling race; they are proud of their birth, and inherit some portion of the dignity and elevation of their ancestors. If it be asked on what occasion the modern Romans have displayed this noble spirit, or what instances of magnanimity we find in their history, the answer is obvious. Not to speak of the courage and perseverance with which they so long and so successfully resisted the Lombards, because that era may perhaps be supposed to belong rather to ancient than modern history: I come to the year eight hundred. which may fairly be considered as the period of the calamities of Rome; and though her language was still in a state of deterioration, yet her political situation began from that epoch to improve, and continued in a progress of amelioration with little interruption, except that occasioned by the absence of her

bishops, till the late French invasion. From the restoration of the Western Empire we may therefore date the commencement of modern Rome, and take it for granted that as no event has since occurred to break the spirit of the Roman people, their character cannot be supposed to have undergone any change materially to its disadvantage.

Now from this era, to the Pontificate of Leo X. the Romans seem to have displayed rather too much than too little spirit, and distinguished themselves rather by a lawless rage for independence than by a tame submission to rulers. In fact, their history during the space of seven hundred years that elapsed between the two epochs mentioned above, is little more than a series of contests with the German Cæsars, the Popes, the Roman Barons, and the cities in the neighbouring mountains. These contests, which were carried on with much violence and great slaughter, even in the streets, squares, and sometimes the very churches themselves, contributed much to the ruin of the city, and the destruction of its ancient monuments, but terminated not unfrequently to the advantage of the Roman people, and prove at least that in courage they were not deficient. Their occasional battles with the Saracens at that time a most warlike and formidable nation, always ended in the defeat of those infidels, and reflect no inconsiderable honor on the victors, who never allowed them, as the Sicilians and Neapolitans had done, to take possession of their towns, and make settlements on their coasts. Their resistance to the German Emperors may be ascribed to some remaining sparks of Roman spirit, scorning to bend to the pride and insolence of barbarian sovereigns, who, though they owed their rank and

titles to the acclamations of the Roman people, sometimes presumed to approach the city in hostile array, and impose laws on its inhabitants.

The liberties of the Romans sunk under the genius and spirit of Sixtus V. and of Julius II. and were finally suppressed by the authority and arts of the two Pontiffs of the Medicæan family, (to which literature owes so much and liberty so little), Leo X. and Clement VII. Since that period every circumstance has contributed to turn the attention of the Romans to the arts of peace, to the contemplation of religion, the study of antiquity, and the embellishment of the city. Few opportunities have occurred that could call their courage into action, or awaken their ancient magnanimity. The storming of the city by the Constable *Bourbon*, and the battle of *Lepanto*, are perhaps the only occasions. In the former, though taken by surprise and treachery, the Romans protected only by the ancient walls, resisted the attacks of a veteran and regular army, and were at length overpowered by the numbers of that truly barbarian horde; while *Bourbon* the General

. . . . . giganteis urbem tentare Deorum  
Aggressus furiis . . . . .

*Claudian.*

perished, as is well known, in the very act of scaling the walls. In the battle of *Lepanto* the Roman galleys, commanded by the gallant *Colonna*, led the Christian fleet, and were acknowledged to be the principal agents on that glorious day, which checked the victorious career of the Sultan, and broke his naval strength for ever.

It may further be inquired, why the Romans made little or no resistance on the late invasion, which was accompanied with circumstances sufficiently insulting to rouse even the spirit and energies of a coward? The Romans themselves though undisciplined and unprepared, were ready to take arms, and even made a tender of their services to the government; but the Papal ministers, and perhaps the Pontiff himself, were duped by the declarations and solemn promises of the French generals, and in opposition to the wishes and suspicions of the people, consented to receive the hostile army within their gates. Yet when thus betrayed and enslaved, the people more than once rose upon the French troops, and the *Trasteverini* in particular, on one occasion, made considerable havoc, and excited the greatest alarm among them. Insomuch that the French had recourse to their usual arts of promises, protestations, appeals to liberty, to the *genius of Brutus*, and to the *Roman name*, to induce these generous patriots to quit the bridges, capitol, and other strong posts of which they had taken possession. Similar insurrections took place at *Albano* and in *Sabina*, where the peasants undisciplined and half armed, resisted and sometimes routed their enemies. These efforts, unavailing as they were, and as from the unfortunate situation of the papal territory, and indeed of all Italy at that time, must necessarily have been, are still so many proofs that the Romans are not, as has been so often asserted, a race of abject dastards.

The truth is, that want of courage is not the predominant vice either of the Romans or of the Italians, or indeed of any other nation: courage is a quality inherent in man, but its

exercise is the result of calculation. Give an individual that which is worth defending, and he will defend it; give a nation liberty with all its blessings, and it will fight for them; a bad government has no value, and excites no attachment—who then will expose his life to support it?

To proceed.—The modern Romans are accused of habitual indolence, and a disposition to mendicancy; a reproach founded upon hasty and partial observation. To repose during the heat of the day is a custom established in all southern countries, is conformable to the practice of the ancients, and is both useful and wholesome, as by sacrificing hours when exercise is dangerous or oppressive, it leaves the morning and evening, that is, all the cool and delightful part of the day, with much of the night, open to business and amusement. The time given to labor and rest is in quantity the same as in northern regions, but divided in a different manner. As for mendicancy, I have already observed, that in countries and cities where the poor are supported by voluntary contributions, mendicancy is not easily avoidable; in favor of Rome I must add, that the number of beggars is not greater there than in other capitals of the same population, and that the wretches who infest the churches and public edifices are in general strangers, attracted by the facility of gathering alms in a city frequented by so many rich travellers, and filled with so many convents and pious establishments. The extreme misery which we witnessed was owing to the entire spoliation of all the hospitals and asylums, to the ruin of public credit, the impoverishment of the clergy, nobility, and householders, by the exactions of the soldiery, and in short to the general system of plunder exercised by the French while in possession of the city.

I come now to the morals of the Romans, and must, in the first place, acknowledge that it would be presumption in a traveller who passed three months only in Rome, to pretend to speak upon this subject from his own observation. However from inquiries, and the statement of impartial and judicious strangers long resident in Rome, we collected, that among the higher classes there is less room for censure here than perhaps in any other Italian city; that *cicisbeism*, which in its most qualified practice is an insult to decency, is neither so common nor so flagrant; that the morals of the cardinals, prelates, and clergy, and even of the middling class of citizens, are pure and unimpeachable; and that the people in general are mild, open-hearted in their intercourse, and in their manners extremely decorous and even stately. This latter quality of the Romans cannot escape the notice of the most superficial observer; while the classic traveller sees, or seems to see, in this unaffected gravity and dignified deportment some traces of the majesty of the ancients, and fancies that he can still discover in their fallen descendants—

*Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam* \*.

*Æneid, lib. 1.*

But how far the tide of Roman blood has run pure and unmixed during the lapse of so many centuries, and the course of so many revolutions, it is difficult to determine. The capital of

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\* The Roman character, both ancient and modern, may be expressed with great precision by that beautiful antithesis of Lanzi, *Vi e un grande che si piega, a ogni bello; vi e un bello che si solleva a ogni grande.*

an empire including many nations in its pale, must necessarily be crowded with strangers, and perhaps half peopled by the natives of the provinces. Such is the state of the great British metropolis at present, and such was that of Rome anciently; in fact, the latter was more likely to attract strangers, or rather provincials, than the former, as many or most of the inhabitants of the great cities enjoyed the rights of Roman citizens, and were even admitted, as the Gauls were by Julius Cæsar, into the senate itself\*. Cicero who beheld the evil, if it deserve that name, in its origin, complains that even in his time the influx of foreigners had infected the purity of the Latin language†; and if at a period when the honors and offices of the state were confined to the native Romans, the number of strangers was so considerable, what must it have been

\* Religiosa patet peregrinæ curia laudi  
Nec putat externos quos decet esse suos.

*Rutil.*

Aspice hanc frequentiam, cui vix urbis immensæ tecta sufficiunt; maxima pars illius turbæ ex municipiis, ex coloniis suis, ex toto denique orbe terrarum confluerunt—nullum non hominum genus concurrat in Urbem—Seneca ad Helviam.

Populis, victisque frementem  
Gentibus . . . . .  
Nulloque frequentem.  
Cive suo Romam sed mundi fæce repletam.

*Lucan, lib. vii.*

† Cicero *De Claris Orat.* cap. 74.

under the Emperors, when all distinction was done away, and the privileges of the capital were communicated to the whole empire?

As Rome continued even after the fall of her empire the metropolis and capital of Christendom, and has considered herself at all times as the common parent of Christians, and peculiarly so of men of genius and learning, the influx has never ceased to pour new inhabitants and with them fresh supplies of vigor and genius into the bosom of the *Eternal City*. This influx instead of being a reproach is an honor; it was the destiny of Rome from her foundation to be the asylum of mankind, the receptacle of nations, "*portus omnium gentium*." But it must be remembered, that Rome, though taken and plundered by barbarians, has never been possessed, colonized, or repopled by them, and that the change (if any) which has taken place in the breed is the inevitable consequence of wide-extended influence, whether of power or of opinion, and must have occurred even if Rome had retained the sceptre of the universe. All that can be inferred from such a change is that the Romans of the nineteenth are not the Romans of the first century, as these latter were not those of the era of Romulus. But they inhabit the city founded by Romulus, they are the descendants of the masters of the world, as much as these were the offspring of the Sabine race, or of the shepherds that accompanied the twin brothers, or of the fugitives who flocked to the asylum. They speak a language more resembling that of Cicero and Virgil, than the dialect of Cicero and Virgil resembled that of Tatius or Numa; in short, they are as much the descendants of the Romans as the modern French are the descendants of



the Franks under Clovis, or Charlemagne, and as the English are of the Saxons who invaded and conquered Britain. As such, the modern Romans may be allowed to excite interest, and perhaps almost deserve respect, especially as their virtues and their genius are their own; their vices, which are neither more numerous nor more scandalous than those of other nations, are owing to their circumstances, and may be ascribed to mistaken policy, an imperfect government, foreign influence, and in part perhaps to a narrow system of education.

August the third, at two o'clock in the morning, we set out. As we rolled under the arch of the *Porta del Popolo*, and heard the gates close behind us; as we passed the *Ponte Milvio* and looked down on the *Tiber* flowing dimly beneath, our regrets redoubled, and all the magnificence of Rome, now left behind us for ever, presented itself once more to our recollection\*.

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\* The feelings of an ancient provincial in the moment of departure from the capital which he had visited with veneration and enthusiasm, are expressed in language both passionate and poetical by Rutilius.

Crebra relinquendis infigimus oscula portis;  
 Inviti superant limina sacra pedes . . . . .  
 Exaudi Regina tui pucherrima mundi  
 Inter sidereos Roma recepta polos!  
 Exaudi genitrixque hominum, genitrixque deorum,  
 Non procul a cælo per tua templa sumus.  
 Te canimus, semperque sinent dum fata canemus,  
 Sospes nemo potest immemor esse tui . . . .  
 Auctorem generis Venerem, Martemque fatemur  
 Æncadum matrem, Romulidumque patrem

## CLASSICAL TOUR

Mitigat armatas victrix clementia vires,  
    Convenit in mores nomen utrumque tuos . . . .  
Tu quoque legiferis mundum complexa triumphis  
    Fædere communi vivere cuncta facis  
Te Dea, te celebrat Romanus ubique recessus  
    Pacificoque gerit libera colla iugo . . . . .  
Quod regnas minus est quam quod regnare mereris  
    Excedis factis grandia fata tuis.

## CHAP. VI.

ETRURIA—THE CREMERA—VEII—FALERIUM—MOUNT SORACTE—  
 FESCENNIIUM---MEVANIA---ASISIUM---LAKE OF TRASIMENUS---  
 ENTRANCE INTO THE TUSCAN TERRITORY---CORTONA---ANCIENT  
 ETRURIANS---ARRETIIUM---VAL D'ARNO.

THE weather was serene, the air cool and delicious, the stars sparkled with unusual brilliancy, and the night appeared in all the freshness and beauty of the climate.

Aure lievi portando, e largo nembo  
 Di sua rugiada pretiosa e pura ;  
 E scotendo del vel l'humido lembo  
 Ne spargeva i fioretti e la verdura ;  
 E'i venticelli dibattendo l' ali  
 Lusingavano il sonno de mortali.\*

*Gierusalemme liberata, Canto xiv. 1.*

We had now entered *Etruria*, and were traversing a country celebrated in the early records of Rome for many a furious combat, and many an heroic achievement. On this ground the Romans defended their newly acquired liberty with all the intrepidity which the first taste of such a blessing must inspire. Here they triumphed over Tarquin and his Etrurian allies, and here their leader and consul, Brutus, sealed their freedom with

his blood. This region was the theatre of the Veientan war, and witnessed all the glorious deeds that graced that long protracted contest—the victories, and the disasters of the generous Fabii\*.

All this territory, the object of so much contest and bloodshed, is now a desert. Even the capital itself, which stood so long the rival and terror of Rome, and would have been preferred to it, if the authority of Camillus, and an omen, that is, a lucky coincidence of a military order with the subject debate of the senate, had not prevailed over the representations of the tribunes, even *Veii* itself has perished, nor left a vestige to mark its situation. Hence even antiquaries differ as to the real spot. Some place it at *Civita Castellana*, and others, with more probability, at *Scrofano*, on a rocky hill called *Monte Musivo*, about six miles on the right from the road between *La Storta* and *Baccano*, and of course about twelve from Rome†. The distance and natural strength of this site correspond with the description of *Veii*, and some shapeless masses of rubbish are pointed out as the remains of a city once superior even to Rome in magnificence, and capable, like Troy, of resisting for ten years the efforts of an army of fifty thousand men. But how vain it is to explore the situation of a place, which has been a solitude for more than two thousand years.

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\* The *Cremena*, on the banks of which they fell, intersects the plain on the right.

† Others again place *Veii* in a little island about a mile and an half to the right of *La Storta*.

Nunc intra muros pastoris buccina lenti  
Cantat—et in vestris ossibus arva metent.

*Propertius* iv. 11.

The flocks had fed in the streets, and the share had furrowed the sepulchres of the fallen *Veientes*; a melancholy observation, applicable not to *Veii* alone, but to all the early rivals of Rome, *Fidenæ*, *Canina*, *Corioli*, *Ardea*, *Alba*. Not the site only but almost the memory of *Veii* was obliterated in the time of *Florus*,—*Nunc Veios fuisse quis meminit? quæ reliquæ? quodve vestigium?*\*

At length the morning dawned, and *Aurora*, such as *Guido* contemplated, and vainly endeavoured to represent in earthly colors, shed over the *Sabine* mountains a rich glow gradually softening as more distant into purple, lined with gold a few fleecy clouds that strewed her paths, and at length poured a stream of the brightest saffron over all the eastern sky. The tints that gild the clouds, even in our northern climate, are as rich and as varied as can be imagined, but the deep purple distances of the horizon, and the glowing yellow of the firmament in Italy, far surpass ours in hue and splendor, and produce that airy perspective, that lucid atmosphere called in painting an *Italian sky*. In the contemplation of this beautiful and ever varying phenomenon, we drove till we reached the first post, *La Storta*, and then enjoyed the glories of the rising sun, till concealing himself in a *golden fringed* cloud, as in a chariot, he darted his rays from behind it, and set the whole firmament in a blaze.

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\* *Lib.* i. 12.