

THE
COURSE OF HANNIBAL

OVER

THE ALPS

ASCERTAINED.

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

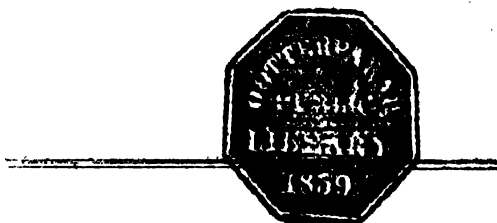
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THE

COURSE OF HANNIBAL.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

IN surveying the wonderful activities of man upon this globe of earth, we feel the necessity of obtaining local knowledge to acquire historical information. Without a continual reference to the present scene of business, we are soon lost in the various movements of it. The narration may be amusing to our fancies, but will be perplexing to our understandings. Nor is that vast mass of facts, which History accumulates before us, any thing more than a mere chaos of transactions; before Geography speaks the word, calls the several elements to their several places, and ranges the whole in its natural order.

VOL. I.

B

This

This is equally the case in ancient and in modern story. But the knowledge of geography is necessarily much more defective concerning ancient transactions, than it is concerning modern. There, names of towns, of rivers, and even of nations, are continually occurring; which learning itself finds it not easy to appropriate, and illiterateness must be content to leave for ever in uncertainty. On this account, ancient history is to the main body of mankind, “*Monstrum informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*” Nor can even scholars very frequently catch more, than a glimmering ray of light; from the collision which they make, between various passages in ancient authors. Thus are they themselves like men, digging in the depth of a mine, and supplying the want of the sun by a wheel of steel, that strikes continually upon flints, and draws out a circle of sparks to enlighten them.

But this has been peculiarly their fate, perhaps, in that most distinguished period of the ancient history of man, which occurs within these western parts of the European continent; the grand march of Hannibal through France to the Alps, and over the Alps into Italy. Here the wheel of light, which learning has been turning for its own illumination, is particularly faint. The course of this celebrated General has been drawn, in a variety of routes; no less than FOUR different

I.

points

points of the Alps, being marked by the finger of modern criticism, as the very line and track of his progress.

Nor has this uncertainty been confined to the moderns. It extended to the ancients, and mounted up to the very Romans themselves. So early even as the days of Augustus, the route of their grand enemy over those natural barriers of their country, was the subject of a controversy at Rome. Nor was this merely among the gross body of the people, who are necessarily illiterate, and must therefore remain ignorant. It was carried on among the learned, and the historically learned too. A professed writer of the Roman history, a writer of the most ancient periods of it, even LIVY himself, engaged in the dispute, and digressed from his narration in order to enter into it.

In this uncertainty concerning the point, when those to whom the history of Hannibal was actually modern; and who, in comparison with us, were nearly cotemporaries with Hannibal himself; could not ascertain his course over the Alps decisively: what hope can there be, of ascertaining it at present? Yet some there is. Hope in general is that vital spark of literary, as well as natural, life; which is not so easily extinguished, as to a superficial observer it may seem to be. It

has therefore been continually impelling the moderns to determine, what the ancients themselves disputed. Even a grand attempt has been recently made to determine it. An officer of our own army, who is at once an antiquary, a foldier, and a critic, the celebrated General ROBERT MELVILL, in 1775 took pains to trace the route of the Carthaginians, one General investigating the course of another, by an actual survey of the ground, through the vallies and over the crests of the Alps. I am ambitious, therefore, of following the example of this amiable and friendly officer, who has most obligingly imparted the substance of all his notices to me; but of following it in a different manner. I wish not to struggle in reality through the rugged gullies, and to strain in reality up the steep ascents, with him. I mean to act on an easier, and (I think) a more effectual, plan: taking the histories of Hannibal into my hands; comparing them with the accounts, of the Roman geographers and modern travellers; collating all again with incidental notices, in other historians among the ancients or among the moderns; and then delineating the course of the Carthaginians, from the whole.

Nor will there be found, I trust, such a real uncertainty in their course, as the disputes of the moderns and of the ancients seem to announce. The generality of mankind *think* little, upon any subject.

subject. Even scholars are more apt to draw out their stores of learning, than to exert their powers of intellect. They frequently *think* as little, as the mercer of the mob. And my reader, who expects to walk only in the shades of twilight, or under the glimmer of a few stars, will be agreeably surprised, I trust, to find the clear light breaking in upon him, growing stronger and stronger as he advances, and at last forming a full blaze of brightness.

— I. —

I FIRST present myself as a guide to the Carthaginians, on the banks of the Rhone in Languedoc. Here Hannibal passed this rapid river. But at what particular point did he pass it? He had marched from the Pyrenees; not along the grand road, which we see the Romans afterwards using across the south of France; but along another, that was higher up in the country, and came to the Rhone at a greater distance from the sea. Almost all our knowledge of western Europe, is derived from the monuments of the Romans; and the roads of the Romans especially, are our principal directors to the roads of the natives before them. That of the Romans led from the Pyrenees, to Narbonne, to Nîmes, and to Arles^a. This
last

^a “Antenini Itinerarium” in “Theatrum Geographiæ veteris, duobus tomis distinctum, edente Petro Bertio Be-

last town was at the *mouth* of the Rhone, while Hannibal crossed the river almost *four days march above*^b. Hannibal, therefore, took a road to the *north* of this. One accordingly occurs among the Romans, that went over the Rhone at Vienne by a bridge, of which some appearances remain to this day^c. Yet this was too far to the north, Hannibal was only four days march from Arles in the south, as I have already noticed; but he was *also four days march* from Lyons in the north, as I shall shew hereafter^d. He was, consequently, about the middle point of the Rhone betwixt both. Now we have one *Iter* of the Romans, which gives us the distance on the road between Arles and Valence; and another which measures equally

“ vero, Christianissimi Galliarum Regis Ludovici XIII. Cosmographo,” ii. 25.

^b Polybius, i. 271. cap. iii. sect. 42. Casaubon. Σχιδον ημετερον τετραμερον οδον απιχων ες αλεξανδριαν της θαλαττης. Mr. Hampton's translation of Polybius having a celebrity, that from a single instance I suspect to be more the result of fancy than of truth, of report than of reality; I shall examine the version of almost every extract that I produce from the Greek, in order to mark the deviations that I expect to find. “ Annibal,” says Mr. Hampton, i. 340. edit. 3. 1772, “ having now fixed his camp “ upon the Rhone, at the distance of *about*,” almost, Σχιδον, “ four days *journey*,” march, “ from the *sea*,” from the camp of Scipio on the sea, ες αλεξανδριαν της θαλαττης, “ resolved,” &c.

^c Pentinger's Tables, 1st segment, in Bertius's Theatrum, after Antonini Itinerarium, “ Vigenna xvi;” and Breval's Second Travels, ii. 132, published 1738.

^d Sequel ii. 1, of this chapter.

the road from Valence to Lyons. The former carries us from Arles to Avignon, by two intermediate stages, twenty-three miles; to Orange, by one stage, twenty; and to Valence, by five, seventy-one; in all, one hundred and fourteen.

The

« Bertius ii. 39. "Itinerarium a Burdigalâ," &c.: a later Itinerary than Antonine's, "Arellate -----," "Mutatio *Arnagine*, m. viii;" a place mentioned additionally in Antonine's Itinerary (Bertius ii. 22), and in Peutinger's Tables (segment the 1st), and again noticed by Ptolemy as "the town Ernaginum" (ii. 10, p. 55), left unsettled by D'Anville, 291, 292 (*Notice à l'ancien Gaule*, tirée des Monumens Romains, quarto, a Paris, 1760), but plainly Orgon upon the Durance, a town of antiquity (Thicknesse's Travels, ii. 55); "Mutatio Bellinto, m. x," Barben-tane in D'Anville, 48, but Andiol, I believe, five leagues from Orgon, and where a ferry-boat now crosses the Durance on the road to the next stage (Thicknesse ii. 55); "Civitas "Avenione, m. v," Avignon, about five miles from the passage (Thicknesse ii. 55); "Mutatio Cypreffeta, m. v," Pont de Sorgue in D'Anville, 260, 261, Caderouse perhaps in Breval's Second Travels, ii. 141; "Civitas Araufione, m. xv," Orange; "Mutatio ad Lectoœ, m. xiii," on the petty river Lez, says D'Anville 40, 41, probably Pier Late on the road to Valence (Thicknesse ii. 64); "Mutatio Novem-Craris m. x," on the little river Berre (D'Anville 488), probably Montelimar; "Mansio Acuno, m. xv;" Ancone, (D'Anville 31, 32, and 488); "Mutatio Vancianis, m. xii," considered as the same with Vatiana in Ravennas and Batiana in Peutinger's Tables by D'Anville, and supposed very wildly by him in 143, 144, to be Baix on the left or western side of the Rhone, this geographer professedly crossing over it at Ancone, in order to re-cross it again at Valence, but probably a place that I shall soon

The latter conducts us from Valence, through seventy-one miles, to Lyons^f. But these *Iters* obviously carry us off from the course of the Rhone, and lengthen the road greatly by diverting wide to the right. The real distance from Lyons to Arles, is about one hundred and sixty miles^g; and the middle point betwixt them, will fix us about *eighty* from each. This reasoning is decisively confirmed by Polybius, who states the place of Hannibal's passage over the Rhone, to be *seventy-five* below Lyons^h. We must, therefore, take our station many miles to the south of Valence; which in one of those winding *Iters* is seventy-one below Lyons, but in reality is about fifty-four

mention on the river Drome, and certainly some place on the right or eastern bank of the Rhone; "Mutatio Umbenno, m. "xii," Paillaiffe; "Civitas Valentia, m. ix," Valence.

^f Antonine's Itinerary 22, "Valentiam; Urfolim, m. p. xxii," St. Vallier (D'Anville 724), probably Romans; "Viennam, m. p. xxvi; Lugdunum, m. p. xxiii."

^g The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through France, 9th edition, 1787, states the distances thus: from Paris to Lyons 100 leagues, to Vienne 104, to Valence 118, to Montelimar 131, to Orange 142, to Avignon 147½, and to Arles 153¼, or from Lyons to Arles 53¼ leagues, 159½ miles.

^h Polybius, iii. 39, tells us, that Hannibal's march, from his crossing the Rhone to his mounting the Alps, measured 1400 stadia, or (at eight stadia to a mile, Polybius's own admeasurement) 175 miles; and in iii. 50 tells us additionally, that, of this distance, 800 stadia or 100 miles were the length from Lyons to the Alps.

only; and at LAURIOL, near twenty miles to the south of Valenceⁱ.

But let us attend to another circumstance. At this point of the Rhone, notes Polybius, the river was confined within “ a single channel^k.” Yet near *five and twenty* miles higher up, note both Polybius and Livy, the river was *divided in two by an island*, so became broader and shallower in its current^l. This will be a permanent mark for us, if

ⁱ Gentleman’s Guide in map, as measured by the scale. Pallaise is then about 13 miles, and *L’Oriol* (as there called) about 6½.

The Roman road from the Pyrenees, across the south of France, to the Alps, was first formed about twenty-eight years after Hannibal took this march; and is therefore described by Polybius, as all carefully measured into miles, and divided by stones, *in his time*: Ταυτα γαρ ΝΥΝ Βεβημισται και σισημισιας καλα σταδια; οκτω δια Ρωμαιων επιμελως (iii. 139). “ For the whole of this route has [*now*] been accurately measured by the Romans; and distinguished by distances, each of eight stadia” (i. 335); where the great note of time is most carelessly omitted, and the accuracy, that refers to the distinguishing as well as the measuring, is given to the measuring only.

^k Polybius, iii. 42. Ευθως ενχειρι ποιησθαι την διαβασιν κατὰ την απλην ρυσιν. “ He resolved to make his passage in that place, because” the current was not divided in two, or, in Mr. Hampton’s diffusive and erroneous language, because “ the stream was narrow there, and confined within the proper channel of the river” (i. 340).

^l Polybius, iii. 42. Επι διακοσια σταδια, and περι τι χειριον ηστιν περισχιζομαι τον ποταμον. Livy, κλι. 27. Ruddiman,

if we can lay our finger upon it. About six miles to the north of Valence, and about three above the fall of the Isere into the Rhone, is actually an island at present. There are indeed two islands more, at different distances below; yet the smallness of the size attributed expressly by Livy to his isle, appropriates *this* for the island of Hannibal in the history^m. Five and twenty miles from it down the river, answering to the six above Valence, and the twenty below it, come as nearly to our number as we can either expect or wish to come, and leave us at our point of LAURICOL againⁿ.

All

Edinburgh, 1772. “Inde millia quinque et viginti fermé
 “suprà, parvæ insulæ circumfusum amnem, latiore ubi divi-
 “debat, eoque minùs alto alveo.”

^m See a large French map of the country, in forty sheets, and entitled “Les états de Savoye et de Piemont, le Dauphiné, la Bresse, partie du Lionnois et de la Provence, &c. par M. Hubert Jaillot, 1706, à Paris.” Livy’s words are xxi. 27, “*Parvæ insulæ circumfusum amnem;*” and so Jaillot represents it. Polybius’s description of the island is merely this *Τὸ χωρίον νησίον* (iii. 42), literally, *a certain insular piece of ground*; but which Casaubon translates, “*parvam insulam,*” and Mr. Hampton from him, “*a small island*” (i. 341). So much influence had Livy in directing the pen of Casaubon, and so much virtue had Casaubon in fascinating the eye of Mr. Hampton!

ⁿ See Jaillot’s map for one of these other islands, below Valence, and nearly opposite to La Vaulte, or (as called in the map of France, among the maps made for the Modern Univ.

Hist.)

All unite, upon that only standard of distances which is requisite to our present purpose, a general one; to bring Hannibal over the Rhone, about midway between Valence and Montelimar, at a stage the middle of these five in the Itinerary, "Mutatio Novem-craris" . . ., Montelimar probably, "Manfio Acuno, m. xv," "MUTATIO VANCIANIS, m. xii," probably LAURIOL, again "Mutatio Umbenno, m. xii, Civitas Valentia, m. ix," certainly Valence°. We thus fix his passage, about *fifty* miles to the *north* of Orange^p; though it has been generally fixed hitherto to the *south* of this town, between it and Avignon^q. The position of the island coinciding so fairly with the distance from Lyons upon one side, and

Hist.) La Voute. This is much larger in Jaillot's map, than the isle *above* Valence. As for the third isle, which is lower still in the Rhone, and very large; see a note immediately hereafter. Both these lower isles must have been made by the Rhone, since the days of Hannibal; as it is apparent from the history, that there was only one then, and this a small isle, within five and twenty miles from the passage,

° Itinerarium a Burdigalâ, &c. p Ibid.

q "Il me paroît vrai semblable", says Histoire Literaire de la Ville de Lyon, par le P. de Colonia, 1728, a work abridged by the author himself in Ant. de Ville de Lyon, 1733; "qu'il traversa le Rhone vers Rochemaure entre Orange & Avignon." (Parte premiere, p. 26). Others have thought the same; particularly the worthy General above, and Mr. Pownall in his recent work upon the Roman Antiquities of Provence, &c. 1788, p. 43. They have all followed the track, which Folard had formed in his Dissertations upon Polybius.

from

from Arles on the other, and the size of it according to exactly with Livy's account of this isle, proves that opinion to be decisively wrong, and this to be demonstratively right^r.

At

^r Another French author, M. de St. Simon, now or lately Marquis (if not Duc) de St. Simon, who appears to have been at once a writer and a warrior, who served as an Aid-du-Camp to the Prince of Conti in the war of 1734, who composed a history of that war of the Alps, composed another of the town of Conti, and published his Preface to the former after the year 1768; in opposition to Folard, has in this Preface brought Hannibal over the Rhone eighteen or twenty miles higher up (see his Preface, p. viii. for Hannibal, and p. xx, xxii, xxiii, xxix, and xxviii. for himself). He is so much nearer the truth than Folard, but stopped too soon in his course up the Rhone after it. He has wisely taken the distance of four days from the camp in the sea, and brought in the island, twenty-five miles off, to assist him: but he has made very little use of them, when he had got them. He has erred about the island, and trifled with the distances. His isle is much below Valence. He speaks of it as "entre *Baix* sur la droite & Mirmande sur la "gauche du Rhone." *Baix* is put by D'Anville, 143, 144, to answer "Mutatio Vancianis" in the Itinerary; and must therefore have "Mutatio Umbenno, m. xii," and "Civitas Valentia, m. ix," to the north of it. M. de St. Simon's island is consequently in a wrong place for the history, being at our very point of passage, where should be certainly no island; and throwing the passage itself about five and twenty miles lower, near fifty to the south of Valence, and about a hundred, instead of seventy-five, to the south of Lyons. Nor are the distances in M. de St. Simon, such as they ought to be; he mistaking the course of the history, as I shall shew hereafter; therefore setting off his measurements from a wrong point;

At Lauriol in Dauphiny then, did Hannibal cross the Rhone. To this point he marched, not because

even when he does not do this, giving false measures; and afterwards not specifying locally and nominally his very point of passage itself, only placing it in *the country of the Tricastini*, and about 21 leagues from the sea, two marks peculiarly indefinite!

“ Je place le passage du Rhone six ou sept lieues plus haut, que le Chevalier Folard ne le met d’apres les memoires de Mandajors, parce que Polybe dit qu’Annibal passa ce fleuve à quatre journées de son embouchure dans la mer,” M. de St. Simon never thinking of Polybius’s 75 miles, a much surer mark; “ et que Tite Live dit, qu’Annibal envoya Hannon fils de Bomilcar avec une gros detachment, passer ce fleuve vingt-cinq milles au-dessus de la place où il s’etoit arrêté, à cause qu’une grande isle,” of which the *greatness* is all given by M. de St. Simon himself, and is expressly contradicted by Livy, he calling it a *small* one: “ qui s’y trouvoit, donnoit,” &c. “ Du point où je fais passer le Rhone, au pays des Tricastins,— jusqu’à la mer on compte environ vingt et une lieues,” only sixteen leagues and a half, “ qui peuvent repondre à la distance qu’on suppose pour quatre journées de marche, et de ce même point on trouve en remontant le fleuve vingt-cinq milles, c’est-à-dire, huit lieues et un tiers, une grande isle qui subsiste de tems immémorial, entre Baix sur la droite, et Mirmande sur la gauche, du Rhone.” M. de St. Simon annihilates his own argument, by negligently falsifying the account in Livy, making that a great isle which Livy calls a small one, and actually producing a great isle to answer Livy’s small one. Such an instance of self-confuted reasoning, is too gross to occur often in the literary world. In his map, at the end of his Preface, he does what he does not in the Preface itself, fixes necessarily the passage, and fixes it between Viviers and Pont St. Esprit; thus throwing the *middle* point towards *one end*, reducing.

because he thought it more commodious for his passage over the river, having a lower bank and an easier ascent up it; but for a reason more historical and substantial, because the road which he had taken led him to it. The road from Narbonne to Nîmes and to Arles, as we have already seen, he left to the south of his line of movements. "This road," says Strabo, who wrote not (as is generally said) in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, but in the reign of Tiberius only, as he appears actually writing the *fourth* book of his Geography in the very fifth year of his reign, "is good in summer, but in winter and in spring deep with dirt, and obstructed by rivers: some indeed of these currents are passed by ferries, and some by bridges built of timber or stone," the latter assuredly introduced by the Romans on their conquest of the country, the former used by the natives before; "and the torrents render the road difficult to be passed, even up into the summer." But another

ducing his four days march from the sea into 48 miles and a half, and enlarging the four day's march to Lyons into a hundred and eight instead of seventy-five.

s Strabo, iv. 285. Amstel. 1707. Θέρμης μὲν εὐδαίον ἦσαν, χειμῶνος δὲ καὶ καρῶς ἀπλωδὴ καὶ πείσιμακλιετον. Τίνα μὲν ἐν τῶν ρεῦματων, πορθμειοῖς περαταίαι τινὰ δὲ γέφυραις, ταῖς μὲν ζυλῶν πεπονημέναις, ταῖς δὲ λίθων ποσσῶσι δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν υδάτων δυσκολίας αἱ χειμαρροὶ, καὶ μέχρι τῆς θέρμης. Strabo mentions expressly in his fourth book, that it "was now three and thirty years" since Drusus and Tiberius

another road branched out of this, and ran parallel with it to the Alps. "Of the road which "I have mentioned," adds Strabo, "that which "goes *direct* to the Alps is (as we have said) the "short one through the Vocontii; but that "through the sea coast of Marseilles and Liguria, "is longer". Yet even this would not accommodate itself to the designs of Hannibal. These two roads went in *one common stem* to the Rhone; the great road passing "from Nîmes through "Ugernum [now Beaucaire] and Tarascon, to "the warm waters which are called Sextiac, "and are near Marseilles," the present Aix, "to "Antibes and the river Var;" and the branch from it having, "as far as Beaucaire and Tarascon, the road from Nîmes common to it "and the other". Hannibal therefore took another track, moved parallel with this road, but kept at some distance from it. He wished assuredly to avoid Arles and Marseilles; because he

Tiberius reduced the Vindelici and Rhæti, who were reduced in the consulates of Drusus Libo and Calpurnius Piso, or the year 15 before Christ. Ἡδη τρεῖς καὶ τριακασὸν εἶος εἴς, εἰς ἡ, κ. ἴ. λ. p. 316.

1 Ibid. *ibid.* Τῆς δ' ὁδοῦ τῆς λεχθῆνης, ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεὶς εἴς, καθάπερ εἶπομεν, ἡ συνήσιμος διὰ οὐκοῦντιαν ἢ διὰ τῆς παραλιαῆς τῆς Μασσαλιώτικης καὶ τῆς λυγυσιτικῆς μακροτέρα.

" Ibid. 270. Ἐκ Νεμαύσῃ δὲ διὰ Ουγγερίης [Ουγγερίης] καὶ Ταρσικῶς εἰς τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα τὰ Σικίλια καλεόμενα, ἀπὲρ πολλῶν Μασσαλιῶς εἴς, — εἰς Ἀντιπόλιν καὶ τὸν Οὐαρον ποταμὸν. — Καί αὖτε τὴν εἰσεῖν ὁδὸν — μετρητὴν [Ουγγερίης] καὶ Ταρσικῶς; κοίτη ὁδοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ Νεμαύσῃ. See D'Au-

— *ibid.* p. 696—698.

knew

knew *this* to be hostile to him, and he apprehended the Romans would land at *that*. He took a higher road, of which we have no account from the Romans; but which appears to have been then the known and regular road from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, as some embassadours who came (as we shall soon find) out of Italy to meet him, knew it so well, that they actually met him at the very passage over the river; by which he ranged, perhaps, through Carcaffone, Lodeve, Le Vigan, and Anduse^v; and, at the end of which, he reached the Rhone opposite to Lauriol^w.

— II. —

FROM this point, we must now attend his army to the Alps. But what line of march does he take from it? He has the Alps all running abreast of the course, which he has hitherto pursued, at

^v See D'Anville's map of Gallia Antiqua, in his Complete Body of Ancient Geography, London, 1775.

^w When Polybius, in iii. 39, gives us the general measure of Hannibal's march from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, he does it only from the measures of the other and parallel road, the only road that the Romans then had in this direction. In Peutinger's Tables (segment 1st), we have a delineation of this, and a grand parallel road; but the latter beginning at *Bourdeaux* and ending at *Vienne*, the former alone coming from the *Pyrenees*, and then crossing the Rhone at *Arles*, Hannibal's middle road, therefore, was never a Roman one.

such a distance only, as still leaves them very visible to the eye. There are also THREE grand passes through them, which have been all assigned to him. One of them, MOUNT GENEVRE near Briançon, lies almost opposite to him. "This," says Paul Jovius two centuries and a half ago, "is the general way for those who travel out of France into Italy." "This," adds Alciatus about the same period, "is in our time a frequented road." Even "all the carriages which go into Italy," subjoins the very modern M. de St. Simon concerning France, "pass by Mount Genève; which is almost the only mountain of all the Alps, where the carriages are not dismounted, in order to be transported over the hill on

* Pauli Jovii Novocomensis, Episcopi Nucerni, Historiarum sui temporis, tom. i. p. 300. "Ab Susâ—iter—patet, quod ad Coctias Alpes pertinet, quibus mons Genebra—hodie nomen præbet.—His maximè qui à Gallia in Italiam transcendant." Argentorati, 1556.

y "Alpes Poenas, inquit, eas esse opinor," under a gross mistake as to the name, "per quas ex Druentia flumine rectâ in Italiam tenditur, Brigentionem versus et Fereitam," the capital of Montferrat, Casal; "quæ via nostro quoque tempore est frequens" (Simleri Valleis et Alpium Descriptio, Elzevir, 1633, p. 248). Simler's work was written long before it was printed by Elzevir. It is dedicated by the author to Hildebrand a Reidmatten, Bishop of Sion, who became bishop in 1564. (p. 169, mis-printed 189). In p. 24, too, he fixes an event ~~ninety-two~~ years before he wrote, which actually happened in 1475 (Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, i. 382). Simler therefore wrote in 1567.

“ *the back of mules*.” It thus exceeds Mount Cenis itself, in easiness of ascent and in conveniency of passage. But over this, in the reign of our Queen Anne and in the year 1709, General Rebender, commandant of the Germans under the Duke of Savoy, actually marched with his forces. The same officer, in 1710, again advanced to the top of it. In 1711 the Duke of Berwick crossed and re-crossed it, with a part of the French army under him; and went over it again in 1712^a. More than two centuries before, did Charles the VIIIth of France, *the first who ever crossed the Alps with artillery*, carry his army and his artillery by Mount Genève^b. It was over this mountain too, says M. de St. Simon, that “ all the cannons and equipages of the French artillery passed, in the war of 1734^c.” And over

^a “ On fait passer toutes celles [voitures] qui vont en Italie, par le Mont Genève, et—c’est presque seule montagne de toutes les Alpes, où l’on ne démonte point les voitures, pour les transporter à dos de mulet” (Preface xxiv. xxv).

^b Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, written by himself, published in French, and translated in 1779, ii. 80, 92, 129, and 136.

^c Pauli Jovii, i. 300. “ Via militaris et convehendis tormentorum curribus usitata, Brigantium rectâ Eburodunumque perducit, quâ Carolus Octavus, qui primus in Italiam curricula tormenta transvexit, profectum memoravimus.”

^c “ C’est sur cette montagne, que dans la guerre de mille sept-cens trent-quatre passerent tous les canons, et les equipages, de l’artillerie Française.” Preface, xxv.

this mountain is the natural line of Hannibal's march, at present; TURIN being his grand object, as we shall see hereafter; and the road over Mount *Genèvre* carrying him the shortest way, down the Doria of Susa, directly to it ^d.

But a little to the north of this, is the celebrated pass over Mount CENIS. Shall we then conduct the army of the Carthaginians, over that mountain? The right reverend the EARL of BRISTOL, who has honoured me with some letters upon the subject, and whose mind was long balancing between the different mountains, finally thought they went over Mount *Cenis*. It lies almost equally before them, inviting their march across it; and small distances are as nothing, upon a great scale of movements. In the war of Queen Anne, too, the main army of Savoy and Germany assembled in the neighbourhood of Susa, set to work in putting the roads of Mount

^d Map prefixed to Berwick's Memoirs, and Map of Savoy, Piedmont, and Montferrat, in maps for Modern Univ. Hist.; in the latter of which the road is traced from Sezane, by Oulx, Exiles, and Susa, to Turin; though the river is falsely called the *Stura*, which is the name of the rivulet immediately to the east of it and of Turin. See a Chorographical Map of the King of Sardinia's dominions, in twelve sheets, taken from the famous map of Borgoni, with many additions and improvements, by A. Dury, 1765, and kindly transmitted to me for my inspection in Cornwall, by General Melvill.

Cenis in order, passed over it, and encamped betwixt Lannebourg and Termignon, on the French side of it. This army also, on its retreat afterwards, passed in part over Mount *Cenis* again. In 1711 the Duke of Savoy himself, advancing from Susa, crossed Mount *Cenis* with a part of his army, encamped at Lannebourg at the western foot of it, and pushed up to Termignon^c. The present celebrity of the passage indeed, which has gained it the pre-eminent appellation of *the way to Rome*, among the Italians and their neighbours^f; seems to point out this as the actual road of Hannibal, by Novalesa and Susa to Turin. Nor is this a road merely of present celebrity. It was equally one, more than two centuries and a half ago. "The Alps," says Paulus Jovius, "most celebrated and most frequented for the greater ease in travelling, and for the more numerous houses of inhabitants, are those of which we now call the highest summit Mount *Cenis*." Even by this road, more than a thou-

^c Berwick's Memoirs, ii. 72, and 118.

^f Simler, 244, 245, "Qui Italicè Strata Romana dicitur." M. Saussure in his Voyages dans les Alpes, à Genève, 1787, ii. 41, "le passage du Mont Cenis, le chemin qui conduit à Rome."

^g P. Jovii, i. 300. "Alpes,—propter lenitatem mitioris itineris, csebraquæ incolarum ædificia, maxime celebres et frequentes, quarum altissimum cacumen hodie monte in [montem] Censium nuncupamus."

land years ago, did Charlemagne actually carry his army, to reduce the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy^b.

Both these roads terminate in that pass of Susa, which is a way cut through a mountain, and so narrow in itself, that three men can hardly march abreast in it^c. The most numerous army therefore, as speculation immediately assures us, may easily be stopped at it by a small party of men; and so both be rendered totally useless, to an invading army. But there are incidents in war, which speculation never takes into its account, and which, therefore, show the vanity of such speculations in a work of such uncertainty. These suppose a common degree of courage, ever operating in the hearts of a soldiery defending a pass; when a panic often interposes, sinks the human spirit, even in the brave, much below the ordinary level for a moment, and gives a victory to the assailants with every probability against it. Accordingly the fact is, that the pass has been repeatedly forced. Thus, when Charlemagne had crossed Mount *Cenis*, he pushed through the defile

^b P. Jovii, i. 300. "Quo itinere, ad delendum Longobardorum imperium, in Italiam irrupit Carolus Gallorum Rex, qui postea ab amplitudine rerum gestarum Magai cognomen adeptus est."

^c Breval's Second Travels, i. 290.

of Susa in spite of all opposition^k. The construction indeed, first of the strong works around Susa, then of the castle of Susa, and since of the fortress of Brunette, shews this pass experimentally to want many artificial obstructions.

Nor are the Romans themselves, without a regular road over this portion of the Alps. They had even three roads, running parallel with each other, then converging into one common road, and so passing over the mountains together. They had one also, that ran betwixt two of the roads in their tendency to the point of concurrence, and by anticipation united them together for a moment. The most southerly of these goes from Milan to Arles, across the hills. But I shall give only such a part of it, as comes near to the Alps; and shall invert the order of it, to make it correspond with the projected line of Hannibal's motions; here and hereafter marking with Italics such names, as appear certainly correspondent. Then it exhibits "*Segusteronem*, m. p.," *Sisteron* on the Durance in Dauphiny, and on the left of it; "*Alabontem*, m. p. xvi." [Peutinger's Tables, "*Alarante*, xvi.]," Monestier d'Alamont in D'Arville's opinion, but Ventavon in mine, equally on the Durance and on the left; "*Vapincum*, m. p. xviii." [Vapincum, ...]," Gap,

^k Modern Univ. Hist. xxiii. 129, octavo, and Breval, *ibid.*

the head of the *Gapenois*, at a brook running into the same river, and from the same side too; Tables, "Ictodorum, vi," *Avencou* on the *Vence*, another brook falling into the *Durance*, and still on the left of it; "*Caturigas*, m. p. xii. [*Catorigo-magus*, vii.]," by an extraordinary turn on the right, *Charges*, upon another brook running into the same river from the same side; "*Eburodunum*, " m. p. xii. [*Eburuno*, xvii.]," *Embrun*, on the same side of the river; "*Rame*, m. p. xviii. " [*Rama*, xviii.]," *Rame*, on the same side; "*Brigantionem*, m. p. xviii. [*Brigantione*, vi.]," *Briancon*, on the same side; Tables, "IN ALPE " *COTTIA*, v," Mount *GENÈVRE*; Tables, "Ga- " *daone*, viii," *Sezane*; " *Ad Martis*, m. p. " *xxiv*. [*Martis*, xvii.]," *Oulx*; "*Segufionem*, m. " *p. xvi*. [*Segufione*, xxii.]," *Susa*; "*Fines*, m. " *p. xxxiii*. [*Finibus*, xviii.]," by another extra- ordinary turn to the right, as the name and the distances unite to shew, *Fenestrella*; and "*Taurinos*, " *m. p. xviii*. [*Augusta Taurinor*]," *Turin*. Another *Iter* of the Romans gives us the latter part of the course, thus: "*Mansio Hebriduno*, " *m. xvi*. *Mutatio Rame*, *m. xvii*. " *Mansio Brigantum*, *m. xvii*. There you ascend

1 Antonine's Itinerary, ii. p. 21; second segment of Peutinger's Tables; map prefixed to Berwick's Memoirs; map of Savoy, &c. in maps for Modern Univ. Hist.; Dury's map of Borgoni; D'Anville, 41, 42, 379, 673, and his map of Gallia Antiqua.

“the *MATRONA*,” Mount *GENÈVRE*. “*Muta-*
 “*tio Gellione, m. ii. Mansio ad Marte, m. ix.*
 “*Civitas Scopulione, m. xvi.* There begins
 “Italy”. Marcellinus also tells us very corre-
 spondently with this, though in a course the re-
 verse of ours; that “from the summit of this
 “cliff of Italy” above Susa, “a plain extends for
 “seven miles to the station called Mars’s; and
 “hence another ascent, more steep and scarcely
 “surmountable, stretches up to the top of the
 “*MATRONA*,” Mount *GENÈVRE*, “which is
 “named from an accident that befell a noble
 “woman; from whence the road opens shelving,
 “but more easy, even to the castle of *Virgantia*,”
Brigantia, or *Briançon*”.

Strabo also tells us, at a much earlier period,
 and in the course of our present progression, that
 we may go “along another way, which passes
 “through the country of the *Vocontii* and the
 “land of *Cottius*: as far as *Beucaire* and *Ta-*
 “*rascon*, it is the common way from *Nîmes*;

^m *Itinerarium a Burdigala. “Inde ascendis Matronam,”*
 and “*Inde incipit Italia.*”

ⁿ *Marcellinus, xv. c. 16. p. 109. Valerij, 168.* “A sum-
 “mitate autem hujus Italice clivi, planities adusque stationem
 “nominis Martis per septem extenditur millia: et hinc alia
 “occlusura cretior, ægræque superabilis, ad Matronæ porri-
 “gitur verticem, cujus vocabulum casus feminæ nobilis dedit:
 “unde declivis quidem iter, sed expeditius, æquisque castellum
 “*Virgantium* patet.”

“thence

" thence also to the boundaries of the Vocontii,
 " and the beginning of the ascent of the Alps, over
 " the Durance and through Cavailon, sixty-three
 " miles; and thence again to the other boundaries
 " of the Vocontii, towards the land of Cottius, a
 " hundred miles wanting one, unto the village of
 " Embrun; then, through the village of Brian-
 " con, through Skincomagus, and over the summit of
 " the Alps," the town on the top of Mount Gene-
 " vre being denominated Skincomagus among the
 " Gauls, before it and the hill took the Roman ap-
 " pellation of Matrona, " to Ocelum seventy-seven
 " miles." The second, as we advance towards
 the

* Strabo, iv. 270. Καὶ δὲ τῆς ἑβραίων οδοῦ τὴν διὰ Ουσκοπίαν καὶ
 τῆς Κοτίου [Κοτίου], μέχρι μὲν αὐτῆς Γερνίου [Ουγγερῶν] καὶ Ταρρασκίνας
 ποιητῆ οδοῦ ἀπὸ Νεμαύσου ἐπιπέδιον δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς Ουσκοπίαν ὄρους καὶ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν τοῦ πελάγους τῆς Ἀλπεῖς, διὰ Δρουνηίας καὶ Καβαλλίνας, μίλιον
 ἑξήκοντα πρὸς ἑξήκοντα ἐπιπέδιον καὶ τοῖς ἑβραίων ὄρους τῶν Ουσκοπίων, πρὸς
 τὴν Κοτίου, μίλιον ἑκατὸν ἕως διότις, εἰς Ἐπερόδουλον [Ἐπερόδουλον]
 κομῆν. Ἐπὶ ἄλλοις τοσοῦτοι [words wholly superfluous and
 greatly embarrassing] διὰ βριβαθίου κομῆς, ἐκ [a word equally
 embarrassing and superfluous] Σαγγουμαίας καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλπεῖν ἐπι-
 πεδισίως, ἐπὶ Ουκίλον. Strabo also adds here, that Italy begins
 at Skincomagus, ἢ ἀπὸ Σκινκομαγίου ἢ ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἀρχεῖται; an as-
 sertion historically impossible to be true, because all the land
 between Skincomagus and Ocelum confessedly belonged to Cot-
 tius's Alpine kingdom at this time. Ocelum being called by
 Strabo himself in this very passage, the limit of the land of
 Cottius, " Ουκίλον ὅς ἐστι τῆς Κοτίου γῆς" and contradicted in-
 directly by Marcellinus before, " a summitate hujus Italiae
 " clivus," as the actual ~~and~~ existing boundary of Italy, but ex-
 pressly by the Itinerary, " Inde," at Susa and at Marcellinus's
 Italian

the north, presents to us by an equal inversion “*Valentiam, m. p.*,” *Valence*; “*Augustam, m. p. xxii,*” *Aoste* on the river *Drome*; “*Deam Vocontiorum, m. p. xxiii,*” *Die* higher up the *Drome*; “*Lucum, m. p. xii,*” *Luc* higher up the *Drome* still; “*Montem Seleucum, m. p. xxvi,*” *La Battie Mont-Saleon*; “*Vapincum, m. p. xxiv,*” *Gap*, as above: and then stretches away, as above, by *Charges*, *Embrun*, and *Rame*, to *Briançon*^p. This latter route is partially in the *Tables* also. But then, instead of turning off at “*Lucus*” by “*Mons Seleucus*,” for “*Vapincum*” in the former, as that does; it goes on thus, “*Augustum xiii. ad Deam Vocontiorum xii. Luce xviii. Geminas xiii,*” *Mens*, and “*Gerainas xiii,*” *Terain*, to “*Brigantione, m. vi,*” or *Briançon*, as above^q. Yet still more northerly is a third road in the *Tables*, which extends from *Vienne* “*Turecionico, xiiii,*” *Ornacieu*, “*Moringinno, xiiii,*” *Moiran*, “*Culabone, xii,*” *Grenoble*, “*Catorissium, v,*” *Premol Chartrossin* near *Vizille*, “*Mellosedo, x,*” *Mizouin*, “*Durotinco,*

Italian cliff near it, “*incipit Italia.*” See section iii. hereafter, for the extent of *Cottius*’s kingdom on the Alps. *Pliny* also mentions *Skincomagus*, under the name of *Cincomagus*, in ii. 108.

^p Antonine’s *Itinerary*, and *D’Anville*, 116-117, 263, 422-423, 464-465.

^q Second segment; map in *Berwick’s Memoirs*; and *D’Anville*, 344, 348.

“ vii,” Villars d’Arenes, “ Stabatione, viii,” Monestier, and so to Briançon^r. Thus do these three roads all unite at Briançon. They there unite to form one grand road over Mount *Genèvre*; while Mount *Cenis* appears demonstrably from all, and from the total want of a Roman route over it, to have never had a passage across it in the time of the Romans^s.

Shall we yet, however, carry Hannibal over the unformed pass of Mount Cenis? Or shall we carry him more easily, by what we know to have been afterwards a formed and Roman road, across Mount *Genèvre*? We cannot do either, in an honest fidelity to the truth of history. Strabo indeed, as I shall shew hereafter^t, conducts Hannibal over Mount *Genèvre*. Folard also does the

^r Second segment; map in *Memoirs*; map of Savoy, &c. Dury’s map, and D’Anville, 223, 663-664, 465-466, 213-214, 282, 613-614.

^s “ Le nom des Alpes Cottiennes n’avoit point encore mis en oubli, dans l’onzieme siecle. Pierre-Damien écrivant à Adelhaïde, fille de Mainfroi Marquis de Suse, et femme d’Amedée Comte de Maurienne, la qualifie du titre de *Ducissa Alpium Cottiarum*” (D’Anville, 56). M. Placide, in an useful Map of Savoy dedicated to his master Louis the XIVth, boldly calls them “ Alpes Cottiennes ou de Dauphiné” at present. In map prefixed to *Memoirs of Berwick*, and in *Memoirs*, ii. 128, we see a level summit between Sezane and Fenestrelle, actually called “ Cotté Place” to this day.

^t Chap. iv. sect. 6.

same, taking him by a visionary sort of generalship along no known road of the Romans, to Vizille, Bourg d'Oisans, Mont de Lens, Lautaret, and Briançon; then gaining the road of the Romans over these Cottian Alps, without seeming to be conscious of his good fortune; leading Hannibal by it to Mount Génèvre and Sezane; but, instead of keeping him on in the line of this road, along the level of the river, and down the descent of the valley of Sezane, to Oulx and to Susa, ridiculously mounting the hills with him again to Col de Sestriers, and going down them to Susa; then more ridiculously leaving the valley of Susa and the direct way to Turin, to climb the hills a third time, wantonly to repass the mountains which he had wantonly passed at Sestriers before, to reach Col de Fenestre near Fenestrelle, to return into the valley of Pragelas which he had deserted at Sestriers, to return into it only a little below Sestriers, and so come down to Fignerol for Turin. M. de St. Simon, the corrector of Polard, acts with the same spirit of folly, and proceeds to a still greater extreme of absurdity; with more than the lunatic generalship of Polard, never once confining Hannibal to a regular road, but setting him at every step to expatiate at large over the face of the country, to pick his own blind way, to form his own broken-route, and to wander wildly astray from all track of a road; bringing him perpetually near the Roman road, yet keeping him steadily
from

from it, leading him a little to the south of Gap, leaving Charges and Embrun and Briançon all close on his left, and turning him short from Mount Genève and Oulx to Mount Viso, the springs of the Po, Carignan, and Turin^u. Yet, independently of the high extravagance apparent upon the face of these two last routes, history forbids us with her loudest voice, to adopt any of them. This informs us, that from the point of the Rhone where Hannibal crossed it, he did *not* direct his march by either Mount Viso, Mount Genève, or Mount Cenis, or by any ways adjoining to any of them. He did not prosecute at all that line of motion, which he had hitherto pursued. He did not advance directly up to the Alps, ridgy and steep as they rose in distant mists before him. He suddenly turned off from his former line. He ranged up along the eastern bank of the Rhone, towards Valence, Vienne, and Lyons. He thus left the long wall of the Alps at a distance on his right, while he kept the Rhone close to him on his left. "He marched," says Lamy, "UP THE CURRENT OF THE RHONE, towards the

^u St. Simon's preface, xxxvii. &c. the Table of Comparison at the end, and the two maps following; one of them having the course of Folard, and the other that of St. Simon, delineated upon them. Folard, says St. Simon, xxxiii, and (I believe) very truly, "a rejeté toutes les circonstances de Polybe et Tite-Live, qui ne quadroient pas avec son plan." This is a mode of acting, at once compendious, bold, and decisive.

“ MIDLAND parts of Gaule ; *not* because *this* was
 “ the *direct* road to the Alps, but because he
 “ thought THE FARTHER HE ADVANCED FROM THE
 “ SEA, the less likely he was to meet with the Ro-
 “ mans ; and he was inclined to avoid all en-
 “ counters with them, *before* he had entered into
 “ Italy.” Hannibal, adds Polybius, “ took his
 “ elephants and horse, placed them in the rear of
 “ his army, and advanced at the head of them
 “ ALONG THE RIVER, marching OFF FROM THE
 “ SEA, and pushing, as it were, for the MIDLAND
 “ parts of Europe.” These passages are clear
 and peremptory, precluding all possibility of sup-
 posing, if we mean to be directed by history ;
 that he left the Rhone, that he pushed directly
 for the borders of Gaule and the barrier of the
 Alps, and that he crossed either Mount Cenis,
 Mount Genève, Mount Viso, or any adjoining
 mountains, at all.

v Livy xxi. 31. “ Profectus adversâ ripâ Rhodani, medi-
 “ terranea Gallia petiit ; non quia rector ad Alpes via esset,
 “ sed quantum à mari recessisset, minus, obvium fore Roma-
 “ num credens ; cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum fo-
 “ ret, non erat in animo manus conferere.”

w Polybius, iii. 47. Αναλαβων Ανιβαας τους ελεφαντας και ιππους,
 προηγει τουτοις απορηγναι, παρα τον ποταμον, απο θαλασσης—ποιουμινος
 της πορειας ης εις το μισσσυγαιον της Ευραπης. “ Annibal, making
 “ his rear-guard of the elephants and cavalry, *continued his*
 “ *march*,” marched at the head of them, “ along the river,”
 &c. i. 349.

— III. —

THE reason of his conduct in the present moment, was this. At the very time that he reached the banks of the Rhone, Scipio (the father of the famous Africanus) landed at the mouth of it with an army to engage him. The Roman was surprized to hear, that the enemy was so near him. He had thought it impossible for Hannibal, to have crossed the Pyrenees, to have penetrated through the various states of Gaule, and to have reached the Rhone so speedily. Hannibal too was equally surprized to hear, that the Romans were so speedily landed in Gaule to oppose him*. With such a just admiration of each other's activity and vigour, did these two generals commence that course of national rivalry, which was now inflamed to a heat impossible to be cooled, but by the destruction of one of the contending parties; was intended to make either Rome or Carthage, the empress of our western world; and was sure, in that insulated state of society in which every kingdom of it stood at this period, and in that consequent facility with which a whole kingdom was then reduced, to give all a form, either Phœnician or Italian, for a round of ages afterwards! Hannibal was at first doubt-

* Livy, xxi. 26. and Polybius, iii. 41 and 44.

ful, what plan of operations he should pursue; whether he should continue his commenced march into Italy, or whether he should turn and attack the Romans^y. But he was soon determined, and by an accident of a singular nature. At this very point of his march he was met by a formal train of embassadors, from some Gallic states in Italy. These were petty kings of the Boii; with another petty king of the name of MAGALUS, at the head of them^z. They declared to him the readiness of their respective kingdoms, to join him on his arrival in Italy. They urged him, therefore, to march with all expedition into Italy; to avoid any engagement with the Romans, till he could receive the large and ample succours which were preparing for him there; and to leave the Roman army at the mouth of the Rhone, behind him. They also promised to conduct him, by a short and safe way, into Italy^z. To men who were familiar with the road, it would naturally appear safe and short, though it might be, and, as a pass over the Alps, could not but be, dangerous and long. Hannibal and the army were

^y Livy, xxi. 29. "Hannibalem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam tenderet iter, an cum eo qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus confereret, avertit," &c.

^z Livy, xxi. 29. "Avertit Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus"; and Polybius, iii. 44. Τους βασιλευς τους περι Μαγίλου.

^z Polybius, iii. 44. and Livy, xxi. 29 and 30.

struck with the seasonable arrival, and were pleased with the fair promises, of these Italian Gauls. A resolution was formed for marching up the Rhone, under their guidance, and towards their road. For that purpose it was, that Hannibal made the grand bend in the line of his march, and faced about to the north^b.

He thus marched away towards VALENCE, which, as the Roman name seems to announce, was no town at the time. He had with him EIGHT AND THIRTY THOUSAND INFANTRY, and more than EIGHT THOUSAND HORSE^c. But, about three miles to the north of Valence, is the union of the Isara with the Rhone^d. *That* river is amazingly

^b Livy, xxi. 29—31. Polybius, iii. 44. and iii. 49. Ὀδῶν γὰρ καὶ καθηγεμόσιν ἐγχευμένοις ἐχρήθη, τοῖς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιπέδων μιλίας τε κοινωμένοις.

^c Polybius, iii. 60. Ὀρμησας ἀπο τῆς τοῦ Ροδανίου διαβάσεως, πίζους μὲν εἰς οὐκείσθχλιους καὶ τρισμυρίους ἐχῶν, ἵππους δὲ πλείους οὐκείσθχλιων. "This army, when it passed the Rhone, consisted of thirty-eight thousand foot and" *more than* "eight thousand horse" (i. 371). Appian (Amstell. 1670) erroneously says, i. 546, that Hannibal had ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse.

^d Plancus, in Cicero's Epist. ad Plancum, &c. x. 15, speaks of the "Isara, flumine maximo, quod in sinibus est Allobrogum"; and Pliny, iii. 4, notices the Rhone as bringing with it "nec minus seipso torrentes Isaram," &c. As we are now come to one local appellative, the true pronunciation of

zingly rapid at times, especially on the dissolution of the snows upon those Alps, among which it rises.

which is universally (I believe) mistaken, let me ascertain it at once by this line from Lucan :

Et vada liquerunt *Ifaræ*, qui gurgite ductus, &c.

In the same manner, another line from Sidonius Apollinaris *sounds* decisively the mispronounced names, of two other rivers in the same country :

Rhenus, Arar, Rhodanus, Mosa, *Matrona*, *Sequana*, Ledus.

So *Burdigāla*, as spoken now, was spoken *Burdigāla* by the Romans ; which the bard of Bourdeaux, Ausonius, witnesses himself,

Burdigala est natale solum, clementia cœli, &c.

And

Santonus, ut sibi *Burdigalam*, mōx jungit Aginnum, &c.

The Hædūi also of modern Latinity were Hædūi with the antient, as appears from the name in Greek, *Ἐδουα* and *Ἀδουα* ; the mountain that Cæsar says gives rise to the Meuse, “ Mosa “ profuit ex monte *Vogeso*”, however accentuated *long* in our mouths, was *short* in the Roman :

Castraque quæ *Vogesi* curvum super ardua rupem.

LUCAN.

Cæsar’s “ *flumen Axona*, quod est in extremis Rhemorum “ *finibus*,” appears to have had its name contracted into the present *Aisne*, by *this* rapid mode of speaking it,

Non tibi se Liger autferet, non *Axona* præceps.

AUSONIUS.

And the *Attrebates* of France and our own island, are *Attrebates* in Sidonius,

. qua Cloio patentes
Attrebatum terras persuaserat.

This

rites. On this account I believe no bridge has been laid over it, near its mouth; though the great road from Lyons to Avignon, to Arles, and to Marseilles, lies directly across it there; and though the French kings have lately been so usefully munificent, in improving the roads of their country. The only mode of passing it ordinarily, is by a ferry-boat sliding along the fastened line of a rope; a mode seemingly relishing of ancient rudeness, and often attended with considerable danger^e. Here, therefore, Hannibal would naturally halt, and prepare for passing the Isere, just as he passed the Rhone before, by the boats of the country ordered up the river for the purpose, and by the extemporaneous craft, on which a detachment of his army had crossed the Rhone and the Isere, two or three days before^f. He had then, in addition to all the rest of his army, a train of SEVEN AND THIRTY ELEPHANTS OF INDIA accompanying him^g. Accordingly, in the beginning of the last century, just at the

This is no bad specimen of the errors in *orthodoxy*, into which scholars are daily falling, for want of attention to the real profody of the Romans.

^e Brevat's Second Travels, ii. 135.

^f Polybius, iii. 42. and Livy, xxi. 27.

^g Polyb. iii. 42. Ἐπτά καὶ τριάκοντα, and iii. 46. Τοὺς μὲν Ἰνδοῦς. The *Indians* are made with a careless indiscrimina- tion by Mr. Hampton, simply "their conductors." i. 348. Appian, i. 546. agrees in this number.

angle of union between these two rivers, and consequently on the very ground of Hannibal's halt, were found some enormous bones in the earth; which passed current with the generality for the remains of the Cimbrian king Teutobocchus, most mistakenly supposed to be slain by the Romans here; were even presented as such to Louis the Twelfth; but were in reality, no doubt, the relics either of one of Hannibal's elephants, that died at the place, or of one of the Roman elephants, that fell in a bloody battle fought afterwards with the Gauls upon this very ground^b.

— IV. —

^a Breval's Second Travels, ii. 133. It was pretended by some at the time, that a sepulchre was found in the earth, bricked about, thirty feet long, twelve broad, and eight high; over which was a stone with a Latin inscription, TEUTOBOCHUS REX; and within which was a human body, twenty-five and a half long, and ten broad over the shoulders. These fictions refute themselves by their extravagance. But Peiresk shewed the sepulchre and the inscription to be both false, and averred the bones to be those of an elephant (see a note in Duker's Florus, iii. 3). Nor had the fiction one inch of historical ground, to stand upon. Teutobocchus was fought by Marius, not here, but at Aix, "in loco quem aquas Sextias vocant" (Florus, iii. 3). Nor was he KILLED even there. He escaped out of the battle, but was taken, and actually carried to Rome.

^b Proximoque in saltu comprehensus, insigne spectaculum triumphi fuit, quippe vir proceritatis eximie super trophæa sua eminebat."

This ground, however, was the real scene of another battle, betwixt the days of Marius and the time of Hannibal.

— IV. —

HANNIBAL now marched by VIENNE to LYONS.
This he reached on the fourth day from his pas-
sage

Mr. Pownall has lately written upon the subject, in his *Antiquities of Provence, &c.* but has thought without accuracy, and concluded against evidence. The triumphal arch of Orange he has described with ingenuity and judgement, referring it to *Fabius Maximus*, who defeated the united Allobroges and Arverni, and (as he thinks) on *the site of Valence* (p. 36, 31, and 33). He quotes Strabo in confirmation of this opinion (p. 36); yet Strabo proves directly the contrary. The words of the geographer are these, as cited by Mr. Pownall himself: Σουλγας κατὰ Ουινδαλίην ποταμὸν μισθογόμενος τῷ Ροδάνῳ, οὗτου Γναίος Αἰμιλιανὸς μεγάλη μάχη πολλὰς ἰβριψάλο Κελτῶν μυριάδας: “the Solga,” now the Sorgue, “unites with the Rhone by the town Vin-
“ dalis, where Cnzus Ænobarbus defeated many myriads
“ the Gauls in a great battle.” Καθ’ οὗ δι, adds Strabo, συμ-
πιπλοῦσιν ὁ Ἰσάρ ποταμὸς καὶ ὁ Ροδάτος καὶ τὸ Κεμματόν ὄρος, Κοῖνός
Φαβίος Μαξιμὸς Αἰμιλιανὸς, οὐχ’ ἄλλαις τρεῖσι μυριάσιν, εἰκοσὶ μυριάδας
Κελτῶν κατέκοψεν, καὶ ἐποίησε προπταῖον αὐτῷ λευκοῦ λίθου, καὶ νεῶς δύο,
τὸν μὲν Ἀρεῶς τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλείου; “where the river Isere, the
“ Rhone, and the Cevennes unite, Quintus Fabius Maximus
“ Æmilianus, with not quite thirty thousand men, defeated
“ two hundred thousands of the Gauls, and erected there a
“ trophy of white stone, and two temples; one to Mars, and
“ the other to Hercules” (iv. 283). This couple of pas-
sages does indeed, as Mr. Pownall says, “fix precisely the
“ places of each of these trophies;” but fixes them very dif-
ferently from Mr. Pownall himself. The passages actually
destroy all, that he has written concerning the origin of the
arch at Orange. This trophy cannot belong to Fabius, as his
D 3 trophy

page over the Rhone¹. He therefore marched very expeditiously, in order to leave the Romans the

trophy was erected where his battle was fought, at *the union of the Isere with the Rhone*. Εἰς τὴν προπαλαιὴν αἰσλοῖα. Florus also says the same: "Domitius Ænobarbus et Fabius Maximus ipsis " quibus dimicaverant in locis, faxeas erexere turres, et desuper " exornatâ armis hostilibus trophæa fixere" (iii. 2). Fabius's trophy, therefore, was at or near the confluence of the Rhone and Isere, this very ground of Hannibal's present halt, and *more than a hundred miles* to the north of Orange.

But Strabo proves this arch to be *Ænobarbus's*. He also erected *his* trophy, *where* he fought his battle. This he fought, we see, where "the Sorgue unites with the Rhone," and; consequently, in the immediate vicinity of Orange. Nor must we suppose, as Strabo and Florus seem to insinuate, and as all our writers have taken for granted from them; that these towers of trophy were fixed upon the very fields of battle, the open heath, or the bleak mountain, on which the battles were fought. No! Common sense forbids this. They would thus be liable to be torn down by any general insurrection, or even any petty commotion, among the Allobroges of the country. They would certainly be fixed in towns, as at once ornamental to them and protected by them. They would be erected in the *colony*, nearest to each of them. There is accordingly none, either in remains or in tradition, at the conjunction of the Sorgue with the Rhone, or at the town Vindalis, now Font de Sorgue (Brevai's Second Travels, ii. 141). Nor are there any remains or any tradition of one, at the coincidence of the Rhone with the Isere. *Ænobarbus's* indeed was erected at *Orange, a colony* (Mela ii. 5), about twelve miles only from the mouth of the Sorgue (D'Anville, 261); and, as the line of the road is directed to go under it (Pownall, 21), was originally a gate to the colony, with a tower over it (see Plates in Brevai, ii. 145). *Fabius's* therefore, with his *two temples*,
was

the further behind him. He actually shews his apprehensions of their following and overtaking him, by inverting the usual order of his march, in stationing those elephants and that cavalry for his rear, which (as we shall see hereafter) at other times he ordinarily placed for his van. He thus “came to an island,” says Livy, “where the “ARAR and the Rhone, running down from different parts of the Alps, and comprehending “a portion of ground between them, unite together; to this ground they give the name of “island^k.” “He came,” adds Polybius, “to “what is called an island, a region very populous and fruitful in corn; deriving its appellation from its circumstances; as *here* the

was erected at what was equally a colony (Ptolemy, ii. 10, p. 55), *Valence*, only three miles from the mouth of the Isere.

We thus appropriate the arch of Orange decisively, I think. We also ascertain the *place* of the *second* trophy, which has long vanished with its temples accompanying it. Nor do I wish to add more, than that Fabius appears in this very battle at the mouth of the Isere, to have had *elephants* with him (Florus, iii. 2); and that therefore the remains found upon the ground, may as probably be one of his elephants as of Hannibal's.

ⁱ Polybius, iii. 49. Πανοσκαμνός εἰς τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν τῆν πορείαν ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως, and Livy, “xxi. 31, “quartis castris.”

^k Livy, xxi. 31. “Ad insulam pervenit; ibi Arar Rhodanusque amnes, diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi, confluunt in unum; mediis campis insulæ nomen inditum.”

“ Rhone, and *there* what is denominated the
 “ ARAR, running along either side of it, give a
 “ pointedness to its form at their conjunction :
 “ and it is very similar, in size and in figure, to
 “ that region of Egypt which is called the Delta ;
 “ one side of the latter being bounded by the
 “ sea and the Nile’s currents, and one of the for-
 “ mer being guarded by mountains, of difficult
 “ ascent up the sides, of difficult landing upon
 “ the summit, and almost (I may say) inac-
 “ cessible.”¹ The place, to which Hannibal was
 now come, is here pointed out to us by the pre-

¹ Polybius, iii. 49. Ηκε προς την καλουμένην Νησον, χωραν πολυοχλον και σισοφοραν, εχουσαν δε την προτηγοριαν απ’ αυτου του συμπλωματος· τη μεν γαρ ο Ροδανος, τη δε ο Αραρος προσαγορευμενος, ριγις παρ’ εκατεραν την πλευραν, αποκαρυφωσιν αυτης το σχημα καλα την προς αλληλους, τρυπλωσιν· εστι δε παραπλησια τη μεγαθει και τη σχηματι, τη παρ’ Αιγυπτου καλουμενη Δελτα. πλην εκεινου μεν θαλαττα την μιαν πλευραν, και τας των ποταμων ριγεις επιζευγνισι, πασης δ’ ορη δυσπροσοδα, και δυσμεβολα, και σχεδον (ως ειπειν) απροσβιτα. They “ arrived at a
 “ place that was *very* fertile in corn, and possessed by a nume-
 “ rous people. It was called the Island, because the Rhone and
 “ *Isara*, running on both sides of it, fall together below, and
 “ sharpen the land into a point. This place, both in its size
 “ and figure, resembles that part of Egypt which is called the
 “ Delta ; with this difference only,” the Latin being “ eo
 “ differunt quod,” when the English is literally *and*, “ that
 “ one of the sides of the latter is washed by the sea, which re-
 “ ceives the rivers that inclose the other two, whereas the
 “ third side of the island is defended by a chain of *very rough*
 “ and *lofty* mountains, which *indeed* are almost inaccessible,”
 i. 353—354. This version, besides the marked deviations
 from the sense, is very heavy, awkward, and clumsy.

cifest of all signatures in nature, the confluence of two rivers, the Saone and the Rhone^m. These we all know to unite, immediately below the present city of Lyonsⁿ.

But where is the *island*, that both these historians mention; the very Delta of Gaul? Is there such an island, or any island at Lyons now? There was formerly, and there is at present.

^m The name *Arar* being corrupted in some manuscripts of Polybius into *Σαωνα*, or some name of a place equally non-existent, Mr. Hampton, and a few readers beside, who call themselves "les critiques les plus judicieux" (D'Anville, 386), have taken their ground upon the corruption, deny the river to be the Arar, and maintain it to be the Isere. At the head of these are the great geographer D'Anville, the author of "Relation des Gaules," Folard, and St. Simon. But their operations are unhistorical, and their efforts are insignificant. At the mouth of the Isere is no isle at all: They are therefore obliged to create, what they cannot find; to create it in such a manner, as is practicable in any region of the world; to put a large canton for an isle, and to insulate only one half of it. They thus square half the circle. I shall instantly shew the Arar, to have actually a small island at its mouth; and such an island, as can alone agree with the circumstances of the future history. The copies of Livy's history, too, all prove the copies of Polybius's to have had *Arar* originally in them; as Gronovius's still have. Those may stand for the most ancient manuscripts of Polybius, and tell us *their* original reading decisively.

ⁿ The name of Saone for the Arar is not, as it seems to be, a modern one for that river. The Arar is so called, even by Marcellinus: "Rhodanus—Ararim, quem *Sauconnam* appellant, —suum in nomen adsciscit" (xv. xi. p. 105). The new name, therefore, began in his time.

Polybius

Polybius is expressly declared by himself, as he was born a few years after these operations; “to have had the transactions recited to him, by the very men who lived at the times; to have viewed the scenes of action himself, and to have travelled in person the road through the Alps, in order to know and to see^o. He even specifies Gaul in particular, as one of the regions which he had thus visited^p. And his description of the island above, from the very particularity of its touches, refers us to actual vision for its origin. Where, however, was and is this island? Mennetrier, who wrote a dissertation on the history of Lyons in 1695, discovered what nothing perhaps but the zeal of a local historian could ever have found. In looking over some very old records relating to the town, he found mention made ex-

^p Polybius iii. 48. Δια το περι των παραζητων παρ' αυτων ιστορηκεσθαι των παραλειπυχων τους καιρους, τους δε τούτους κοστωπλευκεναι, και τη δια των Αλλων αυλος κερχθησθαι πορον, γυρωσενς ειδικα και θεας.

“ I not only received my account from persons, that lived in the times of which I am writing, but have also” *viewed the scenes of action*, and “passed the Alps, myself, for the sake of gaining a more full and accurate knowledge of the truth” (i. 352). Where Polybius is brief, there Mr. Hampton is diffuse; and where Polybius is diffuse, there Mr. Hampton is brief. So contradictory in its air and attitude, is the copied picture to the original! But Polybius first appears upon the stage of public business, about the year 170 before Christ; when he was sent by the state of Achaia to the Roman Consul in Thessaly, and was then about thirty probably. He was thus born about 200 before our era, and Hannibal crossed the Alps 218 before it. ^p Polybius iii. 59. Γαλασιαν.

expressly

precisely of the island, even so late as the year 1000; a donation being there made to the abbey of Ainney in Lyons, as “the very holy church of God, which is built in *the island Athanacus*.” But the antiquary has here done, what antiquaries, like Germans, with their genius in their backs, are very apt to do; discovered what is of little service to the history, and drawn out evidence from the rubbish of ages, that was not wanted to elucidate it. A lamp may burn bright in the secret sepulcher of antiquity, yet would cast only an useless gleam across the light of day. Neither Livy nor Polybius asserts the ground, to be an absolute island. “Hannibal,” says Livy, “came to an *island*,” formed by the Arar upon one side, and the Rhone on the other, which *could* not form an absolute island; “and to this ground they give the *name* of Island.” “He came,” adds Polybius, “to what is called an Island,—*one side—being guarded by mountains.*” The ground therefore was only peninsular; being backed by the mountains on the north, lined by the Rhone on the east and the Arar on the west, but terminating in a point, the very *vertex* of the Delta, at the union of both on the south. Yet, with a still greater superfluity of zeal, Menetrier discovered

1 “Sacrosanctæ Dei ecclesiæ, quæ est constructa in insula quæ Athanacus nuncupatur.” Breval’s First Travels (published 1726), i. 228. See also Histoire de Ville de Lyon, ii. 20-21.

“ that there was a second and a much shorter
 “ communication anciently, between the two
 “ rivers, by the means of a canal; which canal
 “ made the third side of an island, in every re-
 “ spect like that described by Polybius.” Here
 the sepulchral lamp of the antiquary goes out,
 the moment we come up to day-light; and leaves
 only a smoke and stench behind it. The very
 base of the Delta we know to have been formed
 by mountains, and the sides alone to have been
 formed by water. There was no more water at
 the base, than there were mountains on the sides.
 The channel therefore, which slightly connected
 the two rivers before they intermingled for ever,
 and so insulated the present site of Lyons com-
 pletely, could not have existed in the days of
 Hannibal, and was certainly artificial in itself.
 It is now filled up with earth, and covered over
 with buildings, but still indicates its previous ex-
 istence by its present appellation; the buildings
 being called *Place des Terreaux*, or the Square of
 the *Canal*, in that provinciality of language which
 was formerly objected to Livy, under the special
 name of *Patavinitas*, and which surprisngly retains
 the general name of *Patois* to this day, in France
 and Italy. But it appears more plainly still to
 have been a canal only, from a couple of flood-
 hatches that had been set up, one at each end, in

order to form the canal; and have lent an adjoining street, the denomination of *Rue d'Écloisons* or the Street of the Sluices*. These significant names indeed imply the insulating channel, to ask no antiquary's researches for the discovery of it, to require no lamp from the sepulcher for dispelling the darkness over it, but to appear in open day, and to have so appeared only a century or two ago. There are accordingly some ancient maps of the town, that note the actual existence of the canal at the very time of their formation. And the ground of Lyons is *without* the canal, "in every respect like that described by Polybius," a peninsula, popularly denominated, as a peninsula popularly is in every country, an island.

The mountains then "of difficult ascent up the sides, of difficult landing on the summit, and almost (Polybius may say) inaccessible," are undoubtedly Mount Fourviere and its three elevations, the hill of St. Irenæus, the hill of St. Just,

* Brevai i. 228.

"L'ancien canal de communication, qui occupoit autrefois le terrain, où est aujourd'hui l'Hotel de Ville avec la Place des Terreaux, et ce qui suit, joignoit dans cet endroit la Saône avec le Rhoné; comme on le voit encore dans les anciennes Cartes de Lyon." Histoire i. 6. Yet M. de St. Simon knows no more of this isle, than just to mention it thus: "le nom d'isle, donné par le Pere Thuillier à l'angle de terre où Lyon est bâti," &c. p. xvii.

and Mount St. Sebastian". *Those* are declared to bound one side of the peninsula, and *these* actually bound it at present. One of our English travellers speaks of "the hills, which hang about this city". A French writer calls them expressly "that chain of mountains, which extends from the gate of St. George and of St. Just, up to the castle of Pierre Cize;" a rocky extremity of the whole, that has been cut away for the passage of a Roman road". "All yesterday morning," adds Mr. Gray, the most ingenious of our travellers, "we were busied in climbing up Mount Fourviere; where the ancient city stood perched at such a height, that nothing but the hopes of gain could certainly ever persuade their neighbours, to pay them a visit". A French ecclesiastic of the last century, who was confined by the court to Lyons for a long time, speaks very nearly the same language, and yet says more justly; "the mountain of Fourviere is upon one side so high and so steep, that it plainly looks

u Histoire i. 17. "Cette agréable montagne, qu'on nomme aujourd'hui la Montagne de St. Just et de St. Irenée;" i. 269. "Montagnes de Fourviere et St. Just;" i. 82. "La Montagne de St. Irenée."

v Thickness, ii. 88.

w Histoire i. 273. "Cette chaine de montagnes, qui s'étend depuis la porte de St. George et de St. Just, jusqu'au Chateau de Pierre Cize;" i. 279. "Tout cet espace de terrain, qui s'étend depuis Saint Irenée jusques à Pierre Cize."

x Mason's Memoirs of Gray, 55.

“ as if nature had a mind to render it, thoroughly
 “ impracticable for the commerce of the Saone.”
 These accounts of the hills reflect strongly the
 features of Polybius’s description. We need not,
 we see, to suppose what is not true, to consider
 Polybius as describing what he had never seen,
 and so to make allowance for that magnifying
 mist in his account, with which objects never seen
 are frequently invested, by transmitted and secondary
 delineations. He beheld, he described, and
 we immediately recognize the ancient hills in the
 modern. But there was even then a town upon
 the hills, and the metropolis of a nation; the
original town of Lyons, metropolis to the nation
 of the SEGUSIANI. Cæsar says of the Segusiani,
 that “ they are the first people, beyond the Ro-
 “ man dominions and on the other side of the
 “ Rhone.” “ The Secusiani,” adds Pliny, “ are

” “ La Montagne de Fourviere est d’une part si haute et si
 “ escarpée, qu’il paroît bien que la nature a voulu la rendre
 “ impracticable sur-tout, pour le commerce de la Saone.”
 Histoire i. 267, from M. de Marca.

” Cæsar De Bello Gall. i. 10, p. 13, Davis. “ Hi sunt ex-
 “ tra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.” So Marcellinus
 (xv. xi. p. 105) says of the point of confluence between the
 Saone and Rhone, “ qui locus exordium est Galliarum.” Was
 the grand ferry between Celtic and Roman Gaule, then fixed at
 Lyons; as the grand bridge now is betwixt Dauphiny and the
 rest of France? From some such circumstance alone, *could* the
 Segusiani be considered as the *first* beyond the provinciated
 Gauls, and Lyons be called the very commencement of Celtic
 Gaule.

“ those

“ those in whose land is the colony of Lyons^a.”
 “ This city,” subjoins Strabo, “ presides over the
 “ nation of the Segosiani^b.” It was even a pop-
 ular town in the days of Hannibal, Polybius
 considering the mountains on which it stood, as
 a part of that Delta to which they formed the
 base; and therefore describing the isle as “ very
 “ populous” in the town, though “ fruitful in
 “ corn” upon the insular level below. This town
 was made a Roman colony, just after the assassi-
 nation of Cæsar. The Allobroges, rising in re-
 bellion against the Romans, expelled the soldiers
 who were settled in their capital, Vienne. These
 retired along the Rhone to Lyons, and took up
 their abode there for the present. But the Senate
 of Rome ordered Munus Plancus, one of their
 commanders in Gaule, to provide them a fixed
 and permanent habitation. Plancus accordingly
 provided one for them, by giving them the capi-
 tal of the Segosiani, instead of the metropolis of
 the Allobroges; and so fixing them for ever at
 their present residence^c.

— IV. —

^a Pliny, iv. 18. “ Secusiani, — in quorum agro colonia
 Lugdunum.”

^b Strabo, iv. 292. Προκαθηται δε του εθους του Σαμφοσιανων η
 πολεις αυτη.

^c Dio xlv. 50. p. 486. Reimar. Hamburgi. 1750. Εκλειυσαν
 αυτους τους εκ Ουϊννης της Ναρβωνης, υπο των Αλλοβρωγων πολε εκπι-
 στας, και ες το μεταξυ του τε Ροδανου και του Αραριδου, η συμμηνυται
 αλληλοι, ιδρυθεις, εννοικισαι. Και ουτως εκεινοι υπομειναντες, τε
 Λογυδων

— V. —

NOR was this town under the Romans now, any more than under the Gauls before, upon the low ground beneath the hill; being equally still upon the crest of Polybius's mountains. This is plain, from the remains of the Romans there at present. On Mount Fourviere are the ruins of that imperial palace, which was built by Antony, was the birth-place of Claudius, and had the em-

Λογούδουνον μετ' ονομασθησθαι, νυν δε Λουγούδουνον καλουμενον, εκτισαν. That these expelled inhabitants of Vienne were *Romans*, is plain from two facts. The very man who settled them at Lyons, is declared in his own epitaph to have settled a *colony* at Lyons; "in Gallia colonias deduxit Lugdunum et Rauricam" (Histoire i. 8, and Breval's First Travels, i. 225-226). And Lyons was ever afterwards a colony of Romans. This passage in Dio takes away the two towns of different dates, which Menetrier in his petty zeal has built here; one called Lugudunum, and the other Lugdunum; *that* built by the Rhodiae Momorus and Atepomarus on the *hills*, and *this* by the Roman Plancus on the *island* (Histoire i. 22-23, and Breval, 225-226). Dio proves decisively in what he says above, of "the Romans possessing what was then called Lugudunum, and now denominated "Lugdunum;" that these were only two names for one town, which was built originally by the Gauls, as the Gallic name shows, and afterwards enlarged by the Romans, on their settling a colony within it; that Lugudunum was the original name, and prevailed to the settlement of the Romans; and that it was afterwards abbreviated into Lugdunum by the Romans, as it is actually abbreviated by Pliny before, and in the immediately antecedent epitaph of Plancus himself.

perors Claudius and Augustus successively for its inhabitants. But being built at so early a period as the days of Antony, and in a region so newly conquered as Gaule, it has nothing but its antiquity to engage our respect; consisting only of a single arch, that is composed of three semi-circles of large rough stones, almost buried in the earth, and of a wall about a hundred and forty-five feet in length, only forty-five in height, that is formed of brick and stone in courses, five courses of stone being bound by two of brick, and all united by a cement, that from the very mode of making and applying Roman cement, by mixing sand, gravel, and pebbles with the lime, and pouring it boiling hot upon the cold stones, has acquired the usual hardness of ancient mortar, and is even as hard as iron itself^d. This palace made Lyons of course, what it continued to be for ages afterward, and what it is expressly denominated by the Tables of Peutinger, "the Capital of Gaule^e." On the same hill, and on the hill of St. Irenæus, are the eight concluding arches of a most magnificent aqueduct; which is asserted by all the reporters of tradition, and believed by all the disciples of antiquarianism, to have been constructed equally with the palace by Antony, but which appears to be formed in a superior style of architecture, and

^d Histoire i. 107, and 152; Gray, 56; and for Roman cement, History of Manchester, i. 46-47, octavo.

^e Segment i. "Lugduno caput Galliar."

was therefore erected, as I shall soon show some pipes from it to have been actually laid, by Claudius, the *native* friend and *peculiar* patron of Lyons; and which (in the strange superfluity and unwieldy pomp of elegance, that now began to actuate the Romans from the vanity of imperial grandeur) conveyed a whole river for more than twenty miles together, upon arches of stone over occurring vallies, and along tunnels of stone through opposing hills, to the dry summits of those heights, for the use of their Roman and Gallic inhabitants ^f. Another aqueduct of a humbler and wiser nature, being not raised upon arches, but laid (like our wooden pipes from Islington to London) upon the ground, appears in some considerable remains at an ascent not far from Lyons, and points directly upon the hill of St. Sebastian ^g.

On Mount Fourviere also centered all the four roads, that Agrippa laid from Lyons to the Pyrenees, to the Rhine, to the British Channel, and to Narbonne ^h: Lyons having the singular good-fortune to be patronized equally by Antony and by Augustus, and to be honoured successively with the residence of those two rivals in empire, for both of whom together the wide extent of the

^f Histoire i. 47, and plate; Gray, 56.

^g Histoire i. 30-31.

^h Strabo, iv. 318.

Roman dominions was too small. The road to Narbonne yet appears upon one side of the hill, between the gates of St. George and St. Just, composed of little flints that are strongly cemented together, as hard as a pillar of porphyry or a column of granite. They must therefore have been *intolerably hard*, to the foot of the man or the hoof of the beast that travelled over them, and *formidably slippery* to the wheels of carriages passing along them; those who went so much into a wild exorbitance of luxury for the simple element of water, forming roads for themselves as hard as a granite or a porphyry; and their roads continuing so firm and sound as this does to the present day, *because* travellers, whenever they could, turned off from the uneasy pavement, and went upon the natural ground along it^l. Thus is it carried up the precipitous part of the mountain, having the face of the mountain secured from falling down upon the road, and the steepness of the descent softened in its course, by ranges of collateral arches, nine in one place, three fours in another, and one four in another^k. The Romans, we see, failed not in the formation of their roads, through any want of attention or from any frugality of expence; were, indeed, as pompous in their roads as in their conduits, and much more rationally so in

^l See History of Manchester, i. 228.

^k Histoire i. 62-63, and Breval's First Travels, i. 236.

those than in these; only made those so hard, from not adverting to the obvious principles, of constructing their ways with binding gravel on the surface, and training them in traverses down a precipice. Yet for want of a continuance of Roman care, and from the falling assuredly of the face of the mountain, some parts of this road are now buried no less than twelve feet in depth^l.

On the hill of St. Just are considerable remains of a Roman bath, with its row of porticoes upon three sides; on the hill of Fourviere, are the relics of a Roman theater; and on the side of St. Sebastian's, in 1561, were the vestiges of an amphitheater^m. On all these hills of Fourviere, St.

^l Breval's First Travels, i. 236, and Gray, 56.

^m Histoire i. 48, 270, 153. Father Colonia has confounded that theater and this amphitheater together. He knows nothing of the latter, therefore supposes the former to be meant by the historians of Lyons, when they speak of an amphitheater; and reproves them for the abusive application of the name (i. 272). He even believes, with the multitude (I suppose), that the theater was the scene of the martyrdom, which in Eusebius is expressly appropriated to the amphitheater, even as the Father himself cites him (270 and 272). The Father attended not to his own quotations, either from him or from an account of Lyons in 1561, which notices equally, "*les vestiges de l'Amphitheatre sur la coté Saint Sebastien et en la vigne d'Auserre, une partie du Theatre à la vigne de Barondeo vers Fourviere*" (i. 153). Destroyed since, the amphitheater is forgotten equally by the townsmen and by their historian,

Just, St. Irenæus, and St. Sebastian, was the whole city in the days of Nero; when, in one night, all its opulence and elegance was reduced to ashes^a. The town was then built, says Seneca expressly, “upon one *hill*, and this not very lofty^o;” he considering these several eminences very naturally as one hill, and being much mistaken (as we have seen before) about the loftiness of it. Upon Mount Fourviere, particularly, have been found rooms floored with Mosaic, and incrusted on the walls with antique marble, that was *inlaid* with pieces of jasper, of PORCELAIN, and of serpentine. Lumps of metal, and lamps of bronze, have been found there half-calcined by the violence of the heat. Even bricks have been discovered consumed in part by it, beams of timber burnt, and cinders compacted together like the dross of metals from a furnace. What is very remarkable, the PORCELAIN was as lively and as fine as *that of China*; and so shews this elegant species of earthen-ware, which is now so much a favourite at our tables, to have been known in these western parts of Europe, for ages before it was introduced by the Cape of Good Hope; the ware having been previously introduced over land by the Romans, and thus becoming so common

^a Seneca, *epist.* 91. “Una nox fuit inter urbem maximam et nullam.” *Histoire* i. 156-157.

^o Seneca, *ibid.* “Uni imposita, et huic non altissimo, menti.” *Histoire* *ibid.*

among them even in Gaule, as to be actually used in a kind of grotto-work upon the walls of their houses at Lyons^F.

But,

^F Histoire i. 149-152, 44-45, and 44, “de morceaux d’une porcelaine, aussi brillante et aussi fine que de la Chine.” This discovery of porcelain in the Roman houses at Lyons, ascertains the *Vasa Murrhina* of the Romans to be what Salmasius averred them to be, the Porcelain of the East. “Eadem “*Victoria*,” says Pliny, xxxvii. 2, concerning Pompey’s over Pontus, &c. “*primùm in urbem Murrhina induxit, primusque Pompeius sex pocula ex eo triumpho Capitolino Jovi dicavit; quæ protinus ad hominum usum transiêre, abacis escariisque vasis inde expetitis, excrescitque indies ejus rei luxus.—Oriens Murrhina mittit; inveniuntur enim ibi in pluribus locis, nec insignibus, maximè Parthici regni, præcipuè tamen in Carmania,*” though now in China and its vicinity only: “*hunc morem putant sub terrâ calore densari,*” just as the materials of it were once supposed among ourselves, to lie maturing in the earth for a hundred years. “*Murrhina et chrySTALLINA,*” adds Pliny, xxxiii. *procmium* “*ex eadem terrâ effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipsa fragilitas.*” Augustus, “*cum, et Alexandria captâ, nihil sibi præter unum Murrhinum calicem ex instrumento regio retinuerit,*” &c. (Suetonius, 71). The French name of *porcelain*, by which we and the French know the half-baked and half-vitrified ware of China now, is derived from the Roman ware, I apprehend, and from the provincial appellation for it among the Romans. The plant *portulaca* is called in French *pourpier* or *porcelaine*, and, derivatively from the French, *purslain* in English, from its purple colour; a little shellfish is called in English *purple*, in French *pourpre* or *porcelaine*; and, what brings all to a point at once, the china-ware of Rome was coloured only with *purple*. “*Splendor his sine viribus,*” notes Pliny very characteristically,

But, what is still more remarkable, among cinders deep in the earth have been dug up more than two hundred weight of lead, the evident remains of those *leaden pipes*, which once served to distribute the waters of the aqueduct through all parts of the town, and particularly to the imperial palace. Among these fragments was one so prodigious in bulk, as to be capable of carrying even twenty inches of water. This was the main pipe, and divided into four branches much inferior in bulk; being only four inches in diameter. The knob, formed at the division, had resisted that vehemence of the fire which had consumed the rest of this pipe, and so saved in part the branches issuing from it. Upon some of the fragments, a liquefaction is actually visible to this day; and upon some are inscriptions in very large letters, *Jul. Paul. Lug. Fac.* and *L. Tertinius F.* But under

cally, xxxviii. 2, “ nitorque veriùs quàm splendor; sed in
 “ pretio varietas colorum, subinde circumagentibus se maculis
 “ in *purpuram*. candoremque, et tertiam ex utròque ignescen-
 “ tem, velut per transitum coloris *purpuræ* rubescente aut
 “ lacte candescente.” We thus explain a name with rationality, that has been hitherto explained with high folly; the three words, *pour cent années*, being most ridiculously supposed to have clubbed for the formation of the word *porcelain*. We also bring a confirmation, of the use of porcelain among the Romans. And we finally see the colouring of the Roman porcelain, not composed of that fine deep blue in broad *patches* upon the white, which is so much coveted in our own at present, but of purple and white in *spots*.

one house only, the site assuredly of a water-house, were found *twenty or thirty* pipes of lead, most of them from *fifteen to twenty* feet in length, and appearing to have been laid for the peculiar use of the palace; as they had these words stamped upon them, *Ti. Cl. Cæs.* for Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, the certain layer of the pipes, and therefore the assured constructor of the aqueduct to which they belonged. All these are a full proof of the Roman acquaintance with that physical principle, of which they are universally supposed by the moderns to be wholly ignorant, the power of a current to rise up, as high as its fountain. We see them here using pipes of lead for the conveyance of a current, with the same readiness of knowledge as the moderns themselves. They, therefore, did not erect their grand arcades for aqueducts, from any ignorance of this obvious principle, as modern presumption has flattered itself with believing; but from the eccentricity of pride, and the insolence of vain-glory. These relics, too, are an equal evidence of the fierceness of those flames, which in one night destroyed a whole city, and of the vivid impression, which the conflagration made upon the very ground itself. Even, on the hill of St. Sebastian were found in 1528 those two plates of brass, that bore the speech of Claudius engraved upon them; that had been buried in the ruins of the building, within which they had been set up; and buried at the
con-

conflagration, as they appear to have actually suffered from the fire¹.

Nor was the town, when it was rebuilt, removed to another site. It still continued upon the "very populous" mountains of Hannibal. On the principal of them, Mount Fourviere, was a large *Forum* or Square, which nine centuries ago tradition invariably attributed to Trajan; which, in the language domesticated among the Gauls by the Romans, and still talked by the French, was denominated *Forum Vetus*, and thrown down by a hurricane in 840; but is noticed by authors of that very century, as a "memorable," a "singular," and a "venerable" pile of building². On Mount Fourviere was found a fine altar in 1704, which proves itself by its own inscription to have been erected, and sacrifices upon it to have been offered up, "for the safety of Antoninus Pius, his children, and the state of the colony

¹ Histoire i. 134, and Thicknesse ii. 84.

² Breval in his Second Travels ii. 113, says of Father Colonia; "the Father informed me, that he had seen a brass coin, struck at Lyons, with the head of Claudius, and the *Forum Vetus*—on its reverse." This was said in 1738, and Colonia published his history in 1728. Yet Mr. Breval seems to know nothing of the latter; and, as Colonia in Histoire i. 169-170 constantly attributes the *Forum Vetus* to Trajan, I believe Mr. Breval to have made a mistake, referring what Colonia orally said, in allusion to what he has written, i. 171, concerning a coin of Trajan, to a coin of Claudius.

“ of Lyons’s.” But the residence of Severus in the palace of Antony there, confirms the whole; the very name of Severus having been found inscribed under a bas-relief, that must formerly have served as one of the cornices of the palace; and the very palace itself having formerly borne the appellation, of Severus’s’.

— VI. —

THE first building indeed upon the *present* site of Lyons, the Island of Hannibal, is “ fruitful

* Histoire i. 185-186.

† Histoire i. 269, and 152-153. “ Le Palais Senatorien ou de “ *Severe*.” The French antiquaries, who agree in fixing the original Lyons upon the high grounds adjoining to the island, have differed concerning the particular position of it there. M. de Marca fixed it upon St. Sebastian’s (Histoire i. 266-268), but Colonia upon Mounts Fourviere and St. Just (i. 269). The latter adduces in proof of his position, all these relics of the conflagration, which (he says) are found upon Mount Fourviere only, “ qui ne se trouvent que sur la montagne de Fourviere et non pas ailleurs” (i. 272); where *his own argument precludes his own Mount of St. Just*. The plates of brass discovered on St. Sebastian’s, he argues, prove not this hill to have had the town upon it; because the plates *may* have been displaced in some revolution, from their original repository in the temple; and the temples were sometimes *without* the walls of a town (i. 274-275): when yet he is forced to acknowledge at last, that the town had *undoubtedly* begun before the fire, to *take possession of this mountain* (i. 275 and 31). The plates of brass indeed unite with the humble aqueduct, to show the town and the town-hall at the time of the fire, existing upon the top of St. Sebastian’s,

“ in

“ in corn,” was a temple to Augustus, of which some splendid remains, four tall pillars of oriental granite, still exist in the abbey of Aismay^u. This was erected, in honour of him and of Rome conjointly; the debasing sottishness of mankind sinking so low, as to deify a *human worm*, to raise a temple to this worm *yet living*, and to pray to the

^u Histoire i. 89-93. That these pillars are *oriental granite*, is plain from their superiour beauty. To refer us therefore for their origin, to some supposed and asserted, but unused and unknown, quarries in the neighbourhood; as Colonia does, i. 93, and as Mr. Pownall does after him, p. 157; is very injudicious. To urge, that the Rhone could not bear a vessel large enough for floating the granite up it, as Breval does in his First Travels, i. 229, is historically unjust; because we know a much shallower river, the Tiber, to have borne the greater obelisks of Rome. *Those* (I suppose) were brought, like *these*, from Egypt; and perhaps by Augustus, who brought one of those. But, what confirms the Egyptian origin of those, an actual obelisk of oriental granite, like these at Rome, was found in the last century at Arles, on the mouth of this very river, and has been since erected in the town, like those (Breval's Second Travels, ii. 181-184). Nor do the pillars at Lyons appear to have been cut out of two, as the historians of Lyons and Mr. Pownall unite to suppose. They are not the pillars represented on a coin of Augustus, with a view of an altar between them; as Augustus's are *two* and ours are *four*, and as the *two* have *capitals* and *bases*, while *none* of the *four* has *either*. The latter circumstance in all the four is evidently too regular, to be casual; and demonstrates the four to be as different from the two in reality, as they are in number. They were originally four, no doubt, as they are now; and originally supported the temple, exactly as they now support the church.

image of this living worm for the blessings of Heaven; but Augustus having the modesty to refuse the prayers, the temple, and the dedication, not absolutely and for ever, but *only* while he was alive, and only then *unless* the personification of Rome, a mere figure of rhetoric, received them equally with him. Such was the fly humility of the man, and such the petty artifice that could then impose upon the world! But indeed the whole system of Heathen theology, as far as it is purely Heathen, is so grossly pregnant with absurdity, and comes forward with such a vast protuberance of folly; that the eye of the enlightened Christian stares with amazement at its appearance, that the common sense of a Christian peasant is shocked with the view of it, and even the finger of simpleness is pointed at it with a just disdain. The temple was erected by a combination of sixty tribes of Gauls, that carried on a commerce with Lyons. "The temple," as Strabo explicitly informs us, "was decreed by all the Gauls in general to Cæsar Augustus, at the union of the rivers; in which there is an altar worthy of particular notice, as having upon it an inscription of tribes, sixty in number, and there are the images of them, an image for each; with another great altar," inscribed (I suppose) to Augustus. Such a large portion of Gaule had

† Strabo, iv. 292. Το τε μνηστο αναδειχθέν υπό πάντων κλιση των Γαλαίων, Καισαρι τω Σεβαστω,---επι τη συμπόλη των πείρασμων εφιδε θυμω αξιολόγος, επιγραφήν έχων των εθνών ξ τον αριθμον, και εικονς στυμνη εκαστου μίας, και άλλως μετ...

united in the erection of this temple, that it was considered as the common fabrication of all the country. In it was one great altar, bearing upon it sixty statues; each standing as the visible and tutelary representative, of each tribe that united in the erection; and each having an inscription, which indicated the name of the tribe represented by it. But there was also another altar, equally a large one, that was designed for sacrifices to be offered upon it, to the *Human and Living Deity* of the temple. So large and extensive a trade did Lyons possess, even at that early period.

But this was plainly possessed by it in a lesser degree, before the Romans settled within it, and indeed as early as the days of Hannibal. When he came to the Rhone opposite to Lauriol in Dauphiny, he found a number of vessels upon the river; some of them the first and natural ships of mankind, canoes hollowed out of a single tree; others, larger boats artificially constructed. "Many of those who inhabited the banks of the Rhone," says Polybius, "used to carry on a traffic in them, and even *venture out to sea with them.*" All these Hannibal hired, for his passage across the river. So early did Commerce begin

† Polybius, iii. 42. Εξήφορασε παρ' αὐτῶν τα τε μονοξυλα πλοισι πωπία, και τους λεμβους ογίας ικανους τῶ πλῆθει, δια το ταις εκ της θαλαττης εμπορειαις πολλους χρῆσθαι των παροικουτων του Ροδαίου.

begin to take her course, upon the useful current of the Rhone! Lyons naturally became from its situation, what from its situation it has remained ever since, the great staple of the whole. It was *this*, no doubt, which drew down the town from its airy position on the hills above, to the immediate banks of the Saone and the Rhone below. But the removal was so gradual, that history has not noticed it particularly. The eye could not mark at the moment, the advance of the shade upon the dial. It could only see afterwards, that it had advanced; and the grand addition that was made to the commerce of Lyons, immediately after the reduction of the country by the Romans, was the original cause of all.

As early as the death of Cæsar, we are informed by the speech of Antony upon it; that “Gaul is indeed enslaved,—and is all cultivated like Italy itself;” and that “not merely the Rhone is yet navigated, or the Saone, but also the Moselle, the Loire, the very Rhine, and the very Ocean.” With this augmentation of

“He prevailed upon them to *sell* to him all their canoes and boats, the number of which was *very great*; for *almost all*,” many of, “the people that dwell on the Rhone are employed in *constant* commerce upon the sea.” i. 340.

* Dion Cassius xliv. 42. p. 409. Νυν διδουλωθαι μιν Γαλατία, — και γεωργεῖσθαι πᾶσα, ὡσπερ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἰταλία· πλεῖται δὲ οὐ Ροδανὸς εἰς μόνον, ἀλλ’ Ἀραρισ, ἀλλὰ και Μίσαας, και Διῆρος, και Ρηνὸς αὐτῆς, και Ωκεανὸς αὐτῆς.

the general trade of France, no less than sixty of the tribes about Lyons became engaged and interested in it. These repaired continually to Lyons, as the great center of commerce to them all. They thus laid the foundations of the *present* city, in a temple for their general use, at the immediate confluence of the two rivers, and on the immediate scene of their commercial operations; a grand mart or fair, I suppose, being annually held upon the island then, and this speedily producing a new town. We are accordingly told by Dio, that Drusus “ assembled the principal persons among the Gauls, under pretence of keeping *the festivity, which is even now kept at Lyons, about the altar of Augustus;*” which was accompanied with the games, that are generally exhibited, though in a much lower style, at our fairs, and with literary contests much more exalted, than the rival ballad-singings at ours^y. We are also informed by Strabo, who wrote in the immediately succeeding reign of Tiberius; that “ the Romans inhabit the town

^y Dio, liv. 762. Τους γαλλοὺς αὐτοῦ, προφασίς τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἣν καὶ νῦν περὶ τοῦ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ Βασιλῆος ἐν Λουγδουνην τελευτᾷ, μέγα περιφαιμαμένους. Caligula “ edidit— ludos— in Gallia Lugduni miscellos, sed et certamen quoque Græcæ Latinæque facundiæ” (Suetonius, 20); and Juvenal,

Aut Lugdunensem Rhetor dicturus ad aram.

In Histoire i. 88, is an inscription, “ Sacerdos Romæ et Aug. ad aram ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani Famen;” in 94, “ Functo Sacer. ad templum Romæ et Augg.” and in 95, “ Sacerdoti ad templum Romæ et Augustorum.”

“ Lug-

“ Lugdunum, which is built *under* a hill, at the “ union of the river Arar and the Rhone;” and that the temple “ is erected *in the front of the* “ *town,*” the houses all looking towards it. The *commercial* town of Lyons was thus built and thus inhabited, by those whom Strabo calls exclusively Romans, those alone who were engaged in commerce, and who, with some Gauls among them, appear from this appellation to have been principally Romans; while the *elegant, the dignified, the principal* town, as we have sufficiently seen already, still retained the soldiery, the gentry, the magistrates, and the emperours within it.

The lower town however increased, as the commerce advanced; and the conflagration of the higher in the days of Nero, would serve additionally to increase it. We particularly find the Town-hall, which was fixed at the time of the conflagration upon the hill of St. Sebastian, and there was burnt down with the two plates of brass within it, to have been never rebuilt upon its ancient site, as the plates were left buried in the ruins for fourteen centuries afterward; the commercial men, who had naturally dwelt around

^a Strabo, iv. 292. Το Λουγδουνον, εκτισμενον υπο λοφου κατὰ την συμβολην του τε Αραρος ποταμου και του Ροδανου, κατεχουσι Ρωμαικαι, and το ιερον—προ ταυτης ιδρυσαι της πολεις. The word *υπο*, under, is sometimes read *επι*, upon; but in direct contradiction to the whole passage, to the mention of the temple particularly.

their hall, now migrating in all probability to the island, leaving all St. Sebastien's in its reduced state of desolation, and building a new hall for themselves in the new town. This soon spread across the plane of the island. A temple was erected to *Antoninus Pius*, on the northern extremity of the isle, near the base of Polybius's Delta, and at the very foot of Mount Fourviere; even upon the ground of St. John's church there^a. Another temple was erected upon the same side of the island, and at the Place of St. Pierre, to the Goddess *Vesta*^b. We have even a rare instance of a kind of modern hospital, constructed by a private Roman upon the western side of the island: an inscribed stone at the corner of the square of Louis the Great, and near the wooden bridge over the Saone, hinting at the commercial spirit of the inhabitants, and *the number of medical gentlemen*, around; then offering a lodging to all comers, but suggesting the necessity of their bringing their dinners with them^c. The remains of a fourth *temple* probably, and of a Roman

^a Histoire i. 179. ^b Ibid. 276.

^c Histoire i. 236. "Mercurius hic lucrum promittit, Apollo salutem, Septimanus hospitium; cum prandio qui venerit, melius utetur; post, hospes, ubi maneat prospice." Ibid. i. 168. "Ce que---Galien [Galen]---dit du Medecin Abascantus, qui se distingueoit à Lyon par sa habileté, nous fait voir, que la medecine, qui y est aujourd'hui si florissante, y étoit déjà fort cultivée dès ce temps-là."

building certainly, were equally discovered at the foot of Mount Fourviere in 1666; the labourers coming to the face of a wall, that was *vainfcoated* with *inlaid work*; and laying open a curious floor of Mosaic, that bore the figures of a Female Hermes, a Cupid, a Satyr, and a Silvanus upon it, and so proved itself to be as early as the times of heathenism^d. All these buildings unite with Strabo to prove, that the commencement of a town upon Hannibal's island was not till the days of the Roman empire, was then in the earliest of those days, and the result of the greater commerce which then settled there; and go on to prove by themselves, that, even in the days of the Romans, the whole island was inhabited laxely, from the very *vertex* of the Delta on the south, to the base and the mountains on the north.

Yet the new town continued still to gain upon the old, and even after the Romans had ceased to be the lords of the country. The principle of commerce, which operated so powerfully before, continued its activities still. The church of the Holy Cross was built upon the banks of the Saone, before 611^e. The churches of St. Paul and St. George were built on the same banks, in the

^d Histoire i. 237-239. "Un pan de muraille, qui estoit revêtu de pieces de rapport."

^e Histoire i. (partie seconde) 340, and ii. 51.

century preceding^f; and the adjoining church of St. Etienne was, in the century before that^g. Religion thus supplies history with marked dates, in the several periods of its sacred erections. Even the sovereigns of the Burgundian Vandals fixed their residence on the island, in the sixth century; and the church of St. Etienne became their chapel-royal^h. Elegance and fashion would then co-operate with commerce, to invite the old town from its height. Under the attraction of all, the last and lingering inhabitants of it deserted the hills, and descended to the plain. Then assuredly was the canal dug, that we have seen running along the foot of the hills from the Saone to the Rhone, and that was not there (we are sure) in the days of Hannibal or Polybius; to guard against any invasion from the only accessible quarter of the island, to preclude any descent upon the town from the defenceless and desolated hills above. And the square of Trajan, left exposed to the weather for two or three centuries, therefore called *Forum Vetus*, *Fourvieil*, or *Fourviere*, and so giving name to the mountain; in 840 was thrown down from end to end by a storm, and closed the final history of Hannibal's

^f Histoire i (part. seconde) 339-340, and 133.

^g Histoire ii. 55.

^h Histoire i (pt. 2de) 340, and ii. 58-59.

townⁱ. This has been almost a solitude ever since, having only a few houses scattered over the range of these hills, and two or three monasteries extending their gardens along the site of the ancient town; while the town on the island has been obliged by the narrowness of its ground, pent in as it is between the hills and the rivers, to usurp upon the line of the canal, to fill it up with earth, and to cover it with buildings; even to raise the houses enormously high, like our own Edinborough, and so to pile one city (as it were) upon the head of another,

Imponere Pelio Offam^h.

—VII.—

Histoire i. 173-174. Our English name of Lyons, like the French name of Londres, is derived from the existence of these two towns together, like those of London and Southwark. How falsely then does D'Anville assert, that "ce qui fait aujourd'hui la plus considerable partie de Lion entre la Saone et le Rhone, n'a commenc      se remplir que sous le regne de Louis XII. et de Francois I" (423-424); when it began so many ages before, and when it had largely covered the whole island in the days of the Romans.

^k I cannot leave this fine town without noticing, that it furnishes three instances of such honour paid to *Conjugal Love*, as is rare to be found in the world. One gentleman has solemnly registered upon the gravestone of his wife, that "She lived with him 42 years without one blot," "Quæ cum co vixit annis xlii. sine ulla maculâ" (Histoire i. 50). A second has recorded his wife, as "a most extraordinary example of goodness, and very loving of me, who lived with me 23 years 15 days without offending me once;" "conjugi rarissimi

—VII.—

I HAVE entered into all this double history of Lyons, in order to remove the obstructions in my march with Hannibal, which the mis-directed vigour of opposition, and the over-active officiousness of zeal, have equally contributed to raise in my way. This was the first stage in the route of

“*exempli meique amantiff. quai vix. mecum anno xxiii. d. xv. sine ullâ animi læfione*” (Histoire i. 83). These are as remarkable, as they are pleasing; but the third is still stronger and fuller. Another gentleman dedicates a monument “to the Virtuous Memory and the Eternal Hope, also to the Incomparable Spirit, of Felicia Mina, a woman who was an example of the most extraordinary chastity, and the fullest affection towards all mankind,—his incomparable wife, who lived with him 32 years 5 months 4 days *without one quarrel*;” “*Bonæ Memorix et Spei æternæ, Spiritu quoque Incomparabili, Feliciæ Minæ, feminx rarissimæ castitatis, exempli affectionis plenissimæ erga omnes homines,—Conjugi Incomparabili, quæ vixit annos xxxii. mens. v. dies iii. sine ullâ querelâ*” (Histoire i. 103-104). Such instances of worth in the wife, and of gratitude in the husband, ought to be well known for the honour of matrimonial affection. There is something peculiarly tender too, in the husband’s recording the very months, and even the very days, during which he had been happy in her love. The concluding touch particularly, of having lived 23 years, even 32, and even 42, *without one blot, or one quarrel, or once offending her husband*, carries the love to its full point of amiable perfection. Those men who are good husbands, and feel themselves happy in being such, will peculiarly admire these epitaphs, as what serve for mirrors to their own conduct,

And give them back the image of their minds.

Hannibal,

Hannibal, which wanted to be particularly ascertained; and to ascertain it completely, was requisite to all the future certainty of my movements. The ground about Lyons, too, is now so different from what it was in the days of Hannibal, that a double train of proofs became necessary to ascertain its identity. I was obliged, not merely to shew the town existing originally upon the summit of the hills, but also to mark how and when it came to shift its situation, and to be where it now is upon the island. I have thus, I believe, thrown such a clear sun-shine of history upon the point, as no mistakes can veil, and no wilfulness can darken, for ever again.

At the period of Hannibal's arrival then, Lyons stood frowning from its steep, lofty, and almost inaccessible hills, the capital of a nation, and "very populous" in itself; while the island under it on the south, the present site of Lyons, lay all uninhabited, but well cultivated, and "fruitful in corn¹." But the town was in a high ferment

¹ From this fertility in corn, characteristic of that and all the land adjoining, the town was actually called by the Romans "*Colonia Claudia Copia Augusta Lugdunum*." This name, says M. de Marca, denoted "la grande fertilité du pais." And, as Father Colonia adds, "par ce nom extraordinaire de *Copia*, on voulut faire allusion à la Déesse de l'abondance ou des moissons, qui faisoit un des grands objets du culte de tout ce pais, auquel même elle avoit donné

ferment of sedition at the time. Brancus was the king of the Segufiani, and had his palace within it. He had however a younger brother, who was too ambitious to be any longer a subject, had become too popular not to make a grand struggle for the crown, and had drawn all the lower rank of people to his side. The government of the Segufiani seems to have been, like the *late*, the *present* government of the Poles, not indeed elective, but at once republican and regal. They are said expressly by Pliny, to have been "a FREE nation;" with that abuse of language, which is too prevalent among ourselves, and which even the *imperial* Romans, in consequence of their hereditary inclination for republicanism, could not refrain from practising^m. They had

"son nom" of Segufiana. "Cette Deesse s'appelloit *Segetia* "ou *Seges*. C'est un terme Celtique, que les Romains adopterent, et qui selon Pline, et selon Augustin (De Civ. Dei, lib. iv. c. 8), a donné le nom à la moisson, nommé en Latin *Seges*. On voit encore à Lyon un *bas-relief antique*, dans lequel cette Divinité est représentée avec une corne d'abondance à la main; et c'est avec la même attitude, que le Genie de Lyon est représenté dans un médaille d'Albin" (Histoire i. 128-130.)

^m Pliny iv. 18. "Secufiani liberi." M'Anville asserts them to be called *free*, because they were no longer subject to the *Ædui*: "les Segufiani, apres avoir été *clientes* *OEduorum*, sont ensuite qualifiés de *liberi*" (p. 423). But this is plainly an error, as the Segufiani are, *after the days of Pliny*, still put down for subjects to the *Ædui*; Ptolemy reckoning for one of the *Æduan* towns, this very city of Lyons (ii. 8. p. 52).

also a senate and nobles; *that*, an argument of the republican tendency of their government, a tendency very prevalent even then in the south of France; and *these* a proof of its tendency to the wisest sort of a republic, a republic of gradations and orders, such alone as was then established in any part of France; the inhabitants of that country having not yet mounted up into all the lunacies of liberty, and not yet aspiring to make the human animal walk upon his head, sprawl with his legs in the air, and rear his rump against the sky. They were however cursed, as the Romans had been, before, and as the Poles have been since, with that uniform attendant upon popular governments, the distractions of dissension. The great mass of mankind, however we may flatter *them* and impose upon *ourselves* by fantastical theories, are calculated only to obey. They are no more qualified to direct in states, than our servants are to dictate in families. These pretendedly *free* societies, therefore, are generally subjected to the most degrading of all tyrannies, the tyranny of the mob. This we see displayed in all its fullest horrors, within the region of France at present: where the mob-cry of liberty has been more savage in its tones, than the Indian yell of murder; where the polite nation of Europe has been transformed by it, into a hord of the bloodiest barbarians; and where the mob itself has come forward, with ten thousand furies accompanying

accompanying it, to massacre the nobles, the clergy, the monarch, and his queen. But it had been displayed in colours less glowing and glaring, among the Segufiani of France before. Incapable of distinguishing in their intellects, and accessible to every sollicitation of cunning in their passions, the commonalty of Lyons all took part now with the ambitious brother, and all broke out into a rebellion with him, against the king, the senate, and the nobles; a rebellion somewhat like that in our own country once, of clowns against their masters, or more like that of Paris lately, of shop-keepers against their customers, of *Sans-culottes* against gentlemen. Government, we know, is all founded upon opinion. It is the power of the few over the many, weak in itself, and firm only from a principle of obedience in the subjects. And, whenever the many chuse to violate this principle, burst away from the subordination in which they are placed by Providence, and so destroy the systematic harmony of the whole; they have the capacity of doing so in their own hands, just as an individual has the capacity of lifting his arm against his life.

This rebellion seems to have been, as all rebellions of the mob are, equally sudden and violent. The royal palace stood probably where the imperial was afterwards, upon Mount Fourviere; and the king escaped from it with precipitation. He did not

not retire into the open country, where he might be joined by his obedient subjects, and whence he might return to crush the rebellion of the populace in his capital. But he fled down the side of Mount Fourviere, into the island below. There he was inclosed by the rivers as in a pound, and must soon have been seized by the hands so rudely raised against him. Yet he appears to have been possessed of the navigation of the rivers, his party was thus probably becoming strong in the island, and the usurping brother descended at the head of his new subjects to destroy it. The corn was now carried off from the fields of the island, as the month of October had commenced^a. The two armies stood opposed to each other, upon them; when, as if by incantment, a large army appeared suddenly on the eastern bank of the Rhone, marching in regular order, and tending up the current. The opposed hosts probably stood suspended in their hostility, at the sight; engaged in attention to this third host, that was so strangely issuing from the clouds of the horizon; and engaging the attention of this host themselves, as it gained a nearer and a nearer view of them. Such a sight as this would carry all the appearance of a magic scene, even in those times of military movements; when the golden chain of property did not yet bind man to the

^a See vol. ii. chap. i. sect. iv. hereafter.

foil, on which he was settled; when the land lost by migration from one country, was easily recovered by the invasion of another; when property was thus hung upon the iron chain, that girt the sword to the body; and when armies were frequently ranging, over the face of the earth. But this new army would soon be known to be Hannibal's Carthaginians. The king applied to him, for his assistance against the rebels; and Hannibal assented to the overture.

He thus did, what in his haste of avoiding the Romans was very imprudent to be done. Had Scipio indeed been wise enough to follow the Carthaginians to Lyons, when he found on his arrival at the point of passage over the Rhone, that they had marched away three days before towards it; the march of Hannibal must have seemed like a flight, the Gauls would have been ready to stop and attack him as one flying, and he would particularly have suffered for his present halt, in the defeat of his whole plan. The hastiness of all his march up to Lyons, shews him not to have known of Scipio's return to Italy by sea^o. But he was drawn into the measure by those principles, on which every general must venture to act at times; his hope that Scipio would not presume to follow him, his confidence

^o Polybius iii. 49. and Livy xxi. 32.

in the advance which he had gained upon him, and his perception of the good which would result from his interference. He joined the king with a party of his army, for the conveyance of which over the Rhone into the island, the king must have furnished the necessary transports; leaving the rest encamped upon the bank with the baggage, and so securing his return across the Rhone again. With his own men and the king's, he attacked the rebels, defeated their army, dislodged them equally from the island and the capital, and put a complete end to the whole rebellion P.

P Livy xxi. 31. "Regni certamine ambigebant Fratres: Major, et qui prius impetitârat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et cœtu juniorum, qui jure minus, vi plus, poterant, pellebatur. Hujus seditionis per-opportuna disceptatio quum ad Hannibalem rejecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatûs principumque sententia fuerat, imperium majori restituit." Polybius iii. 49. Προς ΗΝ, the island, αφικομενος, και καταλαβων εν ΑΥΤΗ δυο αδελφους υπερ της βασιλειας γασιαζουλας, και ΜΕΤΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΑΟΙΣ, επιστρωμεν τε Πρεσβυτερον, και παρακαλωντος, εις το συμπραξαι, και συμ-περιποιησαι την αρχην αυτων [αυτων], αυτων υπηκουσε.—διο και συν-επιθειμενος, και συν-εκβαλων τον ελερον, κ. τ. λ.

"It happened that at this time there were two brothers in arms against each other, contending for the sovereignty of the place. The eldest of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, and implored their aid to secure him the possession of his rights. Hannibal embraced the occasion with no small joy. —Having joined his forces therefore with this prince [prince's], he defeated and drove out the younger brother" (i. 354). More responsively to the original, the version should run thus: "he came to the island, and found in it two brothers

"engaged

“ engaged in a civil war for the sovereignty, and facing each other with opposed armies; he was invited and solicited by the elder, to confederate with him, and with him to vindicate the sovereignty to him; Hannibal assented; wherefore he also, in concert with him, attacked and dislodged the other.” This account in Polybius is as regular and judicious, as that in Livy is awkward and absurd. Yet Livy supplies some notices, that Polybius omits.

The town of Lyons continued for a long time, to be called sometimes Lugudunum, sometimes Lugdunum, and sometimes both by the same person. Though called Lugdunum in Plancus's epitaph, it is called Lugudunum in Antony's coins, the first that are known to have been struck here, bearing those present arms of Lyons upon them, which seem in the present pronunciation of the town's name to be a mere *pun*, but are only the revival of Antony's device, a Lion (Histoire i. 40, Breval's First Travels i. 229, Second ii. 113, and Thickness ii. 91); in the inscription upon the altar of Antoninus Pius (Histoire i. 186); and on other monuments (Histoire i. 289, ii. 186, and Breval's First Travels 237-246). It is even denominated Lugudun and Lugdun, in one and the same inscription at Rome (Breval 228). From the date of the altar, which is 160 after Christ (Histoire i. 185); and from the assertion of Dio, that Lyons, which had been formerly called Lugudunum, was *in his time* denominated Lugdunum; the name appears to have not been generally pronounced Lugdunum only, till the end of the second century. So much less reason than ever had Menetrier, for his Roman town of Lugdunum, in opposition to his *Rhodian* of Lugdunum! And such is often the lambent flame of antiquarianism, that is at once bright and powerless, strikes upon the fancy, but reaches not the understanding,

Plays round the head, but comes not to the *brain*!

— Lugudunum or Lugdunum too does not mean, as Plutarch from Clitopho and an alledged fact interprets it, the Hill of Ravens (Histoire i. 18, and Breval 226); but, as our own name of *Lug* for a river, and the same appellation of Lugudunum

gudunum or Lugdunum for Leyden in Holland (Breval 21), unite to shew, it means the River Town. *Loch*, a lough, lake, or sea, in Irish, properly signifies *water*, as Lock-safern is a shower of rain; and forms *Luig* in the genitive case. Even *Lug* actually signifies *a river*, in the Gallic (Bullet's Dictionnaire Celtique).—Nor was the island named *Athanatus* or *Athanacus*, as has been concluded by some writers (Histoire ii. 20, and Breval 228), from an *Athenæum* or School upon it. No *Athenæum* appears to have been ever there. Nor was it denominated, as Father Colonia supposes, from the Greek word *Αθανατος*; applied to the martyrs of Lyons here buried, and expressive of their immortality (ii. 19-20); because the name covered the whole island, because a Greek name is evidently improper for a Roman-Gallic place, and because, as the martyrs suffered in the amphitheater on the hill of St. Sebastian, so their ashes were not buried at all, but thrown into the Rhone (i. 280-281). Like our own isle of *Tbanet*, which is called *Athanatos* by Solinus xxii, and the Gallic town of *Tanetum* on the Po (Livy xxi. 25); it derived its appellation from the Celtic word *Tan*, still retained in the Irish and Erse for a region, and lengthened probably in the diminutive into *Tan-et* for a little region.—Nor was the island ever called *Cannabis*, as Breval i. 228 from an inscription thinks it was. The words of the inscription are these: “*Vinario Lugudun. in Cannabis* “*consistent.*” The wine-merchants of Lyons are also specified in another inscription (Histoire i. 100). But as the island was called *Athanatus*, and therefore is now denominated *Aisnay*; so *Cannabis* is plainly some other part of Lyons, probably one of the hills of the original town, as the Celtic name concurs with the history to suggest, and perhaps the very hill of St. Sebastian. *Ceann* in Irish is a head, *Ceann-tor* a headland, *Ceannanas* Kells in Ireland, and *Ceannsaile* Kinsale.—These indeed are trifles to be settled. But half the learning of mankind is made up of such trifles. And to remove the rubbish which impedes or deforms a building, is as much the business of an architect; as to lay his courses of stone, and to erect his edifice.

Let me however relieve the dryness of these petty disquisitions, by one short notice that will go to the heart of all our Christian feelings. In this region of conjugal epitaphs, one husband records his wife to have lived with him twenty-five years, nine months, five days, and "by being too pious to have become impious." In this manner does he unconsciously register her for a professor of that Christianity, which was soon to establish itself on the ruins of Heathenism, and to fix even one of its episcopal thrones at this very city of Lyons! "D. M. et Memorix Æternæ," he says, "Sutix Anthidis," a name, that shews the bearer to have been of Grecian origin, perhaps from Marseilles, perhaps from the south of Italy, perhaps from the East immediately, "quæ vixit annis xxv, men. ix, d. v. *Quæ dum nimia pia fuit facta est impia*" (Histoire i. 264). So did human folly presume to censure that as impiety, which was calculated to fan the dying embers of piety in the world, to blow them into a strong blaze, and to sing the glorious splendours of it over earth and heaven! Yet, such is the legacy of folly left by Heathenism to the world, I remember to have met with this very expression, without knowing from whence it was derived, applied even by a *Christian* pen to the devoutness and religiousness of a *Christian* person. A Heathen woman, by becoming Christian, *might* seem to the ignorance of a Heathen to be rebelling against God, in deserting the common deities of Heathenism; but a Christian, by no rigours of Christianity, could possibly become, in reality or in appearance, a rebel to God. Christians, to their shame, borrow weapons from Heathens at times, to encounter the strictnesses of their own religion.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

— I. —

HANNIBAL having thus restored Brancus to his throne, the monarch manifested his gratitude by his kindness. He supplied the Carthaginians with corn, and with other provisions, in abundance. He replaced all their old and broken weapons, with weapons new and strong. He furnished the greatest part of them with new clothes, to guard their bodies against the cold of the Alps. He even provided them with new shoes, to secure their feet from the rough roads of the Alps. He thus, by a gratitude as seasonable to the Carthaginians as it was honourable to himself, gave a new face and form to their whole army. But what shewed his gratitude more lively than all the rest, because of the trouble and toil which it gave him, and of the high encouragement which it lent by his absence, to the just-subdued populace of his capital; he resolved to attend Hannibal in person, and with a detachment of his own soldiery, a considerable way towards the Alps; and to do

him all the service which he could, among the tribes of his countrymen upon the road^a.

Thus

^a Livy, xxi. 32. "Ob id meritum, commeatu copiosa rerum omnium, maximè vestis, est adjutus; quam infames frigoribus Alpes preparari cogebant." Polybius, iii. 49. Ου—μονου σιδη και αλλοις επιβητοις αφοθους εχωρησεν το στρατοπεδον· αλλα και των οπλων τα παλαια και τα απορηκτοια παλαια διαλλαξας, εκαινοποιησε πασαν την δυναμιν ευκαιρωσ. ει δε τους πλειους; ισθηη και προς τουτοις υποδησει, κοσμησας, μεγαλη ευχρησιαν παρεχειο προς τας των ορων υπερβολας, το δε μάλιστα, ευλαβως διακτιμενοις—απουρησας μιλα της σφαιρας δυναμειω, κ. τ. λ. "He not only supplied the troops with corn and other necessaries, in large abundance; but exchanged likewise all their arms, that were impaired and worn by use, for others that were found and new." He thus, as the translator has strangely forgot to add, *seasonably gave a new face to the whole army*, εκαινοποιησε πασαν την δυναμιν ευκαιρωσ; but Mr. Hampton most negligently omits the principal clause in the whole sentence. "He furnished great part," *the greatest part*, "of the soldiers also with new habits," clothes, "and especially with shoes, which were of singular service to them, in their march afterwards across the mountains. But the chief advantage was, that he attended with all his forces;" a point incredible in itself, even if it had been said by Polybius,

Brancus would thus have left his capital again in the possession of rebels, and so have undone that very act of kindness for which he was to attend the Carthaginians; but, as the fact undoubtedly was and as Polybius speaks, only with *his own forces*, that is, with *some* of his own; "upon the rear of the Carthaginian army, through the whole country—, *which they could not otherwise have passed without great fear and caution.*" The translator has thus altered the sense, and actually denies what his author affirms. Polybius says, that the Carthaginians were "apprehensive" even now; and Mr. Hampton says, that they *would have been apprehensive if Brancus had not gone with them.*

And

Thus successful in his progress, Hannibal set but again towards the Alps. But what course did he *now* pursue thither^b? Did he *now* alter the route, which he had taken before; turn suddenly on his right from Lyons; and direct his march to *those* Alps, from which he had turned away on his left before? Folard, who wildly takes Hannibal up towards Lyons as far only as Romans on the Isère, in order to lead him, by a sudden turn on the right, over Mount Genève; now carries him to Mount Genève accordingly. But M. de St. Simon, who brings him up to Vienne, more wildly (if we can talk of greater or lesser wildness, where both are extravagantly wild) puts him back—to his point of passage over the Rhone; bringing him up betwixt Romans and Grenoble to Vienne, and then putting him back by Tein, by Valence, and by Montelimar; in order to make him commence where he should have commenced

And having, by this inversion of his author's ideas, saved the honour of the Carthaginians, he ventures to magnify their "apprehensiveness" into "great fear and caution" (i. 354). That Brancus's attendance upon the army of Hannibal, was "the greatest" of all his kindnesses; is very weakly affirmed by Polybius. What sort of a kindness it was, the sequel shews in section iii. of this very chapter; and the affirmation will then appear totally disproved. In my text, therefore, I have given another turn to the narrative.

^b "Here," cries Mr. Archibald Bower in *Ancient Univ. Hist.* xii. 238, "an historian is as much at a loss what route

menced before, his outset for the Cottian Alps^c. Or did Hannibal now turn on his right, in order to

“to take,” when he has brought Hannibal a march of ten days beyond Lyons, “as Hannibal himself was” more than ten days before, at his passage across the Rhone; “the ancients having left us in great darkness, as to the exact place where the Carthaginian General passed the mountains. Some of the moderns point out one place, and some another; but as they may all be, for aught we know, equally mistaken, we shall follow Hannibal through the immense difficulties he met with in this his famous passage, without pretending to ascertain the precise place, where he attempted, and happily accomplished, so bold an undertaking.” Yet, what is very surprising, there is a map attending this account, p. 235, in which the course of Hannibal is *actually delineated*. Did the map-maker fancy himself to be more knowing, than his historian; that the graver thus pretends to set itself in contradiction to the pen, and the servant thus presumes to give the lie to his master?

^c See the maps in St. Simon, and the routes upon them. Both he and Folard boast, of their personal acquaintance with the Alps; and of their superior fitness in consequence of that, for ascertaining the route of Hannibal through them. “L’inspection des lieux,” says the former in p. vii, “m’a donné l’idée la plus nette de toute l’histoire;” and “on me permettra d’être un peu décisif,” says the latter in *Table de Comparaison* at the end, “sur ce point que je possède bien; cela me sied beaucoup mieux qu’à un autre, qui ne les aura ni vues ni étudiées, comme j’ai fait dans les Alpes et les Pyrénées.” Yet the personal knowledge of M. de St. Simon, proscribes the personal knowledge of Folard (p. xxxviii); and I must proscribe that of both. Eyes may see; but only the glasses of history can enable them to see properly. M. de St. Simon also is as contradictory to himself, as he is erroneous in his ideas. After he has made Hannibal, like a hare hardly chased,

to reach a *more northerly* part of these French Alps, and to pass them by the road of LITTLE ST. BERNARD? This is the course, which he is supposed by several to have pursued; particularly by Mr. Breval, the most knowing and intelligent of all our English travellers; and by that dignified officer of our army, who went over the Alps in order to trace the footsteps of the Carthaginian Hero upon them. "From what has been said by "Polybius," argues Mr. Breval, "concerning "Hannibal's passing the Rhone at Lyons," he should have said, concerning his coming up the Rhone to Lyons, after his passage over it below; "and "his entering Italy by the country of the Insubri " [Insubres], which is the present Milanese; it "will follow, that he took the road of Chamberri, "the *Petit St. Bernard*, and the Vale of Aosta." In a note he adds, that *the Petit St. Bernard* "was "part of the Alps, called Poeninæ from the

chaced, to return upon his own steps, to double back to the point from which he set out, and to face his very pursuers; he forgets all this afterwards, and speaks of Hannibal as marching, "non en circulant, ou *revenant sur ses pas*, ce que je ne suppose que ce General ait fait;" and adds, "que ce grand Capitaine n'auroit pas voulu donner une preuve visible d'ignorance, "en *retournant sur ses pas* (p. xxiii). Consistency of assertions requires clearness of discriminations, and contradictions are the sure evidence of confusion. But such a gross contradiction as this, in a work of so small a size, and consisting wholly of alledged facts, cannot readily be paralleled, I suppose, in all the realms of confusion.

“march of the Carthaginians^d.” Accordingly “we are still more inclined in our days,” adds St. Simon, “to maintain that Hannibal passed by Little St. Bernard; since we have been assured, that all the bones of an elephant were discovered upon this mountain^e.” I understand too from some letters, with which the General has favoured me; and from a large map of the Alps, which he has communicated to me, after he had delineated the course, and set down observations, with his own hand upon it; that he carries Hannibal from Lyons across Dauphiny, enters the Alps with him by a steep and rugged gully, *in which are still visible the remains of an ancient road*, and a little to the south of which is the modern entrance for Mount Cenis, called Les Eschelles. He thence conducts him along the vale, between high hills and up the river Yere, to the plain where Chamberry now stands; over it, and by St. Joire, to the vale of the river Isere near Montmelian. He then brings him up along its *right bank*, to the grand bend of the Isere on the right, and to Conflans upon it; along the trough of the Isere still, by La Roche Sevin, Faillon, Monfrier, Ayme, St. Mauriot, and Sext, to the foot of

^d Breval's First Travels, i. 227; see also ii. 1-2.

^e P. xvi. “On s'est encore plus attaché de nos jours, à soutenir qu'Annibal a dû passer par le Petit St. Bernard, depuis qu'on assure qu'on a trouvé dans cette montagne tous les ossemens d'un elephant.”

Little St. Bernard; up its western side, through a long, steep, and rugged gully; to the right of a rapid current without a name, but close on the left of a hill called *Roche Blanche*; near the bottom of the ascent, by the entrance into the gully, and at the village of *Les Villars*; so to the summit of *Little St. Bernard*, the gorge or pass of which is wide and long enough, to contain Hannibal's army closely encamped.

See Borgoni's Maps of the King of Sardinia's dominions, improved by Dury; and Placide's Map of Savoy.

“Being of opinion,” says Mr. Pownall, “with those learned antiquaries who have, with a great degree of probable conjecture, traced the march of Hannibal through this vale” of the Durance; “----- it became matter of amusement to me, while passing down from the heights, to trace and follow with my eye the supposed course of this march, as he is supposed to have passed the Rhone at *Beucaire* and *Roquemaure* ;” *Beucaire*, which I have shown from Strabo and D'Anville before, to be *Ugernum* on the western bank of the Rhone, and to be answered by *Tarascon* on the eastern, both to the south of *Avignon*; and *Roquemaure*, which I have equally shown from *Father Colonia*, to be to the north of *Avignon*, even between *Avignon* and *Orange*, and consequently thirty or more miles to the north of *Beucaire*; so confounded does Mr. Pownall here appear, in the geography of the very country which he is visiting! “to have marched, in two columns up to *Ambrane*, and to have thence pierced through the passes “(those of the *White Rock*) of the *Celtic Alps* to *Turin*” (*Roman Ant.* in *Provence*, &c. p. 43). The latter half of this extract presents us with as signal an instance of geographical confusedness, as the former has done already; and it is my unwelcome lot, to dissect and exhibit both. Simler was the first, I believe, who started the idea of Hannibal's marching in more

Mr. Breval, as we see above, carries the Carthaginians from *Little St. Bernard* down the Vale

than one course over the Alps; and he makes the courses *several* (p. 221). But the notion of *several*, or even of *two*, is totally ungrounded in itself; and, what is more strange perhaps, is not made any historical use of by either of the adopters, Simler or—
 Mr. Pownall. The latter carries Hannibal's whole army, in spite of his own hypothesis, over *one and the same* ridge of mountains. The mention of the *white rock* shews, that he carries the whole over the General's ridge, the Little St. Bernard. Yet the march from Rochemaure directly to "Ambrone," leads Hannibal *much* to the *south* of those Alps, and in a line only for the Cottian Alps or Mount Genève. Mr. Pownall indeed must actually mean the Cottian, by the *Celtic*, Alps; all the Alps being Celtic in fact, and none of them particularly Celtic in appellation. Accordingly, in his own analysis of his work prefixed to the whole, he says himself; that he here gives us "a transient view of the march of Hannibal,—from "Beaucaire to Ambrone, and across the *Cottian* Alps to the "vale of Turin." He thus carries Hannibal by Embrun over Mount Genève, and by the White Rock over Little St. Bernard, *in one and the same route*. He even carries Hannibal to *Embrun*, and from *thence* to the foot of *Little St. Bernard*; in order to convey him over the *Cottian* Alps, to Turin. The truth is, that Mr. Pownall very naturally imagined to himself the course of the Carthaginians, as running across the Rhone by the Roman road at Beaucaire, and stretching over the Alps by the Roman road to Embrun, Mount Genève, and Turin; that he afterwards heard of Colonia's point of passage at Rochemaure, and of the General's line of march by Roche Blanche; that with all the hastiness of a man of genius, and without condescending to undergo the dull drudgery of examining, he progressively suspected, supposed, and believed both these routes to be the same with his own; then mentioned them boldly as such; so confounded himself, confounded his readers, and confounded all geography.

of Aosta. In the same line does the General also conduct them. On the top of *Little St. Bernard*, he observes, is a small lake which gives rise to a river, that at the village of Hauteville, vulgarly and erroneously called *Tuille*, is joined by a brook. Over this brook, as well as the General recollects, the road goes down to *Tuille*, a small distance below, over a very high and narrow bridge. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of this brook with the river, is such a narrow path on the steep side of a loose and rocky hill, as is liable to be washed away by falling rains or melting snows, or even to be beat down by balls of snow; and as well corresponds in the General's opinion, with the broken road that interrupted Hannibal's march. When the General passed it in the end of September 1775, it had been repaired in some places by long pine-trees, laid length-wise, and planed along their upper sides. Over these he, his servant, and his mules were obliged to pass; and he was told by his mule-driver, that this was the worst part of the Alps, and that the inhabitants were forced to repair it every year. The road appears from the maps, to reach the river of *Little St. Bernard* just below the fall of a brook into it, to cross the river, make a circuit round a village, re-cross the river, make an equal circuit upon the other bank, cross the river again, make a third circuit, and finally re-cross the river for *St. Didier*. In the ascent to *St. Didier*, therefore,

I sup-

I suppose that dangerous pass to be; which the General's memory is obliged to fix so indefinitely at present, as to place it "a few hundred yards" below the union of the river and the brook. He thence comes down by Morges, La Sala, Derbe, Avise, and Livrogne, to Aosta; passes through its long and winding valley, by Verrex to Ivrea; and there turns on the right to the capital of the Taurini, Turin^s.

This route, so particularly *stepped out* by the General, certainly bears very strong marks of probability upon the face of it. But, what adds to the probability, this very route was pursued by the contending armies of the French and the Allies, in the war of our Queen Anne. In 1709, the latter sent their main body over Mount Cenis; while a small corps drew near by the valley of Aosta to *Little St. Bernard*, ascended, and passed over it. The whole army retreated afterwards, partly by Mount Cenis, and partly by *Little St. Bernard*. In 1711 they crossed Mount Cenis again, in order to make the French quit the Tarentaise; and to assist such of their own forces, as were to pass by *Little St. Bernard*. They even advanced at last, very near to Montmelian. But, as they were obliged to follow the course of the *Isere*, the cannons, which the French had planted at La

^s Borgoni's map by Dury, the General's own remarks on the margin, and Placide's map.

Chavane, did some damage to their columns. They sent parties, however, to take possession of Chamberry; and all their *cavalry* encamped there. But they were at length compelled to retreat, and all passed back by *Little St. Bernard*^b. Such a practised road has this been, to our modern armies!

Nor was it so, merely to the moderns. It was not unknown to the Romans themselves. These actually laid one of their grand roads, across the *Little St. Bernard*; which runs "from Milan over "THE GRAIAN ALPS to Vienne" in Dauphiny. But I shall invert the order of it, to accommodate it to our present purpose. It then goes thus: "*Vienna*", "*Vienne*"; "*Berguſum*, m. p. xx," *Bourgoin*; "*Augustum*, m. p. xiv" [Peutinger's Tables, "*Augustum* xii,]" *Aoste* at the fall of the Guier or Yere into the Rhone near St. Genis^c; "*Labifconem*, m. p. xiv [Laviscone, xiv]," across the Guier or Yere, says D'Anville, to Novalesse on the Potty Laisse, but at the distance only of eight miles, and, as I think, by a curve still greater on the right than D'Anville has made on the left, up the Guier or Yere, and alongside the Alps^d, to the General's steep and rugged gully, in which are still visible the remains of a Roman road,

^b Berwick's Memoirs, ii. 73-74, 81, 118, 124, and 129.

^c D'Anville, 128 and 154, and his map of Gallia Antiqua.

^d Placide's map.

and to the village of *Voisein* south of Pont de Beauvoisin and north of the gully¹; thence up the gully, which is formed by the Guier or Yere, and is its outlet from the Alps, still along its current, and in its valley between high hills, to its source, and over the hills to the plain or bottom in which Chamberry stands, and to "*Lemincum*, m. p. xiv [*Lemincò*, xvi]," the village of *Lemens* immediately beyond Chamberry, on the other side of the river Leisse, where several coins, urns, and little idols of the Romans have been dug up^m; then, not crossing at Montmelian the rapid and torrent-like Isere, as the General unwarily does, in order to mount up on its *right* bank, and to re-cross it afterwards for Conflans, but keeping on its *left* bank for the grand curve of the Isere on the right, to "*Mantanam*, m. p. xvi [*Mantala*, xvi]," *Montalieu* between Freterive and Tournon, and a little to the left of the present roadⁿ; advancing upwards on the *left* bank still "*Ad Publicanos*, m. p. xvi [*Ad Publicanos*, iii]," to L'Hopital on the Arli just at the curve of the Isere, and to Conflans on the other side of the Arli, where the road of the Itinerary and the route of the General unite again; "*Oblimum*, m. p. iii [*Obilonna*, "xiii]," La Roche Sevin; and "*Darantasia*, m. p. xiii [*Darantasia*, x]," *Centron*, now a

¹ Placide's map.

^m Breval's First Travels, ii. 3; and D'Anville, 403.

ⁿ Placide's map.

village between Monfrier and Ayme, but (as appears from the name) once the capital of the Centrones, and therefore the first metropolis of the *Tarentaise*, borrowing its *present* appellation from its people, and lending its *original* one to its region°. But, in order to show the general justness of this arrangement, let me here introduce another route of the Romans, which falls into this at Darantasia; and so proves Darantasia still more, to be Centron. This goes “from Milan over “THE GRAIAN ALPS to Strasburg.” Inverted, it has these stages to its point of concurrence with the other: “*Lacum Lausonium* -----,” *Lausanne*, on what was then called the Lake of Lausanne, but is now denominated the Lake of Geneva, so shifting is the property even of territorial names! “*Equestrim*, m. p. xx,” *Nyon*; “*Cenabum*, m. p. xvii,” *Geneva*; “*Bautas*, m. p. xxv,” Old

• *Antonini Itinerarium*, 22, “A Mediolano per Alpes “Graias Viennam -----: Darantasia -----; Oblimum, “m. p. xiii; Ad Publicanos, m. p. iii; Mantanam, m. p. xvi; “*Lemincum*, m. p. xvi; *Labifconem*, m. p. xiv; *Augustum*, “m. p. xiv; *Bergufiam*, m. p. xvi; *Viennam*, m. p. xx.” *Peutinger’s Tables*, first and second segment: “*Vigenna* -----; “*Bergulium*, xii; *Augustum*, xiv; *Lavifcone*, xiv; *Lemincio*, “xvi; *Mantala*, xvi; *Ad Publicanos*, iii; *Obilonna*, xiii; “*Darantasia*, x.” See also the map prefixed to *Berwick’s Memoirs*; the much more useful map of Savoy, &c. in maps for *Modern Univ. History*; and the still more useful map of *Borgoni* by *Dury*: See also *D’Anville*, 153-154, 432-433, and 403-404.

Annecy; "*Casuariam*, m. p. xviii," Bourg d'Ugine, on the brook *Chaise*, and in the district *Ceserieux*; "*Darantiam*, m. p. xxi," Centron; "*Bergintrum*," &c. p. Having so far secured our ground, let us take the line of the former road, and mount the Graian Alps with it. This proceeds thus, the Tables first interpolating one fringe, "*Axunam*, ix" [in Ptolemy, "*Axima*"], *Ayme*, written also *Aifme* and *Aixme*, and proved to be a Roman town by two Roman inscriptions found at it¹; "*Bergintrum*, m. p. xix [Bergintrum, xii]," the present capital of the Tarantaise, St. Maurice, where another road falls into this, that runs parallel with the way by Old Annecy and Bourg d'Ugine to Centron, and with the road by Rumelie and Aix to Lemens²; Tables, "IN

¹ Anton. Itin. 22, "A Mediolano per Alpes Graias Argentoratum: Bergintrum -----, Darantiam, m. p. xviii; "Casuariam, m. p. xxiv; Bautas, m. p. xviii; Cenabum, "m. p. xxv; Equestrim, m. p. xvii; Lacum Laufonium, "m. p. xx." And see Breval's First Travels, ii. 21-24, Cox's Travels in Switzerland, ii. 63; Map of Savoy, &c.; Borgoni's Map; and D'Anville, 145, 212. The country about Lyons is said by Simler, 94, to be called "Pays de Chabaul" or "Tschaballes" from the Latin *Gaballus*, at present; and so to retain the memory of the Roman name of Lyon, *Equestris*, in a correspondent one from the Roman language.

² D'Anville, 318.

³ Anton. Itin. 22; Map of Savoy; Borgoni's and Placide's Maps; and Saussure, iii. 255. See also section iv. of this chapter, a note, for this other road to St. Maurice.

“ ALPE GRAIA, vi,” THE TOP OF LITTLE SAINT-BERNARD, a hill which is denominated, not from any comparative littleness between it and the Great St. Bernard, but from the smaller size of the convent upon it; Tables again, “ Ariolica, xvi,” Morges; “ Arebrigium, m. p. xxiv [Arebrigium, “ xxv],” Livrogne; “ *Augustam Prætoriam*, m. p. “ xxv [Augusta Pretoria, xxviii],” Aosta; “ *Vitricium*, m. p. xxv [Vitricio, xxi],” Verrex; and “ *Eporædium*, m. p. xxi [Eporædia, xxxiii],” *Icrea*°. The whole unites to shew us, that this pass over Little St. Bernard was a regular road of the Romans, and that it has been frequently travelled by them°.

— II. —

YET, after all, this is not the course which Hannibal pursued, or by which Livy and Polybius

• Anton. Itin. 22: “ Eporædium; Vitricium, “ m. p. xxi; *Augustam Prætoriam*, m. p. xxv; Arebrigium, “ m. p. xxv; Bergintrum, m. p. xxiv.” Peutinger’s Tables, second segment: “ Darantasia,; Axunam, ix: Bergintrum, xii; in Alpe Graia, vi; Ariolica, xvi; Arebrigium, “ xxv; *Augusta Pretoria*, xxviii; Vitricio, xxi; Eporædia, “ xxxiii.” Map of Savoy, &c. and Placide’s Map, where this road is actually traced by Montmelian, Fretterive, Tournon, Confans, Monfrier, and St. Maurice, to the top of Little St. Bernard, then over the top towards Aosta; and Borgoni’s Map.

° These Alps are made to retain their ancient name, so late as in Placide’s Map; he marking them there, as “ *Alpes Græcises* ou de Savoye.”

concur to carry him into Italy. It appears to be not, from a large variety of notices, some ancient, *some modern, but all converging to one common point.* These combine to lead him a very different way; and it is my wish, to point out the way decisively to my reader.

Hannibal had hitherto kept close to the Rhone, and thus advanced up to Lyon. He *still kept close to the Rhone, and thus advanced up to the Alps.* He still pursued the current of this river upwards. He even pursued it nearly *up to its source.* This, I believe, has never been observed before; yet it is very certain. It is demonstrably plain upon the pages of Polybius. From the point at which he crossed the Rhone, says this author, Hannibal went “ALONG THE RIVER, leaving the sea behind
“ him, MARCHING EASTWARDS, and pushing, as it
“ were, TOWARDS THE MIDLAND REGIONS OF EUROPE.” This is clear; yet what immediately follows is still more so. “But the Rhone,” adds Polybius in the *very next* words, “has its springs
“ above the Adriatic gulph, inclining to the west,
“ in those parts of the Alps which fall away to the
“ north: it flows however towards the south-
“ west, and discharges itself into the sea of Sardinia; and is carried—along a valley, the northern side of which is inhabited by Ardues

“ Polybius iii. 47. Πέρα τον ποταμον, απο Θαλαττης, ως επι της ω ποιημενος της πορειας, ως εις το μεσσωαιον της Ευραπης.

“Celtæ, while the southern is all bounded by those slopes of the Alps, which incline towards the north.” All this plainly implies Hannibal, to have crossed the Alps near the springs of the Rhone, and in those parts of the mountains which incline towards the north. Yet we are not left by Polybius, to mere implications upon the point. He instantly speaks out with a full explicitness. “The plains upon the Po,” he goes on finally to say,

* Polybius iii. 47. Ο δε Ροδανος εχειμεν τας πηγας υπερ του Αδριατικου μυχου, προς την Εσπεραν νευητας, εν ταις αποκλινωσι μερισσ των Αλπειων, ως προς τας Αρκτους· ρει· δε προς τας χειμερινας δυσεις, εκβαλλει δ' εις το Σαρδωνο πελαγος· Φερίαι δι—δι' αυλωνος, ου προς μεν τας Αρκτους, Αρδυεις Κελτοι κατοικουσι. Την δ' απο μισημβριαις αυτου πλυραν οριζουσι πασαν, προς Αρκτον κεκλιμεναι των Αλπειων παρερηται.

“The Rhone has its sources above the Adriatic gulph, in those parts of the Alps that stand towards the north, and at first flows westward; but afterwards it bends its stream to the south-west” (i. 349). All this is most confusedly translated. What belongs to the springs, Mr. Hampton has given to the current; and made this to flow to the west, then turn to the south-west, when Polybius only fixes the springs above the Adriatic gulph, but “inclining to the west” of it, and carries the river at once to the south-west. And, in order to commit this violence upon his author's meaning, he has been compelled to use the word *bends*, when his author says *flows*; and absolutely to interpolate the words *at first*, and *afterwards*. The necessity for these operations should have awakened Mr. Hampton, from his dream of inattention; and made him open his eyes, to the obvious meaning of Polybius. But he was too much locked up in slumber, to be awakened even by so loud a call; and, when Jove slumbered, confusion ensued among the Greeks.

“ are separated from *the valley along the Rhone,*
 “ by *the crests of the forementioned hills;*—which
 “ **CRESTS HANNIBAL THEN MOUNTED OVER FROM**
 “ **THOSE PLACES ALONG THE RHONE, and so EN-**
 “ **TERED ITALY.”**

This is very peremptory, and needs no corroboration. Yet we can lend it some, and from Polybius himself. In a preceding part of his history, he reckons up the length of Hannibal's march, from New Carthage (or Carthagera) in Spain, to the plains of the Po in Italy; by some grand measures which he specifies. In these his hero, like the Neptune of Homer, stalks in three or four strides across a whole continent. These therefore must point out in the precisest manner, the course of Hannibal through France into Piedmont. From Carthagera to the river Ebro, he states his march to be 2600 stadia, at eight stadia

† Polybius iii. 47. Τα δι' ὅπλα τα παρὰ τῶν Πάδου, — ἀπο τοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ροδανῶν αὐλοῦ διαζευχόμενοι αἱ τῆν προειρημένῶν ὄρη ἀκμαίται —, ἢ τῶν ὑπερῶν Ἀλπίων ἀπὸ τῆν καὶ τοῦ Ροδανῶν τοπῶν, ἐπιβαλὶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. “ The plains *across* the Po — are separated *also* from “ *this valley* by the *Alps* —: these *were the mountains*, which “ *Hannibal was to pass*; as he *came forwards* from *the Rhone*, “ *to enter Italy.*” † 349. The negligence, the unfaithfulness of the translation, is grossly apparent here. The very peremptoriness of the author, that loud note from the lips of clearness and certainty, seems to have frightened the translator; and induced him to soften the tones of this trumpet, I suppose, in tenderness to his own ears.

to a mile; and consequently 325 miles. From the Ebro to the Rhone, he makes it to be 3200 stadia, or 400 miles. But his next stage is, he says expressly himself, "from the passage over the Rhone, in the route ALONG THE RIVER ITSELF, AS TOWARDS THE SPRINGS, EVEN UP TO THE POINT OF ASCENT OVER THOSE ALPS WHICH LEAD INTO ITALY."

All seems to shew us with a plenitude of evidence, that Hannibal did not leave the Rhone at his passage across it, in order to go by Mount Genève or Mount Cenis into Italy; that he did not leave it even at Lyons, in order to cross over Little St. Bernard thither; that, in his march from Lyons, he did just as he had done in his march to it before, and kept close to the banks of the Rhone in both; that in both he pursued one and the same plan of movements, completing in the latter what he had begun in the former; that he

* Polybius iii. 39. Από δι της διαβασιως τη Ροδανη, πορευομενοις παρ' αυτων τον ποταμον, μετ' εως της πηγης, εως προς την αναβολην των Αλπων των εις Ιταλιαν. "From the passage of the Rhone, if we take our course up the river," *at towards the springs*, this material mark of direction being astonishingly omitted by Mr. Hampton, "to the beginning," *even up to the ascent*, words much more emphatical and precise, "of the Alps" that lead into Italy, these words of still higher moment in the mensuration of the route, being still more astonishingly omitted by Mr. Hampton. So inaccurate, so unjust, so false to the original, is this translation here!

mounted up near the very rise of the Rhone, that there he ascended the Alps, and thence he penetrated into Italy. All the various suppositions therefore, of his marching over any part of that great barrier of hills, which flanks the *western* side of North-Italy; vanish into air at once, like so many mists, before the strong luster of this historical sun. Hannibal reached the mountains, at a very different point. Hannibal entered them, in a very different direction. He went not from west to east along them, but traversed them from north to south, and actually *intersected* all the lines of his supposed movements*.

He had indeed the best of reasons, for so doing. *There was no formed road over the western Alps, at the time.* There was none, for about two hundred years afterward. This is apparent from several no-

* There is an attempt made by a very recent traveller, to ascertain the course of Hannibal, and to carry him by Briancon to Fenestrelles. See *Travels through Switzerland, Italy, &c.* by Thomas Watkins, A. M. 1792, i. 186-190. But the attempt is so feeble in its operation, so ungrounded in historical authority, so false in facts, and so frivolous in arguments; that it cannot provoke a particular exposure. It is indeed little more than a passage in that "*Itineraire par M. Dupens,*" which is the Foundling Hospital for understanding (I believe) to half of our letter-writing and publishing travellers; expanded in a fuller display of error, and beaten out into a greater tenuity of folly. The *original* passage I shall examine and expose, in vol. ii. chap. i. sect. 5. hereafter.

tices. The tribes upon the Alps were in that political state of nature, as it were, which was suggested by their situation; their elevation above their neighbours, their inaccessibility in their fastnesses, and their power of plundering with impunity all who ventured into their mountains. They were on these terms of hostility with all mankind, till the days of Augustus; when they were first brought within the pale of civility, and united to their human brothers around them. In all this interval of civic barbarism, they naturally made no roads themselves across their mountains, and necessarily suffered none to be made by others. The Romans indeed used to travel over them; but just as we travel over the deserts of Judæa and Syria at present, by no regular road, only by some general signatures of a course, and in continual apprehension of the ruffian inhabitants about them. In this manner Cæsar went at the end of almost every campaign, from the south of France into the north of Italy; and returned again in the spring. He even ordered two legions at one time, and three at another, over these formidable hills^b. He once marched
over

^b Bell. Gall. ii. 2. p. 59. Davis. "Duas legiones in Citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit, et, ineunte æstate, in Interiorem Galliam quæ deduceret, Q. Pedium legatum misit;" and vi. 1. p. 186. "Tribus ante exactam hiemem et constitutis et adductis legionibus." In the former passage "Interiorem,"

Mount Cenis; and in the course of the road, that I have already shown the Romans to have laid afterwards, from Susa by *Exiles* and over Mount Genève, into the south, the middle, and the north of Dauphiny. But he pursued not any of these branches of that great stem. He wanted to push *directly* into the north of Dauphiny. He therefore could not go down on his left to Mount Genève, and there turn off on his right to *Vienne*. He turned off short on his right, at once; passed Mount Cenis close on his right, and Mount Genève remotely on his left; and shaped his course across the mountains, towards Grenoble. He thus had the line of the future road to Little St. Bernard, nearly parallel to his course, but curving at a considerable distance upon one side; and fell in probably with that of the future road from Grenoble to Briançon, at Villars d'Arenes ^b. He would therefore march along the small state of the *Centrons*, whose capital still retains the name of its nation, as I have just now noticed, and is a village near Monstier on the Isère under the name of *Centron*; and whose dominions must have extended at the time, as low as the river Arc. He would *previously* have on his right flank also, those barbarians of the Graian Alps, who were now distinguished by the appellation of *Graioceli*, or the Graian mountaineers; who

^a Map in Berwick's Memoirs.

^b Ibid.

had their capital assuredly, on *the Graian Alp* or Little St. Bernard; but whose Alps extended all the way from Little St. Bernard to Mount Cenis, and included the latter in their line^k. This tribe appears plainly from its position, and from the silence of every writer but Cæsar concerning it, to have been latterly reduced by the Centrones, and therefore considered by posterious writers as a part of them. Strabo accordingly carries the road which goes over the Graian Alps, and consequently through the heart of the Graian dominions, expressly “through the region of the “Centrones;” whose capital lay at the western foot of those Alps, and whose kingdom ranged along the western foot of them, from the river at St. Maurice probably to the torrent at Termignon. Strabo too cites Polybius expressly, and some lost description of the Alps by him; for equally carrying the road of the Graian Alps, through what was in Strabo’s time denominated “the region of “the Centrones.” And Ptolemy, placing the Centrones as expressly upon the very Graian Alps themselves, gives them also Axima or Aymè at the western foot of the Alps^l. But Cæsar would equally have on his left flank, those mountaineers of the Cottian Alps who were called *Caturigès*.

^k Ibid. and Placide’s Map.

^l Strabo iv. 314. Η δὲ διὰ Κενήρωνος δυσμικτήρα, and 318. Δια μικτὴς πόλεως ἢ διὰ Κενήρωνος; Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 71. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Γραιαῖς Ἀλπασιν Κενήρωνος.

They spread from *Chorges* their capital, by *Embrun* and *Briançon*, to the *Arce*; and even extended on the west, to the borders of the *Vocontii* and towards *Grenoble*^m. Such would be the nations of the Alps, that could alone attempt to interrupt his progress, in the line of march that I have drawn for him. He accordingly acquaints us, that during his advance “the *Centrones*, the “*Graioceli*, and the *Caturiges*, seize all the heights “of the mountains, and endeavour to stop the “march of the armyⁿ.” But he “defeats them “in several engagements^o.” He thus “comes “in seven days” from his leaving *Exiles*, “into “the dominions of the *Vocontii*” about *Grenoble*^p. He then “passes into the dominions of “the *Allobroges*,” near *Vienne*^q; and finally carries his army “from the *Allobroges*, to the “*Segusiiani*” at *Lyons*^r.

All

^m Map in *Berwick's Memoirs*.

ⁿ *Bell. Gall. i. 10. p. 12.* “*Ibi Centrones, et Graioceli, et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitus prohibere conantur.*”

^o *P. 12.* “*Compluribus his præliis pulsus.*”

^p *P. 12.* “*In fines Vocontiorum Ulterioris Provinciae die septimo pervenit.*”

^q *P. 12.* “*Inde in Allobrogum fines.*”

^r *P. 13.* “*Ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum duct.*”

The name of *Graioceli* speaks sufficiently, who are meant by it in general. “*Ejundem,*” says *Pliny iii. 20* concerning *Hercules's* company, “*et Graios fuisse, positos in transitu*” by *Hercules,*

All this lays open the wild and ferocious state of these western Alps, in the days even of Cæsar himself. There was particularly, no formed road over them. *This we shall see still more from Cæsar, almost immediately.* And we shall see hereafter from Livy, at the time of his writing an early portion of his history; that there *was* then. In the period between both, Augustus reduced a number of the Alpine tribes; and, consequently, carried that perpetual attendant upon the conquests of Rome, and that eternal monument of

Hercules, "*Graiarum Alpium incolæ.*" In Welsh we have *Uchel* signifying *high*, and we have the *Ochel* hills in Scotland,

Ptolemy, though right in his general position of the Centrones, and in his particular assignment of Axima to them, yet strangely assigns them "*Forum Claudii,*" which (as I shall shew hereafter) belongs to a very different part of the Alps; and has misled D'Anville 317-319, by his mistake. The Centrones are again mentioned by Pliny, and with the Caturiges, in iii. 20: "*sunt præterea Latio donati incolæ,*" inhabitants of the Alps, "*ut Octodurense,*" not, as D'Anville 501 considers them, the Veragri, who are (as it were) in another hemisphere, but (as appears from the *neighbourhood* assigned them in the words immediately following) the inhabitants of Ictodurum in the Tables before, the people of Avencon on the Vence between Gap and Charges, and so lying near to the Centrones, "*et finitimi Centronæ [Centrones].*" Ptolemy, though he places the Caturiges, or (as he calls them) the Caturigidi, equally with the Centrones, on the Graian Alps (iii. 1. p. 71); yet very contradictorily to himself, though very properly in point of fact, assigns them Eburodunum or Embrun.

! Chap. iv. sect. 6.

the

the glory of the Romans, a train of formed roads along them; their very minds seeming to mount as much superiour to the nations around, as their arms themselves; and their minds so mounting probably, from the very success of their arms. He reduced those tribes among the rest, which we have seen contending with Cæsar before. He reduced "all the Alpine tribes," says a monument that he erected on the occasion, "which reach from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean."

Some

"Imperatori Cæsari, Divi Fil. Aug. Pontifici Maximo, Imp. xiii, Tribunitiæ Potestatis S. P. Q. R. quod ejus ductu auspiciisque gentes Alpine omnes, quæ a Mari Supero ad Inferum pertinebant, sub imperium populi Romani sunt redactæ. Gentes Alpine devictæ," of the *Rheti*, "Trumpilini, Camuni, Vennonetes, Isarci, Breuni Naunes, Focunates," of whom the Focunates have left their name to Vogogna, and the Camuni to the valley of Camonica; "*Vindelicorum*, gentes quatuor, Consuauetes, Virucinales, Licates, Catenates; Abifontes, Rugulci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixentes, Lepontii Viberi," all about the springs of the Rhone, the Brixentes on the Lake of Brientz, and the Lepontii (who appear from this inscription to be falsely reckoned among the *Rheti* by Strabo iv. 315, and are actually distinguished from them by Strabo himself in p. 313) having left their name to a vale almost opposite to the Lake of Brientz, that of Leycun, being there fixed at the springs by Pliny himself (iii. 30), though placed by Ptolemy, in one of his many blunders concerning the Alps, "upon the Cottian Alps," yet presented very properly with the town of Ofcella, Domo d'Ofula at present (iii. 1. p. 71); "Nantuates, Seduni, Veragri," of whose situation I shall speak hereafter; "Acitavones, Medulli, Ucceni,"

Some nations, however, that were under one monarch, and courted Augustus's friendship; he

"ni," all on the north-western Alps, to the borders of the *Centrones* and *Octodurenses*, who are omitted for a reason that I shall give in the next note; "*Caturiges*, *Brigiani*, *Sogiontii*, "*Ebroduntii*," only parts or divisions of the *Caturiges* probably, as the *Ebroduntii* certainly are, and the inhabitants of *Briancon* and *Seine*, as those are of *Embrun*; "*Nemaloni*, "*Edenates*, *Esubiani*, *Veamini*, *Gallitæ*, *Triulatti*, *Ectini*, "*Vergunni*, *Eguituri*, *Nementuri*, *Oratelli*, *Nerufi*, *Vellauni*, "*Suetri*," ranging from the *Caturiges* down to *Nice* and *Monaco* (Pliny iii. 20); the *Suetri* and *Nerufi* being both noticed particularly by Ptolemy, and fixed on "the Maritime Alps," the *Suetri* about "*Salinæ*" or *Seillans*, in the diocese of *Frejus* (D'Anville 567-568), and the *Nerufi* about "*Vintium*" or *Vence* in *Provence*, &c. (iii. 1. p. 71); the *Suetri* being also noticed by Pliny as in *Gallia Narbonensis* (iii. 4), and therefore being equally in *Provence* with the *Nerufi*. So far did the Alps then extend into the present *France*, and so much have the *French* usurped upon the *Alpine* nations!

We have thus a comprehensive list of those tribes on the Alps, that were reduced by Augustus under the yoke of Rome. The monument that had this inscription upon it, was placed at the terminating point of all the conquests, on that shore of the Mediterranean to which the list proceeds, and near those towns of *Nice* and *Monaco* at which it ends. Pliny calls it "*Trophæum Alpium*" (iii. 20). An adjoining town was called from it "*Trophæum Augusti*" (Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 68). This retains the name of *Turbia* or *Torbia*, at present; as that overlooks the town of *Monaco*, and now exhibits "the appearance of an old ruined tower." But "there is a description of what it was, in an Italian manuscript; by which it appears to have been a beautiful edifice of two stories, adorned with columns and trophies in alto relievo, with a statue of Augustus

he suffered to remain unreduced by him, and in alliance with him. He even enlarged the extent of this little kingdom, by adding a number of the conquered tribes to it, and putting them equally under the scepter of that Alpine monarch, Cotys or Cottius, as he is differently denominated by the Romans. Augustus therefore made the Roman

Augustus Caesar in the top. On one of the sides was an inscription, *some* words of which are still legible, upon the fragment of a marble found close to the old building. We should therefore have lost this valuable, though general, topography of the Alps for ever, though inscribed upon marble; if it had not been copied upon the pages of Pliny. So much more durable than marble itself, is a manuscript; and merely from the power of multiplying copies! "This noble monument of antiquity was first of all destroyed by fire," a family (I presume) living within it; "and afterwards, in Gothic times, converted into a kind of fortification. The marbles belonging to it," to the upper part of it, "were either employed in adorning the church of the adjoining village," by forming the altar and some sepulchral tablets, I suppose, "— or converted into tombstones, or carried off to be preserved," as the inscribed stone (I presume) is, "in one or two churches of Nice. At present, the work has the appearance of a ruinous watch-tower, with Gothic battlements" given it when it was made a Gothic fortress (Smollet, l. 269 and 270-271).

In the inscription upon the trophy at Monaco are not specified the tribes, that were hereditarily under Cottius, and formed his kingdom. "Non sunt adjectæ," says Pliny, iii. 20. "Gothicæ civitates xii, quæ non fuerunt hostiles." But we have another enumeration of tribes, in an inscription which was set up by Cottius himself near Susa, and runs thus: "Imp. Cesari Augusto, Divi F. Pont. Maximo Trib. Potest.

"tate

man road instantly, which I have previously traced across the Graian Alps, and which I shall here-

“tate xv. Imp. xiii. M. Julius, Regis Donni Filius, Cottius,” two names, that explain this passage of Strabo concerning the Ligures, Τῶν δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἰδιώματα λεγόμενα γῆ, καὶ ἡ τὰ Κοτίου (iv. 312), “Præfectus civitatum quæ subscriptæ sunt, Segoviorum,” the people about Sezane perhaps, Gelsæo being also called Segovia, I suppose, and so leaving the name of Sezane to the town; “Segufinorum,” those about Susa, those who inhabited along the northern side of the Doria, opposite to the present Susa, Susa itself being in Italy, as I shall soon shew in the text, and therefore not in the kingdom of Cottius; “Bellacorum,” I know not whom; “Caturigum, Medullorum,” both mentioned in the former inscription; “Trebaviorum, Adanatum” mentioned in the former; “Savinatium,” a name that must not be supposed, as written and pronounced *Savinatium*, to be the original of the name of Savoy, because *ebis* appears twice in the Notitia, and is there written nearly as it now is in Latin, Sapaudia (fol. 179); “Egulinorum, Vermianorum,” both mentioned in the former inscription; “Venifamiorum, Iriorum” the people about Iria (Ptolemy, iii. l. p. 71), now Voghera, a town a little to the east of Tortona, mentioned with Dertona by Ptolemy, and given with it to the Taurini by him; “Esubianorum,” mentioned in the former inscription, “Ovadiavium, et civitates quæ sub eo præfecto fuerunt” (Breyal's Second Travels, i. 290--291). Pliny calls the Cottian tribes, *twelve* in number; yet there are *fourteen* here. But Dio, ix. 24, p. 961, informs us, that Augustus “enlarged to Marcus Julius Cottius his paternal principality, which he possessed upon the Alps of his name; then first giving him the title of King:” Μακρῶν Ἰωδῶν Κοτίου οὐν ἀναίρων ἀρχὴν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν τῶν οὐρανῶν μὲν, ἀρροσπιτύξουσι, βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν τότε πρώτῃ σήμερον. Yet, on a close inspection, we do not find any of these to be of the twelve Cottian states of Pliny.

These

hereafter show from Strabo to have been existing in his time. The present kingdom of Cottius too,

These are *all* tribes equally reduced by Augustus, with those in the former inscription; though, from the change of names by involution of one appellative in another, we cannot trace *all* the names of the latter in the former. But that *all* were tribes equally reduced with those by Augustus, is plain on a careful examination of the present inscription. Cottius erects the arch and addresses the inscription to Augustus, expressly as the *Praefectus of Augustus* to all the tribes recited; "Cottius praefectus civitatum quae subscriptae sunt." These tribes also concur with him in the act, expressly as forming *his Praefecture of Augustus over them*; "Cottius praefectus civitatum quae subscriptae sunt,—et civitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt." They are therefore that appendage of states merely, which Augustus subjoined to his hereditary kingdom. His kingdom itself is not particularized, the twelve tribes are not enumerated at all, and we know the Octodurenenses and the Centrones to be omitted, though they are expressly specified by Pliny as members of his kingdom. After both these inscriptions therefore, we must still repeat what Pliny has said after the former only, "non sunt adjectae Cottinae civitates XII, quae non fuerunt hostiles." From both we know merely the states, that composed the Praefecture annexed to his kingdom; and know only, that the kingdom actually consisted of the Centrones and Octodurenenses, but must also have comprized the Caturiges and other tribes. Some of these others are even noted by Pliny, as branches of the Caturiges, and therefore (we may be sure) under the kingly authority of Cottius with them: "fuit praeterea Latio Bonati incolae, ut Octodurenenses et finitimi Centrones, Cottinae civitates, Caturiges, et *ex Caturigibus orti, Vagienni, Ligures, et qui Montani vocantur, Capilatorum,—que plura genera ad confinium Ligustici maris;*" *Vagienni,*

too, was equally formed into a regular road; and this is said for that reason, to go over the *Cottian Alps*. These Alps appear from an *Itinerary* of the Romans, to have taken their commencement at Embrun; and from an intimation in Marcellinus, to have ended their course on this side of Susa, at that Doria which flowed along the northern side of its walls, and separated the Alps from Italy and it^w. In the Tables therefore, just over the uniting line of the roads, that converge at Briancon to cross the Cottian Alps together; is written expressly "the kingdom of Cottius^x." He was a King, the son of a King, and the he-

the people about *Veines*, I suppose, to the west of Gap; *Ligures*, a tribe still retaining the original name of all the Caturiges, who appear from Strabo (iv. 312) to have been all Ligurians, and lying towards Ventimiglia and the Ligurian sea, I apprehend; *Montani*, those who dwelt upon what are called the Great Alps, between the counties of Nice and Tenda; and *several* tribes of *Capitati*, probably *six*, and so with the others composing the *twelve* states of Cottius's kingdom; these six lying about the pass of *Cayolle*, but stretching thence to the neighbourhood of the sea (Map in Berwick's Memoirs); and all the twelve, as the tribes under the sway of Cottius and in alliance with Augustus, being equally "Latio donati," or admitted to the same privileges with the natives of Latium.

^w Bertius, ii. 39. "Itinerarium a Burdigalâ Hierusalem usque, Mansio Hebriduno, m. xvi. Inde," from the side of France, "incipiunt Alpes Cottiar. Mutatio Rame," &c.; and Marcellinus, xv. 10. p. 100. "In his Alpibus Cottius, quarum *initium*" from the side of Italy, "a Segusione est oppido."

^x Second Segment, "Cotii regnum."

editary Sovereign of the Caturiges assuredly; residing at their capital town of Charges, just below his own Alps; reaching out his scepter with their possessions, all over his own Alps from Embrun to Briançon, to Mount Genève, and to the walls of Susa; being in all probability the son of that very King, who engaged his own Caturiges, and combined with the Graioceli and the Centrones, to stop the march of Cæsar across their respective dominions; and having himself probably, since the death of his father Donnus, reduced the Centrones under his own authority, as the Centrones had reduced the Graioceli before. We are also told by Marcellinus, that “King Cottius, after
 “the reduction of Gaule, alone lurked in his
 “fastnesses, and confided in the inaccessible
 “roughness of his country; but at last, lowering
 “his pride, and being taken into friendship by
 “Octavianus the Prince, by way of a memorable
 “present he constructed along the Alps,” with the men and officers undoubtedly that Augustus furnished to him, “roads of mighty bulk, short,
 “and serviceable to travellers.” But this was not all that Cottius did, for civilizing his king-

7 Marcellinus, xv. 10. p. 99-100. “Aggeribus cedit Al-
 “plum Cottiarum, quas Rex Cottius, perdomitis Gallis,
 “Ælus in angustiis latens, inviâque locorum asperitate confusus,
 “lenito tandem tumore in amicitiam Octaviani receptus Prin-
 “cipis, molibus magnis extruxit ad vicem memorabilis mu-
 “neris, compendiaras [vias], et viantibus opportunas.”

dom

dom of mountains. He became a Roman in name, and introduced that proudest exertion of Roman civility, the architecture of Rome. He adopted the names of *Marcus* and *Julius*, thus enrolling himself as a Roman, and engrafting himself upon the imperial stock. He erected an arch of Roman workmanship in grateful honour of Augustus, at the entrance of his dominions from the Roman possessions, and close to the Roman town of Susa. This subsists to the present day, composed of large blocks of stone; that are put together without cement, and are supposed to be compacted internally with either iron or lead. It is a monument so curious and remarkable, that the Marquis Maffei, in a strange extravagance of admiration, urged the King of Sardinia to have it removed and set up at Turin, and even wrote a treatise to show the practicability of the plan². It was on the Cottian side of the Doria, that boundary of the Cottian kingdom; and at the point in it, which leads up to *the pass of Susa* for Mount Genève and for Mount Cenis. It was thus so near to the gates of Susa, that the town having thrust out a castle to the other side of the river, in order to secure this pass the better, the arch is now in the gardens of the castle³. Marcellinus clearly points at this very monument, in those words which have been so little understood

² Brevai, i. 290.

³ Gentleman's Guide, 12.

hitherto; "the *sepulcher* of this little king is very "near to the walls of Susa^b." In these he has been interpreted to notice a sepulcher, which has been for ever invisible since; and to omit a fine arch, which is an ornament to all the country. But the fact is, that the arch appears from this intimation in Marcellinus to be a sepulchral one, like that at Pola in Istria^c; and that thus the records of history are reconciled, with the remains of the day^d.

^b Marcellinus, xv. 10. p. 109. "Hujus sepulchrum reguli—Segusione est moenibus proximum.

^c Pococke, ii. part ii. 264, plate 103.

^d Here let me add to what I have said in two notes before, concerning the inscriptions at Susa and at Monaco; that I may guard others against some important mistakes, made by travellers and antiquaries. Breval has confounded the inscription upon the arch of Susa, with that upon the trophy near Monaco; reciting the inscription on the arch, and saying "it would have been made out with great difficulty, being extremely defaced, had not Pliny the Elder given it entire in his Nat. Hist. lib. iii." (Second Travels, i. 291); while Pliny's inscription is a very different one, and that upon the trophy at Monaco. The French author of "Religion des Gaulois," tom. i. liv. ii. chap. viii. says, that Pliny "parle de la reduction des peuples de l'Apennin," the Frenchman meaning the Alps though he calls them Apennines, "et—rapporte une grande et longue inscription," of which the Frenchman gives us the beginning, as it is actually written upon the trophy near Monaco; then refers to the rest, and adds, "on voit des traces de cette inscription"—where, does the reader think?—upon the broken marbles that have fallen from the trophy? no! "sur les murs de la ville de Susa," or, as he should have said,

This then was the grand æra, of civility triumphing over the Alps; those the loftiest mountains in all the old world, being now reduced (as it were) to a level with the rest of the globe; those once dangerous fastnesses laid open, to the free intercourse of society; and the once formi-

said, upon an *arch* near the walls of Susa. Guichenon, another French author, in his Genealogical History of the House of Savoy, tom. i. liv. i. chap. iv. repeats the inscription in Pliny, not as set up on the Monaco trophy, but as fixed on a *triumphal arch*, that was erected upon *the reduction of the Alpine nations*, not at Susa, but at *Aosta*. So very much have these three authors confounded these monuments, and the inscriptions on them! Smollet also has not attended to Pliny, when from Duplechamp, I suppose, one of the annotators upon this author, he says, Pliny is “mistaken in placing this inscription,” that of the trophy near Monaco, “on a *trophy*,” he means the arch, “near *Aosta*” (i. 270); as Pliny fixes it expressly at no particular part of the Alps, only saying, “non alienum videtur, hoc loco subjicere inscriptionem è trophæo Alpium, quæ talis est;” and as from his mention immediately before, of the “Ligures” and the “confinium Ligustici maris,” he indirectly places it near Monaco. But Miffon has added another mistake to all, when “’tis said,” he tells us, “that at *Susa*—there is a triumphal arch—, and that the inscription was engraved on a plate of gold, of which one half is broken off;” and so gives, as from Mabillon, the very inscription on *the trophy near Monaco* (i. 574-575, edit. 5th). Such a train of blunders committed by writers of the first name, concerning these arches and this trophy, I hope for the honour of literature, is not to be paralleled in the region of facts. Such *nebulous stars* in the firmament of antiquarianism particularly, if frequently occurring, would be so many blots in the Heavens, and resign them generally up to the power of darkness,

dable robbers upon them, united in amity and peace with mankind. Accordingly Strabo informs us in general concerning the Alps and their roads, that “ Augustus Cæsar, for the destruction of the robbers, added such a form of roads as it was possible for him to make; for it was not possible every where to force nature, by breaking through huge rocks and down vast precipices, some overhanging the road, others falling down from it, so that, even on a slight step out of the track, the danger was unavoidable, the fall being into bottomless hollows; and so narrow is the way in some part of it, as to give a giddiness to those who walk on foot along it, both to men and to beasts, if unused to it; but the beasts of the country carry burdens along it safely: neither was this curable, nor the vast plates of ice sliding down from above, that are capable of overwhelming a whole company of travellers, and of pushing forward in one mass into the hollows below; for many plates are accumulated one upon another, the snow being chrystallized in ice upon ice; and the ice on the surface being always loosened easily from the ice below, before it is completely dissolved in the sun.” Such a truly formidable

* Strabo iv. 313-314. Προσέθηκε γὰρ ὁ Σίβαςτος Κæσαρ, τῆ κατελευσί τῶν ληστῶν, τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὁδῶν ὅσῃν αὐτοῖς ἦν· ἢ γὰρ δύνατον παύλαχον βιασασθαι τῆ φυσικὴν διασπίρων καὶ κρημνῶν ἐξαισιωτῆ, τῶν μὲν

formidable description have we here from the pen of an ancient, as equals that of any modern! So customary was it then for travellers, to pass these mountains in companies or caravans, for fear of the robbers upon them; till “Augustus Cæsar, for the destruction of the robbers, added such a form of roads as it was possible for him to make!” Such were also the roads by which those travellers crossed the Alps, even after Augustus had cut down their rugged sides, and levelled their embossed backs, by the construction of these roads! We therefore find the armies of Rome afterwards, passing and repassing equally by the Cottian and by the Graian Alps; even so early as the days of Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian^f.

In

μεν υπερκειμενων της οδου, των δ' υποπιπλουσιν, ωσε και μικρον εκβασι, αφυκλον ειναι τον κινδυνον, εις φαραιγας αβυσσας τε πλυμαλος οδου; ουτω δε εις γενη κατὰ τι αυλου η οδος, ωσ' ελιγον φερειν τοις πιζη βαδιζουσι, και αυλοις και υποζυβιοις τοις απθισι τα δ' επιχωρια κομιζειν τους κολπους [read φορτερις] ασφαλωσ. ουτ' ουν ταυτα ιασιμα, ουθ' αι καλοισθανουσαι πλακεις των κρυσαλλων ανωθεν εξαισιω, συνοδιαν ολην απολαμβανειν δυναμεναι, και συνεζωθειν εις τας υποπιπλουσας φαραιγας. πολλαι γαρ αλληλαις επικειναι πλακεις, πασαν επι πασαις γινομενων χανος κρυσαλλοειδων, και των επ' επιπολης αι ραδιωσ απωλυομενων απο των ενδοσ, πριν διαλυθηναι τελειωσ εν τοις ηλιοις.

^f Tacitus Hist. i. 61, during the insurrection against Otho, “Vitellius duos duces, *duo itinera*, bello destinavit; Fulvius “Valens allicere, vel, si abnuerent, vastare, Gallias, et *Cottianis Alpibus* Italiam irrumperere.” Ibid. 87. “Cottianæ Alps, et *seteri Galliarum aditus*, Vitellianis exercitibus claudeban-

In that state of the western mountains, when they yet thrust their big heads into the sky, unsubdued by the civilizing hand of conquest, and untraversed by roads of communication with the world below them; there *could* be no formed passage across them from Gaule in the days of Hannibal, or even in the later days of Cæsar himself. At either of those periods, the only passage from Gaule into Italy, was not in the western Alps at all. It was in the NORTHERN, and near THE SPRINGS OF THE RHONE. We have a remarkable intimation in Appian's account of Pompey, and a still more remarkable one in Cæsar's Memoirs of himself; that prove its existence, and indicate its position, very plainly. Pompey, says Appian, being ordered against Sertorius in Spain about 150 years after Hannibal, "penetrated into the Alpine mountains with a high spirit, and, copying Hannibal's magnificence of action,

"tur." In ii. 66. "Legionam," which was ordered from Tarraco for Britain, "*Graius Alpibus traductam, eo sexu itineris ire jubet quo Viennam vitarent;*" the town, to which we have seen the road of the Graian Alps directly tending before, and from which a branch here appears to have turned off on the right—formerly, as we see, one turning by Grenoble at present, to go *immediately* for Lyons (see Map of France in Maps for Mod. Un. Hist.). Hist. iv. 68, at the insurrection against Vitellius, "*Legiones Victrices Sexta et Octava, Viterbianorum Una-et-Vicesima, è recens conscriptis Secunda, Cottianis [Cottianis]—Alpibus, pars Monte Graio, traducuntur.*"

"formed

“ formed a new route about the springs of the Rhone and of the Po, which rise out of the Alpine mountains not far from each other.” This account is a little embarrassed, by the too great *generality* of the author’s language; but it shows us clearly the course of Hannibal, by the route of Pompey, through the Alps. Pompey copied Hannibal, and marched along his road. This was ABOUT THE SPRINGS OF THE RHONE AND OF THE Po; extending between them; and reaching from about the sources of the Rhone upon one side of the northern Alps, to about the fountains of the Po on the other. This geographical designation, however general, is sufficiently distinctive for our purpose; and proves the march of Hannibal to have been, in the tradition of Pompey and his cotemporaries, from the current of the Rhone near its rise and much to the east of Geneva, to the stream of the Po near its commencement and about the city of Turin. So well known by tradition was Hannibal’s route, in the days of Pompey! This general, eminently illustrious at first, and strikingly unfortunate afterwards; shining forth at first, as the brightest of stars in the political horizon of Rome, but overpowered and obscured by a *sun*, that arose suddenly, and threw

* Appian, p. 696. Ο δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἀλπεῖα οὐ μὴν Φοινικῶν ἀσπίς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου μεθελουσίαν, ἴσως ἐχάρασεν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ τῆ Ροδαίου καὶ Ἡρδανῆ, οἱ ἀνίσχουσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ὄρει, οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων.

its veil of light over all the others; measured back the steps of Hannibal over the Alps, from about the rise of the Po to about the commencement of the Rhone. Then he equally reversed the march of Hannibal, by marching along the Rhone to Lyons, to Vienna, and to Lauriol; by there crossing the Rhone, like Hannibal; and so marching away for the Pyrenees. He thus "formed a *new* " route" for himself, *new* to the Romans who went into Gaule and Spain; he having declined the more direct route over the western Alps, and taken the circuitous road across the northern, because this was Hannibal's, and because he was proud to emulate Hannibal^h. But Cæsar gives

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^h Among the fragments of a general history by Sallust, we find a letter from Pompey to the senate, which has been accidentally preserved by Nonius, and seems to contradict this. In it, Pompey is made to write thus: "per eas [Alpes] iter *aliud* atque Hannibal nobis opportunius patefecit" (Sallustii Opera Omnia, Glasgow, 1777, p. 278). But the sentence, as it now stands, is contradictory at once to Appian and to itself. It speaks of a road as made more wide and more commodious, yet does not notice positively what road this was. It notices the road only negatively, as *different from* Hannibal's. It thus speaks of the road as an unknown one, even while it intimates the road to have been made *more wide* and *more commodious*. Such contradictoriness neither Pompey, nor any man of common sense, could admit in a mere recital of facts done by the relator. The words therefore, we are sure, should be such as reconcile Pompey with himself and with Appian. A single word does this: "per eas *idem* atque Hannibal nobis opportunius patefecit." Pompey then says with Appian, that he pursued

us some additional and fuller information, concerning this road of Hannibal's and of Pompey's over the Alps. At the end of his second campaign in Gaule, and about 170 years after Hannibal, he sent a body of troops among the tribes, "that reach from the Lake of Geneva, and the river Rhone, to the tops of the Alps^l." What then was the object of this private expedition? Cæsar himself shall tell us. "His reason for sending the troops was, because he wanted to lay open THE ROAD through the Alps, BY WHICH ROAD THE MERCHANTS HAD BEEN USED TO TRAVEL, AT A GREAT RISK, AND WITH GREAT IMPOSTS LAID UPON THEM^k." These words disclose a very important fact to us. They shew us *the one only formed road* of the times, through the Alpine mountains. They shew it, as such, *much travelled by the itinerant merchants* of the neighbouring regions. When there was only one formed road, between two countries so extensive, industrious, and refined, as Italy had long been,

performed the course of Hannibal over the Alps; that he widened it, which is what Appian means by his *εκαρπωσε* or "formed;" and that he thus rendered it more convenient for the Romans. With such a double congruity in the new reading, we cannot hesitate a moment in adopting it.

^l Bell. Gall. iii. i. p. 85. "A lacu Lemano, et sumine Rhodano, ad Summas Alpes pertinent."

^k Ibid. "Causa mittendi fuit, quòd iter per Alpes, quòd itinere, magno cum periculo magnisque portoriis, mercatores ire consueverant."

and Gaule was now beginning to be; it was sure to be much travelled by the traders of both. These had strings of horses or of mules, for the carriage of their goods. These conveyed the commodities of either country, backwards and forwards, upon them. And thus was a considerable commerce maintained between the countries, along this single and singular pass.

All this coincides in a most extraordinary manner, with the movements of Hannibal at present. He goes not from his passage across the Rhone, directly towards the Alps of Mount Genève, that were visibly rearing their cloud-capt heads before him. He knows there is no formed road over them. He therefore turns up the Rhone to Lyons. He knows also, that the only formed road over the Alps is at a great distance, on the northern side of the mountains, and near the rise of the Rhone. He therefore turns not to the Alps of Little St. Bernard, that are equally rising in *visible darkness* on his right. He goes on from Lyons, still mounting up the current of the Rhone, and intending to enter the road immediately from it. He knows both from his guides and attendants, the embassadors of the Gallick states on the Po. This was the one only road, by which they themselves had come to him at his passage across the Rhone. This was the one only road,

as I shall shew hereafter¹, by which they, their ancestors, and all the nations of Gaule that had gone to settle in Italy, had penetrated into it. This was the one only road, that is mentioned by Polybius as existing in his time; when he says he² had viewed the scenes of action, and had in “ person travelled THE ROAD through the Alps, in “ order to know and see³.” This is for all these reasons the very road, by which the embassadours promised at first to conduct him; towards which he has been some time moving, under their direction; and of which his historian Polybius again says, that it is “ THE POINT OF ASCENT OVER THOSE “ ALPS WHICH LEAD INTO ITALY.”

— III. —

ON this principle, and with this view, Hannibal set out from Lyons for the Northern Alps. He still marched along the banks of the Rhone. He meant to mount up towards the spring-head of it. He therefore turned now to the *right*; as now the Rhone makes a grand bend in its channel, and forms nearly a right angle with the

¹ Chap. iv. sect. 6 and 7.

² Polybius iii. 280. Τους δὲ τοσούτους κατέπτευκται, καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν Ἀλπίων αὐτὸς κειρησθῆαι πορῆν, γινώσκων ἕνεκα καὶ θεῶν.

³ Polybius iii. 44. Διὰ τοσούτων—ποίησάν τιν ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν πορῆαν, and 39. τὴν ἀναβῆλιν τῶν Ἀλπίων τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν.

lower part of its course. He thus recovered that line of his movements at Lyons, which he had been obliged to desert at his passage across the Rhone. Having gained an altitude nearly sufficient for the Alps which he intended to cross, he now shaped his march directly towards them. He had the Rhone still on his left, his companion and guide for the remaining, as it had been for the previous, part of his course.

Yet Livy, with that indistinctness of geographical vision, which begins here to perplex his historical views, and which appears oversetting his historical ideas hereafter; describes Hannibal at this point, as turning to the *left*. He, who noticed not his grand turn to the left at the passage across the Rhone, though he sends him *up* the current of the river; notices it by mistake, at present. Hannibal, he says, on departing from the union of the Rhone and the Saone, “when
 “now he went towards the Alps, did not take a di-
 “rect course towards them, but turned to the left.” This intimation should obviously have been given before, when Hannibal, as Livy then tells us,
 “the day after crossing the Rhone, marched up
 “the current of the river, and advanced towards
 “the midland parts of Gaule, in a course tend-

* Livy xxi. 31. “Quum jam Alpes peteret, non rectâ regione iter instituit, sed ad levam flexit.”

“ing indirectly towards the Alps^p.” *Then* the observation would have been precisely just, and *then* it was actually wanted. But *now* it is all unjust and impertinent. Hannibal *now* marched directly towards the Alps, and therefore turned *now* from the course which he had pursued before; no longer ranged up towards the north, but faced about to the east. This also Livy himself shews us immediately afterwards, when he comes to give us, as he gives us very usefully, some of the *national stages* of his advance. But he was not aware of his own contradictoriness. He did not know his remarks, to be refuted by his facts. He copied faithfully the history, from the authorities before him at the moment; but knew the *localities* of the history, very imperfectly. He thus stands a memorable instance of erroneoufness, from the want of those necessary auxiliaries to a narration.

Let me observe also a parallel kind of erroneoufness, in his brother-historian of the times, Polybius. This author, who has certainly been rated above his merit of late, by being placed, not merely superiour to, but in actual superference of, Livy for the history of Hannibal; has failed equally in his geography, at this period of

^p Livy xxi. 31. “Postero die, profectus adversâ ripâ Rho-dani,” &c.

his narration. When Hannibal had crossed the Rhone, he says, he advanced "along the river, leaving the sea behind him, marching east-wards, and pushing, as it were, towards the midland regions of Europe," that is, as if he was intending to penetrate into the heart of Germany⁹. These words are just as inapplicable to the *first* part of Hannibal's march up the Rhone, as Livy's are to the *second*. Those apply only to the *second*, and these to the *first* only. Nor was Polybius less confounded in his geography here, than Livy. The bed of the Rhone from the sea up to Lyons, is nearly right north and south. For this range of the channel therefore, Hannibal could not be said with any possible justness of geography, to march towards the east. But at Lyons it suddenly makes so great a bend, that Ptolemy has marked it for one of the memorable incidents of the river, and gives us even the longitude and latitude of it. "The point of the river at Lyons," he says, "at which it turns towards the Alps, 23-0, 54-15; that part of it which is at the lake called Lemane, 27-15, 45-15; the spring of the river, 28-20, 44-20¹." From this bend therefore, and only from this, does the channel of the Rhone take an eastern

⁹ Polybius iii. 47. Πάρα τον ποταμον κ. τ. λ.

¹ Ptolemy ii. 10 miscalled 5. p. 54. Η υπο Λουγδουνοσ του ποταμου προς τας Αλπιωσ επιστροφη, ουγ, μι δ' το κατω λαμνη αυτου μεροσ ουχ καλουμηνι Λαμινησ, κ' δ, μι . . . η σπηη του ποσ. κη γ, μη γ.

direction, to those who mount up its current. And as this instance of inaccuracy in Polybius, forms a parallel to the other in Livy, and is indeed more culpable in Polybius than the other is in Livy, because the former actually travelled into Gaule and seems to have even visited Lyons, for the sake of local information; so both unite to show the advantages, which we moderns have over the ancients by the aid of maps.

But Livy is much more useful than Polybius, in the immediate progress of the narration; and tells us, that Hannibal from Lyons "turned into the country of the TRICASTINI." This is a nation of Gauls, mentioned by several writers. They inhabited from the Rhone on the north, along the back of the Allobroges of Vienne, and of the Segalauni of Valence, to St. Paul on the south. Of the Allobroges we are told by Ptolemy, that "their city Vienne is in the middle of their dominions." "Below these," he adds, "more westerly," that is, lower down the Rhone, which he apprehends (as we have just seen before) to run east and west in its general course, "are the Segalauni, whose city is Valentia Colonia." "More easterly," he goes on to say,

• Livy xxi. 31. "In Tricastinos sevit."

• Ptolemy ii. 10. p. 55. *Or civitas, municipior, Oultra.*

• Ibid. ibid. *... et civitas, municipior, et civitas, Oultra.*

and means higher up the Rhone, "are the *Tricastini*, whose city is Neomagus." This town of theirs was also called "Augusta Tricastinorum;" and still preserves a faint memorial of its pre-eminence, in still retaining the name of its nation, and calling itself St. Paul *Tricastin*. The Tricastini therefore inhabited in a long and narrow portion of land, between the Allobroges of Vienne and the Segalauni of Valence, on the west, and another nation, which I shall mention immediately, on the east; being headed by the Rhone on the north, and having their capital low to the south-west.

But, as Livy next adds, Hannibal went from them "along the extreme border of the land of "the Vocontii." This was a tribe, which

* Ibid. ibid. Ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ Τρικαστινοί, ἐν πόλει Νεμαίῳς.

* Pliny iii. 4. "In agro Cavarum," who are here made the same with the Segalauni of Ptolemy, while Ptolemy himself distinguishes the one tribe from the other (ii. 10. p. 55), and who are therefore only the inhabitants of the same region, one being conquerors and the other conquered, "Valentia; Vienna Allobrogum; Oppida Latina,—Augusta Tricastinorum." Valesius remarks in a note upon Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 101, "manet etiamnum Tricastinorum appellatio in "Delfinatu nostro." The name of *Tricastin*, however, is popularly disfigured into that of *Trois-Châteaux*. See also D'Anville 120-121.

* Livy xxi. 31. "Inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum "agri tetendit."

equally lay in a long and narrow braid, stretching at the back of the Tricastini; had equally the Rhone for their boundary on the north; and equally had their capital low to the south. The Vocontii, says Pliny, "have two capitals, Vasco " [Vasio]" or Vaison near Orange, and "Lucus " Augusti" appropriated hereafter". "The " capital of the Vocontii," adds Mela, "is " Vaison". A Roman *Iter*, inverted, gives us these names in succession; "*Viennam*, " *Ursolim*, m. p. xxvi, "*Valentiam*, m. p. xxii, " *Augustam*, m. p. xxii," *Aouste* on the lower part of the river Drome, "DEAM VOCONTIORUM, " m. p. xxiii," *Die* on the same river, "LUCUM, " m. p. xii," *Luc* on the same river". Peutinger's Tables give us equally these; "*Tegna* . . .," *Tein* on the Rhone, betwixt Vienne and Valence, famous for the discovery of a curious monument of Roman antiquity^b; "*Valentia* xxii, "*Augustum* " xiii," *Aouste*, "Ad DEAM BOCONTIORUM xii," *Die*, "LUCO xviii," *Luc*^c. But, because the Vocontian dominions extended from the Rhone in the north to Luc and Die in the south, Livy

^a Pliny iii. 4. "Vocontiorum, civitatis foederatae, duo capita, Vasco et Lucus Augusti. See D'Anville 423.

^b Mela ii. 5. "Vasio Vocontiorum."

^c Itin. p. 22, and D'Anville 116-117, 422-423.

^d Histoire de la Ville de Lyon i. 101 and 129, and Breval's Second Travels ii. 132.

^e Second segment.

says of Hannibal as he ranged along the Rhone, that he kept only upon the *extremity* of this district.

From these he advanced, as Livy additionally informs us, "into the region of the *TRICORII* ^{d.}" This is a tribe, of which we have an equal mention in three other writers of antiquity. Strabo speaks of it repeatedly, and always places it close to the Vocontii, above the Cavares of Avignon, Cavaillon, and Orange ^{e.} It is again noticed by Pliny, and with greater circumstantiality of position, thus: "off from the sea," a note of position that peculiarly accords with the intimation in Polybius, of Hannibal's leaving the sea behind him when he marched along the river, "the country " of the *Tricorii*, and *within* them that of the *Tricollis*," a branch of the *Tricorii* assuredly, "the " region of the Vocontii, and the region of the " Segovellauni," the same with the Segalauni of Ptolemy ^{f.}; then the "region of the Allobroges ^{g.}" Appian also speaks of them, and with still more of local circumstantiality, when he says that

^{d.} Livy xxi. 31. "Tetendit in Tricorios."

^{e.} Strabo iv. 318. Μετα δὲ Ουκοκίους Σικονοί, καὶ Τρικorioί ; p. 282. Ουκοκίαι καὶ Τρικorioί.

^{f.} Ptolemy ii. 10. p. 55.

^{g.} Pliny iii. 4. "Rufus, a mari, Tricorium [regio], et intus Tricollorum, Vocontiorum, et Segovellaunorum, mox " Allobrogum."

Cæsar defeated the Helvetii, "and the *Tricorii** " assisting them ^b;" a suggestion, that fixes the *Tricorii* in the immediate vicinity of the Helvetii, and in the very neighbourhood of Geneva. The *Tricorii* thus appear to have lain with their heads to the Rhone, at the back of the *Vocontii*, and towards Geneva; but extending in length, towards *Cavaillon* and *Orange* in the south. They possessed the region probably, between the *Arve* of Geneva and the *Sier* at *Seyffel*, the present Dutchy of Geneva. The *Vocontii* as probably possessed the country, from the *Sier* back to the *Guier* or *Yere* at *St. Genis* and *Pont Beauvoisin*; the present Dutchy of *Savoy*. The *Tricastini*, of course, owned the lands from thence to *Lyons*. And all lay extending from these their respective possessions upon the north, in three long waves, as it were, one behind the other, down the narrow length of *Dauphiny* ⁱ.

These three tribes however, though distinguished by particular names, are all included in the general appellation of *Allobroges*, with the *Gauls* of *Lyons* and with the *Gauls* of *Vienne*. Those of *Vienne* retained their generical name as a specific one, to the last. Those of *Lyons*, too,

^b Appian in *Celticis* ii. 92. Και Τρικουρους αμυνορίας σφισιν.

ⁱ D'Anville is wonderfully puzzled and perplexed, in settling these tribes. See his "Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule," and his "Gallia Antiqua" in his maps.

are frequently denominated Allobroges. So Livy tells us concerning the island at Lyons; that "near it," meaning on Mount Fourviere at one end of it, where the capital town was at the time, "inhabit the *Allobroges*, a nation, from that time "to this, inferiour to none in Gaule for reputation or for power, but then in a civil war^k." Yet, when he speaks of them as so very considerable, he confounds them with the whole body of the Allobroges. But, when he notices their civil war, he refers to them only as a part of the whole. The Segufiani Allobroges were always inconsiderable, having only two or three towns, Lyons, Rohane, Feurs, &c.^l They alone likewise were in a civil war, at the time of Hannibal's visit to them. Strabo also makes the same confusion, when he ascribes the actions of *all* the Allobroges to two of their tribes, the Allobroges Proper of Vienne and the Allobroges Segufiani of Lyons. "Near to Vienne," he says, "is Lyons, "where the Arar and the Rhone unite together; "and there are about two hundred stadia to it by "land through the country of the *Allobroges*, by "sailing up the river a little more: *the Allobroges*, "formerly indeed, brought many myriads into the

^k Livy *xxi.* 31. "Incolunt propè Allobroges, gens jam "inde nullà Gallicà gente opibus aut famà inferior; tum dif- "cors erat."

^l Ptolemy *ii.* 8. p. 52.

“ *feld* ^m.” As to the other three tribes, that form this line of little nations; they are expressly called Allobroges by Cæsar. Once indeed, when he made his march across the Alps into Dauphiny, “ he came into the country of the Vocontii” near Grenoble, he tells us, “ thence into the region of “ the *Allobroges*” near Vienne, and “ from the “ *Allobroges* he carries his army among the *Segufiani*.” He here speaks of the Proper Allobroges, we see, as distinct from the Segufiani; but afterwards comprehends them both, under the general appellation of Allobroges. “ Betwixt “ the countries of the *Helvetii* and the *Allobroges*,” he says, “ *flows the Rhone* —; the *farthest* town of “ the *Allobroges*, and the nearest to the borders of “ the *Helvetii*, is GENEVA: from that town a “ bridge reaches to the *Helvetian* territories.” He thus extends the Allobroges up the Rhone,

^m Strabo iv. 282. Πλησιον δ' υπερκρῖσαι της Ουιεννης το Λουγδουνοι, αφ' ου συμμαρσουσιν αλληλοις ο τι Αρακ και ο Ροδανος* γαδιοι δ' εστιν επ' αυτω, πιζη μεν περι σ δια της Αλλοβρογιαν, ανακταν δε μικρη πλιουσις. Αλλοβρογιες δε μυριασι πολλαις, προτερον μεν, ετραπιουο.

ⁿ Bell. Gall. i. 10. p. 12. “ In fines Vocantiorum—peruenit, inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segufianos exercitum ducit.”

^o Bell. Gall. i. 6. p. 7. “ Helvetiorum inter fines et Allobrogum,—Rhodanus fuit —; extremum oppidum Allobrogum est, proximumque Helvetiorum finibus, Geneva: ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet.”

in a serpentine form all the way from Vicane to Geneva P.

For this reason it was, that the lately-restored King of Lyons resolved to accompany Hannibal, in his future march through the country; and actually formed his rearguard for the whole route. He had not *strength* sufficient, to *protect* a Hanni-

’ The name of Allobroges, then, is necessarily *Celtick*. Yet, to our great surprize, we see a writer, lively, ingenious, and knowing, in a strange paroxysm of fancy interpreting it as an *English* one. “*Allobroges* or *Allaboroughs* as I call them,” says Mr. Pownall, p. 146, “*All-beroughs*, or *republic of beroughs*, called by the Romans *pagi*,” a word, which, in the Roman application of it to the Gauls of Helvetia, actually signifies provinces, not towns, as “*omnis civitas Helvetia*,” says Cæsar, “*in quatuor pagos divisa est*” (Bell. Gall. i. 12. p. 14). Thus Dugdale, I remember, suggests the appellation of the river Tame in Warwickshire, to be derived from its *tameness*; though it is equally the name of the “*Rex Fluviorum*” of Britain. But the Allobroges formed no *republic of beroughs* at all. Their name is merely *Gallo-briges* or *Gallo-broges* in reality; as we have the *Brig-antes* for a British tribe in the north of England, even *Belge Allobroges* for another in the south, and *Brogue* for the British language in Ireland. But, to a writer who knows not British, every original name among us is English; and, to an Englishman who is a *patriot*, every government is republican. Yet *this* frenzy of freedom and *that* ignorance of languages, have surely mounted to their “highest *noon*” together; when a name, importing only the nation to be Gauls, is made to prove them a *republic*, and a *republic of beroughs* too.

bal against *serious* and *formal* attacks. He had only a desire, by his presence and power to repress any attempts of parties against him. The Carthaginians had marched already, through the country of the Proper Allobroges; and had there probably received some insults upon their rear. They would therefore be apprehensive of the same again, from the brother-tribes of the Allobroges beyond. These can be the only grounds for that intimation, which Polybius very weakly, as very vaguely, gives us; of their “being in a state of “apprehensiveness, because of their march “through the country of the Gauls denominated Allobroges¹.” To guard against these, could be the only inducement for Brancus to offer, and for Hannibal to accept, the attendance of this petty king and of his petty host upon the army. And, what fixes the point for ever, action being the best ascerner of opinion; Brancus took not post with his troops in the van of the Carthaginians, accompanied them not upon their flanks, but followed only in their *rear*². Thus attended and thus guarded, Hannibal received not a single insult upon his present march. He went through the country of the Tricastini, from the grand angle of the Rhone at Lyons, to

¹ Polybius iii. 49. Ευλαβως διακειμενοις προς την δια των Αλλοβρογών καλουμένων Γαλαίων πορείαν.

² Polybius iii. 49. Απουρηθησως μελα της σφειραῖς δυναμικως.

the deep indent of it at St. Genis; here quitted France, and entered Savoy. He ranged along the limits of the Vocontian dominions, from this indent to the Sier. He passed also through the region of the Tricorii, up to the town and lake of Geneva. But he met not with the smallest annoyance, all the way*.

The road too was not rough and mountainous. It “did not embarrass him,” says Livy†. It was “over an open and level country,” adds he who singularly possessed the farm of Virgil near Naples, and inhabited the house of Tully at Baiæ, the poet of Spain in the reign of Nero, Silius Italicus, “or through cultivated fields.” It was, subjoins Polybius, “for ten days along the river, and over a plane country‡.” It was therefore along the easy margin of the Rhone.

— IV. —

HANNIBAL indeed met only with one difficulty in it, and that not from the road itself. This

* Polybius iii. 49. Ασφαλή παρεσκευασε την διοδον αυτοις.

† Livy xxi. 31. “Haud usquam impedita viâ, priusquam,” &c.

‡ Silius Italicus :

Jamque Tricastinis incedit finibus agmen,

Jam faciles campos, jam rura Voconcia, carpit.

• Polybius iii. 50. Εν ημεραις δεκα—παρα τον ποταμον—εν τοις επιπεδοις.

arose merely from a river, which Livy calls the DRUENTIA^w; which the critical world has therefore with a simplicity of faith, that is founded only on a delusive *symphony* of names, believed to be the Durance of Avignon, Embrun, and Briancon; and which will appear demonstrably from what I shall alledge, to be merely the ARVE of Geneva. Folard, who, with all his cotemporaries and all his predecessors, was persuaded it was the Durance, and so found himself compelled to bring Hannibal over the latter; has therefore brought him over it at Briancon, to cross Mount Genève; and yet abuses his compeller Livy in the act, for describing that as a formidable river, which he says is only "a filament of water" there^x. M. de St. Simon also, finding himself equally compelled to convey his hero across the Durance, but willing to avoid the strange abuse of that very historian whom he thinks he is following, has turned and twisted the whole history into a mass of absurdity; by carrying Hannibal as far as Vienne to escape from the Romans, then

^w Livy xxi. 31. "Priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit."

^x "Il est," dit-il, "*peu raisonnable* dans la description qu'il [Livy] fait de cette marche.—Il l'est encore moins dans le passage de la Durance, qui n'est qu'un *fort petit ruisseau*; car pour rendre sa narration plus recommandable, il a eu recours à la fiction et au merveilleux, et a fait une grande et impetueuse rivière d'un filet d'eau." St. Simon's preface xvij.

instantly turning him back in defiance of them, and fording the Durance with him below Embrun; where indeed it is more than a filament of water, but where it is not yet a formidable river †. So nearly double is the whole backbone of the history bent, by the violence of this folly! The current that Hannibal now crossed, says Livy, “ is itself an Alpine river, and by far the most “ difficult to be crossed of any of the rivers in “ Gaule; as, though it brings down a great “ body of water, it is yet incapable of bearing “ any vessels upon it; being confined by no “ banks, flowing in several channels at once, “ and those different at different times; forming “ therefore new fords and new eddies, and so “ rendering the passage uncertain even for “ wading; rolling down, besides, fragments of “ rock that grind into gravel, and, in conse- “ quence of this, leaving no sure or steady foot- “ ing for the forder †.” That this circumstantial de-

† Preface xx. “ Annibal arrive à la Durance sans obstacle; “ cette riviere descend d’Embrun à Sisteron; c’est donc entre “ ces deux villes, qui se trouvent à la droite et à la gauche de “ la route des Carthaginois, qu’il faut chercher la place à la- “ quelle ils arrivent. La direction de la marche conduit à la “ Bréoule, ou fort pres.” What this direction is made by M. de St. Simon, his map presumes to shew, but his preface is ashamed to tell.

‡ Livy xxi. 31. “ Is est ipse Alpinus amnis, longè omnium “ Gallie fluminum difficillimus transitu est. Nam, quum “ aquæ

description was meant for the Arve, under the name of *Druentia*; is evident, not merely from the course of the history, but from the nature of the Arve, and from the testimony of Strabo, both combining into one with that.

The *Druentia*, says Livy, “ though it brings down a great body of water,—is yet incapable of bearing any vessels upon it.” The *Durance* we know to have been actually navigated by the Romans. We have an inscription at Arles, that particularly notices “ the sailors of the *Durance*,” and even specifies (what is very extraordinary in every view, what shows the leathern boats of Britain to have been common to the inhabitants of Gaule, what proves the present *coracles* of our own Severn to have been used by the Romans upon the *Durance*) “ the *coracle men* of the town of Orgon” upon it*. Yet the Arve has never been made navigable, from the days of Hannibal to the present. “ We should gain a great part

“ aquæ vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est;
 “ quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis
 “ fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites faciens, et, ob
 “ eadem, pediti quoque incerta via est; ad hæc, saxa glareosa
 “ volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti præbet.” Marcellinus, in his great confusion about the geography, places this *Druentia* on the Italian side of the Alps (xv. 10. p. 101-102).

* Thicknesse's Travels ii. 15. “ Patrono nautar. *Druentiarum* et *utriculariorum* corp. *Ernaginenfium*.”

“ of this useful production,” says M. Sauffure concerning Geneva and a coal mine, “ if the Government would permit the Arve to be rendered navigable ; for the expence of conveyance is too great, by the ordinary carriage^b.” Or, as he expresses himself in another place concerning a quarry, “ the stones of it would find a good market at Geneva, if the conveyance of them could be facilitated, by permitting the Arve to be made navigable^c.” So “ incapable of bearing any vessels upon it,” does the Arve yet remain ; while the Durance has been navigated *these fifteen hundred years* ! The Druentia, adds Livy, is “ confined by no banks, flows in several channels at once, and those different at different times.” At Sallanche in an early part of the Arve’s course, remarks M. Sauffure, “ we cannot but regret, while we are taking this route, the quantity of ground which the overflowings of the Arve render useless, especially if we reflect how valuable is arable land in a mountainous country. The bottom of the valley is so flat, that with a little overflow in

^b Sauffure ii. 179. “ On tireroit un grand parti de cette utile production, si le gouvernement vouloit permettre la navigation de l’Arve ; car, par les voitures ordinaires, les frais de transport sont trop considerables.”

^c Sauffure ii. 202. “ Ces ardoises feroient d’un grand debit à Geneve, si l’on en facilitoit le transport en permettant la navigation de l’Arve.”

“ the river the waters inundate it entirely; even
 “ in the ordinary state of the river, they cover a
 “ great part of it, and the slightest obstacle *makes*
 “ *them change their bed, almost from one day to an-*
 “ *other: if it were possible to confine them by banks*
 “ *to a certain channel, near a league square of land*
 “ *would be gained* ^d.” The Druentia, subjoins
 Livy, “ rolls down fragments of rock that grind
 “ into gravel, and, in consequence of this, leave
 “ no sure or steady footing for the forder.” As
 we come out of Bonneville, notes M. Sauffure
 concerning the Arve in a lower part of its current,
 “ we cross the Arve upon a bridge of stone, long
 “ and narrow; and we enter into a valley, which
 “ has all the features of the grand vallies of the
 “ Alps. The bottom of this valley, perfectly
 “ horizontal, is soaked with the waters of the
 “ Arve and of brooks that fall into it;—and the
 “ valley itself is about three leagues in length
 “ from Bonneville to Cluse:—wherever the earth
 “ is opened, we see the bottom is *sand disposed in*

^d Sauffure ii. 202. “ On regrette, en faisant cette route, la
 “ quantité de terrain que les debordemens de l’Arve rendent
 “ inutile, surtout si l’on reflexit combien les terres arables
 “ sont precieuses dans ces pays montueux. Le fond de la val-
 “ lée est si plat, que pour peu que la riviere se deborde, elle
 “ l’inonde en entier; même dans les tems ordinaires, elle en
 “ couvre une grande partie, et le moindre obstacle lui fait
 “ changer de lit, presque d’un jour à l’autre: si l’on pouvoit,
 “ par un digue, la contenir dans un lit permanent, on y gag-
 “ nerait presque une lieue carrée de terrain.”

" *horizontal beds, mixed alternately at times with*
 " *beds of gravel and of boulder-stones. The nature*
 " *of the land and the perfect level of the surface*
 " *in this valley, demonstrate the bottom to be*
 " *formed by an accumulation of deposits from the Arve,*
 " *and this river, or the current which anciently*
 " *occupied its place, to have been much higher*
 " *than it is at present, because it must have filled the*
 " *whole of that valley, of which it occupies only*
 " *a small part at present. As we go on towards*
 " *Cluse,—the Arve, by approaching the moun-*
 " *tains on the right, forces the road to pass over*
 " *the rubbish accumulated at the foot of those mountains.*
 " *This rubbish is mostly calcareous,—for the moun-*
 " *tains all around are wholly calcareous^o.*" Livy's
 " frag-

^o Saussure li. 146-148. " En sortant de la Bonne-Ville, on
 " traverse l'Arve sur un pont de pierre, long et étroit, et l'on
 " entre dans une vallée, qui a tous les caractères des grandes
 " vallées des Alpes.—Le fond de cette vallée, parfaitement
 " horizontal, abrévée des eaux de l'Arve et des ruisseaux qui
 " s'y jettent, est" &c. " La langue de la Bonne-Ville à
 " Cluse est d'environ trois lieues;—partout où la terre est
 " ouverte, on voit que le fond est du sable disposé par lits ho-
 " rizontaux, qui alternent quelquefois avec des lits de gra-
 " vier et de cailloux roulés. La nature de ce terrain, et le
 " nivellement parfait de la surface, de la vallée, démontrent
 " que ce fond a été formé par l'accumulation des dépôts de
 " l'Arve; que cette rivière, ou le courant qui occupoit an-
 " ciennement sa place, a été beaucoup plus haute qu'elle n'
 " est aujourd'hui; puisque elle ne remplit la totalité de la val-
 " lée, dont elle n'occupe aujourd'hui qu'une très-petite par-
 " tie.

“fragments of rock” then, “which grind into gravel” in his Druentia, are answered exactly by the calcareous fragments in the Arve; that easily grind into gravel by their conflict with each other, under the agitations of a turbulent torrent; that have actually covered a large valley all over with sand, gravel, and boulder-stones; and, in their state of solidity and massiness, must necessarily “leave no sure or steady footing for the sord.” So faithfully is the Druentia of Livy reflected by the Arve of Geneva, in all the grand and characteristic features of it!

But as I consider this discovery of the Arve in the Druentia, to be one of the leading points for my full correction of the prevailing errors, and for my full investigation of the real route, in the history of Hannibal; let me with a kind of parental fondness dwell a little longer upon it, and prove my point again from Strabo. At the grand Glacier of Mount Blanc, near the southern end of it, is a pike denominated Aiguille de Glacier; and on the southern side of this is a lake of water, large enough to be marked conspicuously in a moderately sized map of the environs of the

“*tie. La route que l'on suit en allant à Cluse,*” &c. “*En suite l'Arve, en s'approchant des montagnes de la droite, force la route à passer sur les débris accumulés au pied de ces montagnes. Ces débris sont pour la plupart calcaires—; car les montagnes d'alentour sont toutes calcaires.*”

mount, and noticed, as we shall soon see, by Strabo. About four miles to the west of this, and on a level called Plan des Dames, rises a rivulet, that Strabo (as we shall equally see) considers to be the constituent current of the Arve. About the same distance to the south-east is Little St. Bernard, on which commences another rivulet, that Strabo equally considers to be the original stream of the Doria of Aosta^f. That current is called *Le Tonant*; as if the Arve began so early in its course, to challenge the character which Strabo speedily gives it, to rush and roar and imitate the sound of thunder. It runs down the long Val de Montjoye, carrying the waters of two brooks from the Glaciere, and receiving at Passy what is *now* considered as the constituent stream of the Arve, from Chamouni and Col de Balme^g. At this point of union, where the Romans have surprisingly left us some memorials of a town of theirs, corresponding with another of their towns at the head of this Val de Montjoye, and just above the spring of the *Le Tonant*^h; the Arve
breaks

^f Map prefixed to vol. iii. of Saussure.

^g Ibid. *ibid.*

^h The Romans had a road into the Alps, which went from Geneva to Passy, and from Passy to the hill just beyond Plan des Dames, called *Le Bonhomme*; and which fell into the road for Little St. Bernard, at St. Maurice (*Nouvelle Description, Generale, et Particuliere, des Glacieres, &c. par M. Bourrit, Chantre de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Geneve, et Pensionnaire du Roi de France. Nouvelle edition, à Geneve, 1785. tom. iiii.*

breaks from its native home among these devious parts of the Alps, and begins to show all that vigour and vehemence which we shall see Strabo attributing to it. At Sallenche, a little below, a fine bridge of black marble, and of only one arch, was thrown down by its inundations in the November of 1778ⁱ. Lower in the current, and on the way along its banks from Cluse to Sallenche, “the Arve, which at some points” of the valley “appears to have hardly room enough for itself alone, seems also willing to dispute the way with a traveller; and comes *throwing itself impetuously* against him, as if to prevent him from mounting up to its source^k.” When the bridge of Sallenche felt its fury, *all the country as low as Cluse was covered with its sands*, and appeared in a ruined condition for some time afterwards^l. “The position of Sallénches,” we are told, “ought to be very fine, if it be true that the bottom of the valley was once a lake; tradition says it was, and every thing seems to render the tradition credible, because the bottom is still in great part overwhelmed with the Arve: the

237). The remains at Passy are two inscriptions in marble, both to Mars, and one to Mars *Augustus* (iii. 24). Those at Le Bonhomme are actual coins: “on a trouvé sur cette sommité des médailles des premières empereurs” (iii. 233).

ⁱ Sauffure ii. 195.

^k Sauffure ii. 167. “Elle vient se jeter impetueusement,”

&c.

^l Bourrit iii. 23.

“ lake must have been two leagues long, and “ one broad ^m.” The tradition of the past, and the appearance of the present, show it to have been really a lake, the bottom of which has been gradually raised by the very deposits of the Arve, till the ground has swelled in many parts above the ordinary level of the waters, and is only overflowed occasionally at present. A torrent, like the Arve, descending impetuously from the mountains, and spreading out into a lake in a valley, would instantly reign up all the plunder of all the hills, and enrich the valley with its spoils. This it would do upon all the parts of the valley remote from its current, even though it was ravaging its very channel at the time; and thus heighten the level of the valley, while it was deepening the bed of the current. These two powers, however contrary in their nature, yet acting in confederacy together, have plainly effected the change ⁿ. The Arve afterwards puffs along

ⁿ Bourrit iii. 29. “ La position de Salanches devoit etre tres-belle, s’il est vrai qu’autrefois le fond de la vallée fut un lac; on le dit, et tout semble le faire croire, puisque ce deux lieues de long, sur une de large.”

I have made this remark, to sweep away the wild hypothesis of M. Saussure before concerning this very valley, of some river more ancient than this occupying the channel of the Arve, and being higher in its bed to float the whole valley. But, in ii. 141-142, he has carried this hypothesis to a still higher point of wildness. He there finds a hill and the mountain Môle,

abraded

along in a sonorous torrent, chill and turbid, unruly in its course, frequently overflowing its banks, and laying waste a great part of the valley in its way to Geneva^o. And how exactly does all this accord with the description in Strabo! "Behind the Vocontii," cries this geographer concerning this part of the Alps, "are the Si-
 " conii and the Tricorii, as behind them are the
 " Medoali upon the loftiest heights; the most
 " direct altitude of these indeed, is said to be a
 " hundred stadia," or twelve miles and a half,
 " in ascent; and thence again is the descent" down
 Little St. Bernard, "to the very boundaries of Italy:
 " above, in some hollow places, is a great lake
 " extending, and there are two springs not very far
 " from each other; from one of which is the DRU-
 " ENTIUS," the very same with the Drucntia of

abraded at the base by the current of the Arve. The common-sense of experience shows this agent, to be very competent to any abrasions whatever. Yet philosophy, and the philosophy of physics especially, runs away often from the sun of common-sense to the dark holes and corners of erudition. M. Sauffure has recourse again to his *ancient currents*. "Il me
 " paroît bien vraisemblable," he says, "que les escarpemens,
 " et de cette colline, et des bas du Mole au-dessus de l' Arve,
 " ont été produits, non par cette riviere telle qu'elle est aujourd'
 " hui, mais par d'anciens courans beaucoup plus considerables,
 " et qui faisoient a-peu-pres la même direction."

• Brevall's Second Travels ii. 117; Keyssler i. 222 and 224 (translated from the German, edit. 3d, 1760), Coxe's Travels in Switzerland 319 and 60, and Moore's View of Society in France, &c. i. 203-204.

Livy, "a river furrowing up the ground, as it rushes violently to the Rhone; and the Durias is on the other side, for it mixes with the Po, being carried through the country of the Salassi into Cisalpine Gaul^p." This quadrates very accurately with all, that I have said of the Arve; and forms a full demonstration of itself, that the Arve was actually denominated the Druentia or Druentius by the Romans^q.

Having now settled the identity of the river, I proceed with the thread of the history concerning it. The Druentia or Arve, as Livy adds, "being accidentally swelled with rains, caused a considerable disorder among the soldiers of Han-

^p Strabo iv. 312. Μέλα δὲ Ουσκοπίου Σικονοί και Τρικονοί, και μετ' αὐτοὺς ἠδοαλοὶ ὑπερ τὰς ὑψηλοτάτας ἐχουσι κορυφάς· τὸ γουν ὀρθιωτάτον αὐτῶν ὕψος, γαδίωκ ἑκάστον ἐχέει φασίν τὴν ἀναβάσιν· και τειθεὶν παλιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας κατέλασαν. Αὐτῶ δ', ἐκ τισι κοίλοις χωρίοις, λίμνη τε συνιστάται μεγάλη, και πηλαί δυο συ πολλῶ ἀπυθεῖ ἀλλήλων· ὧν ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἑτέρας ἐστὶν ὁ Δρουεντιος, ποταμος χαραδρωδης, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ροδανῶν κατὰρατῆ· και ὁ Δουριος εἰς ταναύσια, τῆ γὰρ Παδῶ συμμίσσει, και ἐνεχθεὶς δια Σαλασσῶν εἰς τὴν εἰλὸς τῶν Ἀλπεῶν Κελτικῶν.

^q Pliny says of the *Durance*, that it was *as much* a torrent as the Rhone, "*nec minus seipso torrentes Ifaram et Druentiam*" (iii. 4). Wright describes it, as "*more rapid than the Rhone itself*" (Travels 14. edit. 2d. quarto). And Breval remarks, that it "*is too impetuous to carry any thing but floats*" (Second Travels ii. 153). This shows us lively the scale, by which exaggeration mounts at times, and reaches the regions of falsehood.

" nibal,

“nibal, in crossing it; while their badly eager-
 “ness for passing, and their confused -lamours
 “during the passage, united with all to agitate
 “them.” Yet this account surely is too general,
 too indistinct, for historical use. It speaks to
 the ear, but comes not to the mind. It tells us
 something, which eventually vanishes into nothing.
 We hear of a confusion, an agitation, in the
 army; but we see no consequence, resulting
 from it. Silius Italicus however tells us that
 consequence, and the poet fills up the void left
 by the historian. He says, that the torrent, “with
 “the rains recently fallen, bore down many of
 “the men as they were fording, whirled them
 “away with its foaming eddies, deformed them
 “with bruises, and lacerated them with wounds,”
 by dashing them against the fragments of rock,
 “and then buried them in the bottom of its
 “waters.”

’ Livy xxi. 31. “Tum, fortè imbribus auctus, ingentem
 “transgredientibus tumultum fecit; quum, super cetera, tre-
 “pidatione ipsi suâ atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.”

’ Turbidus hic truncis saxisque Druentia lætum
 Ductoris vastavit iter; namque, Alpibus ortus,
 Avulsas ornos, et adesti fragmina mantis,
 Cum sonitu volvens, fertur latrantibus undis,
 Ac vada translato mutat fallacia cursu.
 Non pediti fidus, patulis non puppibus æquus,
 Et tunc hymbre recens fuso, correpta sub armis
 Corpora multa virum, spumanti vertice torquens,
 Immerfit fundo laceris deformia membris.

The Arve falls into the Rhone, about half a mile to the west of Geneva; and forms the boundary, between the dominions of Geneva and possessions of Savoy¹. But it was formerly much nearer to Geneva, than it is at present; a new channel having been cut for it by the Genevans, to prevent its frequent inundations upon them². In consequence of this, a *Discus* of silver, weighing thirty-four ounces and a half, being ten inches in diameter, bearing a Roman inscription, and exhibiting a Roman emperor, one of the Valentinians, in the act of making a *largess* to the army upon a victory; was found just in the ancient bed of the river, a little above the bridge over it, during the year 1721; and is now kept in the publick library of Geneva³. This was

originally, and was discovered originally,

¹ Mrs. Miller, who, in her Travels i. 26, 29, speaks much of the Arve, as from her own inspection; appears from the very course that she takes in her journey, by Geneva and Rumelic to Chamberry, to leave the Arve behind and on the left of her, to mean therefore the *Ulla* or *Alps*, and to report untruths of all, when she says she was "obliged to pass the Arve continually." This it is to write an account of a day's travels, when two or three days more have intervened, when places and names have crowded in upon the memory, and the last have confounded the first.

² Misson ii. 408.

³ Breval's First Travels ii. 17, where we have a view of the *Discus*. The inscription is: "Largitas Domini Valentiniani Aug.," probably *Imp.* and therefore referring to the first of the three Valentinians; the figures are the Emperor and

originally, we may be sure, a large Dish for the Imperial Table; and was lost with some officer of the household, or some sumpter-horse of the train, that was swept away by the torrent, like many of Hannibal's soldiers, in fording over it. At some periods of the year indeed, when the snow is melting on the mountains, or the rains are pouring into the vallies; this torrent rises with a rapidity, extraordinary even in *its* irritable state of waters. In 1673 and 1778 particularly, the inundation from it was so large; the quantity and violence of the waters, which it disgorged into the Rhone, were so considerable; that even the stream of the Rhone itself was stopped, and its waters were all suspended in their course. There have even been times, when the current of the Rhone has been low, and the channel of the Arve charged with an extraordinary weight of waters; that the former has been forced back to its issue out of the lake, and the very mills at the bridge of Geneva have been turned backward, by its vehemence of receding. This cannot have happened very frequently, because the same causes, that produce an overflow in one of these adjoining and Alpine rivers, must generally pro-

and his soldiers, he standing in the front of them towards the spectator, overtopping them all in stature, grasping the staff of a standard with his left hand, and holding a globe surmounted by a victory in his right. The faces are all crazed, by the violent attrition of the gravel.

duce the same in the other; yet is recorded to have happened in 1570, in 1651, in 1711, and in 1733". So steadily has the Arve preserved the character, which Livy gave it seventeen hundred years ago; of "bringing down a great body of "waters" with it! But, what proves it to retain even at this day the other part of the character given, of "being confined by no banks, flowing "in several channels at once, and those different "at different times;" M. Sauffure observes concerning *the very point*, at which Livy so described it, at which Hannibal and the Romans forded it; that, "about twelve or fifteen years ago, the "Arve went very close to the side of La Batic, "and came to mingle with the Rhone very "obliquely; afterwards a *part* of its waters made "themselves a way across the sand, and formed "an arm which entered the Rhone in an angle, "approaching much nearer to a right one; at "last the Arve, *by mere dint of abrasion*, has *bol- "lowed out a bed for itself* at the side of the Gar- "dens, and the angle is become very oblique "again". Such has been the regular and uni-

" Sauffure i. 12-14.

* Sauffure i. 14. " Il y a douze ou quinze ans que l'Arve "cotoyoit de tres-pres le coteau de la Batic, et venoit se mêler "au Rhone très-obliquement. Ensuite une partie de ses eaux "se fit jour au travers du sable, et forma un bras qui entroit "dans le Rhone sous un angle, qui approchoit beaucoup plus "de l'angle droit. Enfin l'Arve, à force de ronger, s'est creusé "un lit qui cotoye les Jardins, et l'angle est redevenu très- "oblique." form

form consistency of character in the Arve, through all ages.

The rivers of the Alps have been remarked by the moderns, to be much higher in summer than

I have noticed no *granites*, as rolled down by the Arve. Mr. Coxe indeed would lead us to suppose, there are none in any of the Alpine rivers. There are "large stones of granite," he tells us, "—which the glaciers disgorge on each side, after having received them from the super-impending mountains.—These stones, which the inhabitants call *Moraine*, form a kind of border towards the foot of the valley of ice, and have been pushed forward by the glacier in its advances; they extend even to the place occupied by the larger pines" (ii. 3 and 29). These granites therefore are not found, we are ready to suppose, beyond the farthest limits of the ice. Yet the supposition would not be true, and Mr. Coxe probably does not mean to insinuate it is. There are some granites found in the Arve, though so few as not to demand my notice in the text: the calcareous rubbish below Cluse being also "mélanges de granit et d'autres roches primitives, qui ont été transportées là par les memes revolutions, qui en ont charié de semblables aux environs de Geneve" (Sauffure ii. 148). At the glaciers, notes Mr. Coxe above, the granites are called by the inhabitants *Moraine*, or, as the term was in the first edition of these travels, *Mareme* (Sketches 298); a term un-explained in both forms, but the same undoubtedly with the *Merrein* or *Merrin* of the French, the *Meresme*, *Maremium*, or *Meremium* of our old law-books and old chronicles; used in all to signify timber for building, but, as appears from the Alpine application of it to granites, from the Scotch orthography of it, *Maremium* (Spelman's Glossary), and from analogy, originally and properly importing *stones* for building. We thus explain a word, that has puzzled all our antiquaries of law and of language, in a manner critically just and satisfactorily convincing.

in winter, because of the melting of the snows on the mountains². Nor is the remark new. It is almost as old as the fact itself; Strabo having made it, near eighteen hundred years ago². These rivers therefore must naturally be in their highest state, when the summer-heats have been acting longest on the snows, during the season of Autumn. And to these snows, which had been long melting, as well as to the accidental rains of Livy and of Silius Italicus; must we attribute the obstruction, that the Arve now gave to Hannibal, in what will appear hereafter to have been the very season of Autumn².

— V —

HANNIBAL was now entering the Alpine region, though he was not yet come to the great pass of the Alps. The friendly King of the Segusiani, therefore, left him. He could be no longer of service on Horrenti with the Carthaginians; says Polybius, and gave a security to their march; so still they approach the pass of the Alps.

² Addison 460.
² Strabo iv. 285. Πλευρὴ δὲ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄρεων ἐστὶν ἡ Χιτωνοῦσα, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄρεων ἐστὶν ἡ Χιτωνοῦσα, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄρεων ἐστὶν ἡ Χιτωνοῦσα.
 Vol. ii. chap. i. sect. iv.

Polybius. iii. 49. Ἀφ' οὗ τῆς ἐπιπέδου τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄρεων ἐστὶν ἡ Χιτωνοῦσα, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄρεων ἐστὶν ἡ Χιτωνοῦσα. "He scoured their march from insult; still they remained at the foot of the Alps" (L. 354).
 With so little discrimination does Mr. Hampton translate:
 He

He went with them to the farthest regions of those Gauls, of whom Hannibal had expressed his apprehensions, and upon whom the presence of Brancus could have any influence. He went as far as "the farthest town of the Allobroges, GENEVA." He then took his leave of Hannibal, and returned. Hannibal was thus come, as Polybius says expressly "he marched along the river, about eight hundred stadia, one hundred miles, from Lyons^d; Geneva being something more than ninety-six miles by the shortest route, on the northern bank of the Rhone; and therefore a full hundred by the longest, on the southern^e."

From Geneva eastward along the Rhone, the country stretches about forty miles to St. Ginguolt, and the road runs on the low border of the Dutchy of Chablais. The current of a river always marks the low part of a region, as every current is in a state of progression from the higher to the lower parts. The road therefore from the south of France to the entry of the Alps, had been laid along the channel of the Rhone, as keeping off from the mountains on the east, and presenting the most level line of the intermediate region. It thus also continued gradually ascend-

^d Polybius iii. 90. *Ἰσχυρὸς ὄρεσιν ὡς ὡλεῖται ἐν ὀλίγοις ἡμετέροις ἡμέραις.*

^e Sketch of a Town through Switzerland, 1787, 5--6; Gray 98.

ing the inclined plane of the stream, and carried Hannibal insensibly, though circuitously, to a nearer level with the Alps: But where the Dutchy of Chablais ends, and near the eastern horn of the lake, commences what may be considered as the cradle-valley of the Rhone. Polybius has informed us concerning this river, that “for a long
 “time it is carried down a valley, the northern
 “side of which is inhabited by the Ardyes Celtæ;
 “while the southern is bounded by those slopes of the
 “Alps, which incline to the north: but the plains
 “upon the Po are separated from this valley
 “along the Rhone, by the crests of the Alps.”
 Accordingly we find there is a valley, which extends from the Lake of Geneva up to the springs of the Rhone; is therefore one of the longest vallies in Europe, being no less than thirty-four leagues in extent; and has the current of the Rhone, running endlong for its whole length. It is formed by a vast chasm, which the hand of nature has scooped out between two parallel lines of mountains; as the grand outlet, for all the

Polybius iii. 47. Φαρίαι δ' επιτολου, a word translated
 “chiefly” by Mr. Hampton (i. 349), so understood by all,
 but plainly from the context, that best standard of meaning,
 signifying here, as it signifies in other authors, *a long time*,
 “δι' αυλωτος ου, προς μεν τας αρκίους, Αρδυες Κελται καίλοκουσι· της
 “δ' απο μεσημερια; αυτου πλιευραν οριζουσι πασαν, προς αρκίον κικλι-
 “μεται των Αλλεπων ακρωριαι· τα δε πιδια τα παρα τον Παδον—,
 “απο του καίλα του Ροδαγιου αυλωτος, διαζευγνυουσι με των προσηρημενων
 “ορων ακρωριαι.

waters

waters of the mountainous country adjoining. The region of those who were called *Ardyes Celtæ* in the days of Polybius, who were denominated *Helvetii* in the days of Cæsar, and from a particular district within it are now named Switzers or Swifs; lies all to the north of the Rhone, and among the northern chain of mountains^s. And to the south of the Rhone are the Alps, that lead into Piedmont or the Milanese in Italy^h. But this long valley spreads its narrow lap along the *southern* bank of the Rhone, between it and the southern mountains, under the emphatical appellation that naturally prevailed in the vicinity of such a valley, and afterwards diffused itself over the rest of Europe; that of *VALLAIS*, or *the Valley*. Into this valley, which is only a continuation of the inclined plane of the current, but divided from the preceding by an interposing mountain; Hannibal next entered, turning the grand angle of the Alps; but, as nature forms all her large angles, one-rounded off into a bend imperceptible in its beginning, and undefineable at its end; marching under the very shade, of the Alps on

^s Those who were called *Celtæ* in the days of Polybius, and *Ardyes Celtæ* as *Mountaineers*, were afterwards called *Helvetii* as *Celtæ*. *Galli*, *Galata*, *Gallita*, *Celtæ*, and *Caled-ones*, *Walli*, *Fael*, *Allo-broges*, and *Hebvet-ii*, are all the same appellatives, altered merely by provincialities of pronounciation and diversities of termination.

^h Bourrit i. 21.

his right; and pressing forward to the well-known avenue through them. Livy therefore acquaints us, in full conformity to all this, and in total non-conformity to every other route; that Hannibal had a road mostly *level*, from “*the Druentia*” or Arve “to *the Alps*!”

“As long as the Carthaginians continued in “the plane-country,” adds Polybius, “all the natives abstained from insults to them; afraid partly of Hannibal’s cavalry, and partly of the Gauls accompanying him.” The natives abstained for both these reasons, while Hannibal was marching up to Geneva. They even abstained afterwards, when the escort was gone back, and they could have only a dread of his cavalry. This indeed Polybius does not tell us, but Livy does. “Hannibal reached the Alps,” according to Livy, “with the apparent *good-will* of the inhabitants of the region!” So discriminately are the two stages of Hannibal’s advance from

¹ Livy xxi. 32. “Ab Druentiâ, campestri maximè itinere, —ad Alpes—pervenit.”

² Polybius iii. 50. Εως μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιπέδοις ἦσαν, ἀπειχόντες πάντες αὐτῶν—τα μὲν τῆς ἰσπικίης δέδοτες, τα δὲ τῆς παραπέμπουλας Βαρβαρούς.

¹ Livy xxi. 32. “Ab Druentiâ—cum bonâ pace ad Alpes, incolentium ea loca Gallorum,—pervenit,” or, as the words should evidently be transposed, “Ab Druentiâ—ad Alpes, cum bonâ pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum,—pervenit.”

Lyonis to the ascent of the Alps, characterized between these two writers; Polybius describing the former half, by its respect for the escort and its fear of the cavalry; and Livy delineating the latter, by its "apparent good-will" to Hannibal! So discriminately indeed are both characterized by Livy himself, the only one of the two that mentions both; the former half, as having a road "not embarrassing," and the latter, as having a way "mostly level."

The region denominated the *Vallais* is divided into two parts, the Upper and the Lower. These are not defined by the natural boundaries, that actually form a couple of vallies; but by some artificial and arbitrary limits of their own. The Upper comes down westward to the city of Sion, and the river Morge on this side of it; while the Lower stretches from it in a pleasing oval, as surveyed from the mountains above, by Martigny and St. Maurice to St. Gingoult. Near St. Maurice the grand line of the Alps, which confines this valley close on the right, pushes up so near to the Rhone, as to leave no interval for a road between them. One therefore has been made through them. The obstructing *hornwork* of hills has been perforated, in order to admit a communication between the two vallies. An opening is thus formed, which is *some leagues* in length, and carries the appearance of a vast, magnificent ave-

nue. On each side is a range of lofty rock, while the ground is completely level under the foot. Such an entrance as this into a valley, might have been defended by a small number, against the whole army of Hannibal^m! But it was formed, no doubt, since the days of Hannibal, and by those tamers of the ruggedness of nature, those constructors of roads for half the globe, the Romans, on their reduction of the country. Till the period of this reduction, and till the victories of Augustus over the very Alps themselves, a bold and broad arm of the Alps came forward across the road, un-perforated and un-levelled. The road, that had traced the plane of the western valley, here mounted the projecting rampart of the Alps, and then descended into the plane of the eastern. And as Livy with great precision applies the name of "Plane Country," to the region between Geneva and the Pass; so with still greater he describes the road along it, not as level entirely and universally, but, because of this grand interposition of mountain, as "*mostly level*."

^m Simler 88-90 and 108-116, Bourrit i. 18-19, Coxe i. 392-394, and Moore's View of Society 244, 247, 249. "Rectè itaque incolæ totam vallem unum quoddam oppidum censent, montibus quasi moeniis munitum, cujus porta Tarnadæ sit" (Simler 88).

ⁿ Livy xxi. 32. "Ab Druentiâ, campestri maximè itinere," —ad Alpes."

About ten miles to the east of St. Gingoult, near the middle of this perforated mountain, upon the rocky point of the whole projection, and close to the Rhone, stands the town of St. Maurice at present, the *Tarnada* of the earlier Romans, the *Aganum* of the later, and the reputed, the probable scene of the martyrdom of that legion of Christians, which bore the appellation of Theban, which honourably refused to renounce their Heaven-descended religion, and were all massacred for the refusal by that savage enemy of Christianity and of Man, Maximian°. About twelve

° Simler 88-90 and 108-116, Bourrit i. 18-19, and Coxe i. 392-393. Tradition has been always firm and steady, in asserting *this* to be the scene of the martyrdom. As the town belonged to the Kings of Burgundy, on the settlement of the Vandals in this part of the empire; and as Christianity singularly triumphed over the very savages, before whom the empire lay vanquished and prostrate; an abbey was erected here in the sixth century, by Sigismund, King of Burgundy. Ever since, has the town assumed the appellation of the Saint, to whom the abbey was dedicated; Mauritius, the leader of this military band of martyrs. Such a tradition, and such a fact accompanying it, come in as powerful auxiliaries to the original narrative. Yet in that spirit of scepticism, which is now prevalent in the critical world, which is proper and useful in itself under strong restrictions, but is generally as it is operating at present, a mere *gas* of folly with which Ignorance fills up its balloon, and Infidelity sets itself wildly afloat in the air; not only the place has been disputed, but the very fact has been denied. Every *humour* in literature and in theology, that once becomes popular, is sure to grow ridiculous. Ninety-nine in a hundred

twelve miles to the east of this town, is that of MARTIGNY^p, the OCTODURUS of the Romans, the very limit of Hannibal's march along the

even of thinking writers, are in many points the mere echoes of popular opinions, and the very parrots of the talk of the times. To disbelieve or to doubt one half of *ecclesiastical* history in particular, is the impertinent fashion of the moment; and is more eminently the fashion with some, who are all the while displaying their own weakness of credulity, in history secular, modern, and national. But this improvident *Pyrrhonism* often shows itself in a milder light, carries the face of some zeal for religion, and then sets the whole narrative aside without presuming to disprove it. This is the mode with those, who mean well, who cannot disprove, and who dare not admit. "Without entering into the merits of the question" concerning the narrative of the Theban legion, says Mr. Coxe i. 393, "I cannot but remark, that the cause of Christianity has suffered more from weak and imprudent defenders, than from the sharpest attacks of its most inveterate adversaries." He thus creates a fiction of his own, as if the assertion of the fact was connected by the asserter, with the very "cause of Christianity" itself; and then goes on to condemn the assertion, "without entering into the merits of the question." This is no bad specimen of the pert and flippant and ridiculous mode of writing upon such subjects, that is predominating among us at present. It is confined, I believe, to our own nation. It falls in with the bent of mind, in the generality of English readers, and in the generality of English authors too, who are only a more refined part of the vulgar. It indulges that indolence of intellect equally in both, which does not love to discuss a doubted point of history, to clear it of the rubbish around it, and to set it in a full point of view before the eye.

^p Simler 110, and Moore i. 249.

Vallais, and the very point at which he entered the Alps. But, in order to throw a strong light upon this part of Hannibal's expedition, let us call in a portion of history, that is only about 170 years later in point of time. We have seen Pompey engaged before, in tracing back the steps of Hannibal across the Alps and along the Rhone. Let us now contemplate Cæsar, equally though mediately employed in following the very track of Hannibal, along the channel of the Rhone, and into the body of the Alps. Cæsar sent a detachment of troops, as I have shown before, to open that very communication between Gaule and Italy, to which Hannibal is now marching. Let us then attend the operations of this detachment, in order to know particularly the nations, with which Hannibal is at present, and is to be soon, engaged; to see exactly the nature, of the country of both; and to make the whole illustrate, ascertain, and establish the real history of Hannibal.

“When Cæsar went into Italy” at the conclusion of his second campaign in Gaule, “he sent “Ser. Galba,” he says, “with the twelfth legion “and a party of cavalry, among the NANTUATES, “the VERAGRI, and the SEDUNI, who range from “the borders of the Allobroges” at Geneva, “from “the Lake of Geneva, and the river Rhone, to

“ the tops of the Alps¹. The occasion of sending him, was this; that he wanted to have
 “ THE ROAD laid open, by which road the merchants had used to travel, at a great risk, and
 “ with great imposts laid upon them². He permitted him, if he thought it requisite, to station
 “ the legion there for the winter³. Galba, having gained some victories over them, and
 “ stormed several of their castles⁴,” &c. This account is peculiarly useful to us, at present; as it draws up the curtain, which hung before the present portion of our history. It shows us very distinctly, that the nations, with which Hannibal was engaged after the friendly Sovereign of Lyons had left him, were the NANTUATES, who lived along the lake from Geneva to St. Gingoult probably, and so filled the line of the present Dutchy

¹ Bell. Gall. iii. 1. p. 85. “ Quum in Italiam proficisceretur Cæsar, Ser. Galbam cum legione duodecimâ et parte equitatus, in Nantuates, Veragros, Sedunosque misit; qui a finibus Allobrogum, et lacu Lemano, et flumine Rhodano, ad Summas Alpes pertinent.”

² Ibid. “ Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, quo itinere, magno cum periculo magnisque portoriis, mercatores ire consueverant, patefieri volebat.

³ Ibid. p. 86. “ Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in iis locis legionem, hiemandi causâ, collocaret.”

⁴ Ibid. “ Galba, secundis aliquot præliis factis, castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis,” &c.

of Chablais^u; the VERAGRI, who ranged on along the lake and the Rhone, to the borders of the Lepontii Viberi and the town of Vifp^v; and the SEDUNI, who inhabited upon the road of the Alps to the very summits of the mountains. They all extended, we are told, “from the borders of the “Allobroges, the Lake of Geneva, and the river “Rhone, to the tops of the Alps.” The mo-

^u There is a town of *Nantua* to the north of the Rhone and to the west of Geneva, in the Bresse, and on the shorter road from Lyons to Geneva (see Maps for Mod. Univers. Hist. and Sketch 5); but this is too remote from the Nantuates to have any connection with them, being not less than forty-four miles from Geneva. Coincidences of appellation must always be applied, in accordance with geographical proprieties.

^v Simler 52-53. “Non longè infra Glifam, murus a Rhodano ad excurrentia juga proximorum montium ductus est; hunc ad hostium vim arcendam quondam extructum fuisse, turres et propugnacula ostendunt.—Hic terminus Viberorum fuisse censetur; unde et pagus in monte supra Vespiam, a Sedunis *Termina*,” in the maps *Terminen*, “appellatur.” Now, “hic murus neglectui habetur, multisque in locis fatiscit.”

^w How untruly then has Dio abbreviated this part of Cæsar⁵ history, when he says that “Servius Galba,” Γαλβας ο Σερβιος, which shews his full name to be not Sergius, as is commonly supposed, but Servius, “brought the *Veragri*, who live upon “the Lake of Geneva, close to the *Allobroges*, and up to the “Alps, to submit, some of them by force,” though one nation, “and some even by consent;” Ουραργρις, παρὰ τε τῆ Λιμνῆς λιμνῆς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀλλοβριξί, μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπεῶν, οἰκουμένης, τοὺς μὲν βίαια τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ, παρὶς ἠσαλο (xxxix. 5. p. 192). The manner of the narrative is as injudicious, as the geography of the country is false.

tive for sending troops among these nations, (was to penetrate as Hannibal had penetrated before, through the Nantuates, and through the Veragri, to THE ROAD over the Alps and the Seduni living along it. The troops sent "gained some victories over them, and stormed several of their castles;" but these castles belonged to, and these victories were gained over, the Seduni alone. This the very object of the expedition suggests, and this Cæsar explicitly declares; the sum of all the expedition being reckoned up by himself, to be only that "the Seduni were conquered upon the Alps".

All these three were considered as Alpine tribes. As such, were they reduced afterwards by Augustus, and specified on his trophy near Monaco¹. Yet they were equally considered as Gallick nations, and as members of that great community of nations, Gaule². Nor did the Nantuates or Veragri attempt to oppose, either Hannibal's army, or Cæsar's detachment, as it marched up the valley to the road and the Seduni. All that march of Hannibal's however, though it was pursued through *a couple of nations*, is *totally omitted by Polybius*. He considers the po-

¹ Bell. Gall. iii. 7. p. 90. "Victis in Alpibus Sedunis."

² Pliny iii. 20. "Gentes Alpinæ devictæ,—Nantuates, Seduni, Veragri."

³ Dio xxxix. 5. p. 192. *Ἐν τῇ Γαλαλίᾳ.*

fiction of Geneva as the beginning of the Alps, therefore carries Hannibal a hundred miles from Lyons, and instantly sets him to enter the Alps. Hannibal, he tells us, “having—marched along “the river about a hundred miles, began the ascent of the Alps^a.” Strabo so far does the same, as to consider the whole country from Geneva to the east for a part of the Alpine region; saying “there is a way for him, who leaves on “the left Lyons and the country adjoining to it, “and who again makes a turn *in the very Penine*,” these Alps so called, “and *crosses the Rhone*” by the bridge of Geneva, “or *the Lake of Geneva*” by a boat, “to *the plains of the Helvetii*”^b. Silius Italicus also does the same again, passing immediately from the Druentia or Arve to the entrance of the Alps^c. But, whatever excuse we may make for the Geographer or the Poet, we can neither make nor admit any for the Historian. This is certainly one of the many deficiencies, and of the very important too, that just criticism

^a Polybius iii. 49-50. Ἀντιβας δὲ, — πορευθεὶς πᾶρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς οὐκίακοσιους σταδίους, ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὺς ἀναβολῆς.

^b Strabo iv. 319. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἀφίεσι [ἀφέντι] τὸ Λουγδουνοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ποινηῷ πάλιν ἐκίροπης διαβάσει τοῦ Ροδανῶν, ἢ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Λιμενναῶν, εἰς τὰ Εὐουητῶν πεδία.

^c Silius Italicus, having described the passage of the Druentius, adds :

Sed jam præteritos ultra meminisse labores,
 Conspectæ propiùs dempsère paventibus Alpes;
 Cuncta gelu, &c.

muſt for ever lament in the narrative of Polybius. A range of country about fixty miles in length, is annihilated by the negligence of this writer; and we find a great gulph yawning wide before us, when we would purſue his march of Hannibal with geographical fidelity. Yet ſuch has been the reverence ſhewn to the pen of Polybius, ſuch the idolatry paid to his name, that his very faults have been conſecrated with his excellencies, and the erring mortal has been enſhrined in the glory of the Divinity. Though Livy comes in very happily to ſupply his deficiency here, and expoſes it very ſtrongly by ſupplying it, yet little attention has been given him; and the hiſtorical world has generally preferred, the falſhoods of this Plato, to the truths of Livy. Accordingly we find Folard, as ſoon as ever, in ſome compliance with Livy, he has brought Hannibal over what he takes to be Livy's Druentia; carrying him *that very day*, “to encamp upon Mount Genève at the ſummit of the Alps^d.” This, to be ſure, is *a note beyond etla* in harmonizing with Polybius; but the general note was ſtruck by Polybius, and is only repeated in a higher tone by Folard. M. de St. Simon too, equally complying with Livy, in carrying Hannibal over what he conceives with Folard to be Livy's Druentia, and fording it

^d Préface. *Table de Comparaiſon*. “Le ſeptieme jour de ſa marche, il paſſa la Durance, et vint camper ſur le mont Genève à la ſommité des Alpes.”

about Breoule ; says “ the Durance offers *in this*
 “ *place* the picture, that Livy has drawn of it ;
 “ the Alps, which are *on the other side*, present
 “ themselves such as Hannibal saw them ;—*the*
 “ *position of Breoule agrees perfectly with the little*
 “ *town,*” more than a mile *within* the Alps, as
 we shall soon see, “ *whither the Barbarians retired*
 “ *during the nights*.” We thus behold a singular
 phænomenon in literature ; the rays of Divinity
 from Polybius playing so fiercely upon the eyes of
 M. de St. Simon, that he could not see Livy,
 even while he was looking at him, for the
 dazzling lustre of them. Livy, he observed,
 carried Hannibal over the Druentia, and, as he
 should also have observed, carried him “ from
 “ the Druentia, by a road mostly level, to the
 “ Alps.” But Polybius had leaped over this in-
 termediate region, and therefore both he and Fo-
 lard refused to pace along it. They digressed so
 far from the guiding hand of Polybius, as to ford
 a river not pointed out by him ; but then refused
 to stray any farther from him. Though they saw
 the country spreading level before them in Livy,
 they burst into the mountains with Polybius.

‘ Preface xx. “ La direction de sa marche conduit à la
 “ Breoule, ou fort près ; la Durance—offre en ce lieu le ta-
 “ bleau, que Tite-Live en fait ; les Alpes, qui sont au-delà,
 “ se presentent telles qu’Annibal les a vues ;—la position de la
 “ Breoule convient parfaitement à la petite ville, où les bar-
 “ bares se retiroient pendant les nuits.”

Livy indeed was considered by them, and has hitherto been considered by all, not as he ought to have been, not as an equal planet with Polybius in the horizon of our history; but as a kind of satellite only to him, one attentive to his movements, one reflecting his brightness, and hardly noticeable in the lustre of his beams. And this false idea has contributed to give a false turn, to many parts of the history of Hannibal^f.”

“ Galba,”

^f Polybius iii. 50, says, that Hannibal “ in ten days,” *ἑνδεκάημεραις δικά*, marched a hundred miles, and began to ascend the Alps. Folard, rash in his blindness, has presumed to point out the very place, at which Hannibal encamped in each of the ten. On the *fifth* he brings him to Lautaret, and speaks of *the battle at the entrance of the Alps*: “ Il a cinquieme au Lautaret; c’est là qu’il soutint un combat contre ceux de pays.” On the *seventh* he carries him up to the top of the Alps, and on the *eighth* begins to carry him down; “ le septieme jour de sa marche, il—vint camper sur le mont—à la sommité des Alpes; la huitieme il descendit des Alpes:” when in Polybius he has not yet reached the Alps, when he there marches *ten* days, and *then* tries to enter. This is so astonishingly wild, that we are amazed to think how the name of Folard could ever have been raised into celebrity, and how the world of scholars could ever unite to put such a gross imposition upon themselves. But let me subjoin for the fuller conviction of my reader, if fuller can be, St. Simon’s general account of him; not as from himself, who is a professed antagonist, but from another writer of France, to whom he appeals, and of whom I remember Mr. Gibbon to speak highly. “ J’espere qu’on ne me refusera pas,” he cries, “ de se rappeler que Guischart (voyez Mémoires Militaires sur les Grecs et les Romains. Edit. de la Haye.

“ Galba,” adds Cæsar, “ having gained some
 “ victories over them, and stormed several of
 “ their castles; on their sending embassadors
 “ to him from every quarter, giving him hos-
 “ tages, and entering into peace with him, de-
 “ termined to fix a couple of cohorts among the
 “ NANTUATES, and he himself to winter with the
 “ remaining cohorts of the legion, in a small town
 “ of the VERAGRI that is denominated OCTODU-
 “ RUS; a town that lies in a valley, with a plain
 “ of a moderate size adjoining to it, and sur-
 “ rounded on all sides with very lofty hills.
 “ As this town was divided in two by a river, he
 “ gave up one part of it to the Gauls; the other,
 “ which was relinquished by them, he kept for

“ Haye. 1758), dont on n'a pas connu toute le merite dans la
 “ republique des Provinces-Unies; a cependant tres-clairement
 “ démontré, que Fôlard a souvent bien *moins suivi le texte de*
 “ *son auteur, que les ecarts de son imagination trop vive; enforte*
 “ *qu'on peut dire, que les idées etoient obscures dans ses beaux*
 “ *jours, et confusés à la fin de sa vie*” (p. xxxviii-xxxix). A
 note adds thus; “ on sçait assez la fin de cet auteur, qui *passa de*
 “ *l'etude de Polybe à la contemplation des merveilles de St.*
 “ *Medard.*”

• Bell. Gall. iii. 1. p. 86. “ Galba, secundis aliquot præliis
 “ factis, castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis; missis ad
 “ eum undique legatis, obsidibusque datis, et pace factâ, con-
 “ stituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare: ipse cum
 “ reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus, in vico Veragrorum qui
 “ appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; qui vicus positus in valle,
 “ non magnâ adjectâ planicie, altissimis montibus undique
 “ continetur.”

“ the quarters of the cohorts ^h. And he then
 “ secured the latter with a rampart and a ditch ⁱ.
 “ When they had now been several days thus
 “ settled for the winter, and he had ordered a
 “ quantity of corn to be brought in; he was
 “ suddenly informed by a scouting party, that
 “ the side of the town, which he had assigned
 “ to the Gauls, had been abandoned by them
 “ all in the night, and that the hills hanging
 “ over the town were occupied by a very great
 “ body of SEDUNI and VERAGRI ^k. This had
 “ been done by them from several motives, with
 “ a sudden resolution of renewing the war, and
 “ of crushing the legion ^l. Their first was, that
 “ the legion, being not a very full one of itself;
 “ and with the deduction of two cohorts, and
 “ from the absence of several individuals, who
 “ had been sent out to collect provisions, made

^h Bell. Gall. iii. 1. p. 86. “ Quum hic in duas partes flu-
 mine divideretur, alteram ejus vici Gallis concessit, alteram,
 “ vacuam ab illis relictam, cohortibus ad hiemandum attri-
 “ buit.”

ⁱ Ibid. “ Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.”

^k Ibid. 2. p. 86. “ Quum dies hibernorum complures
 “ transissent, frumentumque eo comportari jussisset; subito
 “ per exploratores certior factus est, ex eâ parte vici quam
 “ Gallis concesserat omnes noctu discessisse, montesque qui
 “ impenderent a maximâ multitudine Sedunorum et Vera-
 “ grorum teneri.”

^l Ibid. “ Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli
 “ renovandi legionisque opprimendæ consilium caperent.”

“ still

“ still weaker ; was despised by them, as a feeble
 “ body of soldiers ^m. Their second was, that
 “ because of the inequality of the ground, when
 “ they themselves should run down from the
 “ hills into the valley, and throw in their wea-
 “ pons among the Romans, they thought these
 “ could not stand their first charge ⁿ. There
 “ was also this additional motive, that they
 “ grieved at the taking away of their children
 “ from them, under the title of hostages ; and
 “ were convinced the Romans did not act solely
 “ with a view of securing THE ROAD, but were
 “ aiming at a perpetuity of possession, in thus
 “ endeavouring to seize the tops of the Alps,
 “ and were going to annex all the country to
 “ their dominions adjoining ^o. Galba, on re-

^m Bell. Gall. iii. 2. p. 86. “ Primum, quod legionem, neque
 “ eam plenissimam, detractis cohortibus duabus, et complu-
 “ ribus sigillatim, qui com meatibus petendi causâ missi erant,
 “ absentibus, propter paucitatem despiciebant.” Dio very
 oddly says, but very appositely for us, that “ of the soldiers
 “ some remained, as *being not far from Italy,*” των στρατιωτων οτι
 μιν παρεμενον, οσα μη πορρω της Ιταλιας οντες (xxxix. 5. p. 192).

ⁿ Ibid. p. 87. “ Tum etiam, quod propter iniquitatem loci,
 “ quum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent, et tela con-
 “ jicerent ; ne primum quidem posse impetum sustineri existi-
 “ mabant.”

^o Ibid. “ Accedebat, quod suos abs se liberos abstractos
 “ obsidum nomine dolebant ; et Romanos, non solùm itineris
 “ causâ, sed etiâ perpetuæ possessionis, culmina Alpium oc-
 “ cupare conari, et ea loca finitimæ provinciæ adjungere, sibi
 “ persuasum habebant.”

“ ceiving

“ceiving this intelligence, as he had not yet
 “completed his quarters for the season of winter,
 “or his works for the security of the place, and
 “had not yet laid in a sufficient quantity of
 “corn, or other provisions; because he had no
 “apprehensions of a war, when they had sub-
 “mitted to his arms, and given him hostages;
 “hastily called a council of war, and began to
 “consult his officers ^p. In this council, when a
 “danger so great and so sudden had come con-
 “trary to expectation, and now almost all the
 “higher grounds appeared, covered with num-
 “bers of armed men; and no assistance could
 “be brought, or no provisions carried in, be-
 “cause the roads were all blocked up; some of
 “the officers, almost despairing of their own
 “safety, proposed to abandon the baggage, to
 “fally out, and push away for their preservation
 “by the roads, through which they had marched
 “thither ^q. The greater part however agreed,
 “to

^p Bell. Gall. iii. 3. p. 87. “His nunciis acceptis, Galba,
 “quum neque opus hibernorum munitionesque plenè essent
 “perfectæ, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis
 “esset provisum; quod, deditioe factâ obsidibusque acceptis,
 “nil de bello timendum existimaverat; consilio celeriter
 “convocato, sententias exquirere cæpit.”

^q Ibid. p. 87. “Quo in consilio, quum tantum repentina
 “periculi præter opinionem accidisset; ac jam omnia ferè
 “superiora loca, multitudine armatorum completa conspicie-
 “rentur; neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari,
 “inter-

“ to reserve this measure for the last extremity,
 “ in the mean time to wait the issue of an at-
 “ tack, and to defend their entrenchments^r. In
 “ a short time, so short as hardly allowed them
 “ an interval, for forming and settling their ar-
 “ rangements agreeably to their resolution; the
 “ enemy, at a signal given, ran down from all
 “ parts of the hills, and poured in their stones or
 “ short darts upon the ramparts^s. Our men re-
 “ sisted them gallantly at first, while they were
 “ fresh in vigour; and did not discharge a single
 “ dart in vain, from the summit of their works^t.
 “ As any part of their entrenchments seemed
 “ to be deprived of its defendants, and to be
 “ pressed by the enemy; there they advanced,
 “ and supported one another^u. But they be-

“ interclusis itineribus, posset; propè jam desperatâ salute,
 “ nonnullæ hujusmodi sententiæ dicebantur, ut impedimentis
 “ relictis, eruptione factâ, iisdem itineribus quibus eò per-
 “ venissent ad salutem contenderent.”

^r Bell. Gall. iii. 3. p. 87. “ Majori tamen parti placuit, hoc
 “ reservato ad extremum consilio, interim rei eventum expe-
 “ riri, et castra defendere.”

^s Ibid. 4. p. 88. “ Brevi spatio interjecto, vix ut his rebus,
 “ quas constituissent, collocandis atque administrandis tempus
 “ daretur; hostes ex omnibus partibus, signo dato, decur-
 “ rere, lapides gæsaque in vallum conjicere.”

^t Ibid. p. 88. “ Nostri, primò integris viribus fortiter re-
 “ pugnare; neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiorè
 “ mittere.”

^u Ibid. p. 88. “ Ut quæque pars castrorum, nudata defen-
 “ soribus, premi videbatur; eò accurrere, et auxilium ferre.”

“ gan to sink at last; because the enemy re-
 “ tired out of the battle, as they grew wea-
 “ ried with the length of it, and were relieved
 “ by fresh men from behind; while our sol-
 “ diers were not able to do so, from their few-
 “ ness”. With our foldiers; not only could not
 “ the weary retire from fight; even the wounded
 “ were not at liberty to relinquish their stations,
 “ and to shelter themselves behind”. Both sides
 “ had now gone on in one continued engage-
 “ ment, for more than six hours”. Then our
 “ foldiers wanted strength, and even weapons”.
 “ The enemy pressed on with greater keenness;
 “ our foldiers acted with more faintness”. The
 “ enemy began to fill up the ditches, and to cut
 “ down the ramparts; and our men were now
 “ reduced to the last extremity”. Then P. Sex-
 “ tius

* Bell. Gall. iii. 4. p. 88. “ Sed hęc superari, quod diutur-
 nitate pugne hostes defessi praelio excedebant, alii integris
 “ succedebant; quarum rerum a nostris, propter paucitatem,
 “ fieri nihil poterat.”

* Ibid. p. 88. “ Ac non modò defesso, ex pugna excedendi;
 “ sed ne faucio quidem, ejus loci ubi constiterat relinquendi,
 “ ac sui recipienti, facultas dabatur.”

* Ibid. 5. p. 88. “ Quam jam ampliùs horis ni continenter
 “ pugnaretur.”

* Ibid. p. 88. “ Ac non solum vires, sed etiam tela, nostris
 “ deficerent.”

* Ibid. p. 88. “ Atque hostes acriùs instarent, languidiori-
 “ busque nostris.”

* Ibid. p. 88-89. “ Vallum scindere et fossas complere
 “ cœpissent;

“tius Baculus, the highest officer in the legion
 “next to the particular commandants, who had
 “received many severe wounds in the battle
 “against the Nervii before; and also Caius Vo-
 “lufenus, one of the commandants, a man of
 “great judgment and gallantry; run up to
 “Galba, and tell him, That the only hope of pre-
 “servation is in making a sally, and trying the
 “last resource of war^b. Galba accordingly as-
 “sembles the centurions, and by them apprises
 “the soldiers instantly to desist a moment from
 “fighting, only to pick up the weapons which
 “were discharged at them, and recover them-
 “selves from their fatigue; then, on his giving
 “the signal, to burst out of the entrenchments,
 “and to place all their hopes of preservation in
 “their valour^c. This they do, suddenly sally
 “out at all the gates, and leave not the enemy

“cœpissent; resque esset jam ad extremum deducta ca-
 “sum.”

^b Bell. Gall. iii. 4. p. 89. “P. Sextius Baculus, primipili
 “centurio, quem Nervico prælio compluribus confectum vul-
 “neribus diximus; et item C. Volufenus, tribunus militum,
 “vir et consilii magni et virtutis; ad Galbam occurrunt,
 “atque unam esse spem salutis docent, si, eruptione factâ,
 “extremum auxilium experirentur.”

^c Ibid. p. 89. “Itaque, convocatis centurionibus, celeriter
 “milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent prælium, ac
 “tantummodo tela missa exciperent, seque ex labore refi-
 “cerent; post, signo dato, e castris erumperent, atque omnem
 “spem salutis in virtute ponerent.”

“ time, either to know what was meant, or to
 “ form in bodies for resisting them ^d. Thus was
 “ the fortune of the day all changed; and those
 “ who had entertained hope of forcing the en-
 “ trenchments, were surrounded and slain ^e. Of
 “ more than thirty thousand men, who (it ap-
 “ pears) had come to form the entrenchments,
 “ more than a third was killed ^f. The rest fled
 “ away in fear; and our men even chased them
 “ beyond the hills adjoining ^g. All the forces of
 “ the enemy being now routed, and having
 “ now left their arms behind them in the flight;
 “ our own men return to their camp, and within
 “ their entrenchments ^h. But after all was over,
 “ as Galba was unwilling to run the same risk
 “ again, remembered he came to winter there
 “ with another view,” that of securing THE ROAD,

^d Bell. Gall. iii. 6. p. 89. “ Quod jussi sunt faciunt, ac
 “ subito omnibus portis eruptione factâ, neque cognoscendi
 “ quid fieret, neque sui colligendi, hostibus facultatem relin-
 “ quunt.”

^e Ibid. p. 89. “ Ita commutatâ fortunâ, eos qui in spem
 “ potiendorum castrorum venerant, undique circumventos,
 “ interficiunt.”

^f Ibid. p. 89. “ Ex hominum millibus amplius xxx (quem
 “ numerum Barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat) plus ter-
 “ tiâ parte interfectâ.”

^g Ibid. p. 89. “ Reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt,
 “ ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur.”

^h Ibid. p. 89. “ Sic omnibus hostium copiis fuis, armisque
 “ exitis, se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt.”

which

which he could not secure as the Seduni had thus broke out into war again, “and saw he “should attend to other points,” of over-awing the Allobroges about Geneva and along the descent of the Rhone; “but principally influenced “by his want of corn and other provisions; the “next day he burned down all the buildings of “the town, and set out on his return into the “dominions of Rome,” then including not only Provence, so denominated from being the first province of Rome in France, but also all Dauphiny, and all the country east as far as Geneva¹. “And, there being no enemy to bar or to retard “his march, he brought the legion safe into the “country of the NANTUATES, thence into that of “the Allobroges; and wintered there^k.”

In this narration, as in a magick mirrour, we have already seen the three nations that have been so long dead to the history of Hannibal, all alive and active near two centuries after him. These we find to be continually denominated Gauls; to have roads issuing out of the rest of Gaul

¹ Bell. Gall. iii. 6. p. 89. “Quo prælio factò, quòd sæpiùs “fortunam tentare Galba nolebat, atque alio sese in hiberna “consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurriffe rebus videbat; “maximè, frumenti com meatùsque inopiã permotus; postero “die, omnibus ejus vici ædificiis incensis, in Provinciam re “verti contendit.”

^k Ibid. p. 89. “Ac, nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demo- “rante, incolumem legionem in Nantuates, inde in Allobroges, “perducit; ibique hiemavit.”

at Geneva, and falling into THE ROAD over the Alps into Italy. But we have also a particular view of the country, in it; this glass of history, as we look through it, exhibiting objects with more clearness, because with more minuteness. OCTODURUS, we observe, was “ a small town of the “ VERAGRI,—that lies in a valley, with a plain of “ a moderate size adjoining to it, and surrounded “ on all sides by very lofty hills.” It was also “ divided in two by a river.” We read likewise of “ the hills hanging over the town;” which “ were occupied by a very great body of SEDUNI,” the natives of the hills, “ and of VERAGRI,” the natives of the valley. The town, therefore, was at the confines of the two nations. But these united forces had a *road*, by which, “ when they “ themselves should run down from the hills “ into the valley,” and throw in their weapons among the Romans, they thought “ these could “ not stand their first charge.” So near to the town, and so steep in itself, was this road from the mountains! Along this road they actually “ ran “ down from all parts of the hills, and poured in “ their stones or short darts upon the rampart.” This was the road also, by which the soldiery of Cæsar entered the mountains, when “ the Seduni” were “ conquered upon the Alps” by them; and by which they again “ chased them” from Octodurus, “ beyond the hills adjoining.” And this was evidently THE ROAD, which Cæsar wanted to “ lay open,” and “ by which—the merchants
“ chants

“chants had used to travel.” Galba marched into the country to lay it open, attacked the Seduni upon the line of it, and took post for the winter at the entrance into it. All these notices combine, to point out MARTIGNY for Octodurus decisively! All these rays of intelligence are caught separately in our speculum, but are thrown off to converge at Martigny, and at Martigny unite in full lustre. Martigny lies equally in a valley, has equally a small plain adjoining to it, is equally encircled with very lofty mountains, the mountains on both sides of the Rhone, and is equally divided by a river, the Drance¹. Martigny is also situated at the foot of a mountain, and is even so near; that but for a wood which covers the foot, which equally covered the foot of Hannibal’s Alps at the entrance, and is preserved with the greatest care by the inhabitants, the town would infallibly be destroyed by the overwhelming balls of snow from the mountain^m. A road too ascends from it up the mountain, to go over the Alps into Italy; and this remains a grand celebrated pass, to the present momentⁿ. On account of this, the Romans laid a road out

¹ Coxe i. 390.

^m Saussure iv. 290. “Situé au pied de la montagne. Il en est même si près, que sans une forêt qui couvre le pied de cette montagne, et que l’on conserve avec le plus grand soin, il seroit infalliblement détruit par les avalanches.” Livy xxi. 32. “Saltum.”

ⁿ Coxe i. 36, and Bourrit 28-29.

of *Helvetia* to *Ostodurus*, which is now the great way out of *Switzerland* to *Martigny*°. It ran by *Aventicum*, and now runs by *Avenches*; by *Minnidunum* or *Modon*, *Vibiscum* or *Vevay*, and *Pennelocos* or *Penne*, to *Tarnada* or *St. Maurice*; crossing the road at the last town by a bridge of stone, which is much admired for its bold projection, as being a single arch of a hundred and thirty feet in the span, and one of the few remains of the Romans at it. A second road of the Romans, too, falls into that at *Vevay*; coming from "*Lacum Lofenne*" or *Lautanne*, appearing visible to this day between *Lautanne* and *Vevay*, and going with that road from *Vevay* to *Martigny*. This common way out of *Switzerland*

° This country is now called the land of the *Swiss* or *Switzerland*, from that hard pronunciation of the letter *s*, which marks the provincial speech of our own *Somersetshire* at present; which in *Germany* goes still farther, gives the tone of a *t* or *d* to it, so changes the local appellations *Tabernæ* into *Zabern*, *Tolbiacum* into *Zulpich*, and *Figurium* into *Zurich*; which is heard even in *Italy*, and forms *Abruzzo* in writing into *Abruzzo* on the tongue, *Arexium* into *Arezzo*, and *Sonzius* into *Isonze*; actually lurks unknown to ourselves in our *English* modes of writing, and abbreviates the Roman *videlicet* into our antiquated *viz.* The pronunciation therefore is old and original, and *Somersetshire* is singular only because the other counties have innovated. It is actually found among the Romans, their *Eporædia* being written *Eporizio* in their very *Notitia* (c. 180). It is even found among our *British* ancestors, *Brezonek* for the language of *Bretagne* being pronounced and written *Brezonek*, and *Ladock* in *Cornwall* being always denominated *Lazock*.

unites

unites with Cæſar's and with Hannibal's route from Geneva, at the town of Tarnada or St. Maurice, and goes on with it to Octodurus or Martigny; in order to *ascend the Alps there*, and to *puſh acroſs them into Lombardy* ^p. It did ſo, formerly; and it does ſo, at preſent. Martigny thus remains at this day, what Octodurus muſt have been before, the grand center of the trade between Switzerland and Italy; the merchandize, that went over the Alps in the days of Cæſar, ſtill continuing to croſs them, and by this very channel of communication; and all, that is conveyed over the mountains from either ſide, being regularly depoſited at Martigny for this ^q. The town accordingly *glories*, to uſe the language of cuſtom and propriety united, in poſſeſſing ſome Roman remains within it. It ſhows a Roman inſcription upon a ſtone, which has been worked up into the ſtructure of the church, and appears in an angle of it. It ſhows a ſecond on a ſtone,

^p Bertius ii. 22 for the Itinerary of Antoninus, Second Segment of Peutinger's Tables, Breval's Firſt Travels ii. 35, 37, 39-46, Coxe ii. 71-74 and i. 394, Bourrit i. 19, and Sketch 71-82. Octodurus took its name apparently, from the *Drn* or water of *Or*; the other name in Celtick, for the Drance on which it ſtands. See D'Anville 513-514 for Penne. Vinomagus between Modon and Vevay in Peutinger's Tables, is St. Sapphorin, where is a Roman mile-ſtone with an inſcription; the diſtances in the Tables and the Itinerary, appearing evidently falſe on a collation with the mile-ſtone and the reality, (Coxe ii. 73-74).

^q Sketch 81-82.

in the hinder porch of the church. These two have been thus preserved, to gratify the historical curiosity of the present age; while others have assuredly been broken in pieces, for want of such a repository, or turned with their inscriptions inward, for want of so much taste in placing them.

Martigny

"It is said," as Mr. Coxe informs us i. 390-391, "that near this place may be traced the remains of Sergius Galba's camp.—I cannot however ascertain from my own observation, whether any traces of a Roman encampment still remain; nor could I gain the least information from the inhabitants; so that the conjecture concerning the situation of Octodurum [or Octodurus], rests only upon the faith of antiquarians, and on the general position of the country." So does this spirited, enterprising, and judicious traveller allow himself at the present moment, to write like a mere antiquary, and to overlook the history! From this I have already proved Martigny, to be Octodurus. The "camp" or encampment of Galba, too, was not "near" the town, but was the very town itself; and only that half of the town, which the Romans possessed. "Quum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis concessit, alteram, vacuum ab illis relictam, cohortibus ad hiemandum attribuit; eum locum vallo fossaque munivit." But this ditch and this rampart were perhaps destroyed *immediately*, on the retreat of the Romans from their half, and the re-possession of the whole by the Veragri. Even if they were not, they must long since have been covered with the growing buildings of the town, most probably in the Roman and middle ages, perhaps in the present. "The fairs, which are held here, and its central situation, render it flourishing" (Sketch 82). See also the next section at the beginning, for the Roman and middle ages.

"Martiniacus

Martigny however consists of two towns, the Bourg and the Ville. The latter, to speak in the language of the country concerning it, and in the language of all countries where staves are not erected or computed miles used, is *a quarter of an hour* from the former, or, in our own mode of reckoning space, three quarters of a mile from it; equally upon the channel of the Drance, but lower down the current, and near its termination in the Rhone. *This* was the *only* town in the days of Hannibal, and still exults in the appropriate appellation of the Ville or town of Martigny. But it is much less considerable than the Bourg, at present; which appears from its name, to have been occasioned by its castle, and

“ Martiniacus vicus,” says Simler, “ est Octodorum veterum—; nam qui Octodorum inferiori loco ostendunt, et vestigia ejus eluvione Dransæ et Rhodani deleta volunt, nullâ firmâ ratione nituntur. Nam primùm, ut Cæsar describit, Octodorus vicus positus in valle, non magnâ adjectâ planicie, altissimis montibus undique continetur, et in duas partes flumine dividitur; *quæ descriptio Martiniaco optimè convenit.* Flumen autem non Rhodanum intelligi à Cæsare, sed *Dransam, Eutropius ostendit, qui torrentem nominat; et, Rhodani, celeberrimi fluvii, nomen Cæsar haud reticuisse.* —Quo minùs illi audiendû sunt, qui longiùs a Poenino Octodorum remouent; minimè omnium, qui Octodorum esse voluit S. Mauritiî oppidum. Postremò, inscriptiones Romanæ vetustatem hujus loci testantur.” He then notices the two in my text. But now the town is, he adds, “ frequentior et notior propter mercatores, quibus hæc frequens per Alpes iter est” (p. 85-87).

has been built three quarters of a mile nearer to the pass into the Alps^s, in order to guard it. There it has the road into this pass, another that pushes into the collateral Alps of Savoy, and a third that courses the whole valley of the Rhone, all uniting at it. But the castle had been built before the days of Cæsar, and had produced a town at it before. This town indeed is the very Octodurus noticed by him. It was then divided by the Drance, as it now is, into two parts. It had then probably, as it now has, a wretched bridge of wood without any rails to the sides, for connecting the two parts, and crossing the large, rapid, agitated current there. Of these parts the eastern is the half, that was then consigned to the natives; and the western, what was occupied by the soldiery. Both these together are the Martigny, which is situated so near to the foot of the mountains, that it would infallibly be destroyed by the overwhelming balls of snow from them, if it was not protected by the wood upon their base; and which the mountaineers of Cæsar might well think they should storm at once, in a violent run from the hills hanging over it. The western half was seized by the Romans, because it is naturally much stronger than the other. In it, and over against what is now, and

^s Sauffure iv. 290-291, "un quart d'heure," and a note in vol. ii. ch. ii. sect. 3. Borgoni's map is very erroneous here, in its measures.

probably

probably was too in the time of Cæsar, the main part of this daughter-town; is a high, steep, and craggy rock, impending over the Drance. The summit is large enough to carry a castle upon it, which was at first, I suppose, a fort or station of the Veragri to guard the pass, but has since become the palace of a bishop; and even now appears majestic in its ruins. Yet these consist only of a single tower at present, very antique in its appearance, rearing its head very high, having the Drance impetuous at its foot, and showing walls of twelve feet in thickness. And, standing as it does at the very elbow of the great valley, we have from it a most extensive view of the whole; and can trace the Rhone with the eye, almost from its source in the eastern Alps, to its termination in the lake on the west. About three quarters of a mile to the south of this, do the mountains open for the grand pass over them¹.

— VI. —

¹ Coxe i. 391, Sketch 82, and Saussure 290-291, 315-317. Simler 82 says thus: "*Saxo etiam*," the Bourg of Martigny, commonly called *Saxon*, from the *Saxum* or rock on which the *original bourg* or castle was built (see Map in Sketch), exactly as another castle is called at no great distance from it (Simler 49), "*vicus Octodoro propinquus, Intremontiorum* " est, unâ cum *Arce*, quæ in *præruptâ rupe* quondam hoc loco " habitabatur, sed bello Veragrorum diruta est:" and 84 thus; " vicus Martiniacus ad *dexteram* Danicæ [*Dranicæ*] fluvii," to the right or north-east, as the author comes along the valley from east to west, "*hujus alterâ parte Arx im præcipiti petra*"

" *litæ*

— VI. —

HAVING thus exhibited the region through which Hannibal has been long marching, and the town, the pass to which he is marching, in all the lively sunshine which that luminary of history, Cæsar, here throws upon them; I now proceed to place Hannibal, *in* the town and *at* the pass.

He had spent ten days, in marching from Lyons to Geneva, and in traversing only about a hundred miles of ground. A detachment from his army however, which was sent along the western side of the Rhone, in order to cross privately above, and to facilitate the passage of the whole army over it; had marched no less than five and twenty miles nearly, in one day". This indeed

" sita est, quam, aliquoties vastatam, Episcopi Sillinius et Matheus Cardinalis restituerunt; *hæc loco via per Alpes,*" &c. The former of these, " anno 1482, episcopatum Sedunorum adeptus, cum ædificandi studiosus esset, vetera templa et ædificia publica passim totâ regione instauravit; *Arces Orlodorensem et Agaunensem, superiori bello combustas, novas de integro extruxit*" (p. 154). Under the latter of these, who immediately succeeded the other, "*Arcem Orlodorensem, festri tempore oppugnatam, et demum sub conditionibus deditam, [Vallesiani] in odium Cardinalis combussere*" (p. 166); and the whole has remained in ruins ever since.

" Livy xxi. 27. " Iter unius diei—, inde millia quinque et viginti ferme."

was a party, without elephants, without baggage. But the whole army marched up to Lyons afterward, a length of about seventy-five miles, in four days; which is a stage of eighteen or nineteen, for each γ . A march therefore of only ten a day, and this continued for ten days together, proves sufficiently the very slow and very cautious manner, in which he had proceeded since he left Lyons.

He then marched from Geneva about sixty miles; reached Martigny; so stood under the very base of the Alps, and in the very mouth of the pass into them. He prepared instantly to ascend them by it. But as Livy tells us with that picturesque vivacity of representation, which constitutes a principal felicity in historic writing, and into which Polybius is always too heavy to ascend; the soldiery were greatly struck, with the very near appearance of these wonderful mountains. Objects, that are indistinctly known to the mind, are generally exaggerated in the report. Obscurity of discernment gives free play, to the powers of imagination; and the clouds lend a higher altitude to the sky, than ever nature has lent it. They had heard many and most formidable accounts, concerning the Alps; but now beheld them, rearing immediately before their

~~Sept.~~ Sept. 1st and 2d before.

eyes.

eyes. The mountains there are actually of a stupendous height*. They surveyed their rising sides and elevated heads. They looked at the snows on their tops, almost mingling with the sky. They gazed at the ill-shapen houses, pitched upon the rocks along the lower and nearer parts of the mountains; the flocks and the herds there, rough with the cold: the men, hairy and savage in their appearance; the animate and inanimate creation, all stiffened over with ice*. The Alpine mountaineers were then marked as they are to this day, by their long, shaggy hair, and by the wild appearance which this gives them†.

* Moore's View i. 244.

† Livy xxi. 32. "Tum, quanquam famâ prius (quâ incerta in majus vero ferri solent) præcepta res erat; tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo, nivesque cælo propè immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaque torrida [horrida] frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu." I boldly substitute *horrida* for *torrida*, in defiance of what I suppose to be the reading in all the editions, and is certainly in all that I have seen; because an authority superiour to all editions, common-sense, compels me to do so. The circumstances noted are all objects of sight; *horrida* forms this into one, but *torrida* does not. *Torrida* indeed has no meaning at all, as applied to any effect of the cold visible upon the herds and flocks; while *horrida* has a very good one, suited to the scene described, and poetically expressive.

‡ Gray 67, Watkins i. 180, and these lines in Silius Italicus,

Illuvie rigidaque comæ squalore perenni,
Horrida semiferi promunt e rupibus ora.

But in general the Carthaginians fancied more than they saw. Terror works upon the mind and upon the eye at once, so gives a double obscurity to the discernment, and consequently lends a double play to the imagination. Fancy thus heightened the scene, that vision presented. They therefore roughened up all the cattle with cold, and stiffened over all the objects with ice; when there could have been no ice, and even no cold, amid the warm air of the Vallais at this season, and within any reach of their eye-sight, in which they could distinguish either the stiffening or the roughness². All the lower parts of the Alps indeed, at this very point of Martigny, are actually covered with rich pastures³. Hannibal's Alps too at this very period of time, as we shall soon see, were in a high state of cultivation for some miles upward; and, as Livy himself intimates here, had flocks and herds grazing upon them. But the eyes of the Carthaginians very naturally flew over the lower parts at first, and fixed upon the more lofty pikes of the mountains. There they marked such a full display of wild

² Coxe i. 385-386. "The weather in this inclosed vale is so exceedingly hot, that I am at this instant, *although the evening is far advanced*, quite oppressed with the extreme sultriness." From Sion, August the 19th.

³ Moore's View i. 244. Simler 18, says of the Alps in general, that even in the middle of the mountains are most excellent pastures, "*montibus mediis præstantissima pascua.*"

and wintry grandeur, as might well strike strongly upon their feelings. Then the eye, drawing off from the painful object, endeavoured to rest upon the lower grounds; but saw them through the mists of those apprehensions, which had been already excited, and so dressed them out in a terribleness, that was merely derivative and imaginary. They thus beheld sufficient, to set their imaginations more actively to work. The mind, by brooding over its own terrors, quickened and invigorated them. And both reality and fancy united, to carry their terrors to their hearts^b.

^b Livy xxi. §2. "Terrorem renovarunt."

Livy, in his description of the Alps before, subjoins one circumstance which I have not noticed in the formidable mass; "cætera visu, quàm dictu, foediora." What he particularly means by this, I believe, is the "Alpinum guttur" of these "homines intonsi et inculti." Mr. Gray notes it specifically, in a transient account of the Alps. "The creatures that inhabit them," he says p. 67, "are in all respects below humanity; and most of them, especially the women, have the tumidum guttur, which they call goscia." This singular excrescence, which is so marking a part of the Alpine appearance, to every un-familiarized eye; and which would be equally discernible by the Carthaginians in this microscopick vision, as the roughness of the cattle from cold, and the stiffness of all objects from frost; must be attributed to the Alpine waters, I think, as impregnated with metallick particles. Accordingly the disorder in a lesser degree is known among ourselves, by the name of the *Derbyshire Wen*. That county is at once the most Alpine and the most metallick, of any in the kingdom perhaps. "Etiam in Italiâ equiculis," says Munster, "guttur intumescit, aquarum quas bibunt vitio." Simler adds: "in agro

“ agro Tigurino ad Turum fluvium, proximè quà Rhenum
 “ ingreditur, in villà Flaach nomine *fons est qui bibentes gut-*
 “ *terofos efficit, ideoque Strumarum Fons nuncupatur*” (p. 20--
 21): These facts seem to ascertain the cause of this excre-
 scence, decisively.

Since I wrote the above, Mr. Coxe has published a very sen-
 sible dissertation on the subject, in his Travels i. 397---406.
 He has plainly proved this Alpine Wen, to be occasioned by
 the waters; as I had done in a sentence or two, before. But
 he has not noticed the facts, in Munster and in Simler. He
 supposes indeed the impregnation of the waters, to be stony,
 not metallick; when waters strongly impregnated with stone,
 and forming great concretions round the inside of tea-kettles,
 &c. are found in every part of England, and our wens are
 confined to Derbyshire.

 CHAPTER THE THIRD.

— I. —

A FEW miles to the east of Martigny, and a little within the Upper Vallais, is the town of SITTEN or SION; undoubtedly a town, as early as the Romans. A few inscriptions still remain, to prove its Roman antiquity. Most of these are so obliterated, as only to show themselves Roman, without telling us any thing concerning the Romans. But one is more legible, and points out a striking circumstance concerning Sion; the town being expressly called in it, "Civitas Sedunorum" or the Capital of the Seduni. This shows it; to take its present name from the nation; the capitals of nations beginning in the 4th or 5th centuries, to carry the appellations of the nations themselves; those of the Ambiani, the Atrebatés, the Parisii, and the Seduni, being denominated Amiens, Arras, Paris, and Sitten or Sion; and the Roman *civitas*, which had previ-

Coxe i. 388-389, and more correctly Simler 72-73.

ously

ously denoted the state itself, then coming to signify the capital and a *city*. This inscription was made in honour of Augustus, and during his eleventh consulate^b, the year Twenty-three before the Christian *Æra*. *Just two years before*, Augustus reduced the inhabitants of this part of the Alps^c. He then took Sion, which belonged before to the Veragri; and gave it to the Seduni. These he found, as Cæsar had found them a little before, confined entirely to the mountains. There we shall soon see their principal city, to have been in the days of Hannibal. But now, on this grant from Augustus, the Seduni were glad, like the original Scots of our own Highlands, to extend their dominions into the low countries before them, and even to settle their metropolis in them. The river Morge to the west of Sion, that boundary of the Upper Vallais at present, is so in all probability, because it became the boundary of the Seduni and Veragri at this period. But as that cession of a part of the Veragrian lands on the east, produced this *early* memorial of gratitude from the Sionese to Augustus, the Seduni of it naturally expressing their thankfulness to their "Patron^d," so a similar cession of the Veragrian lands to the west, drew

^b Coxe. t. 388-389, and more correctly Simler 72-73.

^c Dio liii. 25. p. 719-720.

^d Simler 72-74. "Civitas Sedunorum Patrono."

forth an equal memorial from the Nantuates of St. Maurice, and an equal acknowledgment of Augustus for their "Patron" too. From both we see, that the Nantuates and the Seduni revolted from their brethren of the Alps and of the Alpine Valley, while the Veragri adhered firmly to them; and that those deserted the cause, which these maintained, against the Romans. But thus did Sion become the capital of the Seduni, as it had been (I apprehend) the metropolis of the Veragri before. This metropolis was now fixed at Martigny; and the small town of Cæsar became a considerable one, with his successors. So early as the days of Ptolemy, it was important enough to engage his attention, amidst a multiplicity of objects. Wildly assigning it to Rhoetia, and therefore placing it at the springs of the Rhine, in that general confusedness of topography, by which he has thrown the Alps into the utmost disorder of position; he singles out Octodurus or (as he calls it) Ectodurum for our notice, and gives us the very latitude and longitude of it^f. And Martigny is acknowledged by the writers of the Vallais, to have been formerly the capital, not only of the Veragri, but, from some incidents unknown to history, of all the Vallais^g. It accordingly became afterwards, and

^f D'Anville 473, from Guichenon, "Nantuates Patrono."

^g Ptolemy ii. 12. p. 61.

^h Simler 85. "Martiniacus vicus est Octodorum veterum, caput quondam Vallensium."

very early, the seat of a Bishop; Christianity, wherever she gained an entrance for herself, always introducing Episcopacy in her train; and forming for herself an episcopal polity, as soon as ever she had a sufficiency of subjects for it. The Bishop thus took up his residence at the capital, and the kingdom became his diocess. Theodorus, Bishop of Martigny, actually assisted as representative for all the Vallais, at the Council of Aquileia in 381. But the see appears to have been at Martigny and at Sion, conjointly, as Sigebert notices Florentinus for Bishop of *Sion* in 411; as another Theodorus appears Bishop of *Sion*, after the year 500; and as Constantius and Rufus equally appear Bishops of *Martigny*, in 510 and 546. The castle on the rock at the Bourg, then became the palace of the Bishop, as it remained to the destruction of it, and as a castle near Sion remains to the present moment^b. The Bishops of the Vallais ceased in the sixth century, to use the name of Martigny for that of their see; and have ever since denominated themselves, by the name of Sion only. Martigny had suffered much in the wars, which those, who had thrown the Roman Empire to the ground, instantly began in quarrelling for the spoils. It drooped under the blow, and shrunk back to the village which it was in

^b Bourrit i. 29, and Simler 117-118.

^c Simler 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138-9, 141, 142, 147.

the days of Cæsar^k. In such a manner does the wheel of the world perform its revolutions, carry up towns and states with it to the top, and then bear them with it to the bottom again!

At

^k “Cum Burgundiæ reges, sub quorum imperio Veragri et Seduni erant, assiduis bellis peterentur a Francis; cum universa vallis, tum Oëtodorum, multa perpeffum vastatumque fuit, et ab eo tempore nunquam pristinam dignitatem recuperare potuit. Episcopatus tamen apud Sedunos permansit; Oëtodori verò, in locum oppidi vicus successit” (Simler 87). The power, which Coxe i. 380, mentions the Bishop of the Vallais to have had and have, was given by Charlemagne after the separation of Martigny from Sion (Simler 129).

^l Simler notes p. 86, that the “Oëtodorenfes,” or people of Martigny, on the Roman reduction of the country, were “Latio donati.” But he here mis-interprets Pliny iii. 20, as others have done before him. I have already corrected this mistake, and now correct it with some addition in him. “Sunt præterea Latio donati incolæ,” Pliny tells us, “ut Oëtodurenfes, et finitimi Centrones, Cottianæ civitates.” The Oëtodurenfes appear plainly to be neighbours, to the Centrones of the Tarentaise; and to be equally with them Cottian states, or states on the hills near Mount Genève. They can therefore be only what I have made them before, the people of Avençon on the Durance in Dauphiny.—Yet D’Anville has enlarged the error, by saying 305 that “les Veragri font désignés dans Pline par le nom d’Oëtodurenfes;” when Pliny really makes them one of the Cottian states, and neighbours to the Cottian Centrones; and when he actually notices the Veragri afterwards, as a tribe totally distinct from both, “Nantuates, Seduni, Veragri” (iii. 20).—But to these falsehoods of antiquarianism let me subjoin a truth respecting life, a singular discovery

At Martigny the hills rise by one continued ascent, and along the waving course of the often-mentioned road into them, for six miles together. Those hills open immediately to the south of Martigny, in order to admit this road. The opening is about eighty paces in breadth, occupied for the greatest part by the river Drance; and bordered by the rocks of a hill, that frequently present a wild, savage appearance even now. But the road itself runs in one continued and narrow defile, to the top of this first ledging of mountains^m. This, in the days of Hannibal, was the only formed channel of communication betwixt Gaule and Italy. Here the army of Hannibal was now to enter the great trunk of the

discovery of M. Bourrit's concerning the natives of Martigny. "*Les femmes,*" he says, "*ici gouvernent les hommes; leur volonté font des loix: ce qu'il y a de remarquable, c'est que les hommes se trouvent bien de l'empire du sex,*" a mode of expression, that sounds like the voice of an old bachelor, but, as appears from the sequel, only sounds so, "*et que les maisons les plus opulentes, les plus heureuses, sont d'ordinaire celles que les femmes gouvernent*" (i. 30.). This is highly to the honour of the sex; and I recommend the example to my married and unmarried countrymen. A Martigny wife, surely, cannot be a better governour than a British one. I shall therefore be glad to see the husbands of Britain, like those of Martigny, all governed by their wives, and all happy under their government. Nor is my recommendation founded entirely upon speculation. Experience has added her important sanction. Who then can dispute the doctrine? Who will not make the experiment?

^m. Bourrit i. 31, iii. 286, and Saussure iv. 287-290.

Alps; and by it to pass over this celebrated ridge of mountains, into the grand region of their destination. His army, as we have seen before, consisted of infantry, cavalry, and elephants. Nor was this all. He was attended by a string of horses for carrying burdens^a. He was also accompanied by a train of draught-horses and wheel-carriages, for drawing loads^b. While *these* transported the provisions, *those* conveyed the rest of the baggage^c; which, as the whole army very surprisngly carried no personal and private baggage with them^d, could consist only of the tents, the poles for erecting them, and the tools for fastening them. The carriages assuredly were the same, with the cars of Ireland and the Highlands at this day; then used by the Gauls and Spaniards, and peculiarly calculated for the roads of mountains; moving on low wheels about three feet only from each other, and being drawn each of them by a single horse.

^a Polybius iii. 51. Ἀρθροφόρα.

^b Ibid. ibid. Τροχίσια. Let me here observe, that the translator has made no distinction, whatever his author may have done. Though Polybius speaks so distinctively, Mr. Hampton knows of none but “the beasts that conveyed the baggage,” “the beasts of burthen,” and “the beasts that were loaded with the baggage” (i. 356—357). In so confounding a mirror are the features of Polybius exhibited!

^c Polybius iii. 60. Τροφίη and τροχίσια.

^d Polybius iii. 35. Τῶν ἀποσκευῶν ἀπέλαξε τὴν ἡμῶν, Hanno in Spain, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτεζομένην.

The breadth of them therefore would not be more, than the length of the packs upon the burden-horses, or than the width of the narrowest ways within the Alps at presents.

But, though the Nantuates and the Veragri of the valley had shown Hannibal no opposition, as they equally showed none to Cæsar's detachment afterwards; yet the Seduni of the mountains determined to show him some, as they also did to Cæsar. Though not re-inforced by the Veragri now, they resolved to resist his entrance into their country. For this purpose they had collected a large body of their soldiery, and had at this moment brought them down to the avenue into it. Hannibal, however, knew nothing of their designs. He therefore ordered his troops to advance, and enter the avenue. In that critical moment, had this Alpine nation taken some secret position, concealed themselves in some of the many hollows of the mountains, suffered the Carthaginians to enter the pass and extend along it, then attacked them as they were struggling through it; they would have completely destroyed their army. But they openly took post upon the hills, at the entrance of the pass.

They

• Polybius iii. 50. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλπεῖας ἤρξαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ δασυχωμίᾳ—κατὰ τὸ πλεονεξῶς ἀποκαταλαβὸν τῶν ἐπιπέδων τοῦ περὶ, δι' ὃν εἶδη τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀλπεῖαν καὶ αἰατικῆν ποταμοῦ τῆν ἀποβόλην· ἢ μὴ ἐν κρυφῶν

They thus disclosed their design by their appearance. They were seen by the Carthaginians now, as they were by the Romans afterward, all ranged upon the hills in sight of Martigny. And as soon as Hannibal was apprized of the fact by his vanguard, and by those Gauls who had come to him on the embassy from their countrymen in Italy, who had since been his guides and conductors to the Alps, and were therefore at this moment marching with the van; he commanded it to halt¹. The Seduni and the Veragri of Cesar were conspicuous to the Romans, because these were within the Bourg; and the Seduni would now appear almost equally conspicuous to the Carthaginians, as these were within the Ville. Hannibal therefore stopped the advanced part of his army. He afterwards saw that he could not force the posts immediately, and therefore encamped with the whole upon the little plain, which is about one mile and a half across, extending from the Ville to the mountains. He is

ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐπιπέσει, ἀποσχεθεὶς αὐτὸν ἀποβύσαντα τοὺς ἄλλοις τῶν χαρρυηδόνων
 ἐπὶ δὲ καλεσθεὶς ὑπομνησ. Livy xxi. 32. "Erigentibus in pri-

moes agmen clivos, apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes
 "Montani, qui, si valles occultiores, infedissent, coorti in
 " pugnam repente, ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent."

Polybius iii. 50. Γενναὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοις τῶν χαρρυηδόνων, οἱ ἀπο-
 κελύχουσι αὐτὸν ὑπομνησ. Livy xxi. 32.

"Hannibal consistere signa jubet, Gallique ad vi-
 " lenda loca præmissis." Livy hardly knows the just mean-
 ing of his own words.

thus

thus insinuated by Livy to have encamped in a narrow valley, the historian placing him "in a very extended a vale as Hannibal could find." He himself, as appears from the sequel, encamped with the van on the middle of the plain, and, as is shown by Livy, on what is now covered, and was covered in the days of Cæsar, with the buildings of the Bourg. He took post upon the rock of the castle, as the commanding eminence of the plain, as the nearest to the pass and the enemy. There he had the roots of it shooting out in crags around him, the sides descending long and steep from him, and the summit hanging particularly in a precipice over the impetuous Drance. He is accordingly described by Livy, faithful to reality even in the minutest touches of his pencil, to have "encamped amidst a broken scene of crags and precipices."

² Polybius iii. 50. *Αυτός μιν κατὰ τὴν ὄρειον πεδίονος πρὸς τὰς ὑψηλὰς, ἵστηται.* Livy xxi. 32. "Postquam comperit transitum eâ non esse, castra—quàm extentissimâ potest valle locat." On the very same plain, according to the story of the Theban legion, Maximian equally encamped. Those legionaries passing "e Syria Romam" and "per Alpes" from Rome, therefore by the Alps of Martigny, "in castra Imperatoris, quæ Octodori erant, pervenere. Maximianus Imperator in amoenâ planitie sub urbe, non longè a Rhodano, confederat; et, exercitu lustrato, in sua verba sacramentum dare postulabat" (Simler 109).

³ Livy xxi. 32. "Castra inter confractâ omnia præruptaque—locat."

Here

Here he continued for the rest of the day, viewing the enemy, surveying the hills, and forming his designs. The terrors of his men at the sight of the Alps, were now subdued by the stronger feelings excited in their hearts, from the view of those Alps covered with armed enemies; and forbidding an entrance into them. The fears of the man were thus lost, in the feelings of the soldier; and Livy, who has just before pointed them out, finds them not again. As soon as it was night, Hannibal dispatched away some of his Gallick guides; directing them to steal up the pass in the dark, to explore the intended operations of the Seduni, and to observe their actual position. These stole in, accordingly. Then, as being equally Gauls with themselves, as living at the foot of their hills on the other side, and therefore agreeing wholly with them in language and in manners; they easily mingled with them, joined in their conversations, and penetrated into their plans. The Seduni, they found, had kept their position only while the day lasted, and at night had retired to their town and villages ad-

* Polybius iii. 50. Προπεμφθε δε τινας των συγκαθηλυμενων αυτου Γαλων, χωρις τους καθ'ακριψασθαι την την υπερωραν επισησιν, και τους ελληνας αυθιστον.

* Livy xxi. 32. "Per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum a lingua moribusque abhorrentes; quum se inimicissimè colloquunt montaborum;" &c. This useful notice we owe entirely to Livy. Polybius has it not.

joining.

joining^s. Then, in the course of the night, they returned through the pass again, and brought him this important intelligence. He immediately took his resolution upon it. To be near enough for the execution of this, he decamped early in the morning with his van, and marched across the rest of the plain, three quarters of a mile in extent, up to the very mouth of the defile; as if he meant to force a passage through it, immediately. The enemy were not near enough, to annoy him there; being posted on a hill, some way within the entrance. Yet as hesitating to push in, now he came to view the defile still nearer, to look up the narrow avenue, and to mark the hill beyond; he halted at the entrance. There he stood, as if every moment he meant to enter, and yet could not summon resolution enough to do so. He thus spent the whole day, in a threatening posture of offence, and in a timorous kind of inactivity; that were peculiarly calculated by their union, to lull an enemy into security, who knew nothing of Hannibal's character, who was unacquainted with the honest frauds of war, and, as all un-

^s Polybius iii. 50. Τας μιν ημερας επιμηλως περιβιβηκονσι και περιουσι τους τοπους οι πολεμοι, τα; δε νυκτας εις ταυτα παρακειμενην Πωλιον απαλαττουσαι. Livy xxi. 32. "Interdium tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta." Here Polybius is more exact than Livy, in mentioning the *τοπων*. But then Livy is more exact than Polybius, in noticing the villages afterward, xxi. 33. "Ex castellis."

disciplined soldiery are, was only for prompt efforts in himself or in others^a.

Having thus thrown away the day, in a seemingly unmeaning suspense of action; at evening he pitched his tents and formed his camp, on the very ground upon which he had been halting so long^b. He then ordered his men to light their fires and take their suppers, as usual^c. This act would naturally be the signal for the Seduni, to withdraw their troops, and retire into their villages and town. Hannibal sent out his Gauls again, to watch their movements; and received intelligence, that they were gone^d. He therefore left his foot, his baggage-men, his elephant-drivers, and his troopers, all sitting about their respective fires, and dressing their respective suppers^e. He only picked out some choice men from such a detachment

^a Polybius iii. 50. Συνεργισας ταις δυσχωραις, ε μακρην των πολεμιων κατετραποιδενσε. Livy xxi. 32. "Luce primâ subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdum vim per angustias facturus; die deinde simulando aliud quàm quod parabatur consumpto."

^b Livy xxi. 32. "Die—consumpto, quum eodem quo consisterat loco castra communissent," &c. Livy is particularly useful here. Without him, we should not have understood the meaning of this movement.

^c Polybius iii. 50. Της δε νυκτος επιγενεμεναις, συνιζαξας τα πυρα

^d Livy xxi. 32. "Ubi primùm degreßos tumulis Montanos, laxatasque sensit custodias."

^e Ibid. "Impedimentisque cum equite relictis, et maximâ parte peditum."

of foot, as *we* have lately introduced into our armies, a corps of light infantry; which he had long kept up in his army, and kept, not like us in companies attached to regiments, but in one entire body by themselves^d. He even had the precaution, as they did not consist of men picked out *singly* for the service, but were composed of gross divisions that his eye had distinguished for their alertness and spirit; to order *their* fires, to be kept up in their absence. There would thus be no appearance to any eye, that should be looking down upon the lighted camp from the mountains, of any detachments being drawn out of it^e. He put *himself* at the head of them. He moved briskly with them into the defile. He passed briskly along it. He actually took post upon the very hill at some distance within it, on which the Seduni had been stationed in the day-

^d Polybius iii. 50. Τους δ' ἐπιδημασίους συζωτους ὠνομασε, and iii. 43. Των σκευασησιστων πριξων. Livy xxi. 32. "Cum expeditis, accerrimo quodque viro," and 36. "Expeditus miles." Mr. Hampton i. 356. "Having selected some of the bravest troops, and disincumbered them of every thing that might retard their march" &c.; the translator making this light infantry the production of a moment, and not attending to the existence of light infantry, as a regular corps of soldiers, at the passage of the Rhone, &c. He might well forget now, because he has suppressed before; the *light* infantry of Polybius there, being merely infantry in Mr. Hampton i. 342.

^e Livy alone tells us this; "pluribus ignibus, quam pro numero manentium, in speciem factis."

time before ^f. This was the hill, I believe, which lies about one mile within the entrance, and in the very course of the defile. The road passes generally along the winding side of a mountain, that has been cut down with great labour for the admission of the road, has its rocks therefore rising perpendicular above, and the Drance rolling its waters white with foam below. It has thus grand masses of rock on its left, intersected in the hollows, and crowned on the heights, with lines of fir-trees; and the Drance at an increasing depth, on its right. But, in one place, it *pushes through the heart of a high hill*, that is detached from the rest of the mountain, and composed of earth, gravel, and blocks of granite ^g.

As

^f Polybius iii. 50. Διηλθε την νυκτα, και κατεσχε τους υπο των πολεμικων προκαταληφθεντας τοπους, αποκεχωρηκοτων των Βαρβαρων, κατω την συνηθειαν, εις την πολιν. Livy xxi. 32. “*Ipsè—raptim angustias evadit, iisque tumulis quos hostes tenerant concessit.*”

^g Sauffure iv. 289. “La route, large et bien entretenue, suit en serpentant les bords de la Drance, qui roule ses eaux blanchissantes d’écume au pied de la montagne—, dont les rochers taillés à pie forment de grandes masses *entrecoupées* et couronnées par des lignes de sapins.—Leurs couches—font *coupées* à angles droits par des *fentes*.—Le chemin passe au milieu d’une haute colline, toute composée de terre, de sable, et de blocs de granit.” Bourrit also i. 31 marks on this road, “les échappées charmantes qu’on voit entre les *coupures* des montagnes.” But how is the distance of that hill from the entrance, ascertained? Sauffure in iv.

As such a hill, when secured by a resolute party of men, would effectually command an avenue, that runs pent up between its two parts; so may it well be distinguished by Livy, with the significant appellation of a *citadel*. It is the natural citadel of this important pass, to the mountaineers within it. It is thus noticed by Livy at one time, in the singular number; because the two parts of the hill combine into one, to form the citadel. But it is equally mentioned by Livy in the plural at another; because it consists of two parts, and these constituted a couple of hills at the time^b. Now used by the Seduni as a citadel for

288 speaks of a hill, "au pied de laquelle passe la grande route à *demi-lieue* de St. Branchier." He afterwards enters a wood, "on entré là dans une belle forêt." He comes out of it and crosses the Drance; "en sortant de cette forêt, on traverse la Drance." Then, "*a demi-lieue de-là*," the road passes through the midst of the hill. If therefore we suppose the intermediate stage, to be like those on each side of it, half a league; we shall place the hill one league and a half below St. Branchier. But the hill is probably still nearer to the entrance. Immediately after he has noticed the hill, he adds thus: "on passe ensuite dans un hameau nommé La Valette;" and, "*peu au-delà* de ce village, la vallée," the hollow of this road and its accompanying river, "tourne à droite, et entre dans la grande vallée du Rhone" (iv. 289-290). I therefore place the hill, about a mile within the entrance. On Borgoni's map, the superficial distance from the hill of entrance to the top of this hill, is about an Italian mile.

^b Livy xxi. 33. "Arce," and 32. "his tumultis quos hostes tenuerant."

the first time, I suppose, it occasioned a counter-citadel to be formed by the Veragri, I believe, on the rock at the Bourg; this rock having no fort upon it in the time of Hannibal, yet having a town around it in the days of Cæsar.

— II. —

HANNIBAL having given this singular proof, of the superiority of policy to power in war; he waited for the morning-light, in order to make his advantage of it. When the morning came; at their usual signal, the Seduni began to move from their villages and town towards their postⁱ. They were to come in one body from their town by the great road, and so to pass under this very hill before they could ascend up to it. They had nearly reached the foot of the hill, when to their astonishment they suddenly see the Carthaginians in possession of the summit, and appearing almost over their heads^k. They therefore stop short in their advance, and draw back from the

ⁱ Livy xxi. 33. "Montani, signo dato, ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, quum" &c. There is a lively circumstantiality in Livy here, which is very useful.

^k Polybius iii. 51. Πόλις ἐξ ἧς προέβησαν οἱ τῆς οὐραίας.—Livy xxi. 33. "Ad stationem solitam conveniebant, quum repente conspiciunt—, arce occupatâ suâ, super caput imminentes—
"h. scs."

hill¹. In the mean time, the camp on the plain below broke up, the army there began to march, and entered the defile. The elephants and cavalry formed the vanguard. The laden horses, and the horses in the cars, came in a long train behind; and the main body moved in the rear of all^m. All were *drawing themselves*, like a serpent in a long and narrow perforation, with great difficulty and at great length through this defile. This presented a new subject of surprize, to the Seduni. They stood motionless at the sight of both, beholding them with a fixed eye and an arrested attentionⁿ. They soon however observed the

the

¹ Polybius iii. 51. Οἱ Βαρβάροι, διασαμῖνοι το γιγόνος, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. This is more natural than Livy's account, who ascribes their stop to the sight of this and of the next object in conjunction.

^m Livy xxi. 33. "Primâ deinde luce castra mota, et agmen " reliquum incedere cœpit." For the order of movement, see Livy xxi. 34, and the sequel.

ⁿ Polybius iii. 51. Μῆλα δὲ ταῦτα, διαρῶντες το τῶν ὑποζυγίων πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, δυσχερῶς ἐκμηρομένοις καὶ μακρῶς τὰς δυσχωρίας, κ. ἡ. λ. " But having afterwards observed, that the " cavalry, and *the beasts that conveyed the baggage*, being " *crowded and pressed close together by the narrowness of the way*, " advanced *very slowly* forwards, and not without *the greatest* " difficulty" &c. (i. 356). Literally the whole runs thus: " After this, they beheld the multitude of *yoked beasts*, and " the horsemen, with difficulty and in a long train drawing " themselves out of the defile" &c. So little has Mr. Hamp- ton here, either the manner or the matter of Polybius! Livy xxi. 33. "Conspiciunt alios—super caput imminentes, alios

the Carthaginians, advancing with difficulty along this rough and narrow avenue. They marked the hurry of their movements in it. They saw all the army confounded and tumultuous, from its own exertions. They observed the horses in the cars and under the burdens, to be particularly troublesome°. They therefore derived new courage from their observations. They thought the addition of terrour, which they should make by an immediate assault upon the whole, would be still sufficient for their destruction^F. They instantly sallied forth towards them. But precluded from taking the benefit of the road, by Hannibal and his light infantry on the hill; yet accustomed, as mountaineers, to violent exertions in ascending and descending their heights; they ran in wild disorder down their rough rocks, committing themselves headlong to the devious

“*viâ transire hostes; utraque simul objecta res oculis animif-
que, immobiles parumper eos defixit.*” This last touch is in the usual vivacity, of Livy’s strain of writing.

° Polybius iii. 51. Το των ΥΠΟΖΥΓΙΩΝ πλοθος και του; ΠΙΠΤΕΙΣ. Livy xxi. 33, couples both sorts of cattle together, thus: “*Equi maxime consternatis.*” These two passages combined show the beasts of burden, and the draught-cattle, to be what I have regularly named them in the text, horses, and not mules. The sequel confirms the observation. But Mr. Hampton has no draught-cattle at all.

^F Polybius iii. 51. Εξικληθησαν υπο τε συμβαιονιο; εξαπισθαι της πορειας. Livy xxi. 33. “*Quicquid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati.*”

and impassable precipices of them⁹. They thus went close upon the right, of the party on the hill; and then threw themselves by the hollows on their left, upon the Carthaginians in the road beyond.

But their efforts were directed, like the efforts of all un-disciplined armies, in preferring plunder to glory, and in attacking the baggage¹. They fell upon the long line of this, in several points at once⁵. A great slaughter was made among the Carthaginians. Yet the wretchedness of their road was more destructive, than the weapons of their enemy. From *that*, they were in great confusion before; but were now thrown into much greater, by the coming of the mountaineers upon them. Each struggled strongly for himself to push along the rough and narrow defile, strain

⁹ This striking circumstance we owe entirely to the pencil of Livy, though it is so necessary to the uniformity of the whole. Livy xxi. 33. "Perversis rupibus juxta invia ac devia assueti discurrunt." The use of the first word here is so singular, that it is un-noticed by the lexico-graphers. But "*perverse*" "*rupes*," we know from that on which all lexicons are formed, the great principle of analogy, must be the same in signification as "*rupes iniquæ*."

¹ This important circumstance, so strikingly corroborated by the sequel, we know, and by mere accident only, from Polybius iii. 51. *Ἐξέλθῃναι πρὸς τὰς ὠρεῖλαις*; "who had all gone out in search of booty" (i. 358).

⁵ Polybius iii. 51. *Κατὰ πλῆθος μὲν ἀρροσπισσόντων Βαρδάρων.*

up to the double hill, and get under the protection of Hannibal and his party there. They had thus a more violent contest with one another, than with the mountaineers¹. But the horses in the cars, and under the burdens, were particularly troublesome, and suffered in a particular manner². Frightened with the savage shouts of the rushing Seduni, and with the doubling echoes of the woods and vallies around, they were all thrown into an alarm of trepidation³. When too they hap-

¹ Polybius iii. 51. Ουχ' οὕτως ὑπο τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ὑπο τῶν τοπῶν, πολὺς ἐγένετο φόβος τῶν Καρχηδονίων. Livy xxi. 33. "Simul ab hostibus, simul ab iniquitate locorum, Pœni oppugnabantur; plusque inter ipsos (sibi quæque tendente [contentente], ut periculo prius evaderet) quàm cum hostibus, certaminis erat." Livy here is much more alive than Polybius.

² Livy tells us the former circumstance, and Polybius the latter. Livy xxi. 33. "Equi maximè infestum agmen faciebant." Polybius iii. 51. Πολὺς ἐγένετο φόβος τῶν Καρχηδονίων, καὶ μαλίστα τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν υποζυρίων. "The destruction that ensued was *very* great, especially of the horses, and *beasts of burden*," literally the *draught-cattle*, really the *draught-horses* (i. 356). These passages form together an additional evidence, of the draught-cattle and beasts of burden being *horses*.

³ Livy xxi. 33. "Clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussæque valles augebant, territi trepidabant." This lively circumstance we know from Livy only; while the "nemora" and the "valles" correspond very exactly, with the "une belle forêt mélangée de mefescs, de pins, et de bou-leaux" on the hills above, the "une forêt qui couvre le pied" of all the hills below, the rocks "*coupées à angles droits*"

happened to be wounded, or even struck, with the weapons of the enemy; they were seized with such a consternation, that they beat down their cars, their burdens, their drivers, and themselves, in vast disorder and destruction to the ground^w. Nor was the pass merely narrow and rough. It had still greater disadvantages; being precipitious to the Drance on the right, and very deeply so. Every movement therefore, every disturbance, flung many of the horses with their burdens and their cars, down the rocky declivities to the river at a very great depth below^x. Even when they did

“droits par des *sentes*,” and “la *vallée*” of the Drance running all along with the road, in Saussure iv. 288-290; and with “les montagnes *boisées*,” and “les *coupures des montagnes*,” in Bourrit i. 31. With so minute a conformity, do the history and the scene agree!

^w This is particularly known from Livy only, xxi. 33. “Equi,—*isti fortè aut vulnerati, adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac fercinarum omnis generis fierent.*”

^x Polybius iii. 51. Οὐσὴς γὰρ ἡ μόνον εἴτης καὶ τραχυίας τῆς προσβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρημνώδης, ἀπο πᾶντοῦ κινήματος καὶ πάσης ταλαιχίας ἐπιφέρο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν, οὐκ οὐδὲν τῶν φορτίων; πολλὰ τῶν υποζυγίων καὶ ἀχρόφορον. “For as the way,” the ascent, “was not only very rough and narrow, but was bounded also on every side by steep and craggy rocks,” as if a road could have more than two sides, and as if one would not make a road what Polybius literally describes this to be, *precipitious*; “the beasts that were loaded with the baggage,” the translation thus confounding what the original has distinguished, the draught-cattle

did not precipitate themselves down the declivities, they actually occasioned more confusion in the

cattle and the beasts of burden, and not *all* of them, as the translation intimates, but *many* of them, as the original expresses; “ were overturned by every shock, and hurried headlong with their burdens down the precipices,” literally, at every movement and every disturbance were borne down the precipices with their burthens. Livy xxi. 33. “ Multos—“ turba, quum precipites deruptæque utrinque angustix essent, “ in immensum altitudinis dejecit.” Polybius here, to our surprise, is more explicit than Livy; though Livy has added the *depth*, to the precipices of Polybius and himself. But Livy has also made a considerable mistake here. He describes the road as precipitous upon *both* sides, “ utrinque;” and from him probably it is, that Mr. Hampton describes it with a kind of Hibernism, as on *every* side precipitous. Livy and his over-doing copier thus form such a strange road of ascent up a mountain, as the world (I believe) never saw yet. Nor was this such a one. Polybius accordingly describes it in *his* own language, as “ not only narrow and rough,” *ε̄ μόνον στενης και τραχειας* “ but also precipitous,” *αλλα και κρημνωδης*. Had it been precipitous on *both* sides, he must have added the circumstance, as greatly enhancing the wretchedness of it, and throwing in an addition of terrour to the description. An ascent up a hill indeed cannot but be formed, either directly up the steep or windingly along the side of the hill; and will have either the high sides of its own hollow on each hand, or the hill for a wall upon one hand while it has a deep precipice on the other. The present road therefore, we may be sure, was made in the former manner or the latter; and, as it was *precipitous*, must have been certainly made in the latter.

Accordingly we find, that the road which I take as the representative of Hannibal's, answers this account exactly. Bourrit tells us, that “ la route—est dans un gorge, occupée en partie
“ par

the line of march, than when they did. The burden-horses, which moved immediately after the cavalry and just before the provision-cars, as they felt the smart of their wounds, either ran wildly back upon the string of cars behind them, and flung the whole into great confusion; or else pushed furiously forward upon the cavalry before, and carried an equal confusion among *them* ^y. They even annoyed both so much, as to

“ *par la Drance,*” and “ *les rochers—bordent le chemin*” (i. 31). And Saussure informs us, that in coming down the hills, and on entering the fine wood of larches, pines, and birch-trees, “ *la route—suint en serpentant les bords de la Drance, qui roule ses eaux blanchissantes d’écume au pied de la montagne, dont les rochers*” &c.; that, upon leaving the wood, “ *on traverse la Drance, et on passe au pied de ces rochers;*” that afterwards the road passes through the middle of a high bill, and then goes through a village which has a mountain above it, “ *la montagne située au-dessus du village*” (iv. 288-290).

^y Polybius iii. 51. Μαλιστα την τοιαύτην ταραχην ποιουν οι τραυμαλιζομενοι των ιππων τουτων γαρ οι μεν, ανιοι συμπιπνυεις, not on the αχδοφοροις or beasts of burden, as being these themselves, but ποις υποζυγιοις, οποτε διαπισηθουν εκ της πληθης· οι δε, κατα την εις τουμπερσθιν ορμην· εξουονεις παν το συμπαραπιπτον εν ταις δυσχωραις, μεγαλην απειριλαξονιο ταραχην. “ This disorder was occasioned chiefly by the horses, that were wounded. For these, *being rendered senseless and ungovernable,*” Mr. Hampton’s own interpolation! “ *not only fell,*” ran, “ *against the beasts of burden,*” the draught-cattle, “ *that were near them,*” behind them, “ [when they received a wound]; but *forcing their way also through the ranks* as they [these] were labouring to advance,” literally thus, running against the corps [of cavalry] that was straining up the defile before them, “ *filled every thing with tumult,*” and bore down all that was within their reach” (i. 357).

beat some of the cavalry with their riders, and many of the cars with their loads, down the precipices. Thus was the principal attack made, and the principal loss sustained, upon and by these beasts of burden; which drove themselves, drove those behind, and drove those before, in united ruin over the cliffs^a.

Hannibal beheld all this with pain, but was afraid to move. His fear, however, was the fear of a Hannibal and of Prudence. He was apprehensive of increasing the disorder, and of augmenting the destruction, among his own people in the defile^a. Yet he was compelled to move at last. He saw, that the mountaineers had actually broke in upon his line. They were carrying off, he observed, the beasts of burden and even the beasts of draught in numbers, by the hollows^b.

He

^a Livy xxi. 33. "Turba—dejecit—quosdam et armatos; Polybius iii. 51. μάστιγα; and Livy xxi. 33. "Ruina maxima modo, jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur."

^b Livy xxi. 33. "Quasquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal, ac suos continuit, ac tumultum ac trepidationem auget."

^c Bourrit i. 31, describing this road as it goes from the vale up the mountain, notices these objects in succession as they present themselves to the eye; "les montagnes boisées," the wood on the foot of the mountains, "les rochers qui bordent le chemin" at first, "ou la riviere" afterwards, when the road descends the immediate bank of the river, to push through the

He was thus losing his tents, losing his provisions; and if he lost them, he knew, he should conduct his army through the pass in vain. Without tents, how shall his army encamp by night upon the Alps? Without provisions, how shall his men march along them by day? He therefore came down in haste from his hill. He attacked the enemy, who were in force upon the heights, and within the hollows, along the road. He thus did, as he had foreseen he should, increase the confusion and mischief among his own people. The light infantry under him shouted, and charged the enemy. The Seduni returned the shout and the charge^d. All heightened the disorder in the defile, and much additional mis-

the heart of the insulated hill, “*les échappées charmantes qu’on voit entre les coupures des montagnes,*” the fine but glancing views which we have between the hollows of the mountains. These very narrow hollows therefore come so near to the level of the road, as to give the eye of a traveller passing up the road, a full view, though a glancing one, of the country through them. These hollows are the mere gullies of torrents, I presume, formed by the sweeping rains, venting these into the road and the river, and gradually worn down by their attrition into a near level with the former.

^c Livy xxi. 33. “*Postquam interrampi agmen vidit, periculumque esse ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequicquam incolumem traduxisset*” &c. Polybius iii. 51. Συλλογίζμενος, ως ουδε τοις διαφυγούσι τον κινδυνον εις σωτηρια, του σκευοφορικου διαφθαρηστος κ. γ. λ. and afterwards *αληθος των υποζυγιων και ιππων.*

^d Polybius iii. 51. Εξ.αμφοιν and δια των των προειρημητων κραυγων και συμπλοκων.

chief,

chief was done in it^e. Yet all was soon over. The light infantry had a great advantage from the ground, the natural declivity of the mountain adding much to the weight and force of their charge; and the Seduni were instantly routed^f. The greatest part of them were killed upon the spot. The rest, unable to recover their adjoining town, because Hannibal was now betwixt it and them, took refuge in the villages near^g. Then

* Polybius is weak enough, to represent the loss of the Carthaginians upon this occasion, as *equal* to that of the Seduni; iii. 51. Οὐκ ἴσασθους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων. This is said by him, in contradiction to what he says both before and after. In the words immediately preceding he tells us, Πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλοντο διὰ τὸ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐφοδὸν—τοῦ Ἀννίβαν, οὐκ ἴσασθους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, ὁ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν θορυβῶς κ. γ. λ.; and adds, that *most* of the enemy were killed, τοὺς μὲν πλείους;—ἀπικλείνει. These passages, compared together, prove their own contradictoriness very plainly; unless we will believe, that *most* of the Carthaginians were killed. Even as restrained by the Ο ΓΑΡ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν θορυβῶς to the *road*, the assertion is still wild in itself and contradictory to the rest of the narration. For *most* of the Carthaginians certainly were not killed, even though we take all upon the road into our account. The whole however shows us, that the Carthaginians suffered much damage upon the road, from the confusion occasioned by Hannibal's advance upon the Seduni. But I cannot conclude this note, so truly derogatory to Polybius, without remarking that Polybius here is much more circumstantial and useful than Livy; the latter only saying, "Suis quoque tumultum auxit."

^e Livy xxi. 33. "Impetu ipso fudisset hostem." Polybius iii. 51. Διὰ τὸ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐφοδὸν ἐξ ὑπερδέξιων τοῦ Ἀννίβαν.

^f Polybius, iii. 51. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν πλείους;—ἀπικλείνει, τῆς δὲ λοιπούς, τριψάμετος; πηγάσασε φύγειν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. See the sequel.

the

the remaining train of cavalry, burden-horses, and provision-cars, passed along the defile; still indeed with great trouble and difficulty, but in perfect peace, and, such a change was there within the short compass of a moment, almost in perfect silence too ^h.

— III. —

HAVING struck this blow, Hannibal determined to improve it. He therefore united the cavalry in the defile, to the light infantry with him¹. At the head of both, he pushed up the defile to the

^h Polybius iii. 51. Τῷ δὲ τὸ μὲν εἰς περιλυτομένον πλῆθος τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἵππων, μόλις καὶ ταλαιπωρῶς διήνυσεν τὰς δυσχερεῖας.
 “Annibal then conducted through the passes, though not
 “without *the greatest* pains and difficulty, what remained of
 “the *cavalry and beasts of burthen*” (i. 357). Let Polybius
 speak ever so repeatedly concerning his ὑποζύγια, Mr. Hampton
 will not listen to him. Though the word proclaims to loudly
 to every Græcian ear, of carriages being used and of cattle
 drawing them in yokes; he will still consider them as pack-
 horses, and still denominate them beasts of burden. He thus
 makes the ὑποζύγια to be the same with the ἀχθοφόροι, and so an-
 nihilates the ὑποζύγια entirely. Livy xxi. 33. “is tumultus
 “*momento temporis*, postquam liberata itinera fugâ montanorum
 “erant, sedatur; nec per otium modò, sed propè silentio,
 “mox omnes traducti.”

¹ Polybius iii. 51. Αὐτῶς δὲ συναθροισὰς ὅσας ἴδυσθαι πάλαιους
 ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. These could be only the cavalry, as they alone
 preceded the cars and burden-horses, and as the infantry fol-
 lowed it.

adjoining

adjoining town of the mountaineers. This was, no doubt, the present SAINT-BRANCHIER, a town of no inconsiderable size, that is situated in a hollow on the very top of this long and sloping mountain of entrance, and at the head of the whole defile through it; and has a post-house in it at present, for providing passengers with horses to carry them up to the summit of the Alps^k. But he found the town deserted by almost all its inhabitants; nearly all having come out to the attack before^l. Numbers of them had perished in the attack; those who escaped had fled; and Hannibal took it without any opposition^m. It was then THE CAPITAL of the Seduni; having several smaller towns, subordinate to it, and at no great distance from it. So well peopled was this lower region of the Alps, as to have several towns upon it, one the metropolis of a kingdom, and a whole nation for its inhabitants! Accordingly we see the Carthaginians before, in their survey of the Alps from the valley below, marking “the ill-shapen houses that were pitched upon the rocksⁿ.” When Cæsar’s soldiery entered the

^k Bourrit i. 28 and 31. Simler says B1, “vicus hujus loci [Brancheria] a D. Mauriti templo, et valle, nomen habet.”

^l Polybius iii. 51. Προσεβίβηκε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ὄρμησιν οἱ πολεμικοὶ καταλαβόντες δὲ σκεδόν κρημνοὶ, διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τὰς ἐκβλήθηναι πρὸς τὰς ἀφελύκας.

^m Polybius iii. 51. Ἐλευθερῆς ἔσται τῆς πόλεως.

ⁿ Livy xxi. 38. “Tecta informia imposita rupibus.”

Alps afterward by this very pass, we find they "gained some victories over the Seduni, and "stormed *several* of their *Castles* °." In the very same language, and in this very history of Hannibal, Livy says the Seduni went away at night to their own *houses*, and in the morning returned from their *Castles* to their post ^p. In another place also he denominates that a *Castle*, which Polybius calls a *City*, which he himself characterizes as "the Capital of the region;" and denominates the subordinate towns, at one time *Castles*, at another *Villages*. In a barbarous and Alpine state of nature, every town is a castle, and every village a fort. Among these villages had the surviving multitude of the capital dispersed themselves, on their flight from the battle. Hannibal therefore sent out detachments, to take possession of them. They did so; and he thus made a considerable addition to his two blows before ^q. He derived also great advantages from all, for the present

° Cæsar, p. 86. "Castellisq; compluribus eorum expugnatis."

^p Livy xxi. 32. "Nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta," and 33, "Ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant."

^q Livy xxi. 33. "Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, viculosq; circumjectos, capit." We see the same word *castella* used in the same manner for *towns*, and *Alpine towns*, in those lines of Virgil:

Tum sciat, aërias Alpes et Norica si quis
Castella in tumultis, et Tapidis arva Timavi, &c.

Georg. iii.

and for the future^r. He immediately recovered a large train of burden-horses, of draught-horses, and of the drivers of both, that had been carried off by the Seduni^s. He also found such a quantity of corn, and seized such a number of cattle; as amply supplied all his army with provisions, for three days following^t. So rich in *cattle* and in *corn*, were these reputedly barren sides of the mountains; as to furnish provisions from a few of their towns, and from a small tract adjoining them, sufficient for the whole army of the Carthaginians during three days! So high also had the cultivation of *corn* then ascended, up these seemingly bleak acclivities of the Alps! It has now, of course, ascended still higher^u. But, even as
early

^r Polybius iii. 51. Εκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ συνέβη τῶν χρησιμῶν αὐτῷ, πρὸς τὴν τὸ παρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον.

^s Polybius iii. 51. Περαιτέρω μὲν γὰρ ἑκομίστασι πλῆθος ἵππων καὶ υποζυγίων, καὶ τῶν ἀμὰ ἐαλωκότων ἀνδρῶν. Polybius is very usefully circumstantial here. "Besides the horses and *beasts of burthen*, and *prisoners which he gained*" (i. 358). Mr. Hampton did not understand the passage. Literally, it runs thus: "he immediately *recovered a multitude of horses, and draught-cattle, and men that had been taken with them.*" Both the body and soul of Polybius are here vanished!

^t Polybius iii. 51. Εἰς δὲ τὸ μῆλλον, εἰσχε μὲν καὶ σίτην καὶ θρεμμασίων, ἐπὶ δύοσι καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις, εὐπορίαν. Livy xxi. 33. "Captivorum *pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit.*" Livy forgets the *corn*.

^u Bourrit iii. 286, and i. 33. Half a league above the double hill, and in coming *down* the Alps, "on trouve là les *chamieres vignes*" (Saussure iv. 289). From that point to
the

early as the days of Tiberius, the inhabitants of these very mountains are expressly said by Strabo, to be then doing what we see they were doing in the days of Hannibal before, "cultivating the "vallis within the Alps." Yet, what was more important than all, Hannibal struck such a terrour into the whole nation of the Seduni, by the defeat of their forces at the defile, by the reduction of their capital, and by the seizure of their other towns; that he met with no more opposition from them.

While he was thus marching to the Capital, and taking possession of it; his baggage, his cavalry, and his main body, were passing along the defile, now no longer dangerous, but still troublesome. When they had all passed it, and so had gained the summit of the hill with him;

the great valley, "on voit des vignes sous des rochers eboulés" (Bourrit i. 29). In the great valley itself, "c'est une opinion reçue dans le pays, que ces maîtres du monde," the Romans, "plantèrent les vignes de la Marque et de Coquetprie, qui ont beaucoup de reputation" (i. 28).

Strabo, iv. 283. Γεωργίαι—της αυλωνας της εν ταις Αλπεσι.

"Polybius iii. 51. Το δε συνικον, φοβον υπρασπι τοις εξης. "By this conquest also, the people that lived along the sides of the mountains were struck with terror" (i. 358). Polybius says το δε συνικον, as *summing up* the advantages; but Mr. Hampton says only "also." He thus neglects all attention to his author's manner; and the mode of transition becomes, not Polybius's, but Mr. Hampton's.

he encamped them and his whole army at the town, for the rest of the day. These successive actions had taken up probably the greater part of the day, already. A continued ascent of *six* miles up the narrow and rocky road of a steep mountain, must certainly have been the full work of a day, to the horses in the cars and under the burdens. Hannibal therefore encamped immediately^x; now happy to have forced his way into the bosom of the Alps, now triumphing in thought at this commencement of his successes over these mighty mounds of Italy, and now anticipating his rapid, resistless descent in a few days, upon the plains of Rome on the other side. But he found himself compelled, to restrain his ardour for the present. The necessities of his situation were too powerful, to admit a renewal of his march the next morning. He was obliged to halt at the town, for the whole of the next day^y. The train of baggage was thrown into such confusion, and had sustained such injury, as made this interval of rest absolutely necessary, for rectifying entirely the one, and for repairing in any measure the other. The packages of the burden-horses, the loadings of the cars, and many perhaps of the cars themselves, that had fallen down the precipice, would be recovered by the delay.

^x Polybius iii. 52. Τὸν μὲν αὖτε ποιησάμενος τὴν στρατοπέδου.

^y Polybius iii. 52. Καὶ μὲν ἐπιμειπὸς ἡμερῶν, αὐθις ἤματι.

The cattle also, that had avoided the fall, would be too much exhausted by their wild agitations and violent exertions, not to want the repose of a day for their restoration. Even on the third day, he put his army very late in motion again, and made only a very short march¹. He had, as is plain from the sequel, several of his beasts of burden, several of his cattle for the cars, and their respective drivers; infirm from the bruises received at the precipice before, and disabled from marching forward immediately. The hope of their instant recovery would naturally induce him, to defer his march as long as ever he could. But his soul was too much on fire, to be detained in its movements long, even by such impediments. He set out, in opposition to all; even leaving many of them behind him, and exposing the men to the cruelty of these beaten and plundered mountaineers, rather than be delayed any longer by them². The soul, while it is embodied, must move according to the laws of matter, and not the principles of spirit; yet will prove its own spirituality, by the very energy which it will lend to matter.

At St. Branchier, the road up the Alps turns to the right, and ascends a hill. It then runs along

¹ Livy xxi. 33. "*Aliquantum—via confecit.*"

² See vol. ii. chap. i. sect. 4.

a valley, that is watered by the western arm of the Drance on the left. Along this arm and this valley Hannibal now marched on the third day, I apprehend, and advanced only a little way from St. Branchier. In *three* miles the road crosses the Drance^b. Here therefore I believe Hannibal to have stopt, at the conclusion of the third day^c. Three miles comport sufficiently with the language of Livy, who alone is accurate enough to intimate the shortness of this day's march; and who thus intimates it. "As the Carthaginians," he says, "were not greatly incommoded, either by the mountains already beaten, or by the road; Hannibal made *some* progress in those three days^d." By his reference to the *beaten* mountains, he restricts the progress to the *third* day; but, by his express mention of *three* days, he extends it equally over the *first*. By both, he contracts the progress

^b Sauffure iv. 286. "A St. Branchier une grande lieue."

^c Livy xxi. 33, says, that the day Hannibal enters the defile "castellum—capit, et captivorum pecoribus per *triduum* exercitum aluit, et—aliquantum *eo triduo* viæ confecit." Hannibal's men fed upon the cattle the day on which they took them, and two days afterward. Livy thus reckons the day of entering the defile, and the day of re-marching, as equally parts of the *triduum* or three days. And he thus coincides exactly with Polybius, who makes Hannibal to halt *one* day *before* his re-marching and *after* his entering.

^d Livy xxi. 33. "Quia nec montanis primò perculsis, nec loco, magnoperè impediabantur; aliquantum *eo triduo* viæ confecit."

of the third day, into a short, a very short compass. The nature of our road, too, coincides exactly with his description of Hannibal's. "The Carthaginians," he remarks, "were not greatly incommoded by the road." It did incommode them a little, but not greatly. It incommoded them at the commencement, but not afterwards. In going out of St. Branchier towards the top of the Alps, says one traveller, "there is an ascent a little stiff and steep, upon a road paved and slippery, where it is prudent to light from your horse." But afterwards, adds a second traveller, "the road is on a level, and the valley presents a thousand beauties of the pastoral kind." Or, as the first traveller subjoins to his account of the ascent, "all the rest is very fine; the road runs raised above the sides of the Drance, which serpentizes in a canal, bordered with clumps of trees and ranges of fair meadows." So completely does this road correspond, with the way that Hannibal marched;

* Sauffure iv. 286. "Une pente un peu roide," 287. "sur un chemin pavé et glissant, où il est prudent de mettre pied à terre."

† Bourrit iii. 286. "Le chemin est en plaine, et la vallée présente mille beautés, dans le genre pastoral."

‡ Sauffure iv. 286. "Mais tout le reste est tres-beau; le chemin est élevé au-dessus des bords de la Drance, qui serpente dans un canal bordé de bouquets d'arbres et de jolies prairies."

both in what Livy hints of the roughness, and in what Livy speaks of the smoothness !

— IV. —

BUT here, I apprehend, the river formed the bounding line of the Seduni. So many miles had they extended their habitations, up this northern side of the Alps ! Nor was the country even yet desolate. He only came to a new nation of mountaineers. So great was the population of the Alps, at this period ! In the days of Cæsar indeed, as we have seen before, the Seduni “reached to the *summits* of the Alps^h.” But, in the days of Hannibal, they certainly did not. This the current of our present history very clearly shows. “Hannibal then came,” says Livy expressly, “to ANOTHER people, for mountaineers “abounding in numbers !” These were assuredly the SALASSI ; who are specified together with the Seduni, the Veragri, and the Nantuates, as equally an Alpine nation with all, and as equally with all reduced by Augustus, in that inscription by which Augustus has recorded his own conquest

^h Bell. Gall. iii. 1. “Ad summam Alpes pertinent.”

ⁱ Livy xxi. 34. “Perwentum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut inter montana, populum.” Livy is most luminously particular here, while Polybius wraps up all in a dull generality of narration.

over them^k. The Salaffi are accordingly described by Strabo, with great similarity to Livy's nation; as possessing a region "ample in itself, " and reaching up to the very summits of the " Alps^l." Livy thus notices the numerousness of the nation, and Strabo dwells on the extent of the region, but both denote the powerfulness of the people. Conformably with both, we know the Salaffi to have even lived along the southern side of the Alps, and to have had some distinguished towns at the foot of them there^m. They extended therefore from this point of the northern ascent, up to the summit; and spread along the whole of the southern descent, from the top to the bottom. So completely do the Alps appear to have been peopled from side to side, in this particular line across them! Nor does Hannibal meet with any *third* nation, in all the course of his march up and down the mountains. But as Cæsar carries the Seduni on the north, up "to the " summits of the Alps;" and as Strabo equally carries the Salaffi from the south, up "to the very " summits of the Alps;" the two nations must have *then* bordered upon each other on the crown and crest of the mountains, though *now* they bordered so low on the north as the Western Drance.

^k Pliny iii. 20. "Nantuates, Seduni, Veragri, *Salaffi*."

^l Strabo iv. 314. Η δε των Σαλαφιστων πολλη μεν εστιν—μικρος δε τι αυτον αναβαινει και προς τας υπερκειμενας κρηφας.

^m See vol. ii. chap. ii. sect. 6, 7, 8.

This new nation had learned the fate of their neighbours the Seduni, by that communication of intelligence, which hence appears to have been readily carried on along these mountains, and is an additional evidence of the closeness of population among them. Some of the Seduni undoubtedly, the women and the children, had fled from St. Branchier on the approach of Hannibal, had taken their flight to this passage over the Drance, and carried to the Salaffi the mournful news, of the defeat of their own army and of the loss of their own capital. Alarmed at this success, catching the infectious terour of its reporters, and obliged to act upon the impulse of their present feelings, while the main body of their nation lay too remote, to lend them any assistance in time; they determined on the march of Hannibal towards their country, to receive him in a very different manner from the Seduni. They had some towns, and some of their *more considerable* towns too, upon the line of his intended marchⁿ. So thick set with towns does this supposed wilderness of the Alps appear, at present!

ⁿ Livy xxi. 34. "Castellorum." We have seen Livy before denominating, what Polybius calls a Πολις, and he himself "Caput ejus regionis," a "Castellum;" and calling the subordinate towns "Viculi circumjecti." Polybius iii. 52. Οὐ—περὶ τὴν διόδον οὐκ ἐπιτες, "the inhabitants of those parts of the mountains" (i. 358).

Their towns, from their promiscuous appellations of Castles and of Cities; must have been such as many of our own were originally, ranges of houses under the protection of a fort; and the commandant of the fort have been the governour of the town. Several of these governours convened together, and came forward to meet Hannibal in a peaceful manner^o. They met him assuredly on the banks of their liminary stream, the Drance^p. They came probably from ORZIERES, a town upon the road, and immediately on the other side of the current^q; from LIDDE, a large village

^o Livy xxi. 34. "Magno natu principes castellorum."

^p Polybius iii. 52. Συμμιχθῶν αὐτῶν.

^q "On passe à Orsiere," says Sauffure iv. 284, as he is coming *down* the Alps to Orzieres and St. Branchier, "grand village situé dans un fond, au bord de la Drance; et, après en être sorti, on passe à la rive gauche de ce torrent, dont on avoit toujours suivi la rive droite depuis le Bourg de St. Pierre." This settles the position of Orzieres and St. Branchier at once, and shows the mistakes of the maps. Orzieres is apparently on the *southern* side of this current, and the current is crossed by the road between it and St. Branchier: while the very map in Sauffure's third volume places them both on the same, the southern, side; the map in his First volume also does the same; Borgoni's map by Dury does the same again; and Mr. Coxe's, in his First volume, does the same once more. In that great variety of maps relative to this region, which is in the King's Library at the Queen's House; and which Mr. Barnard the Librarian, with a politeness and a cordiality (to speak very strongly) truly worthy of his Royal Master, enabled my much-esteemed friend George Chalmers, Esq. to examine for me;

village in a fine situation, directly on the road beyond it, and about four miles beyond ORZIERES^r; and from SAINT-PETER'S, another town on the road beyond both, but about three miles from Lidde^s. They appeared before Hannibal, bearing branches of trees in their hands, and carrying garlands of boughs on their heads, as tokens of peace and signals of amity to him^t.

That

me; some maps place Orzieras upon one side, and some upon the other. Bourrit's in his First volume is indeed the only map, which I have seen myself to accord with the narrative of Sauffure, that certain standard of the reality.

^r Similar 81-82, Bourrit iii. 286, Map prefixed, Map in Sketch, and Sauffure iv. 281-284.

^s Sauffure iv. 281 and 283 &c. and Map prefixed to Vol. III, a very useful, because a very circumstantial, map.

^t Livy xxi. 34. "Magno natu principes castellorum, oratores, ad Poenum veniunt;" Polybius iii. 52, ὄλιβας ἑχομένης καὶ σφαιρῆς, not of *olive*, as Casaubon has strangely rendered the words in his Latin translation, "virentis *olivæ* ramis et coronis." The olive was little known in any part of Italy itself, at the time. "Oleam Theophrastus—urbis Romæ anno circiter quadringentesimo quadragesimo," about a hundred years before Hannibal's expedition, "*negavit nisi intra XL milium passuum a mari nasci.*—Urbis quidem anno quingentesimo quinto, *olei libræ duodenis assibus venire*; et mox anno sexcentesimo octogesimo," near a century and a half after Hannibal's march over the Alps, "M. Seius L. F. Ædilis Cursulis olei *denas libras singulis assibus* præstitit populo Romano, per totum annum. Minus ea miretur qui sciat, *post annos*

^r ΔΑΙΙ—*oleum provinciis Italiam misisse.*" But the olive itself

That Man was originally designed to live in a garden, and to find the gentle pleasures of a garden,

“ NUNC pervenit trans ALPES quoque, et in Gallias Hispania-
 “ que medias” (Pliny xv. 1). The olive must therefore have been particularly unknown upon the Alps, in the days of Hannibal; and was only planted there by the hasty hand of Casaubon, not attending to the history of the migration of trees, and either prompted by the suggestions of a common-placed idea concerning the olive, or led away by a more scholar-like temptation, the occasional, derivative, and referential use of the word *θαλλος* among the residents of Greece.

Yet, to my astonishment, I find a prelate, whom I have been long in the habit of respecting as a sound scholar, whatever I may think or suspect of him as a Divine, proving himself most heretically erroneous in an allusion to this passage. In his Discourse to the Clergy, Bishop Watson speaks of “the olive branch
 “ being a signal of peace, not only amongst Greeks and Ro-
 “ mans, but likewise amongst the Alpine nations, who met
 “ Hannibal on his passage” (see his Sermons and Tracts, 1788, p. 214). The prelate, it seems, reads Polybius, not with his own eyes, but with the eyes of Casaubon. He examines only one column in the page of Polybius. He honours the Latin to the rejection of the Greek. If it is *thus* he reads the Fathers and the Scriptures, he may be all that the sharpest suspiciousness of orthodoxy has furnished him to be, all that is most unworthy of a scholar, and all that is most indecent in a bishop.

When such virtue is seduced by the vamped face of a transfiguration, we cannot wonder at the seduction of common virtue, in the historian of Ant. Un. Hist. xii. 229. But M. de St. Simon, equally with the historian and the prelate, contemplates Polybius distorted in the falsifying mirror of Casaubon's version. He speaks equally of the olive branch in Polybius; and, to carry the mistake into the wildest absurdity, he ascertains the course of Hannibal from the false text. Barcelona below Embrun, he

den, the happiness of an earthly Paradise to him ; we know from the primary position of man, in that

he notes, “ est la seule ville de l’autre côté de la Durance; où
 “ *l’on puisse trouver des oliviers* ; il n’en croit aucun dans toutes
 “ les Alpes Pennines, Grecques, ou Cottiennes— ; il n’en
 “ vient qu’autour de la ville de Barcelonette, où le pays, comme
 “ le disent Polybe et Tite-Live, est plus cultivé et plus
 “ ouvert ;” the author thus confounding in the *chaos* of his
 ideas, the region some miles up the Alps upon one side, and
 the country at the foot of the Alps on the other ; so rivalling
 the very confusedness, of his antagonist Folard himself (p. xxiii).
 “ Cette circonstance” of the *olive* branches, he tells us in the
 page immediately preceding, “ *repand une grande lumiere sur la*
 “ *route d’Annibal, et confirme bien que ce Heros passa par Barce-*
 “ *lonette*” (p. xxii). Through the thick atmosphere that
 hangs over all this author’s reasoning, no sun could penetrate
 to dispense its illumination, and a mock-sun would not be even
 dimly seen through the haze. But to take my final leave of an
 author highly respectable in himself, with more politeness and
 good-humour ; I will conclude with an anecdote, that is yet
 new (I believe) to the publick. The Royal Society is said to
 have once debated before Charles the II, *why* a fish did not
 weigh in water. After many hypotheses advanced to account
 for the extraordinary circumstance, much learning displayed,
 and much reasoning exerted ; the King, whose mind’s eye was
 not confined by the mufflers of erudition, very pertinently
 asked if the supposed fact was true. A stare of amazement at
 the bold suggestion, we may suppose, succeeded the question.
 But, in deference to Majesty, even Erudition condescended to
 examine. Water and a Fish were introduced, and the supposed
 fact *was found to be absolutely false*.

So ridiculous does Learning make itself, at times. But it is
 then most ridiculous, when it struts peculiarly in the laced
 clothes

that only history of our race for the first two thousand years of its existence, which GOD dictated to Moses. From this original definition of Man, we still delight in rural scenes and rural images, and some of our purest pleasures are derived from the enjoyment of a garden. It is thus that a branch of a tree in the hand, and a garland of boughs on the head, are pointed out by nature, and have been considered by all ages, as significant symbols of peace and festivity in the bearers. They were the instituted symbols of amity at the period of Hannibal's expedition, among almost all the nations of the world^u. We have even found them in those excurtive ranges of the Genius of Navigation, which do so much honour to the present reign of our own Sovereign, and the present generation of our own countrymen; used among the islands that have lain so long sequestered from the rest of the world, amid the wild waste of the Southern Ocean. And it is only from this universal idea of the peace, the festivity signified by exhibiting a branch of a tree; that the Orientals in general, and the Greeks in particular, at last selected the olive from all other

clothes of erudition, yet shows by a Monmouth-street ticket upon the back, that it has purchased them out of a frippery-shop there.

^u Polybius iii. 50. Τὴν γὰρ σχῆδον πασι τοῖς Βαρβαρικοῖς ἐστὶ σήμα φιλίας; "the signal of peace among [almost all] the barbarous nations" (i. 358).

trees for this signification, because the olive carried with it an additional import of peace, from the actual use of oil in festivity.

Hannibal saw the symbols, and understood their meaning. He received the bearers, therefore, with kindness ^v. He crossed the river Drance to them, I suppose, and entered with them into their town of Orzieres on the other side. There he exercised that cautious policy, which is painful to be practised in common life, because it keeps the mind continually upon the strain; which is necessary to be exercised by every man, that aspires to gain, or wishes to preserve, a pre-eminence of practical wisdom among his contemporaries; and was always kept on the watch in Hannibal, by the necessities of his situation, and by the habits of his life ^w. He therefore endeavoured very carefully, to explore the bottom of their hearts, and to see the whole extent of their de-

^v Livy xxi. 34. "Benignè quum respondisset."

^w Polybius iii. 52. *Ευλαβῶς δὲ διακειμένος πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην πρὶν Ἀντιόχου.* That *ευλαβῶς διακειμένος* here, however contrary the interpretation may be to analogy, means (as it has always been rendered) cautious, solicitous, apprehensive; is plain from iii. 49, where Hannibal's men are said, because of their intended march through the country of the Allobroges from Lyons, to be *ευλαβῶς διακειμένοις*, and where it cannot possibly signify any thing but apprehensiveness.

signs ^a. They were well acquainted, they told him, with his reduction of the capital, and with his slaughter of the army, before ^b. They had been taught an useful lesson, they added, in the experience of their neighbours ^c. For that reason they chose rather to be in friendship, than at war, with him; and had come for that purpose to meet him, as not wishing to suffer, and not willing to form, any hostilities ^a. They then professed their readiness to execute all his commands, and to supply his army with provisions ^b. They even offered to give up some of their number, as hostages for their friendly behaviour ^c. All this certainly carried a very fair appearance, of a dread of his power, and a desire of his favour. Yet Hannibal saw something in their

^a Polybius iii. 52. Εξήλασι φιλόφρωνας την ιστοριαν αυτων, και την ειν επιβολην.

^b Ibid. Των δε φησικουσαν, καλωσ ειδομαι και την της πολως αλαστον, και την των εχθιρυστων και αυτε απαλειπον. "They answered, *that* having been [well] informed, *that* he had taken a neighbouring town," that he had taken *the* town, "and had destroyed all those *that* had appeared in arms against him" (i. 359).

^c Livy xxi. 34. "Aliquis malis, utili exemplo, doctus."

^a Ibid. "Amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum;" Polybius iii. 52. Διασαφηνων ει παρτω δια ταυτα, βελομενε μητε ποικται μητε παθ η δυσχιρτε μηδιν.

^b Livy xxi. 34. "Itaque obediēter imperata facturos, com-
"meatumque,—acciperet."

^c Polybius iii. 52. Υπισχυομενην δε και δασειν εξ αυτων ομωρα.
Livy xxi. 34. "Ad fidem promissorum obseques acciperet."

looks and speeches, that indeed did not alter the *kindness of his manner, but heightened his cautiousness into distrust* ^d. A man like him, accustomed to converse with mankind, to look full in the face of all, and to dive to the very bottom of the eye; might perhaps mark some muscle to wriggle, or some nerve to shrink, some squint of cunning to appear, or some reserve of fraud to lurk, under his searching eye-beam. The very promptness of their offers, and the very greatness of their promises, would certainly throw an air of suspectability over all. But even experienced policy often counteracts its own purposes, by its own refinements. Hannibal's prudence was unwilling to show the suspicions, that his sagacity suggested. His suspicions hung upon his mind, for many hours ^e; the natural sensations of a mind, habitually jealous and judicious. But if he accepted their proffers of amity, he thought at last, he should speedily perhaps render them still more kind and peaceable; if he refused them, he should certainly throw them into a state of open hostility with him ^f. With this kind of doubling
policy,

^d Polybius iii. 52. *Ἡλιόθεν καὶ διηκίσει τοὺς λήθμενοις*, where *Ἡλιόθεν* apparently means to be cautious.

^e Ibid. *Πολὺν μὲν χρόνον.*

^f Ibid. *Συλλεξιζόμενος, ὡς εἰ λάβοι τὰ προσηγομένα, ταχ' ἂν ὡς εὐλαβέστερος καὶ ἤραστερος ποιήσαι τοὺς παραγενούσας, μὴ προσδέξαμενος δὲ, ἐπρόδηλος εἴη πολέμιος αὐτοῦ.* "When he
" had

policy, he actually confounded his own wisdom. He lost his suspicions in his cunning. The fire of jealousy, smothered and kept down, died away in its own ashes; and even a Hannibal was thus over-reached, by barbarians.

He accepted their offers, and embraced their amity, with an hypocrisy that recoiled upon himself. They delivered up their hostages very punctually. They brought in their cattle very plentifully. They gave themselves up without apprehension and without reserve, into his hands^b. This must have been the work of the afternoon, or evening, at Orzieres; and effectually imposed upon Hannibal, and his general officers. The suspicions, that had not been avowed by the

“ had reflected within himself, that his compliance with the “ terms which this people now proposed,” literally, his acceptance of the offers made by them, “ might serve perhaps “ to render them more *mild* and *cautious*,” what an odd combination of ideas, and how repugnant to the general meaning! “ and, on the other hand,” &c. (i. 259). *Ευλαβειρους* is evidently used here, not in its common acceptation of cautiousness, but in its primary and analogical import of kindness; and the sudden variation of the meaning is as remarkable, as it is wrong, in Polybius.

^a Polybius iii. 52. Συγκαθηκυσσε προς ληθημενης, και συνυπεκριθη τοβισβαι Φιλικου προς αυτους.

^b Ibid. Των δε βηβαρων τα ορηια παραδωκως, και θρημμασι χορηκωντων αφθουσι, και καθυλον διδωτων σφας αυτους εις τας χειρας απαρατηρητους.

tongue, now faded away from the heart; and they all began to confide in those, whom they had dis-trusted before¹. Then, the next morning, I sup-pose, and just as Hannibal was preparing to re-new his march, the Salaffi brought forward the grand point in their plan of frauds, and offered to conduct him by a better road than he was go-ing to pursue. This was surely a very startling offer, and by its very sound should have put Hannibal upon his guard of policy again. But even a Hannibal was subject to the laws of na-ture, and susceptible of credulous weakness at times. He and his officers listened to the pro-posal, with their suspicions all lulled to slumber in their heads, with their jealousies all languish-ing into extinction in their hearts, and with a

¹ Polybius iii. 52. *Ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐπίστευσαν οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβαν, οὐστὲ, κ. τ. λ.* Polybius, throughout the whole compass of our present history preceding, speaks of Hannibal personally; till in iii. 47 he notices his army as *τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβαν* (p. 279), iii. 50 twice again (p. 282), and *here* again *οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβαν*. Casaubon uniformly translates all, by the personal appellation of Hannibal. Nor is there any other fault in this, but a de- viation from the mode of Polybius's language; except in this last instance, in which the words import Hannibal and his general officers. In iii. 53. Casaubon accordingly translates *πανόλης—τοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβαν*, by "Poenorum univcrsus exer- citus" (p. 286). "Annibal was in a great degree induced, to "throw away all suspicion; and even intrusted them" &c. (l. 359): literally, *Those about Hannibal trusted them so far,* *οὐστὲ, &c.*

fond wish of abridging their toil of travel across these rugged mountains. They agreed to take the Salaffi for their guides^k, and so fell into the very snare that these had laid for them. Thus did Hannibal, as Polybius with a useful particularity dates the fact, “on the *fourth* day” of his being among the Alps, “again become exposed to great dangers^l;” and thus was Hannibal, as Livy properly observes, “circumvented by his own arts, by cunning first, and by an ambush^m afterwardsⁿ.”

The Salaffi, we have seen, delivered up their hostages *immediately*. So near were their towns, to Hannibal’s present position; and so plainly does the fact point at the towns, which I have already specified! They supplied him also with a great number of cattle, *immediately*. So well were their pastures stocked, at the moment; and so high, even on this *northern* side of the Alps, did

^k Polybius iii. 52. ὅστι καὶ καθήκουσιν αὐτοῖς χρησθῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἐξῆς δυσχωρίας.

^l Ibid. Ἡδὴ δὲ τελευτήσας ὡν, αὐτοῖς ἐς κινδύνους παρεπέμψεν μισθολογούς.

^m Livy xxi. 34. “Suis artibus, fraude, deinde insidiis, “est—circumventus.”

In all *this* period, Polybius is much more circumstantial and useful than Livy. The latter is imprudent enough, to make the Salaffi offer themselves as guides, on their first appearance before Hannibal: “commeatum, *itineris*que *duces*, et ad fidem “obsides, accipret.”

the range of pasturage then ascend! But it is very observable, that they furnished him not with *corn*, as the Seduni had done before". This shows the cultivation of corn not to have risen up the mountains then, so high as Orzieres; though it had then reached St. Branchier. This, therefore, forms a broad line of division, in the ascending course of Alpine agriculture. The *thermometer* of civility, if I may so express myself, had risen nearly as high in the scale at the period of Hannibal's expedition, as it is risen at present. At Orzieres, says a traveller coming *down* these Alps, "we see, and not without wonder, the
 " harvests standing upon the high mountains
 " and the sharp descents; it is goats which draw
 " the plough, and women who hold it, so light
 " and moveable is the soil!" Very far removed therefore from that general barbarism of manners, and that particular ignorance of the arts of life, which has been universally imputed to them; were these Alpine tribes at the time! Even *now*, let me add to their honour, that esculent root the potatoe, which has been as falsely as universally attributed to our connexion with North America,

* Polybius before, *σιτου και ζυμαλων*; now, *ζυμαλοι* only. Livy has only "pecoribus" before, and now "commeatu." So indistinct, and even deceiving, in his language here!

• Bourrit iii. 286. "Au bourg d'Orzieres—nous ne vîmes
 " pas sans admiration, les moissons sur des hautes montagnes
 " et sur des pentes rapides," &c.

which

which has been specifically furnished to have been first brought from Virginia to Ireland, but was originally introduced to our tables from Portugal, Spain, and the East Indies; is cultivated in great abundance upon the Alps, at Chamouni to the right of Hannibal's line of ascent up them, and at Cormayeur to the right of his course of descent also, even amidst the very glaciers of the mountains; though it was so little known in the *south* of Italy a few years ago, that the people of Naples refused to eat it in an actual famine, and an English cargo of potatoes was obliged to be thrown into the sea, because it could not be sold for money, and would not even be accepted as a present P.

— V. —

P "It was at this town," says Smith concerning Youghall, "that the *first* potatoes were landed in Ireland by Sir Walter Raleigh. The person who planted them, imagining that the apple which grows on the stalk was to be used, gathered them [the apples]; but, not liking their taste, neglected the roots till, the ground being dug afterwards to sow some other grain, the potatoes were discovered therein, and to the great surprize of the planter vastly increased. And from these few the country was furnished with seed." A note here adds: "Ben Johnson in his play, called *Every Man out of his Humour*, Act ii, mentions potatoes as a *great rarity* when he wrote." Text proceeds thus: "It is said, Sir Walter brought them, together with tobacco, into Ireland, from Virginia" (*Antient and Present State of Cork* I. 128. Dublin. 1750). This serves to show the general fallaciousness of tradition. The first attempt made by Raleigh to trade with

— V. —

WE are now come to that point of Hannibal's march, which no delineators of his march have ever presumed to touch. They have all agreed in

America, was in April 1584; and then, *not by himself in person*, but by others for him. These arrived, *not in Virginia*, but at the island of Roanoke, near the mouth of the river Albemarle, in *North Carolina*; traded with the natives of the island, and of the continent adjoining; and returned to England with furs, pearl, coral, sassafras, cedar, and *a little tobacco*. In April 1585, Raleigh *sent* out some ships in order to *colonise*, which sailed along the coast of *Carolina*, settled a colony at Roanoke, and returned. This colony was taken off the island in 1586, by Drake; but a second colony of fifteen men was settled there, in that year. These were all dead or gone, when three ships arrived early in 1587, *sent* equally by Raleigh; commissioned to fix the colony to the north, in the bay of Chesapeak that divides Carolina from Virginia; but unable from the smallness of their force, to execute this commission. Two years afterwards, or in 1589, a slender reinforcement was *sent* them by Raleigh, but was beaten back to England by a storm; and the whole colony perished, not one individual ever returning to England (Mod. Un. Hist. xxxix. 235-240). These were all the attempts upon North America, that ever Sir Walter Raleigh made; and he was *personally* concerned in none. But the potatoe was *known among us, long before any of them*. "Of the *potatoe* and such venerous roots," cries Harrison, who wrote in 1579 (p. 215), "as are *brought* out of *Spain, Portingale*, and the *Indies*, to furnish up our bankets, "I speak not; wherein our *mures*," a general word for roots, still used in the west, "of no lesse force, and to be had about

" Crossic

in one general conspiracy against the facts, that now succeed immediately in his history; and have united

“Crosbie Ravenfwith, do now begin to have place” (p. 167: Description of England prefixed to Holinshed). Potatoes therefore were primarily introduced into these islands, from the East Indies through Spain and Portugal. But they came principally through the *latter* to us, as the *latter* sent even her *sailors* to cook them for us; such of her sailors as had been in the East-Indies, to show us the mode of cooking them which they had seen among the natives. “Our cookes,” the same writer tells us, “are for the most part musical-headed Frenchmen,” so long has French cookery been fashionable among our gentlemen, and disreputable among our writers! “and *strangers*,” meaning Portuguese; for we have “*sundrie* —delicates, wherein *the sweet band of the seafaring Portingale* is not wanting” (166). They were afterwards brought from Peru, it seems; as Gerard in his Herbal, published 1597, says, “this plant, which is called of some *Syrriis of Peru*, is generally of us called *potatus* or *potatoes*;—I had in my garden divers roots (that I bought at the Exchange in London), where they flourished until winter, at which time they perished and rotted” (Shakespeare by Johnson and Stevens, edition fourth, 1793, xi. 454). So completely is the first transmission of potatoes from Virginia to Ireland by Sir Walter Raleigh, refuted from historical evidence! Yet what shows how little inclined criticks are to examine, and how a falsehood once broached goes on to impose upon the critical world, “it appears from Dr. Campbell’s Political Survey of Great Britain,” we have been recently told by a very respectable author, “that potatoes were brought into Ireland about the year 1610;” more than *thirty* years after they are noticed by Harrison as on the table in England, and *thirteen* after they were cultivated by Gerard in a garden near London, “and that they came first from Ireland into Lancashire;—Sir Walter
“Raleigh

united to suppress them entirely. Even the British Hannibal himself, who saw the footsteps of the Carthaginian so deeply imprinted upon every rock, and fixed his own feet so securely in them; appears not to have ever thought of this grand turn in his line of movement, and actually carries him by one and the same road, without any diversion to the right or to the left, from the foot to the summit of the Alps. Yet the diversion now made by the Carthaginians, forms a grand feature in the complexion of their Alpine transactions. It is strikingly apparent here, and more strikingly hereafter. Any description therefore, that omits this, must be defective from the omission itself, and false in the course assigned. If Hanibal now deserted the regular road going up the Alps, as he certainly did; the writer, who still carries him along that road, must either suppress the fact, of his casting off his old guides for new, or act in contradiction to it; must equally suppress all that results from this change of guides,

“ Raleigh was *the first, who planted them in Ireland*” (Shakespeare xi. 457).—As to the venereal influence attributed to them here by Harrison, by Shakespeare incidentally, and by his commentator at full length from others (xi. 453-457); it is only a monument of temporary folly, stimulated to expose itself by a prurieny of passion.

For potatoes at Chamouni, see Bourrit iii. 50, at Cormayeur iii. 249, and at Naples, Baretti's Account of Italy ii. 139-140. Dublin.

or equally act in contradiction to it; must thus either stamp his account with the grossest signature of folly, or prove unjust to the testimony of Polybius and Livy, untrue to the character of Hannibal, unfaithful to the veracity of history.

Hannibal had hitherto kept the Gallick embassadours for his guides, who knew the road well, had just come along it to him, and had now brought him successfully nine miles up this side of the Alps. He had only about sixteen farther, in a right ascent to the top⁹. He would therefore reach the top, by a continuance in his present course, the very *next* day, the *fifth* of his Alpine march. Yet, with these new guides and by this new route, he was treble that number of days. So egregiously was he deceived by these Salaffi, and so wildly devious was he now persuaded to make his march! He was persuaded, he should find a road smoother and shorter than his own. The Salaffi could render it as short and as smooth, as they pleased. The Gallick embassadours could not contradict them, as they had never travelled it. They could probably corroborate their account, in the principal point. There was actually a road, as I shall soon show, and there still is, leading to an opening in the Alps and a descent into Piedmont, known only to

⁹ See sect. 8th of this chapter.

a few, but reported by many, and having probably reached the ears of the Gauls themselves. Thus truth would serve to prop up the fabrick of falshood, and all combine to impose upon Hannibal. Yet these moments were surely the weakest, of Hannibal's whole life. They certainly lower him, from his elevation of intellect. They exhibit him simple, confiding, and credulous. Malignity indeed should not be gratified by thus representing him, by pulling down the pride of human wisdom, and placing it at the foot of folly; but the probity of history demands the act. In the conduct of such a hero as this, history is too apt to put on the idiot smile of perpetual praise, to wonder with an idiot face of applause, and to see every fault lost in the general blaze of his name.

Hannibal had come from St. Branchier to Orzieres, along the *northern* side of the Western Drance. He now advanced, I suppose, along the *southern*, and came opposite to St. Branchier again. Here commences a valley, that extends to the south-east, and nearly parallel with the regular road up the Alps, for many miles; and leads in a long, level ascent, up to the crests of the mountains; being watered all the way, by what we must call the *Eastern* arm of the Drance, and having the two arms unite for Martigny, a little to the south of St. Branchier. This is called the

the VAL DE BAGNES or the Valley of Baths, from some baths at the village of Bagnes there, to which the gentry of the Vallais used to resort in summer, but of which there are only slight remains at present; they and many of the houses having been over-whelmed, by an immense mass of snow, that rolled down from the top of their lofty hills¹. This valley forms a considerable part of a district, that stretches up from the base to the ridge of these Alps, and is denominated *Pays d'Entremont* or the region within the Mountains; is fenced itself on every side, by large high

¹ Bourrit i. 32, 37, 38. " Cette vallée [de Bagnes], ainsi nommée des bains célèbres aux-quels on courroit anciennement de tout le Valais, commence à Saint-Branchier, et s'étend jusqu'aux sommets des montagnes,—sur un plan incliné." Simler 81-82. " Vallis prima, quæ magis ad Orientem vergit, Bancas, credo a Balneis que fortè olim hic fuere, nomen habet, et nomini insignia respondent; hanc fluvius a meridie defluens fecat, qui propè Branscherinum pagum alteri miscetur, et ambo Dransæ nomen accipiunt." These baths must have been very antiently destroyed, since even Simler in 1567 speaks of them as antient, and only known by supposition. Bourrit speaks of their existence and destruction, peremptorily. Nor can this be attributed, as the world at large is apt to attribute such variations, to the proper spirit of Simler, speaking only in the modest tone of fact, and to the improper spirit of Bourrit, using the loud trumpet of antiquarianism. Simler means the same with Bourrit, whatever he speaks; and shows he does by the words, " et nomini insignia respondent." But some men are afraid, to raise their language on a level with their ideas.

hills; and has no natural entrance, but through a narrow defile from St. Branchier, and along the side of the Drance there^s. There he entered the valley, to move nearly in the line of his former direction, and to gain the summit of the Alps by a shorter and smoother road, that was known only to the natives of the mountains, and would carry him speedily into Piedmont. Beyond the end of this valley is a defile, by which one may penetrate into Piedmont and the Milanese. The defile is very little known, even at present; and is generally known, only to the inhabitants of these mountains. But a lively and adventurous Genevan, having heard of its name, and being assured of its existence, was tempted a few years ago to explore it. He took a native of the hills, a hunter of the wild goats, for his guide; and reached it. He there saw Piedmont directly under his eye. But what is very remarkable, and seems to indicate that this passage was known to the Romans, the opening there which presents the finest view of Piedmont, in the French and Savoyard language that is spoken upon these Alps, and that the natives very properly call by the general name of ROMAN^t, is denominated *La*

* Bourrit i. 32.. "La vallée est fermée à l'est par de hautes montagnes.—La Val de Bagnes fait une partie considérable du Pays d'Entremont." Simler 81: "Proximus conventus a situ nomen habet, et Intramontius nominatur."

† Simler 77. "Nostrâ ætate Veragri *Gallicâ* sive *Sabaudicâ* utuntur, quam ipsi *Romanam* vocant."

Fenêtre or the Window^u. The report of such a passage as this among the Gauls of Piedmont (I here observe again, in order to throw a soberer air of reality over this extravagant part of Hannibal's conduct) would give additional credibility, to the relation of the Salassi now. *Those* did not know, and *these* would not tell, that the passage is blocked up almost always by frost and snow. In truth, it is practicable only for a fortnight through the whole year. Even then, it is practicable for the natives alone; and so little even for them, that when the natives block up the other passes, to guard against any pestilential disorders, those most formidable Hannibals of our race, in the countries below, they never think it worth their while to block up this^v.

Hanni-

* Bourrit i. 42-43, 75. Near Great St. Bernard we have a hill, called equally "Col entre les deux fenêtres" (Sautsure iv. 249). In Bourrit's "Explication des planches" i. xiv, is this addition: "la gorge des Fenêtres est entre les deux premières "sommités," of Mount Gelè and Mount April in plates 1st and 2d.

v Bourrit i. 76. That rude and rough engineer of the Reformation, who was more eager than skilful, who blew up half the outworks of Christianity, in springing a mine to demolish a single *cavalier*, which had been attached to the works, and weakened the whole of them, even Calvin; escaped once from the pursuing hand of Popery, by this very passage. "Ce fût
" cependant par cette route extraordinaire, qu'illustre Calvin
" s'échappa de Val-d'Aost, où il courut quelques dangers; et
" pour assurer sa fuite jusq'en Valais, il s'engagea dans ce

Hannibal then advanced under his new guides, and turned on the right into the Val de Bagnes for the south. This opens immediately from a narrow strait, into a level of one mile and a half in breadth; but soon expands into nine miles broad. It thus goes on to the village of Bagnes, about eighteen miles from St. Branchier. There it begins to contract itself much, as drawing near to its termination; and actually terminates, about three miles beyond Bagnes*. Along this valley Hannibal proceeded, the *fourth* day of his being in the Alps; and encamped in it about six or eight miles, I suppose, to the south of St. Branchier; expecting from the assurances of his Sallassian conductors, no doubt, to descend with energy the next morning upon Italy. The next morning he renewed his march, in the same expectation assuredly; had the hills which were to begin his descent, continually pointed out to him through the course of the day, by the fingers of his guides, as now mixing with the blue sky, now coming forward in mists, and now showing

* *passage dangereux : cette circonstance de la vie de ce Reformateur celebre seroit restée ignorée, sans la tradition qu'en ont conservée les habitans de ces montagnes; il arrive si rarement, qu'on les aille visiter; quand on a été chez eux, ils en conservent le souvenir dans leur familles pendant long-temps*" (Bourrit i. 76-77). So closely is this pass connected with two such different and distant personages in history, as Hannibal and John Calvin!

— Bourrit i. 32-33; 42, 44.

themselves apparent in their real forms; thus found them perpetually at a greater distance, than they had signified and *he* had apprehended them to be. He bore the disappointment the better, I suppose, from the levelness of the ground and the pleasantness of the region. On the two sides of this plain are very fine hills, all cultivated now, and always ranged in an amphitheatrical form; and the land is very fertile, as being screened by the height of these hills from those formidable blasts of the north, which in other quarters of these Alps come with such a destructive efficacy*. Accordingly, neither Livy nor Polybius notes any difficulty in the road, for either of these days. Both therefore show it by their silence, to have been as this is, easy, level, and pleasant.

Hannibal, says Polybius, "marched two days "with the Salassi, preceding his army" to conduct him⁷. But he marched, even in this confiding state of his mind, with some apprehensions still awake in his soul², and with all his precautions carefully taken against a surprize. The man might be over-reached, but the general could not be off his guard. He probably reconciled to him-

* Bourrit i. 32-33.

⁷ Polybius iii. 52. Προπορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν πρὸς δύο ἡμέρας.

² Polybius iii. 53. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀκίνητος ἔσθ' ἦσαν.

self his fond affiance on the Salaffian guides, by his circumspection in guarding against any enterprize from their countrymen. A Hannibal must certainly have had some blind held up before his eagle-eye, under such a confiding weakness of mind. He had even, adds Polybius, “ a foresight “ of the future ^a,” a presage upon his mind of the treachery intended; a sort of dubious intimation from his reason, which acted up to its convictions, and rung a peal of warning in his ear; not sufficient to divert him from his design, yet loud enough to make him move in it with cautiousness and care. He therefore passed through their country, just as he had passed through that of the Seduni and that of the Allobroges before, in regular order for fighting, and with his usual line of march. His vanguard was composed of the elephants and cavalry; his baggage moved behind; while he himself came in the rear of the whole with the main body, all heavy-armed infantry, throwing his eyes attentively about him, and being solicitous for the security of all ^b.

^a Polybius iii. 53. Προωφόμενοι το μελλον, “ by a wise precaution” (i. 360).

^b Livy xxi. 34. “ Nequaquam ut inter pacatos, composito agmine duces eorum sequitur; primum agmen elephantum et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditum, circumspectans sollicitusque omnia, incedebat.” Polybius iii. 53. Το μη σκευφορα και της ιππειας ειχου ω τη πρωλοπορια, της δ’ οπλης επι της οπισθιας.

— VI. —

IN the the afternoon of the second day^c, the *fifth* of his Alpine movements, he actually approached that grand breastwork of hills, which had been so repeatedly marked to him by his guides, I suppose, as the termination at once of the valley and of the Alps, and as the opener of his instant passage into Italy. They thus brought him to a pass, which they meant to be the scene of their perfidy, which had been previously pitched upon by the guides and their countrymen, and was every way adapted to the execution of their villainy. Such a long train of artifice had they drawn out, against him! With so much refinement had they projected, and with so much address had they prosecuted, their scheme of infamous treachery! To such a height of infernal dissimulation in both, had these Alpine mountaineers now reached! Perfidy may be attributed to Courts, by the superficial surveyor of mankind; but is fully as frequent and as foul in the Wilderness, as it is in the Drawing-room. It is in every place where man is; and the savage upon the Alps is often as great an adept, in this universal vice of the world, as a Walsingham, a Cecil, or an Elizabeth.

^c See the sequel.

About three miles to the south of Bagnes is the village of LUTTIER, lying along the Drance, and therefore on the lowest side of this long valley. It is also situated directly under the right-hand mountains, and exposed to dreadful balls of snow rolling down from them. One rolled down in 1759, and razed away or pushed off from their foundations a score of houses into the river, in less than two minutes. These being almost wholly of timber^d, and therefore well-compacted together, would move away nearly as entire as they stood; and actually swam like so many high-built floats, upon the current. An inhabitant of the village, who had descended the day before to the market at Martigny, re-ascending the day after to Bagnes, was not a little surprized a league below his habitation, to meet the timber-roof of his own house carried along by the river^e. From the village of Luttier begins to mount up a sharp road, that is paved with the natural rock in vast plates. But this road soon seems to be barred up by the projecting side of the mountain, and the whole valley in appearance is there closed. It was so originally, no doubt; as the Drance still opens a violent passage on the left, by throwing itself headlong down the precipices which stop it. A whole river is seen by those who stand below,

^d Bourrit i. 37. "Maisons qui sont presque toutes de bois."

^e Bourrit i. 45.

tumbling down from so lofty a height, that it seems to be falling from the clouds. The length of the ascent, therefore, is considerable; all marked by three stages. The first mounts up so high, that the bed of the Drance in the valley appears to the sight, not less than *eighty feet* below; while the hearing is alarmed even at that height, with the sound of boulders and rocks, which the Drance precipitates from the mountains, and rolls along with its waters. We then come to a point, at which the mountain has been apparently opened to admit the road. This part of the ascent, therefore, is every instant exposed to the fall of rocks. Some hang suspended over the road, as if they had been arrested there in their course, by an arm of miraculous might. Nothing impresses the human heart with religion, so much as fear. Accordingly the natives, since Christianity has taught them the Salvation of the Cross, and Superstition induced them to place a temporal reliance on a representation of the Cross, have fixed a Crucifix before the falling rocks; in fond hope of preventing them by the efficacy of this barrier, from moving any farther and coming down to crush them. But the dangerous road still continues to ascend, in magnificent terrible-ness, from the opening; till it rises to a level with the Drance above ^f.

[Bourrit i. 45-46.

The Carthaginians, says Polybius conformably, had now reached “ a certain hollow, difficult to be passed, and lined with precipices ^s.” “ They were come,” adds Livy in equal conformity to all, “ to a very narrow way, upon one side placed under a mountain that was hanging over it ^h.” They were now to turn on the right, for the lower side of the valley through which the river runs; and, in which, the fall and force of its current from the high mountain beyond, has wrought for itself a hollow, a vale within a vale. The road across this is embarrassed by the torrent of the Drance, just fallen from the mountain, chafed, fretted, and boiling with the agitation of its waters; and is obstructed by the rocks, which the torrent brings in its descent with it, or the boulders which it rolls along its channel. They were then

^s Polybius iii. 52. Φαραγία τινα δυσδαλον και κρημνωδη. “ The Carthaginians were now engaged in *passing through* a valley, that was *surrounded on every side* by steep and *insurcrable* precipices” (i. 359). This presents to us a triumphant Hibernism of language. It is exactly the same with the celebrated indictment of a road by the late Judge Page, as *impassable* in itself; from his own view of it, when he *passed* it the day before. This elegant Atticism from the region of Tipperary, Mr. Hampton has transplanted in equal bloom into the garden of Polybius; and has left it there to stand, to flourish, to breathe its strong perfume upon all around it, and yet to find itself a stranger in the land of strangers.

^h Livy xxi. 34. “ In angustiorem viam, ex parte alterâ subjectam jugo insuper imminente, ventum est.”

to strain up the precipice beyond, and to struggle through the overhanging ridge above. The vanguard of elephants and cavalry, had actually advanced across the hollow; the long line of baggage had actually all entered, while some had passed, it; and Hannibal actually stood with the main body, upon the ground leading down into it^l. At this important moment, the Salaffi fell suddenly upon his army. A large body of men, says Polybius, “had been collected together and had followed him;” or, as Livy says, “suddenly rose from their ambuscade in the rear.” These had therefore been concealed in the woods, on the right of his march and near the point of this pass; but rose from their ambuscade when he had gone by them, formed in the vale behind him, followed his rear out of fight, and attacked him at this instant^k. Another body of men appeared equally on the ridge of the mountain before him, at the same instant; and attacked his van^l. And the guides, we may be sure, who were marching at the head of the van, now advanced

^l Polybius iii. 52. *Επιβηθείαι, Φαραγία τινα—περαιωμένων αυτών.* Livy xxi. 34. “Dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias.” And the sequel.

^k Polybius iii. 52. *Συναθροισθέντες—και συνακολυθησαντες.* Livy xxi. 34. “Ex insidiis Barbari—, ab tergo coorti, cominus—petunt.” For the woods, Bourcit i. 37, “leurs forêts et les beaux bois,” and Livy xxi. 34, “in eo saltu.”

^l Livy xxi. 34. “Undique ex insidiis Barbari—, a fronte—coorti,—petunt.”

farther before it under pretence of reconnoitering the ascent, and stole away to their countrymen on the mountain.

Thus assailed in front and in rear at once, by a sudden burst of perfidy; had Hannibal been off his guard at the moment, the whole army of the Carthaginians must have been crushed by the blow^m; and Hannibal's march over the Alps have been considered in the history of man, as one of the wildest exertions of military extravagance. So much depends upon success, with a being that pretends to reason! In front, the Salassi upon the crest of the mountain, moving parallel with the elephants, the cavalry, and the baggage, plied them with missive stones from the boulders above-mentioned, and rolled down upon them the huge rocks noted beforeⁿ. But they brought their principal force, and made their principal assault, against the rear^o. Unless this was beaten, their perfidy would be incomplete. To overpower the horse and elephants, to master

^m Polybius iii. 43.

ⁿ Ibid. *Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἐκείνου τῶν ἀποκρῆματων, καὶ τῶν μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπιπέδων, τοὺς δ' ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν ἀπέριον ἀνθρώπων, κ. τ. λ.* Livy xxi. 34. "A fronte coacti, et omnia petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt." Livy omits two striking particulars in Polybius's account, the moving parallel with the Carthaginian van, and plying it with stones from above.

^o Livy xxi. 34. "Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat."

the baggage, might be some advantage and some credit; but to crush the main body, was naturally their grand aim. Hannibal however faced about with the main body, on his assailing enemies. He had the flower of his army with him, and soon beat them off^r. No number of undisciplined mountaineers, probably, could stand against the veterans of his main body; and this stroke of success, was the preservation of the whole army^s.

Yet the enemy still continued in force, at a little distance from him. He was unwilling therefore, to quit the ground on which he stood, and to march down into the hollow^t. By staying there, he was ready to secure the advanced parts of his army, from an attack on their rear; and, if he marched down, he should certainly invite a fresh attack upon his own^u. He saw that the enemy, by continuing in force after they were beaten, were waiting to make such an attack. He saw also, that he should expose his men by

^r Polybius iii. 53. Οὗτος γὰρ ἐπέβη τὴν ἐπιθρονον τῶν Βαρκάρων.
Livy xxi. 34. "In eos versa peditum acies."

^s Livy xxi. 34. "Versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipiendâ clades fuerit."

^t Ibid. "Cunflatur Hannibal demittere agmen."

^u Ibid. "Demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat."

their very order of marching along the narrow defile, to the most imminent danger of destruction from the enemy behind; while his ascent up the avenue would be continually retarded, by the slow movements of his baggage before, and be continually exposed all the while, to the galling artillery of stones and rocks from above. But, to crown the danger of his situation, the night was coming on, and the darkness would soon find him entangled in the hollow, entangled in the ascent, entangled with the Salaffi on every side; these then moving under cover of the night, advancing unseen along their well-known grounds, and assaulting him with higher confidence from all. In this extremity of distress and danger, Hannibal determined upon a measure of equal necessity, boldness, and propriety; to take post on *this* side of the defile, for the night; and leave his baggage to the care of his cavalry and elephants, till the morning. He therefore threw his eyes around, to find a proper position for his infantry during the night; one, that would secure them from any assault in the dark; one, that would also prevent the Salaffi behind him, from attacking his baggage, elephants, and cavalry before. Such a mind as Hannibal's would perhaps have soon created, what it wanted; and made even the ground on which he was posted at present, to serve in some measure for his purpose. But he fortunately marked a rock near him, that was naturally

turally strong in itself, and attracted his attention, by the whiteness of its appearance. It was indeed upon the other side of the hollow, but then it was at the very mouth of the defile there; being the very rock assuredly on the mountain-side of the Drance, upon which the village of Luttier stands at present; and from which the overgrown snow-ball of the mountain behind, did sweep away a number of houses into the river. He moved to take possession of it. He marched rapidly, no doubt, across the hollow; to prevent the enemy from advancing after him, and annoying him in it. He took post upon the white rock. There he precluded effectually the designs of the Salassi, as they durst not attack him in his present position, and as they could not otherwise come to assault his vanguard and baggage. Had they advanced to attack him there, the very hollow, in which they meant to assault him before, would now be a disadvantage and a snare to *themselves*; while the rock itself, having the hollow and the river in its front, and the lofty mountain in its rear, stood as the bar of nature to shut up the door of the defile.

— VII. —

‘ Polybius iii. 53. Εἰς ὁλοσχερὴ διαδρομὴν καὶ κίνδυνον ἦσαν εὐλασθεὶς ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ἀντίων μὲτα τῆς ἡμισίας δυνάμεως συκλεῖσθαι περὶ ΤΙ ΛΕΥΚΟΠΕΤΡΟΝ ΟΥΤΡΟΝ, χωρὶς τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐφεδρευούσῃ τούτοις. They “spread so great terror and “disorder through the army,” a faint dead version of what ought

— VII. —

In all the illustrations which have hitherto been made of Hannibal's route, little attention has been paid to that necessary work, of adapting the

such an extremity of confusion and danger, "that Annibal, with one half of the troops, was forced to take his station for the night upon a NAKED AND DESERT ROCK" (i. 360). This is in the original, "a certain rock white and strong," just as Strabo says the Apennine ends near Rhegium in another *Leucopetra* or white rock, *λευκὴ πέτρα τῆν Λευκοπέτραν τῆς Ἡλίας καλεωμένης* (v. 324); but in Casaubon's version is made as it is in Mr. Hampton's, "in munitâ quâdam DESERTA NUDAQUE PETRA." We have thus an instance very remarkable in Mr. Hampton, of abandoning the Greek and adhering to the Latin. He indeed, who from his situation cannot catch the rays as they come directly from the sun, must be content to take them in their inflexion, as they rebound from another object. But that Mr. Hampton should ever be one of this number, is very astonishing; and it was the accidental view of this very passage, which put me upon examining his whole translation for my period of the history. Bourrit i. 45. "Village situé pres de Drance; — en 1755 — l'avalanche rasa et poussa une vingtaine de maisons dans la riviere; — du village de Luttier, nous commencâmes a monter un chemin," &c.

The very name of the village, which was thus the scene of Hannibal's encampment before it became the site of a village, is actually derived (I apprehend) from this incident; the rock being forcibly pointed out by the practice of Hannibal, as an excellent position for a town or a fort to guard the avenue; and *Luttier* signifying a fort or a town in the original language

the scenes to the actions. Even when attention has been once or twice paid, it appears injudicious in the aim, and unfortunate in the issue. We see a gleam of this, casting a sort of dubious light upon the present portion of the history. The white rock of Hannibal's encampment seems designed to be reflected, by a rock of similar appellation in the ascent to Little St. Bernard. General Melvill, as we have seen before, carries Hannibal up to the top of *his* Alps by a "*Roche Blanche*;" and Mr. Pownall conducts him equally, by "*the White Rock*." These coincidences in sound or in sense between their route and Polybius's, though not urged as an argument by either of those authors, may seem to lend a slight kind of sanction to their course, and must therefore in fairness to my readers be noticed by me. A white rock perhaps would not be difficult to be found, upon any of the lines that have been drawn for Hannibal's movements. In a range

of the Alps, the Celtick. We have *Lloyd* in Welsh for an army or a camp, *Lloydus* in Welsh to make war, *Lloydwr* in Welsh and *Llueddyr* in Gallick for a soldier; *Luteva*, now *Lodève*, a town in France; *Lutetia*, the Gallick name for the city of Paris; and *Lutesia* in the Bretoon, for a fortification (Bullet iii. 98). We have even *Lutudar-on* in the Anonymous Chorographer of our own country, for a British town in it; which, with the Celtick elision, that renders our own *London* into *Lon'on* in pronunciation, and has resolved *Lugdunum* into *Lyons* in writing, would very easily melt down into *Lutter* or *Lustier*.

of mountains like the Alps, that often present whole hills of calcareous stone, or show their heads cap't with snow; a white rock must frequently be seen among them. Thus (not to spend time in questing after many names) we have a *Roche Blanche* on the road of Little St. Bernard, a *Pierre Blanche* not far from the road over Mount Cenis^v, and that mighty monarch of the Alps, the celebrated *Mount Blanc*. We must therefore not content ourselves, in the easy acquiescence of a lazy antiquarianism, with the mere casualty of a white rock occurring; but examine the particular position of the rock, and mark how accommodable it is to the tenour of the history. Tried by this necessary touchstone, the seeming gold is instantly found to be spurious; and the *Roche Blanche* of Little St. Bernard, "hides its diminished head" from the view of Polybius. To show this, let us recur again to the account before. There we see the General's course, mounting "through a long, steep, and rugged gully, to the right of a rapid current without a name, but on the left of a hill called *Roche Blanche*." Is this then the character of Polybius's place? Are these the features of his white rock? Undoubtedly they are not. Though there is a gully, a river, and a hill at both, yet the disposition

^v Dury's Map of Borgoni.

^u Chap. ii. sect. 1.

of all is very different in both. The rock and the hill are the same, in General Melvill's account; while the hill of Polybius is totally distinct from Polybius's rock, and *this* lies at the foot of *that*. The hill of the General indeed is a mere rock, as appears from its appellation so strange for a mountain that of *Roche Blanche*. This rock appears equally from its name and its nature, to rise up in a spire, on which no army *could* encamp, and to which the Carthaginians are not even *supposed* to ascend; while the rock of Polybius was only a small elevation with a flat surface, was large enough to admit an army encamped upon it, and actually had the main body of the Carthaginians upon it for a whole night. So very different is the *Roche Blanche* of the one, from the White Rock of the other! But there is a difference between them, still more striking. You go, says the account before, from "the *foot* of Petit St. Bernard, *up its western side*,—close on the left of "a hill called *Roche Blanche*, *near the bottom* of "the *ascent*;" and "*so to the summit*." This rock-hill, therefore, is at the foot of Little St. Bernard, near the bottom of the ascent up it, and within a short distance from the summit of it; while Polybius's rock and mountain, as the sequel shows, are no less than **FOUR** days march from the summit of Hannibal's Alps. This adds a physical impossibility to the geographical differences before, against the identity of these two hills or rocks.

rocks. Nor let us neglect to subjoin, that General Melvill, carrying the Carthaginians up the Alps by one regular and uninterrupted road, and never making a grand *detour* with them, as Polybius does, can never find that White Rock upon the regular road, which Polybius finds only upon the road of the *detour*. The Roche Blanche of Little St. Bernard, then, can never be the White Rock of Polybius; even if we had not so many demonstrations preceding, of Hannibal's entering the Alps at a very different point. But every advance that we have made in the history, has served to confirm us in the rightness of the way. Reason has thus been added to reason, and conviction risen over conviction, till we have seen the argument growing with the growth of the ancient giants. And, in the vanity of an author perhaps, I hope to see it come forward at last like Briareus with his hundred hands, effectually vindicate the supremacy of truth, and free it for ever from the chains, which some rebel gods have put upon it^v.

On this rock of Luttier, white in its appearance, but flat and broad in its surface, did Hannibal take post with all his main body for the night^x. That measure, though necessary in itself,

^v See Iliad i. 395-407.

^x Just above it are certainly rocks, "*fatines en verd et blanc*" (Bourrit i. 46). This therefore is equally white,

self, was certainly a desperate one. He had no tents, he had no provisions, with him. His baggage, his elephants, and his cavalry, were straining with equal pain and peril all the night, up this steep and rugged defile. The Salassi on the ridge of the mountain above, continued to send their showers of stones, and to roll their masses of rock, upon them. They thus destroyed now and before, horses in the cavalry, horses in the cars, and horses under the burdens, troopers

we may presume; if it was examined by the eye of an historian.

⁊ Polybius iii. 53. Ος, Hannibal, ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ταυτα, the *σποικ* and *υποζύβια* before, *μολὸς ἐξιμηνησατο τῆς χαράδρας*. Hannibal took post "to secure the cavalry and baggage, till they had all passed the *valley*. And this was at last accomplished. But such was the roughness and the difficulty of these *defiles*, that the whole night was scarcely sufficient for the "work" (i. 360). Here is the *body* of Polybius, but the *soul* is fled. With the life and spirit of Polybius in it, the figure should thus exhibit itself in the mirror; "the baggage and the cavalry could scarcely *draw themselves* through the *ravine*, during the whole night." Mr. Hampton has also made the defile into *more than one*, has not expressed the *nature* of it, and has even expanded it into a *valley*. He has thus confounded it, with the hollow or valley before; and made the army struggle the whole night in "passing through a valley, that was surrounded on every side by steep and insuperable precipices." We have no word in our language to answer the Greek *χαράδρα*, which is the word here, and very different from *φαραγξ* before; but the French *ravine*, introduced among us by our military men, comes very near it.

and drivers, to a very great amount². Nor was this all. The cavalry and the elephants hastening to get out of the defile, in order to save themselves from the galling artillery of the mountain; and the baggage necessarily moving with much greater slowness, after them; a large interval was soon made between them. The main body also taking post on the rock at the mouth of the defile, there was another interval made between the baggage and it. The Salaffi on the ridge saw both; and ran obliquely down the steep side of the hill, to take advantage of both. They thus took post upon the road, before and behind the baggage; all the baggage must now have been, at their command; and the whole army was in the most imminent danger of destruction, from the total loss of its tents and its provisions².

But,

² Polybius iii. 53. Πολυ τι πλεθος και των ανδρων, και των υποζυγιων, και των ιππων, διεφθαρη. Livy xxi. 35. "Saltus—haud sine clade (majore tamen jumentorum quam hominum pernicie) superatus."

² Livy alone informs us of this bold movement in the Salaffi, xxi. 34. "Dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias,—occurrentes per obliqua Montani, perrupto medio agmine, viam infedere." Livy notices only the stop of Hannibal at the mouth of the defile, as the *cause* of this interval; "tunc quoque ad extremum periculi, ac propè perniciem, ventum est, *nam*, dum cunctatur," &c. But the very nature of the operations suggests another cause with it, which I have therefore inserted. Livy indeed mentions *not* the baggage; but the loss of *this* could alone bring destruction upon

But, happily for Hannibal, that very nature of the ground, which was of so much differvice to him, and had been selected for his complete destruction, was now his preservation. The baggage was taken, yet could not be carried off. The enemy had no opening out of the defile. The elephants, the cavalry, were at one extremity of it, and the main body was at the other. A frightful precipice lined the road on the left, and an overhanging mountain shaded it on the right. The baggage therefore, though in the hands of the Salaffi, was still locked up safe from them in their own fastnesses. Men indeed, so used to climb up mountains and to run down precipices, would have been sure, with the impulse of plunder keen upon them, to find ways and means of carrying off some portable parts of the baggage, if there had been any, in the course of the night. But, as the army had no private and personal baggage with it, there were only tents in packages and provisions in barrels; both of them articles, too bulky for such an uphill conveyance. The damage thus sustained by the Carthaginians, therefore, must have been little

the army. So Livy xxi. 33. before, " *exutum impedimentis exercitum nequicquam incolumem traduxisset;*" and so Polybius iii. 51. *Ω; εδὲ τοῖς διαφύλασσι τοῦ κινδύου εἰς σωτηρίαν, τὸ σκίνοφραγμα διαφθαρείης.* Nor could the baggage be in danger of being lost, except from cutting off its connexion with the van, as well as the rear.

or nothing in itself; and was so nearly or so wholly nothing, as not to be noticed by either Livy or Polybius.

In this very remarkable incident of Hannibal's expedition across the Alps, the main body of the Salaffi, which meant to fall upon the main body of the Carthaginians, as soon as the latter had entered the defile; which however, with the natural hastiness of unpractised soldiers, began the attack before the other had even descended into the hollow; and then continued in force at a little distance, ready to pursue their original plan, but baffled in their readiness, by Hannibal's taking post for the night at the mouth of the defile; could not, any more than Hannibal's infantry, fetch a circuit in the night to the head of the defile, there join their countrymen on the ridge, and so crush the cavalry and elephants at once. The lofty mountains, which keep the inhabitants of this valley at present, in an insulated state of security amid the tempests, that agitate the ocean of life around them; are apparently impassable to an army, in every quarter but this ^b. But their courage, being merely the courage of insidiousness, of treachery, and of cowardice, never thought of such an exertion in all proba-

^b Bourrit l. 35. "Leurs montagnes, presque inaccessible, les isolent au milieu des débats de princes."

bility;

bility; and continued only near the Carthaginians, because the night prevented their departure, and their baffled spirits could not yet settle upon any new operation. In the morning, they had so far recovered themselves from the stun of that reflection, which is peculiarly confounding (I believe) to perfidious cunning, of having been villains in vain; as to resolve upon an immediate retreat, disappointed, discomfited, and dispirited. They marched away, and so concluded their villainy in folly; as Hannibal instantly did what he durst not have done, if they had staid^c. He entered the defile. The sight of their retreat, too, would operate with a chilling power upon the party on the mountain, and check the vigour of their efforts. Hannibal actually found it so. That natural artillery of barbarians, that primitive battery of stones and rocks from the mountain, had ceased to play, we may be sure, the moment the Salaffi sallied down the sides of the hill. It must otherwise have done execution, upon the Salaffi themselves. But then the Salaffi continued to descend upon the baggage, to examine the contents of it, and to re-ascend with intelligence concerning it, all the night. Even when the morning came on, this flux and re-flux of prædatory parties still continued. More intent

^c Polybius iii. 53. Τῆδ' ἴπαιρον τῶν πολεμῶν χωρισθῆναι συνάψαι; κ. τ. λ.

upon pillaging for themselves, than studious of annoying the enemy, they still kept on the marauding warfare; but with less eagerness, because with less hope^d. Thus stopt and examined successively in parts, through the whole night; the long line of baggage had just reached the head of the ascent, when the morning came^e. Hannibal therefore had no baggage before, to retard his march; no battery on his flank, to gall his troops; and no enemy behind, to attack his rear. He pushed through the defile without any obstruction, and joined his vanguard again^f.

— VIII. —

HANNIBAL had now escaped this second danger. The well-fabricated balloon of Salassian villainy, had burst with its own gas within; and those, who were mounting to the clouds in it, were thrown to the ground severely hurt. Yet this danger was much more formidable, than that at the entrance into the Alps; from the perfidy on

^d Livy xxi. 35. "Postero die, jam segniùs *intercurfantibus* Barbaris," &c.

^e Polybius iii. 53. *Εν ὅλῃ τῇ νυκτὶ—μέλις.*

^f Ibid. *Συνεψας τοὺς ἰππιῶσι καὶ τοὺς ὑποζύβους.* "The Carthaginian general joined the cavalry, and continued his march" (i. 360). Mr. Hampton leaves *all the baggage* of Polybius, to the enemy. Livy xxi. 35. "Junctæ copiæ."

which

which it was founded, and from the artfulness with which it was conducted. It had also been accompanied with a greater loss. He had indeed suffered a very considerable one ^k. But his loss, as before, was more among his cattle than his men ^h; a circumstance that shows in the repetition, what a large number of cattle he must have carried with him.

Yet what shall he now do? He has marched four-and-twenty miles, by his new road from Orzieres; when sixteen, by the old, would have reached the summit of the Alps ⁱ. But has he now reached the summit, and shall he now descend upon Italy? Alas! he cannot descend, because he has not reached. He is upon a hill, that, instead of showing Italy immediately under him to the south, spreads out a delightful plain before him; exhibits beyond it the Eastern Drance, almost buried in the deep abyss of its nearly closing banks of rock; and displays those vast deserts of ice and snow, the Glacieres, extending in all the horrible majesty of a Polar winter, along the horizon ^k. What course therefore shall he now take?

^k Livy xxi. 35. "Saltus—haud sine *clade*—superatus."

^h Ibid. "Majore tamen jumentorum quam hominum pernicie."

ⁱ See the sequel of this section.

^k Bourrit i. 46-49, and Saussure's map prefixed to vol. iii. The Glacieres, which are now visited as objects of terrible

take? He has already spent *five* days in the Alps, and on the *sixth* is to determine upon his route up them. So unfortunate has he been made, by his late eruption of credulity! From the issue of it he has learnt still more than ever, we may be sure, to sharpen his natural edge of suspiciousness; to be doubly on his guard, against any remains of generous confidence in his bosom; and to consider himself as in a state of perpetual hostility, against the certain treachery of man. But how shall he extricate himself at present, from this savage wilderness of rocks and ice into which he has been deluded? He now, no doubt, had recourse again to his original guides the Gauls. These, however, were got beyond the sphere and orbit of their knowledge. He had deserted the great road, which they knew; and deviated into another, with which they were unacquainted. The Salassian guides too, who might

curiosity, and were so visited for the *first* time by an enterprising traveller of our own country, POCOCKE; were previously reckoned so formidable, as to attach the name of *Montagnes Maudites* or *Montagnes du Diable*, to some of their adjoining hills (Keyser i. 222, and Bourrit i. 208). Pockocke himself says no more of his visit, than that "near Baume he saw in the month of June an extraordinary grotto, called Glaciere, by reason it has always ice in it," &c. (vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 219.) Yet as Bourrit tells us iii. 4, "l'illustre Pockocke fut le premier, qui voulut connoitre." So much more dignified have the Glacieres since become, than they appeared at first! But perhaps Pockocke was too phlegmatick.

have

have been compelled perhaps with a halter about their necks, to show him the best way out of that wilderness into which they had led him; and who yet could hardly have been trusted, after such evidences of malignant treachery, even with instant death before them; had assuredly escaped, in the manner which I have specified already. Yet, with all this, the situation of Hannibal was not so desperate as it may seem to be. Though the Gauls with him knew nothing of this wild and devious part of the Alps, they knew enough of the general line in which they had moved, to be certain they could not be very far from the regular road. When they had, at three miles from Orzieres to the east, entered the Val de Bagnes; they had moved almost parallel with that road, only diverged from it gradually to the east, and could not therefore be at a very great distance from it at present. In fact, they were only about eight or nine miles¹. Yet how shall they get back to it? The nature of the intermediate country is such, says Bourrit concerning one pass in it; the only writer, who has travelled over any part of it, and who had no idea of Hannibal's march along it; that "there are no troops, which would expose themselves to perish without glory, in a gorge like this^m."

¹ Map prefixed to Sauffure, vol. iii.

^m Bourrit i. 47. "Il n'est point de troupes, qui voulussent s'exposer à périr sans gloire, dans une gorge comme celle-là."

Hannibal however was *in* the country, and to act as well as he could—in order to get out of it. He therefore took his old guides, and began to explore his blind way to the other road. These could probably see, and did as probably recognize, some of the high pikes that we shall soon find, upon the grand summit of the mountains. Towards them therefore they would naturally direct their course, at first; but would soon be beaten off, by the mountains of ice. The Eastern Drance arises from the Glaciere of Chermotane, which would edge close upon Hannibal's left, and compel him to keep distantly on the right. This Glaciere is also a very extensive one; runs along the line of his route, for nearly the whole of it; and must have given a double feeling of cold to his army, on these lofty and northern Alps. Where it ends, the Glaciere de la Valpeline begins, running along in the same general direction with it, and united to it; but bending more inwards upon his line of march, and forming (as it were) an inland bay to that ocean of ice. This would equally preclude his advance towards the summit, and throw him off still more to the north. But united with both these; continuing their long barrier of frozen sea, against Hannibal's advance to the south; and forming a

^a Map prefixed to Saussure, vol. iii.; plates 1st and 2d prefixed to Bourrit, vol. i., being views of Chermotane; and *Explication de planches* prefixed, p. xiv.

more inland bay than the latter, to throw him off still more to the north; is the Glaciere of De Tzcudey or Valforet, to the north and west of Mount Noir and Mount Velan, and a little to the south of SAINT-PETER'S on the regular road°. Hannibal therefore must have been doubly obliged, to *search* his unknown way, and to *feel* his dark road, over the untracked mountains and the unbeaten vallies, that range between Luttier and St. Peter's. In so doing, his steps would naturally be uncertain, and his movements embarrassed. Accordingly Livy, who is the only historian supplying this portion of the narrative, *Polybius by an unpardonable negligence omitting all notice of it*; says that "after the almost impassable way, into "which the fraudulence of his guides led him, "came wanderings when those guides were no "longer trusted; and vallies were rashly entered "by those, who only conjectured there was a "way through them^p." Hannibal traversed the country by conjecture, and entered the vallies by surmise; but could frequently find no passage through them, and was obliged to come back to their openings again. He thus marched along the Alps, bewildered and confounded by the consequences of the Salassian treachery.

° Map prefixed to Saussure, vol. iii.

^p Livy xxi. 35. "Perventum est per invia pleraque, et errores; quos aut ducentium fraus, aut, ubi fides iis non esset, "temerè inite valles a conjectantibus iter, faciebant."

How then can Polybius, by any extravagance of neglect, omit the mention of all this, which is so necessary to the very consistency and completeness of his own history? He does it, by this falsifying mode of narration: “the next morning, the enemy having departed, Hannibal joined his men who were with the cavalry and the draught-cattle, and *advanced to the highest ascents of the Alps*.” He thus smothers and overlays all that history, which we see so lively and so active in Livy, concerning the dubious, the circuitous, the retrograde progression of Hannibal, in his march from the hill of ambuscade to the crest of the Alps; and, was it not for Livy, would perhaps have deluded us into the very false belief, that no such march was taken by Hannibal, and that there was little or no distance between the crest and the hill. Yet all the while, as I shall instantly show, Polybius unites with Livy in the number of days, which the whole march up the Alps employed; and consequently assigns several of them, to this very part of it. So grossly deceived in their judgment are those criticks, who have lately begun to consider Livy in his accounts of Hannibal, as the mere copier, and frequently the erroneous copier, of the history of Polybius! Livy, it is plain, had access to

¹ Polybius iii. 53. Τη δ' επαιριον, των πολεμων χαρισθηναι, συνελθας τους ιππιους και τους υποζυγιους, προηει προς τας υπερβολας τας ανωτατης των Αλπιων.

other documents for his facts; and so was enabled to supply the great, the numerous deficiencies in Polybius's narration. He actually appeals to various other documents, at times; to "authors" in general, to "L. Cincius Alimentus," and to "Cœlius," in particular; the former of whom "writes he was taken prisoner by Hannibal," and "heard" a circumstance "from the lips of Hannibal himself;" while the latter "says, Hannibal passed over the Alps by a particular hill."

Yet all this part of the history, *because it is not in Polybius*, has never been thought of by the former delineators of Hannibal's course. They carry him in one steady line, up the regular road of the Alps. They make no diversion from it, and can therefore form no return to it. They have no guides deceiving him, and no wanderings into which these led him; no ways taken by guess, no vallies entered at random, and no movements retrograde out of them, in order to regain the deserted road again. *Their* march over the Alps is thus any thing, but *Hannibal's*; a march without *his* seductions, without *his* deviations, without *his* recoveries.

• Livy xxi. 38. "Ut quidam auctores sunt," "nequaquam inter auctores constat," "ita quidam auctores sunt;" and "L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit," "ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale;" "Cœlius per Cremonis jugum dicit transisse." In

In this period of Hannibal's Alpine expedition, which took up nearly half of the whole, and employed no less than *four* days; he moved in a line, I believe, in which no army ever moved before or since, one especially so incumbered as Hannibal's was, with burdened horses and loaded cars. All that part of the country is even so wild and solitary and savage, that amidst all the written journies, which have lately been pursued with peculiar activity upon these Alps of Martigny, not one has been pursued in this line. We have travels in the Val de Bagnes upon one side, and in the regular road on the other; but have not one, in the region of desolation between. We know not even the name of a single mountain, or even the existence of a single brook, within it. From the mazes of this un-visited desert, this *Terra Australis Incognita* of the Alps, this little world of Winter's own; Hannibal was no less than THREE whole days, in winding himself and his army. He then reached that regular road at St. Peter's, which he had left *five* days before at Orzieres, only about *seven miles* below*.

* Sauffure iv. 281. "A une demi-lieue au-dessous de St. Pierre, on passe au hameau d'Aleve;" P. 283. "A une autre demi-lieue au-dessous d'Aleve, on passe à Liddes;" Ibid. "A une lieue au-dessous de Lidde, on cotoie des rochers—;" P. 284. "Un quart de lieue plus loin, on passe à Orfierre."

Hannibal, however, had one circumstance to comfort him in his strange perplexity. The Salaffi acted on this occasion, more timidly than the Seduni had done before. Though they had suffered no grand defeat in the field, as the Seduni had; and though their capital city had not been taken, like that of the Seduni; yet such was the difference between the cowardly cunning of *those*, and the martial bravery of *these*, that they submitted almost equally with the Seduni, to the spirit and the power of Hannibal. They had been previously taught by the experience of the Seduni, to rely upon fraud rather than force. This fraud they had prosecuted, with every degree of dexterity; yet had been baffled, in all their expectations. They therefore gave up all farther designs, of general opposition to him'. Some small parties of them, only, kept hovering about the army. These made occasional attacks upon it; taking their opportunities of time or place, on the march, on the halt, or during the encampment, to fall sometimes upon the rear, and sometimes upon the van. But their aim in all, was merely to plunder the baggage. In the retrograde movements of the army, the order of march must

' Polybius iii. 53. Ολοσχερες μεν εδεν περιπεπλων εις συνηματι των βαρβαρων. "From this time, the barbarians never came to attack him in any very numerous body" (i. 360), ολοσχερες συνηματι, with their whole army. How negligent is the translator!

have been totally inverted at times, and the baggage have occasionally followed the rear, or preceded the van. They thus, from time to time, carried off a little of the baggage^u. But they would have carried off more, if Hannibal had not thought of an expedient to prevent it, by attaching the elephants to the baggage. These indeed moved slowly down the steep and narrow ways, but were of singular advantage from their presence. On whatever side they appeared, there the Salaffi did not venture upon an attack. They were wholly un-acquainted with the animals; and the very sight of them carried an astonishing terror with it^v.

^u Livy xxi. 35. “Inde Montani pauciores jam, et latrocinii magis quàm belli more, occurfabant; modò in primum, modò in novissimum, agmen, utcunque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morati-ve aliquam occasionem fecissent.” Polybius iii. 53. Οι μὲν ἀπο τῆς ἑρασίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπο τῆς περὶ τὴν πορείαν, ἀπέσπυν τῶν σκευοφορῶν εἰς, προσπιπτοῦσι; εὐκαιρίας.

^v Polybius iii. 53. Μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν παρεχέσθω χρεῖαν τὰ θηρῶν καθ' ὅσον γὰρ τοῖον ὑπαρχῶν τῆς πορείας ταύτων, πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐκ εἰσολμῶν οἱ πολεμῶν προσιεῖναι, τὸ παραδοχὸν ἐκπληττομένοις τῆς τῶν Φων Φαύλασιαις. “The elephants were chiefly serviceable upon these occasions. For on what side soever they advanced, the enemy were struck with terror,” in Polybius, with *incredible* terror, “at the sight” &c. (i. 361). How much fainter is the copy, than the original! Livy xxi. 35. “Elephanti, sicut præcipites per arctas vias magnâ morâ agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus quâcunque incederent (quia infuctis, adveniendi propius metus erat) agmen præbebant.”

In this manner, did Hannibal regain his lost road at St. Peter's. He would feel himself very glad, to be once more upon it after all his dangers and all his wanderings; to be again, under the *certain* guidance of his Gauls; and to be only nine known miles, from the great crest of the mountains *. He would therefore march up to the crest the next day, with redoubled vigour. This day was now the NINTH, since he entered the grand defile at Martigny; and, at last, he found himself happily mounted with all his army, upon the real ridge of the Alps †.

* Bourrit iii. 286. "Bourg de Saint-Pierre, qui est à trois lieues plus bas," &c.

† Polybius iii. 53. *Ἐναβλιασ δι διανυσας εις τας υπερβολας.* Livy xxi. 35. "Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est." Polybius thus concurs with Livy, in assigning *nine* days to the march up the Alps; and so gives *four* to that part of it, which reaches from Luttier to the top. Hannibal halted for the *second* day; *μικρον επιμεινας ημεραν, αυθις ωρημα.* On the *fourth*, he marched away with his new guides; *ηδη δε τετραβλιασ ων, αυθις εις κινδυνους εγενετο μεγαλους.* The guides led him, that day and the *fifth*; *προπορευομενων δ' αυτων επι δυο ημεραις.* There remain therefore the *sixth*, the *seventh*, the *eighth*, and the *ninth*, to be accounted for by Polybius; even according to his own enumeration. And these are all thrown together in an account, that omits every circumstance recorded by Livy, descriptive of the devious Alps into which Hannibal had been seduced; that omits indeed every circumstance whatever, except only the general and summary one, of his gaining the top of the Alps.

Let me here subjoin one observation upon Mr. Moore's Travels over these Alps, in order to prevent a mistake in

others, into which I had nearly been led myself. From Chamouni he goes, "after various windings on a very rugged road,—into a hollow of the most dismal appearance—." Having traversed this, we continued our journey, sometimes ascending, then descending into other valleys whose names I have forgot. We had a long continued ascent over MONT NOIR, a very high hill—. We came at length to the pass, which separates the king of Sardinia's country, from the little republic called the Pays de Vallais. Across this there is an old thick wall, and a gate—. When you have passed through this long defile, the road runs along the side of a high and steep mountain.—The road led us at length to the summit. Having traversed this, and descended a little on the other side, the Lower Vallais opened to our view.— The distance from this point to MARTIGNY, which stands near the bottom of this mountain, is about six miles" (i. 241-242). In this vague way of writing, does the author delineate his travels here. His course is all a bird's flight. He gives us only one local name, to mark his route from Chamouni to Martigny; and, by a strange fatality, *that one is wrong*. The mention of MONT NOIR I considered as my great landmark, for tracing the line of his movements. I accordingly took the large map, prefixed to the 3d volume of Sauffure. There I knew I should find *Mount Noir* near to St. Peter's, on the road from Martigny to the top of the Alps. I thence followed this airy traveller, through the clouds that surround his course, down the Alps to St. Branchier, "about six miles" from Martigny "near the bottom of the mountain." In this explanation of his route I should have rested, if I had not been accidentally induced to consider the point with more attention. I then found, that he was deceiving me by a gross misnomer. His *Mont Noir* should have been denominated LA TETE NOIRE. His memory has thus confounded two very distant hills. He comes to Chamouni from Geneva, along the Arve, and by Bonneville, Cluse, Sallenche (p. 201-209). He leaves it "by ascending the mountains, at the end opposite to that—by which he had entered" (p. 240). He

would

would have said, if he had been writing *travels upon earth*, that he still kept along the line of the *Arve* towards its source, and that he passed through *Argentiere* to *Valorsin*. This is the last village of Savoy. Then comes "the pass, which separates the king of Sardinia's country from---the Pays de Val-lais," and "across which there is an old thick wall and a "gate." That grand mountain, which is called *La Tete Noire*, succeeds. You next pass by *Finis*, the first village in the Vallais. You reach the village of *Trient* in a bottom. You mount the hill beyond it, called *La Forcla* or *Forclaz sur Martigny*; and, from a point a little below the summit on the other side, you have a prospect of all the Lower Vallais (see Saussure's Map, Bourrit iii. 217-226, and Sketch 82-86). Such is the region of Mr. Moore's travels, when it is enlarged from his bird's-eye delineation, and adapted to the opticks of a man! Such are his travels, I should rather say, when *they* are purged of his indistinctness and his misnomer, and when *he* is brought down from the moon again!

 CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

— I. —

I HAVE NOW conducted Hannibal and his Carthaginians, up to the summit of those mountains, which are the most distinguished in all the old world, and only yield in grandeur and elevation to the Andes of America; that region of nature, in which the mountains and the rivers are upon a scale of magnificence, much superiour to the rivers and mountains of our own. But on what part of *our* Andes are they mounted at present? Are they on Mount Simpon? Are they on Mount St. Gothard? Two roads lead into Italy, over these two summits; *this* into the western part of the Milanese, *that* into the eastern; *this* too being the pass, by which the posts of Italy constantly go, and on which it is very rare for them to be stopped by the weather^a. But both these

^a Sketch 82 and 50, Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through Italy, 1787, p. 1, 25-26, Bourrit i. 214-221, ii. 49-60. The Simpon is called *St. Plomb*, by Sauffure iv. 245. Simler 50 names

these are too easterly, for our present purpose. TURIN, as I have formerly observed, is the primary object of Hannibal's march, the goal to which he is directing his course, and the point at which history confessedly places him, on his descent from the Alps. To Turin, therefore, must his present route over the Alps be carrying him. A road accordingly passed formerly from Octodurus, across the PENNINE ALPS ^b, into Piedmont; and a road equally passes at present from Martigny, over the GREAT SAINT-BERNARD, into the same country ^c. This is considered of so much importance to the states of the Vallais, that they put themselves to a large expence, in keeping it open for the carriage of goods, and maintaining it in excellent order, nearly two thirds of the way up the ascent to the Great St. Bernard, even as far as St. Peter's ^d. Over the Great St. Bernard

names it "*Montem Sempronium, quem quidam Scipionis Montem vocant.*" But in 255 Simler says: "*a Vallefianis Simpeler, ab Italis Sempiano vel Sempronia vocatur, Latinè Sempronii, aut, ut alii volunt, Scipionis, mons.*"

^b I write these Alps, not *Penine*, but *Pennine*. The earlier Romans wrote and pronounced the word, in *that* fashion; the *later*, in *this*: and from *these* the French and the English have equally learned, to pronounce and write it *Pennine*. The varying mode of the Romans we shall soon see.

^c Sketch 82, Gentleman's Guide i, 2, 24, Bourrit i. 28, 31.

^d Sauffure iv. 244-245. But he here fixes the "*Bourg de St. Pierre—presque à la moitié de la hauteur de cette montagne;*"

nard also, did the tradition of the antient Romans themselves continue for ages, to bring the Carthaginians into Italy.

We have already seen Pompey, in an aspiring imitation of Hannibal's conduct, taking the line of the latter's march from Spain into Italy, only reversing it into a route from Italy into Spain, and crossing the Alps particularly in this very course, "about the springs of the Rhone and of "the Po." Not long afterwards, we see the Romans repeatedly conducting their armies over the Alps, by the same route; which is then pointed out to *our* observance for the *first* time, by its appropriate appellation of the PENINE WAY. In the grand struggle for sovereignty, between Otho and Vitellius; Cæcina, the partisan of Vitellius, and the commandant of the German army, "remained a few days among the Helvetii" of Switzerland, says Tacitus, "preparing to pass the Alps." In this interval he received intelligence, that a body of troops upon the Po had revolted from Otho, and brought over with them Milan the capital, and Novara a town,

"tagne;" when from his own pages 270, 281, 283, 284, 286, and Bourrit iii. 286, i. 31, to St. Peter's is as sixteen to nine in the miles of ascent.

* Hist. i. 70. "Cæcina, paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, dum sententiæ Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium parans."

of the Milanese, with the towns of Ivrea and Vercelli in Piedmont^f. He therefore sent some detachments over the Alps, to support them; and followed them himself soon afterwards with a large body of men, which (as Tacitus adds) he carried over the Alps “by the *Penine* way^g.” In the progress of the contention, we find Otho resolving to go by sea into the south of France, “because the *Penine* and the *Cottian Alps*, and “*the other passes into Gaule*,” that of the *Graian Alps* or *Little St. Bernard*, and that of the *Maritime* through the town of *Nice*, “were blocked “up by the forces of *Vitellius*^h.” But in that other contest for the empire, in which *Vitellius* suffered a return of his own rebellion upon himself, and found *Vespasian* unwittingly avenging the deposition and death of *Otho*; “the 6th and “8th conquering legions, the 21st of *Vitellius*’s, “and the 2d of the new-raised legions, are “marched in the main over the *Penine* and the

^g Hist. i. 70. “Lætum ex Italiâ nuntium accipit, Alam Syl-
“lanam, circa Padum agentem, sacramento Vitellii accessisse;”
and, “ut donum aliquod novo principi, firmissima Transpadanæ
“regionis municipia, Mediolanum ac Novariam, et Eporæ-
“diam ac Vercellas, adjunxere.”

^h Hist. i. 70. “Ipse,---Penino subsignanum militem itinere,
“et grave legionum agmen, hybernis adhuc Alpibus tra-
“duxit.”

ⁱ Hist. i. 87. “Otho,---quando Peninæ Cotticæque Alpes, et
“ceteri Galliarum aditus, Vitellianis exercitibus claudaban-
“tur, Narbonensem Galliam aggredi statuit.”

“ Cottian *Alps*, and in part over the Graian ⁱ.” We have thus all the three passes by Mount Génèvre, Little St. Bernard, and Great St. Bernard, here mentioned together. We have also the last noticed with the first, in a previous period of the history, and with a descriptive circumstance that marks it out to us the more distinctly. When Vitellius was first pushing for that royalty of Rome, which had now become exposed to the bold hand of every powerful general among the armies; “ he appointed two chief commandants, “ and two grand routes, for the war. Fabius “ Valens was to draw over Gaule, or, if it could “ not be drawn over, to ravage it; and then, by “ the Cottian Alps” or mount Génèvre, “ to “ break into Italy.” But Cæcina, with his army from Germany, “ was to go by a nearer way, and “ descend upon Italy from the *Penine Hills* ^k.”

We here see the armies of Rome marching across the Pennine Alps, at a very early period of their *imperial* history. Then the Pennine way was

ⁱ Hist. iv. 68. “ Legionés Victrices Sexta et Octava, Vitellianarum Una-et-Vicesima, e recens conscriptis Secunda, “ Peninis Cœtianiisque [Cottianisque] Alpibus, pars Monte “ Graio, traducuntur.”

^k Hist. i. 61. “ Vitellius duos duces, duo itinera, bello destinavit. Fabius Valens allicere, vel si abnuerent, vastare, “ Gallias; et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam irrumpere: Cæcina, “ propiore transitu, Peninis jugis degredi, jussus.”

no longer the only pass across the Alps, out of France, Switzerland, or Germany. Yet it still was, as it still is, the grand channel of communication between the west of Germany, the west of Switzerland, the Vallais, and Lombardy. The road over the Graian Alps, or Little St. Bernard, had in part superseded its use for France; and that over Mount Genève, or the Cottian Alps, appears to have done so still more; *this* appearing in the movements above, to be much more practised by the armies of Rome than *that*, and being expressly declared by Marcellinus, to be "the middle way" between the Graian and Maritime Alps, "and more celebrated" than either¹. We have accordingly seen a formed road of the Romans, carried over Mount Genève and Little St. Bernard from France into Italy. Nor are we without such an useful guide, across the present Alps; having one, that takes its course from Germany, and runs "from Milan over the PENINE ALPS to Mentz." But let us do by this as we did by the others, and invert its order to form it for our purpose. It then has these stages: "Ocotodurum, m. p. - - - - -," Martigny; "SUMMUM PENINUM, m. p. XXV" [Peutinger's Tables, "IN SUMMO PENNINO XIII"], GREAT SAINT-BERNARD; "*Augustam Prætoriam*, m. p. XXV" [Tables,

¹ Marcellinus xv. c. 10. p. 109. "Licet hæc, quam diximus
"viam, media sit, magisque celebris,"

“ *Augusta Prætoria xxviii* ”], *Aosta* in Piedmont ; “ *Vitricium*, m. p. xxv [*Vtricio xxi*],” *Verrex* in Piedmont ; “ *Eporædiam*, m. p. xxi [*Eporædia xxxiii*],” *Ivrea* in Piedmont ; “ *Vercellas*, m. p. xxxiii [*Vergellis xiii*],” *Vercelli* in Piedmont ; “ *Novariam*, m. p. xvi,” *Novara* in the Milanese ; and “ *Mediolano*, m. p. xxxiii,” *Milan* ^m.

Such clear evidence have we, for this Pennine way of the Romans over the Alps, and for Hannibal's march by it to the top of Great St. Bernard ! By that way did he enter the mountains, and at this point did he reach the summit. Nor let the real distance, or the distance noted in the Roman road above, when either is compared with the time, taken by Hannibal in ascending the Alps ; confound us by their contradictoriness. The distance in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is only twenty-five miles from “ *Octodurus* ” to “ *Summum Pœninum* ;” and, in the Tables of Peutinger, only thirteen. It was formerly reckoned by the natives to be twenty-five, though by *some* twenty-eight ⁿ. It appears at present, to be exactly or nearly twenty-six from the *Octodurus* of

^m Bertius ii. second p. 22, and second segment of Peutinger's Tables. Placide, in his recent map of Savoy, still denominates these mountains “ *Alpes Pennines ou de Valais* .”

ⁿ Simler 85, speaking of the distance in the Itinerary, says ; “ *quæ distantia hodie quoque eadem ferè traditur, nisi quòd quidam ad summum Pœnini plus iii. millibus P. numerant.*”

Cæsar, or twenty-five only from the entrance into the Alps°. The coincidence is sufficiently exact for our purpose. Yet how can we reconcile such a short interval of way as this, upon any scale of estimation, with the nine days spent by Hannibal in marching it, and with his eight days actual march along it? He entered the Alps, and took the capital of the Seduni; halted the next day; and went on the third, up to the bounding line of the Seduni and Salaffi. So far, therefore, he had penetrated only about nine miles, into the body of the Alps. But he was afterwards six days more, in reaching the grand summit of the moun-

° Let me here bring together, what I have separately noticed before; for the stronger conviction of my reader. From the Bourg of Martigny, the Octodurus of Cæsar and the Romans, to the entrance of the Alps, is “un quart-d’heure,” or three quarters of a mile (Saussure iv. 290, and a note in vol. ii. chap. ii. sect. 3); from the entrance to St. Branchier, “deux lieues,” or six miles (Bourrit i. 31); from St. Branchier to Orzieres, “une grande lieue,” or three good miles (Saussure iv. 286); from Orzieres to Lidde, “une lieue” and “un quart de lieue,” or nearly four miles (Saussure iv. 283-284); to Aëve, “une demi-lieue,” or one mile and a half (Saussure iv. 283); to St. Peter’s, “une demi-lieue,” or one mile and a half more (Saussure iv. 281); and to St. Bernard, “trois lieues,” or nine miles (Bourrit iii. 286). Simler indeed, p. 81, states St. Branchier to be *four French leagues* from St. Bernard, and St. Peter’s only *two*. But in p. 82 he fixes St. Branchier, at *twenty miles* from St. Bernard. His contradictoriness destroys his authority, and St. Branchier is only nineteen.

tains. In two of these, we have seen him advance about four-and-twenty miles to Luttier; and, in the four others, about eight or nine to Great St. Bernard. We can too well account, therefore, for the supernumerary miles in his march, from the circuitous road along which he was led at one time; and from the uncertain, embarrassed, retrograde movements, which he was obliged to make at another. When he spent no less than four days, in marching eight or nine miles; we cannot wonder a moment at his spending nine, in mounting only twenty-five P.

Having thus brought him to Great St. Bernard, let us take a view of that ground upon it, which would be a lofty watch-tower to half of Europe, if the weakness of human opticks did not circumscribe our orbit of vision within narrow bounds.

P Nor let any objection be raised against this by that capacious kind of reasoning, which creates difficulties when it can no longer produce arguments, and loves to puzzle because it is not able to persuade; from the authority of a sentence in Polybius, that makes the passage over the Alps to be "about 1200 stadia" or 150 miles. His authority would have great weight, as he had travelled the very course over the Alps, by which Hannibal had or ought to have marched. But, in that account of the miles across the Alps, he takes in *the whole length of the road from the Rhone to the Po*: going first *επι τας σπηϊας, εως προς την αναβολην των Αλπειν*, and then adding; *λοιπαι δε αι των Αλπειν υπερβολαι, περι χιλιας διακοσιω, ας υπερβαλλων ημελλη ηξεν εις τα περι του Παδου σιδια τας Ιταλιας* (iii. 39).

The nature of this ground is intimately and essentially connected, with the nature of our present inquiry.

— II. —

THE farthest part of the passage over this dividing mountain, this line of lofty separation between Italy and the continent of Europe, this crest of the mighty mound, with which Nature had guarded her Paradise of Sweets, and her Nursery of Heroes, from the world¹; is a small plain, now denominated, as it must long have been called, THE PLAIN OF JUPITER, from a temple which stood there in the time of the Romans². Even Livy himself notices “that statue of a God, which was consecrated on the very top of the Alps, and called PENINUS by the mountaineers³.” But was *this* one more of the many Divinities, which the ignorance of Heathenism, and the prevalence of its fears, very naturally

¹ To my surprize I find this sentiment, since I wrote it, occurring in Herodian; who in ii. p. 90, Ruddiman, 1724, says the Alps “surround and project before Italy in the form of a wall,” εν τειχους σχηματι περικειται και ποροειβληται Ιταλιας, “nature even adding this to the other happiness of the Italians,” και τοιο μετρο της αλλης ευδαιμονιας παρασχοουσης της φυσικης Ιταλιωτατης, “as a fence inviolable,” ερωμα αρρηκτου τι.

² Sauffure iv. 225.

³ Livy xxi. 38. “Ab eo quem, in summo sacratum vertice, Peninum montani appellant.”

continued to fabricate for itself? Or was the God Peninus the very same in fact with Jupiter, only discriminated by a different appellation from him? He was clearly the same. Peninus was merely the Jupiter of the mountains, and Jupiter was only the Peninus of the plains; *this* worshipped by the natives, under their own appellation of Peninus or the Highland God; and *that* adored by the Romans, under their own and more comprehensive title of Jupiter, Jou Pater, or Father Jove. That such a distinction should ever have been made in general, by the wildling absurdity of the human understanding; would be incredible in itself, if we had not full evidence of it in those records of shame against our race, the Heavenly History of it in the Jewish Scriptures. There we find, that "the servants of the King of Syria said unto him," concerning the Jehovah of the Jews; "Their Gods are *Gods of the Hills*, therefore they were stronger than we; "but let us fight against them in the *Plain*, and "surely we shall be stronger than they". We again find the folly at a later period, and upon the crest of the Alps; in the worship of Jupiter, as Peninus or the God of the Hills. The present denomination of the plain, proves the temple to have been consecrated to Jupiter. The whole mountain also appears to have shared with the

: Sec I. Kings xx. 23.

plain,

plain, in this name derived from the temple; the title, which it bore familiarly among the Romans, being that of *Mons Jovis* or the Hill of Jupiter. It is so called expressly by a writer in Latin, even within our own country, and even so early as the seventh century^u. But this name adhered to the mountain, for ages afterward; in the corruptions, that have vitiated the ancient Latin into the modern French, the designation of *Mons Jovis* being changed only into that of *Mont Joux*, which it bore familiarly before St. Bernard imposed his name upon it^v. The ruins of this temple remain at present, and have furnished many monuments of its antiquity. These have been generally of the votive kind, offered up in devout acknowledgment of preservation from the dangers of the journey, and engraved upon plates of brass. In this form, no doubt, they were pinned up against the walls of the temple within; just as plates, commemorative of the dead, are sometimes pinned in our churches. But the great number of them concurs, with what I have repeatedly observed before; and shows this pass over the Alps, to have been much frequented^w.

^u Nennius c. xxiii. "Super verticem Montis Jovis."

^v Sauffure iv. 226. Simler 243. "Montis Jovem plerique nominant, quem hodie S. Bernardi Majoris nominamus; sic Otto Frisingensis, Guntherus in suo Ligurino, multique alii, hoc nomine usi sunt."

^w Sauffure iv. 226-227.

There are three inscriptions too, that have been found here, and are peculiarly important. One of them is to Peninus, another to Jupiter, a third to Jupiter and Peninus combined together; and all three carry a strict relation to Hannibal, who became a votary, and made an oblation in the temple, of this very God.

“ On the mountain of Great St. Bernard,” writes Guichenon in his Genealogical History of the House of Savoy, “ is a pillar dedicated formerly to the God Peninus, on which was his statue [of bronze^x], in the figure of a Young Man standing naked, the right hand raised up, and the left held down, with this inscription on a pedestal that served as an altar.”

LVCIVS LVCILIVS

DEO PENINO

OPTIMO

MAXIMO

DONUM DEDIT. y

Guichenon

^x Gentleman's Guide p. 25. In “ the remains of a Roman temple—some *bronzes* statues have been found.”

^y Guichenon tom. i. liv. i. ch. 4. “ Sur la montagne du Grand St. Bernard, est une colonne dediée autrefois au Dieu Peninus, sur la quelle il y avoit sa statue, sous la figure d'un Jeune Homme nud debout, la main droite elevée, et la gauche baissée, avec une inscription au pied d'estal, servant
“ d'autel.”

Guichenon has also favoured us with a view of this Deity, from De Viot an ancient biographer of St. Bernard; as Dom Martin, in his Religion of the Gauls, has obliged us with it again; and I have surveyed it by reflexion from both, at third hand. In this mirror formed by the pencil and the graver, the God appears, as a Roman inscription naturally makes us expect to find him, half Alpine and half Roman. The figure itself is completely Alpine, a tall man young in age, good-humoured in countenance, having a bushy head of hair, and standing erect in the fullest nakedness of a savage. The bushy head of hair I have noted before, to be characteristick equally of Hannibal's and of the present mountaineers; but the nakedness must have been given to the God at some earlier period, when the votaries went equally naked, and, from fear of innovation in that solemnest of all acts to man, the worship of GOD, was never altered afterwards in *him*, though it was in his votaries. These coming

“ d'autel.” Another French work, “ La Religion des Gaulois
 “ tirée des plus pures sources de l'antiquité, par le R. P. Dom
 “ * * * [Martin] Religieux Benedictin de la Congregation de
 “ S. Maur, ouvrage enrichi de figures en taille-douce, à Paris,
 “ 1737,” in two volumes quarto, cites this passage from Guichenon; but leaves out the words “ nud,” and “ au pied d'”
 “ estal, servant d'autel;” tom. i. liv. ii. chap. xxix. p. 402.
 The author did not understand the last, and the printer omitted the first.

originally, like all other nations, from the warm climates of the East, in their tendencies to savageness had gone naked, not wanting clothes for warmth, and not wearing them for decency; had therefore exhibited the material representation of God, just as they exhibited themselves; but did not change the mode in him; when they were compelled by cold to change it in themselves; and so brought with them to the Alps, both their antient statue of God, still appearing as a naked man, and their antient appellation of JEHOVAH for him, still remaining in their name of JOVE^s. This degraded Jehovah of Barbarians

Gen. xxii. 14. "And Abraham called the name of that place *Jehovah-jireh*." This shows the name of Jehovah, to be the popular name of GOD from all antiquity; and the sound of it, preserved in the Latin and the Celtick to this day, confirms the evidence. We have "*Jau*, Jupiter, Gallick; "*Jzun*, Dieu, en Basque; "*Jave*, Jupiter, en Etrusque; "*Jon*, Dieu, Seigneur, Ba.; "*Ju*, Dieu, G.; "*Jou*, Jupiter, G. B.; "*Jeu* dans la langue de Cornouaille, Jupiter" (Bullet iii. 49); "*Jevam*, Jupiter" (Borlase), "*Jovyn*, Jupiter" (Pryce); "*Jau*, *Jou*, Jupiter, Jove," and "*Jön*, the Lord Jehovah" (Richards). "*Jupiter* or *Jovis* appear plainly to have no root in the Latin, from the difficulty which the Romans themselves had to find a Latin etymon for it; the only one that Cicero could think of, being too ridiculous for refutation, *Juvans Pater*. It is therefore derived with the Celtick, from the original name of God in the first and universal language of the world. See also Ant. Un. Hist. xvii. 275, for the name *Jehovah* pronounced by the earliest Heathens, *Jove*, *Juve*, *Jevo*, *Jau*, and *Jao*.

stretches

stretches out his right hand, with the palm expanded; and rests the back of his left, with the palm only half-expanded, upon his hip. But he stands upon a pillar, which shows itself to be equally Roman with the inscription upon it; and, from the inscription, to have been actually given by the Roman who inscribed it; having a capital and a base, festoons of carved work tracing round it under the capital, and a small pedestal below. This pedestal rests upon an oblong square of stone, which has a capital, a pediment, and a base, is modelled exactly like an altar, and therefore (as Guichenon justly intimates) must have served actually for one; the God and his pillar being dismounted, on particular occasions, from their elevation upon the altar, the altar being then placed before the pillar, and sacrifices being then offered upon it to the God. Originally however Peninus stood upon a pillar and before an altar, no doubt, that were more rude and more Alpine than these.

“After the emperor Augustus had reduced the Salassi,” adds Guichenon with much erroneousness in his narrative, “the statue of the God Peninus was pulled down, and that of Jupiter was put in its place;” when he himself has

Guichenon tom. i. liv. i. chap. iv. “Après que l’empereur Auguste eut vaincu les Salassiens, on abbatit la statue de ce Dieu Peninus, et on mit en sa place celle de Jupiter.”

given us a delineation of the former, and when the preservation of it to our own times, uniting with the Roman pillar and the Roman inscription, shows it to have been worshipped equally *after* the Romans came, as *before*. It was worshipped undoubtedly, from the time of Livy who first mentions it, to that memorable period in the human history, when the Gods of Heathen idolatry, un-seated from their shrines or dis-mounted from their pillars, became only objects of theological amazement to the new-formed world. Accordingly Servius, the first and perhaps best commentator upon Virgil, assures us in the middle of the fourth century; that the worship of this Deity was continued, even in his own time^b. Peninus therefore continued under the Romans, the Divine Patron of these mountains; but received a partner in that patronage, from the hands of the Romans. A new Peninus was exhibited on a new statue, with "the thunder in his left hand, his right hand lifted up, and his head encircled by a crown; having a beard and hair, wearing a robe, and carrying it knotted *à l'antique* on the shoulder^c." The Roman Peninus is so far like the Alpine, as to be almost

^b "Ibi colitur" &c. The reader will see the whole passage soon, in the text.

^c Guichenon i. i. 4. "Le foudre en sa main gauche, et la main droite levée, la teste couronnée, ayant barbe et cheveux, et la robe nouée sur l'épaule gauche à l'antique."

naked;

naked; to have only a robe skirting across his middle, and fastened upon one shoulder; to stretch out his right hand with the palm expanded, and to stand upon a round pillar. But he is so far different, as to grasp the forked thunderbolt in his left hand, to have a large beard upon what were before

As smooth as Hebe's his un-razored lips ^d,

to have all the aspect of reverend agedness in his looks, to wear a radial crown upon his head, and to stand upon a pillar that has all the members of elegant architecture in it, a capital, a base, a pedestal. This compounded statue, a very fine one, and of bronze, was carefully preserved for a long time in a monastery near this plain, was there delineated by De Viot, but has now vanished ^f; the original object of worship, after

^d Milton's *Comus*. This is in fact what Juvenal has suggested in joke, "Jove nondum barbato."

^e Dom Martin i. ii. viii. p. 298, citing the words of Guichenon, very properly in sense, but not very fairly in probity, interpolates them thus, "la teste couronnée d'une couronne radiale."

^f Martin *ibid.* *ibid.* "Au Monastere de Mont Joux en Savoie, on a conservé pendant long-tems une fort belle statue de Jupiter.—L'auteur de la vie de St. Bernard de Menton, et Guichenon, en ont donné la figure." Guichenon i. i. 4. "Cette statue d'Jupiter ne ce voit plus." Gentleman's Guide 25.

many centuries of amazement at it, becoming the object of a new but innocent kind of idolatry, and antiquaries purloining even Gods to gratify it. Yet the Roman inscription, pillar, and pedestal are still safe^s; the first of which appropriates all, and runs in this form,

IOVI O.M.
GENIO LOCI
FORTVNAE
REDVCI
TERENTIVS
VARRO
DEDIC.^h

Terentius Varro the Roman conquerour of the country, with the spirit incident to a Conquerour and a Roman, instantly began some grand innovations upon the Alpine worship, imposed the new name of Jupiter upon the God Peninus, formed a new statue and a new pillar for him, modelled *that* with all the attributes of a Roman Jupiter, and inscribed *this* expressly to him as Jupiter. But the pillar, being earlier than Lucilius's before, is less ornamented than his; having no festoons of carving around it, and only a plain pedestal to it. In this manner was the

^s Guichenon i. i. 4. " Il ne reste, que la colonne, et le pied d'estal.

^h Guichenon i. i. 4.

Roman Jupiter and the Alpine Peninus, equally worshipped on the hill of Great St. Bernard; each standing on his Roman pillar within the temple, *this* in more than the simplicity and savageness of Alpine manners, and *that* in much of the pomp and decorations of Roman dignity. There both the statues were found afterwards, and so preserved to be delineated for the inspection of the present age. There they continued to engage in a kind of contest, for pre-eminence of worship; the natives assuredly adhering to the original Jove of their mountains; and the Romans attaching themselves to the Jove, who had enabled them to reduce those mountains, and to plant their new Jupiter by the side of the old.

In this strange battle of national Gods, which was common to all the Heathen regions of the globe; each region presuming its own Jupiter, as more familiar to its mind, as more the object of its fond wishes and prayers, to be also better than the Jupiter of another country and another name; Lucilius, with a generosity peculiar perhaps to himself, condescended to the prejudices of these Alpine Highlanders, professed himself a votary of the conquered Jupiter of the hills, and dedicated to him a pillar superiour in beauty to the Roman Jupiter's,

Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

When however Terentius Varro erected his statue and his pillar to Jupiter, in the temple and by the side of Peninus; he showed an apprehension of offending Peninus, in the very act of opposing him. From that vindictive jealousy, which the Heathens made the characteristick of all their Deities; thus acting like Homer, in raising their men into Gods and reducing their Gods into men; he might well be apprehensive. He therefore adopted a plan of comprehension, which, from a similar principle in others, was not uncommon among the Heathens. He dedicated his statue solely and singly to Jupiter; but inscribed his pillar to "Jupiter," and "to the Genius of the Place," and to "Fortune," all together. He thus included Peninus, as the Tutelary Spirit of the Mountains; in the very dedication of a statue, that was calculated to supersede his. Another Roman interposed afterwards, in the same dread of offending any on the scale of Divinity; to unite the contending votaries in a bond of amity, to raise "the Genius of the Place" into his original sublimity of rank as a Jupiter, and to address the opposed Deities under the combined appellation of Jupiter Peninus. An inscription of the kind has been recently discovered, among the ruins of the temple; and runs thus,

IOVI POENINO
 Q. SILIUS PEREN
 NIS TABELL. COLON
 SEQUANOR
 V. S. L. M.¹

So plainly was Peninus and Jupiter the same Deity, disguised only by different appellations, and exhibited only in different forms ! So plainly too have we brought Hannibal up a pass in the Alps, that was peculiarly called the Pennine Alps, that was much frequented by the Romans, by the natives before them, and had a temple for both on the very ridge, to the disguised Jehovah of the Alps ! But in order to clear up some difficulties, that have been formed by the blundering hand of inaccuracy ; to unravel some confusion that has been made, between Great and Little St. Bernard ; and to settle this worship of Peninus, as the original exclusive property of Great St. Bernard ; let me notice what is said by two authors, concerning it.

“ At another part of the Alps,” writes Dom Martin about *Little St. Bernard*, “ was a pillar,” which was equally “ denominated the Column of “ Jupiter, and has given the name of *Colonne-“ Joux*” or the Pillar of Jove, “ to the moun-

¹ Sauffure iv. 227.

tain on which it was^k.” “The same author,” adds Dom Martin in another place concerning Guichenon, “speaking a little lower of that pillar, of which I have spoken” as on *Great St. Bernard*; “has these words following: “On the mountain of *Little St. Bernard*, which is by the vale of Aosta, is a pillar of marble fourteen feet in height, also dedicated formerly to the God Peninus, on which was a Carbuncle, that is denominated the eye of *Peninus*^l.” On this column,” as Martin subjoins, “was a Carbuncle, which is denominated the eye of *Jupiter*: so it is that Viot,” the biographer of *St. Bernard*, “speaks: Guichenon maintains, that this Carbuncle passed for the eye of the God *Peninus*^m.” The God *Peninus*, we see,

^k Martin i. ii. viii. p. 298. “Dans une autre endroit des Alpes, il y avoit une colonne appelée *Columna Jovis*, qui a donné à la montagne où elle étoit le nom de *Colonne Joux*.”

^l Martin *ibid.* “Ce même auteur, parlant un peu plus bas de la colonne, dont nous avons parlé—, dit les paroles suivantes: “Sur la montagne du petit *St. Bernard*, qui est de la *Val-d’-Aoste*, est une colonne de marbre de la hauteur de quatorze pieds, dédiée aussi autrefois au Dieu *Peninus*, sur laquelle il y avoit un *Escarboucle*, que l’on appelloit l’œil de *Peninus*.” Paul Jovius is also said by Simler 241, to mention this column; but this is a mistake in Simler. See P. Jovius tom. i. 300, for his description of the Alps; and even Simler himself 241-242, for his transcript of Jovius.

^m Martin i. ii. viii. p. 298. “Sur cette colonne étoit *Escarboucle*, qu’on appelloit l’œil de *Jupiter*.” A note adds: “c’est ainsi que parle Viot; Guichenon pretend, que cette *Escarboucle* passoit pour l’œil du Dieu *Penin*.”

was

was worshipped equally upon Little as on Great St. Bernard, standing equally upon a pillar at both, and ranking as the common Genius or Jupiter of both. But the worship must have been derived with the name, from the Pennine to the Graian Alps; *Penine* being noticed by a Livy, as the appropriated appellation of Great St. Bernard; and the worship of the God *Peninus* being equally noticed by him, as the equally appropriated worship of the inhabitants of Great St. Bernard; while Little St. Bernard never had the appellation at all, and therefore could only have the worship derivatively. The natives of *these* hills, in that uncertainty about the true God, which their Heathen blindness naturally generated; and in that desire of finding him among the Gods of their neighbours, which both produced; *borrowed* their Deity from the inhabitants of *these*, and worshipped him in the same manner with them. The Graian Alps were humble enough to imitate the Pennine, to adopt their God, and to copy their worship. Such was the confessed subordination of the Graian, such the acknowledged supremacy of the Pennine, in the earliest ages!

But this was not done before the Romans came, and opened the Graian Alps as the Pennine had been opened before. Then the Romans of Little St. Bernard put the naturalized Deity *Peninus*,
upon

upon a pillar of marble fourteen feet in height, which has been preserved equally with the two pillars on Great St. Bernard, and is more circumstantially described than they. But it has met with no kind hand to give us a delineation of it, as the others have; Guichenon, who describes it, giving us no view of it because it had no inscription. The *Statue* bore the inscription; and *this* perished with *that*, even before De Viot could come to delineate and describe it. He could only collect the remaining traditions; and these mentioned a very extraordinary circumstance, in the personal exhibition of this God.

The inhabitants of Little St. Bernard very properly considered their Deity, and those of Great St. Bernard (we may be sure) equally considered him, he being the Jove or Jehovah of their fathers; to be the Grand Inspector of the universe. This belief they peculiarly wished to exhibit, in some lively representation that should strike upon their senses. Under the grossness of Heathenism, Man was continually rendering every attribute in the nature, and every circumstance in the person, of the awful Father of Spirits, corporeal and visible. His understanding *then* was not refined enough, to check this tendency of the mind, which we feel even now, under all the sublimating essence of Christianity, operating very powerfully upon us. His understanding indeed was

so far from controuling this sensitive turn, that it was controuled by it. Thus the attributes of the Godhead were exhibited to the view, in such an earthly and tangible form; as now marks to our raised intellects, the mere childhood and infancy of the human understanding. The Graian Mountaineers accordingly represented that solemn exercise of power in the Divinity, the continual inspection of the world by him; and impressed it perpetually upon their own minds, when they came to worship before his statue; by giving his statue A LARGE EYE. This principle of theology, which is so peculiarly useful to a Being like Man, and carries such a silent efficacy with it to the heart of every thinking man; was kept up among some of the more refined Heathens, by considering the Sun in the skies as the very eye of God. This is a most apposite image for the purpose; and speaks the sublimity of the fancy, that first suggested it. But it had one grand defect. When the clouds of day came over the sun, or when the darkness of night had covered it; then the eye of God was closed, in the conceptions of men. They were therefore compelled to adopt an image, that was less splendid and glorious, but more faithful and just; one that should be always present at their devotions, always evincing its presence by its radiation, and so inculcating upon them always the actual inspection of their God. Where then could they find any such representation,

tion, except in those secret imitations of the sun, which nature invests with its rays in their dark beds within the earth, which reflect them brightly even when they are drawn forth into day-light by Man, and so become little suns themselves for the decoration of his person? We therefore find the Egyptians, those first scholars in the Heathen world, those first fathers of idolatry to it, and those greatest materializers of the spiritualities of religion in all ages; furnishing *their* Jupiter under the name of Osiris, with a scepter to show his sovereignty, and with an eye at the end of it to signify his inspection. This eye they must have formed of some gem, that was at once important from its value, and conspicuous for its lustre. Exactly in the same spirit, did the Romans of Little St. Bernard exhibit to themselves the eye of their Penine Jove, by a CARBUNCLE; a gem of such uncommon vivacity, that it was so denominated from its resemblance to a burning coal. "Of all the glowing gems," says Pliny, "the principal are Carbuncles, denominated from their likeness to fires^a." The antients had them from India, Libya, and Æthiopia, Caria, Thrace, Arcadia, and Chios; though moderns find them in India only. "Nor was there any gem," adds Pliny, "more frequent in its use

^a Pliny xxxvi. 7. "Principatum habent Carbunculi, a similitudine ignium appellati."

“ among the antients “ ;” while *we* consider them as rare, even in India itself. *We* have consequently rejected from the rank of Carbuncles, many that the antients honoured with a place among them. *We* consider the Indian, as the only carbuncles in reality ; and carbuncles therefore are much more valuable among us, than they were among the Romans. All this accounts satisfactorily, for such a gem as that being made use of upon the Alps, to shadow forth the Providential Eye of God. The Indies are to the moderns almost the only cabinet of jewels, which Nature has provided for the world ; while the antients could unlock one, in various regions. Yet the Romans must have introduced the idea and the application, when their empire laid open the theology of Egypt to them, and their settlement on the Alps introduced it to the natives. But how did the Alpine Romans apply this *sun-stone*, to their Jupiter Peninus of Little St. Bernard ? The statue of him having been already modelled, in the form of a man ; and this being the only form, in which Man can image out his God to himself ; he was already provided with a pair of eyes. To have put out these, and inserted the carbuncle for them in the middle of his forehead, would have been to deform their Jupiter into a Cyclops, and

• Ibid. *ibid.* “ Nec fuit alia gemma apud antiquos usua
“ frequentior.”

to brutalize their Peninus into a Polypheme. To have retained these, and to have fixed the carbuncle for a third eye near them, would have been still worse probably in their estimation; to have formed a figure, such as was not to be seen in the whole creation, a mere monster and prodigy in nature. Either also would have been, I suppose, to break in upon the sacredness of their religion, by violating the personal sanctity of their God. They therefore took a different course. Yet they did not act as the Egyptians did, by placing a scepter in his right hand, and fixing the carbuncle as an eye at the end of it. The right hand of their God had an expanded palm, equally in Peninus and in Jupiter; and could not hold a scepter. His left hand too had a palm half-expanded, in their Peninus; and was brandishing the thunder, in their Jupiter. They accordingly placed the carbuncle on the top of the pillar, and close to the statue of their God; there to be continually reminding his worshippers by its splendour, of the ever-wakeful, ever-lively, ever-lustrous eye of the Deity. In this symbolical signification, the worshippers appear to have actually considered it; the tradition of its existence, its position, and its import, remaining for many ages after it had been taken away; and the Christians still calling it, as their Heathen fathers had been use to call it before, with a variation incident to the latter as Romans or as Natives, the eye

eye of Jupiter or the eye of Peninus. We thus see the rude mountaineers of the Alps, under the influence of Roman literature and the introduction of Egyptian theology, rising superiour to the generality of the Romans, and vying even with the Egyptians themselves; in that highest argument of an exalted way of thinking, a dignity of sentiment concerning God^P.

— III. —

* Martin i. 403-404. “ Il semble qu’il y ait ici deux sentimens contraires, l’un tenant que cet Escarboucle étoit l’œil de Peninus, et l’autre que c’étoit l’œil de Jupiter. Mais toute la difficulté s’évanouît, quand on suppose, ce qui est certainement tres-vrai, que cet Escarboucle passa pour l’œil de Peninus, tandis que la statuë de ce Dieu fut sur pied :” Martin supposing without authority, and even against authority, though he affirms the point to be “ certainly very true,” that the statue of Peninus was *taken off from the pillar*, in order to place Jupiter’s in the room of it; when we have actually seen the statue of Peninus *to have remained on the pillar* at Great St. Bernard, even when the pillar was new and Roman, and the statue of Jupiter to have been placed on *another* pillar. “ Mais des qu’on la tira pour lui substituer celle de Jupiter,” when it was never taken down at all, “ l’Escarboucle, sans bouger de place, pour ainsi dire, sans se ressentir du contre-coup de la chute de Peninus,” who had plainly received no fall either on Great or on Little St. Bernard, as he retained his name to the last along with Jupiter on both, “ ni murmurer contre son sort, rendit sur le champ à Jupiter les mêmes offices, qu’il avoit rendu à son ancien maître, et prit le nom d’œil de Jupiter.” This account, even if founded on a fact of the statue of Jupiter being placed on the pillar of Peninus, would not explain the variation in the name, and tell us why the car-

— III. —

IN this manner do we see the Jupiter of the Pennine Alps, standing erect on his Olympus at
Great

buncle was called the eye of Jupiter *and* the eye of Peninus. It was not a *prior* generation of these mountaineers, that called it the eye of *Peninus*; and a *posterior* one, that named it the eye of *Jupiter*. De Viot, a *prior* writer, denominates it the eye of *Jupiter*; while Guichenon, a *posterior* one, maintains it was the eye of *Peninus*. Each indeed spoke only from the traditions, remaining among such of his cotemporaries as conversed with each; *this* reciting the tradition of the *Natives*, for their fathers attributing it to *Peninus*; and *that* repeating the equal tradition of the *Romans*, for their ancestors ascribing it to *Jupiter*.

“ Non-obstant ce revers, les paroles de Servius, que nous venons rapporter,” to which I have alluded before, and all which I shall soon deliver at full length in the text, “ nous apprennent que le culte de Peninus continuoit encore de son temps dans les Alpes, c’est à dire, vers le milieu de quatrième siècle.” The statue of Peninus, then, was *not* taken off from his pillar, and Dom Martin is finally his own refuter.

“ Mais quelle espece de Divinité étoit le Dieu Penin ? La première pensée, qui m’est venu la-dessus, est que ce Dieu pouvoit être,” what I have shown him *positively* to be, “ Jupiter. Les mots d’*Optimo Maximo*, inferez dans l’inscription de Guichenon, conduisoient naturellement à ce sentiment, aussi-bien que l’épithète *Summus*, que donnent à Peninus l’Itinéraire d’Antonin et la Table où Notice des villes ;” an argument founded solely on a blunder in Dom Martin, the word *Summus* in Antonine’s Itinerary and Peutinger’s Table,

Great St. Bernard, stretching out one leg to the Greek Alps of Little St. Bernard, and so striding, like

as we have seen before, being applied to the *mountain*, and not to the God. “Selon moi, tout cela étoit confirmé par le mot “Celte, dont Penninus a été formé. Car *Pen* où *Penn* signifie *tête, sommet, lieu élevé*. Or les Gaulois, qui habitoient “les Alpes Pennines, *pouvoient* avoir donné ce nom où sur- “nom à leur Jupiter, faisant allusion du rang qu’il tenoit dans “les cieux, et à sa qualité de Chef et de Pere les Dieux et des “Hommes.” Dom Martin thus supposes Peninus *might* be Jupiter, then adduces for it an argument that proves he *was*, and *confirms* all by urging, that the mountaineers *might* give Jupiter the name of Peninus, as the *Pen* or Head of all nature. To arguments of mere possibility, little reply is requisite. I shall only observe therefore, that we may just as well suppose Jupiter to have been called *Capitolinus* at Rome, because he was the *Caput* or Chief of the Gods.

“D’ailleurs *l’œil de Peninus* sembloit avoir été, à l’égard des “Gaulois de l’*Appennin*,” where he means the *Alps* though he names the *Apennines*, “non un déplacement au lieu de *l’œil de* “*Jupiter*, si connu dans l’antiquité selon Macrobe,” or, as he meant to say, had not been displaced *to make room* for the eye of Jupiter, and so the statue of Peninus had *not* (as he had previously said it *had*) been removed for Jupiter’s; “mais “une expression synonyme en leur langue de ces mêmes “termes : outre que si Peninus avoit été un nom local, comme “quelques auteurs l’ont cru, la conjecture auroit eu encore “plus de lieu.” How strangely does the author here lose himself in a wilderness, by adhering to no one path, but turning aside into the thickets on the right and left, and yet not having the spirit to beat through them again upon any side!

“Je fortifiois toutes ces conjectures, du raisonnement suivant. Quand on fait, disois-je, attention à la coutume des “Romains, d’évoquer les Dieux Tutélaires d’un pays ennemi “avant de l’attaquer, avec promesse de leur eriger des Tem-

like a Colossus, across this arch of the mountains. In his temple upon the Plain of Jove, as Simler additionally

“ ples dans quelque province de l’empire ; et qu’on ne voit ni monument, ni memoire, ni vestige, qu’ils se soient jamais acquittés de leur vœu à l’égard de Peninus,” when the principle itself applies only to towns, and besieged towns ; when, if it is *thus* applied to nations, it would destroy the distinct existence, not merely of Peninus, but of almost all the national Gods of antiquity ; and when Dom Martin has actually given us one dedication by Terentius Varro, the conquerour of the country, to “ the Genius of the Place,” and another by Lucius Lucilius to the God Peninus expressly ; “ pendant qu’il est certain, que le culte de ce Dieu ne fut jamais interrompu ni alteré ; qu’au contraire il subsista toujours dans le même endroit, quoique sa statuë en eut retirée et enlevée,” though, if the statue of Peninus was removed to make room for Jupiter’s, *it is not possible for the worship of Peninus to have continued* : “ il est, ce semble, hors de doute, que le Jupiter, qu’on lui substituä, étoit le même Dieu que lui, et qu’il n’y avoit d’autre différence entre eux, sinon que l’un étoit de la façon et du goût des Romains, et l’autre de la façon et du goût des Gaulois.” Dom Martin thus finishes his argument. He was to prove Peninus and Jupiter, to be the *same* Deity ; and he asserts the statue of Jupiter, to have been *substituted* for that of Peninus. He was to prove some worship to have been paid to Peninus by the Romans ; and proves it by their—taking away the statue of Peninus, and worshipping their own Jupiter’s in the room of it.

Dom Martin has thus run *one* complete career of arguments. He set out with asserting as “ certainly very true,” that the carbuncle “ passed for the eye of Peninus, *so long as* the statue “ of this God was upon its legs ; but when this was taken “ away to substitute that of Jupiter in its place, the carbuncle—rendered immediately the same offices to Jupiter, which “ it

additionally informs us, "the monuments of the country report a certain idol, to have been worshipped on this mountain; which gave answers to all who asked questions of it^a." In the original formation of the mind of man, he is set with a

"it had rendered to its ancient master, and took the name of the eye of Jupiter." Thus the worship of Peninus, according to the opinion of Dom Martin and the inference of Common-sense from it, was set aside for that of Jupiter. But the author in the next paragraph finds, that the worship of Peninus was not set aside at all. Servius proves, that it was continued down to his time, and Dom Martin cannot resist his evidence. Yet how does he reconcile it with his own assertion before? In this easy and natural manner. He considers Jupiter to be the very same with Peninus himself, the new master with the old one, and the God substituted with the Deity to whom he was substituted. He therefore asserts now in terms, that there was "no displacing" of Peninus by Jupiter; and that Jupiter and Peninus are the same God, only differenced by synonymous appellations. But he finally "fortifies" all, by still affirming "the statue of Peninus to have been withdrawn and carried off," by still asserting "the worship of this God not to have been ever interrupted or altered," and by still averring expressly, "that the Jupiter, who was substituted in the room of Peninus, was the same God with him." Such a maze of confusion have we here, the walks all running into each other, diverging on the right, converging on the left, and both converging and diverging in the same point at times. I have however provided a clue in the text, that threads all these mazes completely; and I refer my reader for another set of observations, to a note at the close of this dissertation.

^a Simler 83. "Domesticis monumentis proditum est, in hoc monte idolum quoddam fuisse, quod potentibus responsa dederit."

strong, because a necessary, inclination to futurity. His existence reaching beyond the horizon of Time, and running into the depths of Eternity, his mind is powerfully bent and turned towards the future. But, as corruption clouds his discernment, the Great Future of Eternity is lost to his view, and only the Petty Future of Time remains an object to him. About this he becomes very anxious. From the dimmer state of his moral perception, all those rays of vision, which were to fix upon the distant ages of Eternity, converge much sooner to a point, and fix only on the near objects of Time. Himself, his friends, his family, all engage the attention of his contractedly provident reason. Oracles were thus multiplied to an astonishing number, under that system of opinions and practices which we call Heathenism, and which must for ever remain as a brand of infamy, on the head and heart of man. It was thus, that the Pennine Jupiter became oracular on Great St. Bernard. But, as the domestick monuments add, "Bernard, a priest of Aosta, threw down this idol." Such confusion does popular history make, with chronology! The priest of Aosta lived only in the *tenth* century; and these hills must have had Christianity adopted among them, six ages before. In

* Simler §4. "Bernardus, sacerdos ex Augustâ Prætoriâ, —idolum dejecit."

the reign of Constantine, the Alps must have shared with all the Roman world, in the happiness of having the Sun of Christianity, which had been so long moving behind a screen of clouds, and dispensing its light secretly through the universe; now breaking out in its full blaze of brightness, upon them. Accordingly a writer of the adjoining Vallais, who appears from his particularity to stand upon some evidence of domestick monuments, reports; that "about the year 339 the younger Constantine caused the statue of Jupiter, which was" in the Temple "at the height of the passage, to be removed." St. Bernard the priest of Aosta, therefore, is confounded with another St. Bernard, who removed the statue probably by the order of Constantine; and who by this act left his name to the mountain, long before the priest of Aosta lived. But, as Simler subjoins, "the vulgar report idly," in their perpetual mode of rearing the superstructure of fable upon the foundation of history; "that *the Dæmon who gave answers* was driven by "certain adjurations of the Priest's, into a horrible den of this mountain, and is there kept

* Sauffure iv. 229. "De Rivaz, auteur Valaisan, pretend "que vers l'an 339 Constantine le Jeune fit abattre la statue "de Jupiter, qui étoit au haut du passage."

See vol. ii. chap. i. sect. 4. hereafter.

“ imprisoned to this day.” OF, as Simler repeats the substance of all with some additions in another place, this priest “ threw down the idol which stood on the top of the Pennine Hill, and by his prayers drove away the Dæmon who infested this road.”

“ Simler 84. “Vulgus nugatur, Dæmonem qui responsa dederit, ab eo in horrendum specum hujus montis quibusdam adjurationibus compulsus, illic quasi carcere quodam detineri.”

“ Simler 247. “Hic—idolum, quod in Summo Pennino erat, dejecit; ac Dæmonem, qui iter hoc infestum reddebat, precibus suis depulit.”

I have previously dissected in a note, *one* course of arguments in Dom Martin's Religion of the Gauls, concerning this idol Peninus or this God Jupiter; and have shown the arguments, to be all tangled in mazes and perplexed with errors. But the author consummates his confusion, by entering immediately on a new course of arguments, *in direct and professed opposition to those.*

“ Mais toutes ces conjectures,” he says, tom. i. liv. i. p. 404-505, “ si bien appuyées en apparence, *un seul passage* de Macrobe les *renverse*. Car cet auteur nous apprend, que le Soleil passoit dans l'esprit de l'antiquité *la plus reculée*, pour être l'œil de Jupiter. “ Solem Jovis oculum appellat Antiquitas,” not *remotissima* to answer *la plus reculée*, but simply *Antiquitas*, “ L. i. Saturn. c. 21.” Les Egyptiens, ajoute-il, pour faire entendre qu'Osiris étoit vraiment le Soleil, se servoient d'un Hieroglyphe pour exprimer leur créance, qui consistoit en un sceptre, au bout duquel ils plaçoient un œil; ce qui signifioit tout à la fois, et qu'Osiris étoit le Soleil, et qu'il avoit tous les droits et honneurs de la royauté, et que de plus haut de ciel il jettoit les yeux

“ fur

But I hasten to remark, that several of the inscriptions which have been found upon Great St. Bernard,

“ sur toutes choses, et les consideroit. Plutarque avoit dit la même chose, long tems avant Macrobe. On represente, dit-il, le Soleil et le Roi Osiris par un œil et un sceptre. Τον γαρ Βασιλεια και Κυριον Οσιριν οφθαλμω και σκηπτρω γραφουσιν.” When the Sun was exhibited with a scepter and an eye, he was so exhibited only as the representative of Jupiter himself. The Sun could otherwise have had no claim to either. Nor could the Sun be otherwise said, to cast his “ eyes” over all things, and to “ consider” them. When also Osiris was exhibited in the same manner, he was equally exhibited in the same capacity, and as equally a representative of Jupiter. The figure of the Sun could never have been so dressed out, in reference merely to the Sun itself. The figure of Osiris could still less be dressed out so, in allusion to the Sun. Osiris was not the representative of a representative. Both stood in the same symbolical relation to one original, and both were therefore accommodated with the same symbols. Plutarch therefore distinguishes Osiris expressly from the Sun, in the very passage referred to above; when he says, that “ the Sun and Osiris” were both furnished with an eye and a scepter.

“ Le passage de Caton l’Ancien, que j’ai promis, concourt au à fortifier cette verité. L’age d’or, dit-il, selon Antiochus de Siracuse, a duré jusqu’ au dernier roi d’Italie, appelé *Apis*; de cet *Apis* est venu le nom de la Deesse *Apennina*, qui revient au mot Latin *Taurina*.” This last clause, and one word before, do not give us the exact import of Cato’s words. “ *Aurea ætas*,” he says, “ usque ad *Apim*, *Dearum Italiæ ultimum*, ut *Antiochus Siracusanus* scribit; “ a quo *Apennina*, quam *Taurinam idem interpretatur*,” whom *Antiochus* interprets to be the same Goddess with *Taurina*. “ Or, il est certain, qu’ *Apis* etoit pris pour le Soleil, et ho-

“ *noyé*

Bernard, referring to this Oracular Dæmon, this Jupiter of the Romans, and this Peninus of the Natives ;

“ noré en cette qualité. “ Apis in civitate Memphi Solis in-
 “ star excipitur.” Macrob. Saturn. Liv. i. c. 21.” The
 derivation of the name, either of the *Apennine* hills or of the
 Goddess *Apennina*, from one Apis “ the last of the Gods of
 “ Italy ;” is one of those ridiculous etymologies, which the
 childishness of antiquarianism is continually forming, in all
 ages and in all nations. Nor have we the least evidence of
 history, or even of probability ; that Apis was “ the last of
 “ the Gods of Italy,” or that he was the same with the God
 of Memphis in Egypt. The Memphian Apis, we may be sure,
 was only exhibited like Osiris and the Sun, with an eye and
 with a scepter ; as equally a representative with both, of the
 all-inspecting and all-controlling Jove. “ Solis *instar* ex-
 “ cipitur.”

“ Il seroit inutile apres cela, d’expliquer le Dieu Peninus
 “ autrement que du Soleil. La jeunesse, qu’on lui donnoit,
 “ et sa nudité, sont des caracteres qui le suivent partout, aussi-
 “ bien qu’ Apollon, qui etoit lui-même le Soleil ;” when, as
 Dom Martin has told us himself, Peninus has those appro-
 priated attributes of Jupiter, “ Optimus Maximus,” ex-
 pressly assigned to him in the inscription upon his pillar, “ et
 “ c’est *peut-etre* pour conserver le souvenir, ou quelque idée, de
 “ la nature de ce Dieu, que les Romains donnerent au Jupiter
 “ qu’ils mirent en sa place, une couronne radiale, qui est la
 “ couronne propre du Soleil ;” when all *probable*, and even all
possible, arguments are precluded for ever, by this Deity being
 actually denominated *Jupiter Peninus*, upon a Roman inscrip-
 tion. But, before I leave this concluding argument of the
 author’s, let me just remark upon it ; that even in the very
 moments, when he is endeavouring to make *him* the Sun,
 whom he has made Jupiter before, he revolts from his present
 purpose, recoils back to his former, and says “ it was possibly
 “ id

Natives ; give us his national appellation with an œ instead of an E , and so represent the God as
Pœninus,

“ to preserve the remembrance or some idea of the nature of
 “ this God, that the Romans gave to *JUPITER*, whom they
 “ set up in his place, a radial crown, which is the crown pro-
 “ per to the Sun.” After he has declared the passage of Ma-
 crobius, to “ *overturn* all his conjectures” of this Alpine God
 being *Jupiter*, and after he has pronounced it “ *vain* to explain
 “ the God *Peninus* otherwise than of the *Sun* ;” he expressly
 makes him *Jupiter*, in the very act of proving him the *Sun*.

I have entered into both these notes concerning *Dom Martin*, because a copy of his work is rare at present in England, because the celebrity of it is imposing upon the credulity of our writers, and a refutation was necessary to the vindication of my text. I attempted in vain for many months, by a reference to my friends, to procure a copy or an extract. *John Hawkins Esq.* at last, most obligingly wrote for me to *Wolfenbuttle* in Germany, and procured me a transcript of Chapter *xxix.* Book *ii.* p. 401 &c., from the magnificent library there. Still the connecting passage in chap. *viii.* p. 298 &c. was wanting. Nor was I able to proceed, till that ready and prompt friendliness, which has distinguished the conduct of *Andrew Lumisden Esq.* towards me, and which had already supplied me with a large extract from *Guichenon* ; gave me an opportunity of ranging over all *Dom Martin*, by accidentally procuring a copy, and directly transmitting it to me in *Cornwall*. From a close examination of these passages then, I may safely affirm, that the work has more celebrity than merit ; that the author has puzzled his inquisitive mind, by running away too rapidly upon the scent of learning ; and has hurt his critical discernment, by the dust which he has raised about him, in the bustle of his in-efficient operations.

Pæninus, not *Peninus*. Whence then arises this strange variation of the name? It arises from a circum-

Yet the History of the Gauls in *Ant. Un. Hist.* xviii. 573, written by the late Pſalmanazar, has taken his account with all its absurdity; and even added to the absurdity, by a confuſedneſs purely its own. The God *Peninus*, it ſays, “was repreſented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on the top of Mount St. Bernard the *Leſs* by L. Lucilius;” when it ſhould have ſaid, on Mount St. Bernard the *Greater*, as there is Lucilius’s column; “and is ſtilled *Optimus Maximus*;” whence it is concluded, that he was the ſame with the *Gauliſh Jove* or *Jove*. What ſeems to confirm this *beyond all queſtion is*, that the column on which *it*,” Lucilius’s ſtatue of *Peninus*, “ſtood, is indifferently called the column of *Jove* and of *Peninus*,” when Lucilius’s pillar on *Great St. Bernard* is only *inſcribed* to *Peninus*, and the pillar on *Little St. Bernard* is alone *denominated* the column of *Jove*; “and the carbuncle that was placed on *it*,” that is, on the pillar of Lucilius, which had no carbuncle upon it, as only the pillar on *Little St. Bernard* had one, “the eye of *Jove* and the eye of *Peninus*” (*Guichenon, Hiſtory of Savoy, tom. i. lib. i. c. 4. Vide relig. de Gaul. lib. ii. c. 29*). But, ſince by the eye of *Jupiter* was meant the *Sun* from all antiquity (*vide Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21*), and the carbuncle was a proper emblem “of this laſt Deity,” Pſalmanazar very naturally adding this ſtroke to the touches of *Dom Martin*, and arguing with him from that perpetual communion of *leſſer* attributes among the Gods of *Heatheniſm*, by which *Dom Martin* has transformed an *acknowledged Jupiter* with a radial crown, into an *Apollo* or the *Sun*, and from which, if it was purſued to its full length, we ſhould leave no diſtinction at all among the *Heathen Gods*; “why may we not as well ſuppoſe this ſtatue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to *it*, rather than to *Jupiter*,” though the author himſelf has already produced

circumstance, that has a peculiar affinity with our present subject. I have therefore led to it before, and go on to consider it now.

Livy's testimony against the passage of Hannibal over the Pennine Alps, has been frequently appealed to with an air of triumph, by those who feel their weakness too sensibly to walk upon their own legs, and are therefore obliged to hobble on the crutches of authority. These form the multitude of readers, even of writers too; and, with all such, the appeal is very natural. Who is so likely to know the route that Hannibal did or did not take, as his own historian, as the general historian of the Romans too, as a Roman living only two centuries afterward, as a writer of the first credit and dignity in the empire of history? Such are the strong reasons, that have

an argument for its being dedicated to *Jupiter*, "which seems "to confirm this *beyond all question*." The historian has adopted the confusedness, with the opinions, of the disquisitor. "The inscription is," adds a note to all, "*Lucius Lucilius Deo Penino Optimo Maximo Donum dedit*: the column was of "marble, and about fourteen feet in height." The history thus completes its own confusedness, concerning these two mountains. The *inscription* is on the *Great St. Bernard*, and the *column* on the *Little*. Nor can I refrain from observing at the close, That learning is a heavy meal, which requires a strong concoctive power within, to break it into its constituent parts, and make it minister to nourishment, health, or vigour.

induced

induced all ages of literary inquiry, implicitly to receive the attestation of Livy, and eagerly to repel Hannibal from Great St. Bernard! But with those who can examine the evidence of facts, who dare to think with even a Livy against them, and even presume to call a Livy himself, that monarch in history, to the bar of their literary republicanism; the assertions of Livy will have only the weight of his reasons. Merely as *these* are of moment, will *those* be considered of importance. Yet no petulance of criticism should be shown to such an author. The monarch should be revered, when the man is tried. The authority of Livy, indeed, should be considered as ever respectable in itself; nor should any opinion be lightly taken up against it, especially on a point of history so near to his own times. But his testimony is really of no weight, in the present case. It is contradicted by those inscriptions above. It is opposed by the whole tenour of Polybius's history of Hannibal. It is encountered by the whole tenour even of his own. It is finally and for ever overthrown, by some striking notices in other and earlier parts of his general history. This historian therefore, who stands striding like a Giant across the plain and by the temple on Great St. Bernard, brandishing his iron mace, and forbidding me all passage with Hannibal along that avenue; I am compelled to
face.

face because he stops me, to knock down because he would dislodge me, and to march over his prostrate body (if I can) into Italy.

— IV. —

“ I WONDER THAT IT IS DOUBTED,” he says,
 “ BY WHAT WAY HANNIBAL PASSED THE ALPS;
 “ AND THAT IT IS POPULARLY BELIEVED, HE
 “ PASSED BY THE PENINE, AND THE VERY NAME
 “ WAS THENCE DERIVED TO THIS RIDGE OF THE
 “ ALPS *,”

The name of the *Pennine* Alps, undoubtedly, is *not* borrowed from the march of the *Pæni* or Carthaginians over them. It flowed from that great well-spring of half the antient appellatives in Europe, the Celtick language; the language, which we know to have been spoken in the days of Hannibal, all over France, all over these British isles, in the west and south of Germany, the east of Spain, the north of Italy, and the Alps; and the language, which was spoken in our own Cornwall within these very few years, is still spoken in our own Wales, in our own Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, and (I be-

* Livy xxi. 38. “ Miror ambigi, quânam Alpes transferit; et vulgò credere, Penino, atque inde nomen et jugo Alpium inditum, transgressum.”

lieve) in many parts of Bretagne, Biscay, or Ireland, to the present day; having formed an infinite number of local appellations, in all. By this extensive and long-lived language, the Alps were naturally denominated in that general mode of characterizing, which is always the first exercise of the human mind in discrimination; ALPS or Hills, PENINE or Heights, and PENINE ALPS or Hill-Heights. The Alps of Italy were originally denominated *Albs* and *Alpions*; as late as the days of Strabo, a high hill just beyond the eastern termination of the Alps, was still denominated *Albion*; even two towns of the Ligurian Intemelii and Ingauni on the Alps, were then called *Albium Intemelium* and *Alb-ingaunum*; even two of the Ligurian tribes themselves, were then named *Albiaci* and *Albienses**; and our own island took the appellation of *Albion*, before it was inhabited, and when it was only seen, from the first part of it that was seen, the first that would therefore attach an appellation to it, the shining chalk-cliffs of Dover. We have actually a Roman Route for a part of our island, that gives us the same name of *Alps* for a range of our own mountains, the same appellation of *Pennine* for a

* Strabo iv. 309 and 311. So we have *Albis* at this day in Switzerland, *Wald-nacht Alp*, *Alp nach*, *Alp bach*, *Alp-schellenhorn*, &c. Coxe i. 241, 288, 308, 350, and 299. And so we have *Albenga*, a town among those which were formerly called the Maritime Alps, the *Alb-ingaunum* of the text probably.

particular point of them, and the same accumulation of one upon the other for both. A Roman town is placed by it on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, with this Italian title to it, "Ad Alpes Peninas". Nor is the appellation of *Pennine* yet lost entirely, among our English Alps. They have lost the name of Alps indeed, while the Italian have retained it; but have retained the appellation of *Pennine*, while the Italian have lost it. An abrupt peak at this point between Yorkshire and Lancashire, is still denominated *Pen-hull* in records and *Pend-le-hill* in conversation; a lofty moor not far from it, is equally called *Penn-how* or *Penn-ow*; and a great mountain to the north of both, is named *Pen-iguent*. Nor was the appellation of *Pen* confined, merely to the Alps of Italy or to the Alps of Britain. That twin-brother in the gigantick family of Italian mountains, the *Apennine*, is so called as A PENINE or The Heights. This is plain at once, to a mind familiar with etymology; but is rendered plain to every mind, by two or three incidents of an extraordinary nature. In that excrescence of absurdity upon the body of sottishness, which made the Heathens so grossly affix their Deities to men, as even to give them sexual distinctions, and class them into

* *Ricardus Corinensis, Iter viii.*

* *History of Manchester i. 194.*

males or females; the God *Peninus* of these hills was actually changed into a Goddess at times, and denominated *Penina* or *Apennina* by the Romans. "The very places by which Hannibal broke into Italy," Servius informs us, with a peculiar utility for the present work, "are called the *Apennine Alps*; though I have read, that the Alps are so called from the Goddess *Penina*, which is there worshipped." From "Apis the last of the Gods of Italy," Cato the Elder tells us on the authority of Antiochus the Syracusan, "is derived the name of the Goddess *Apennina*; which the same writer interprets by *Taurina*," or the Goddess of the Taurini, that very nation under the Pennine Alps, to whose capital, **TURIN**, I have repeatedly noticed Hannibal to be now tending. Even so late as Strabo's time, a point of the Alps to the east was still called the *Apennine*; as the Carni, he notes, inhabited about Aquileia, as "contiguous to the Carni is the *Apennine Mountain*," and as "among the places near Illyricum and the Adriatick is

* Servius. "Denique loca ipsa, quæ [Annibal] rupit, Apenninæ Alpes vocantur; quamvis legatur, a Peninâ Deâ, quæ ibi colitur, Alpes vocari." Comment. on Æneid x (Dom Martin i. 402 and Ant. Un. Hist. xviii. 573).

* Cato. "A quo [Api] Apennina, quam Taurinam idem [Antiochus Syracusanus] interpretatur." Macrob. Saturn. i. 21 (Dom Martin i. 405 and Ant. Un. Hist. xviii. 573).

“the Apennine Mountain mentioned already.” But in the Tables of Peutinger we have even the Apennine hills, by an inverse ratio of denomination; called expressly *the Pennine Alps*; those Tables presenting to us these stages between Genoa and Lucca, where the road runs directly under the Apennine and along the sea, “Genua
“, Ricina xv, Ad Solaria vi, IN ALPE
“ PENNINO ii, Lune,
“ Luca^d. All this decisively shows the Apennine Mountains and the Pennine Alps, to bear the very same appellation in reality as well as in appearance. That long line of mountains, which runs like the great back-bone of Italy from the head through the upper half of the body, and then forks off into two short thighs and legs for the lower half; obtained the designation of the Apennine, and has kept it. That bolder line of mountains, which rises like a military rampart before Italy, just where its natural barrier of the sea deserts it; and so runs from the Adriatick, to turn in an angle for the Mediter-

^a Strabo iv. 316-317. Τὸν κατὰ Ἀκυλίας τῶν οὐκ οὐκ—Καρινοῦ—ὑπερμαχίας δὲ τῶν Καρινοῦ, τὸ Ἀπεννίνου ὄρος, and ἕως τῆς Ἰαλιουρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς—εἰς τὸ τε Ἀπεννίνου ὄρος το λεχθέν. This new kind of Apennine hills has greatly perplexed the critics, and so put them upon the rash dexterity of altering. But the recurrence of the name shows the orthography to be right, and my context above accounts for both.

^d Second segment of the Tables.

raean, and insulate Italy from Germany and Gaule; acquiring the general denomination of the Alps, obtained also the particular appellation of the Pennine Alps. Thus also that broad wall of mountains, which stretches in the partial length of our own island from Derbyshire into Scotland, and once partitioned the inhabitants on either side into distinct kingdoms, as it still throws them into separate counties; equally assumed the general name of Alps, and equally took the particular title of Pennine Alps. But both these Alps, the English and the Italian, acquired the designation of Pennine (I must observe in reference to the present history) at one special point of their course; *because* there was only *this* passage over the Italian, and *that* over the English, for many ages^e.

Why however is the name so frequently written, in the inscriptions that have been found upon Great St. Bernard, not *Penine* but *Penine*? For the very reason, that is here intimated by Livy himself. Even *so* near to the days of Hannibal, it was “popularly believed,” Livy himself acknowledges, that Hannibal “passed by the *Penine*” hills, and that “the very name was—derived”

^e History of Manchester i. 194. “Pyrenæi montes, qui Hispaniam a Gallia dividunt, *Alpes* nominantur a Procopio, libro primo” (Sisler 177).

from the *Pæni* of his army. The name I must remark, was in Livy's time equally pronounced and written, *not* as it is *now* written and pronounced both in English and in French, and as it was also pronounced and written among the *later* Romans, *Pennine*, but *Penine*; and therefore slid easily upon the tongue then, into *Pænine*. Tradition being certain of the march, Reason very naturally laid hold of the name; the accidental similarity between the denomination of the hills and the designation of the army, being considered as the regular result of the fact. To those indeed who were un-acquainted with the earlier history of the hills, and did not know the appellation to be prior to the march; the similarity must irresistibly appear, to be derived from the incident. Nor did either the tradition, or the imagination, end with Livy's days. In spite of all that even a Livy could say against it, the current of tradition still flowed on with un-abated force, and still carried this congenial weed of imagination along with it. It had its spring in the well of truth, and therefore maintained its course. About seventy years afterward, Pliny still found the popular opinion to be the same; and even paid it the respect, of noticing the whole with a seeming approbation, and of actually adopting a part of it himself. Speaking of the Graian and Pennine Alps, he calls them "Graian and Pænine;" and "over these *they say* the

“Pœni passed, and Hercules over the Graian f.” Even as late as the formation of what is called the *Notitia Imperii*, and below the commencement of the fifth century, we have these Alps sometimes called “*Penninæ*,” and sometimes “*Pœninæ* g.” But Marcellinus says expressly a little before, that “from this march the Alps were denominated *Pœninæ* h.” Ptolemy also, at a period much earlier than either the time of Marcellinus or the date of the *Notitia*, and mounting up within seventy or eighty years off the days of Pliny; calls the Pennine Alps, not merely “*Pœninæ*,” but with a much closer assimilation to the tradition, actually and expressly “*Pœnæ* i.” In some of the inscriptions too upon Great St. Bernard, we have not only, as I have shown above, “*Jovi Pœnino*,” but also in this very strain of assimilation that Ptolemy uses, “*Jovi Pœno* k.” All demonstrates the vigour of belief, diffused through the whole compass of the Roman empire, and working through a

f Pliny iii. 17. “*Juxta—Graias atque Pœninas; his Pœnos, Graiis Herculem, transisse memorant.*”

g P. 117 and 115. Pancirollus. So p. 155. “*Alpes Pœninæ et Graiæ;*” p. 156, plate, “*Alpium Pœninarum;*” p. 157, “*Alpium Pœninarum.*”

h Marcellinus xv. 101. “*Hæc ex causâ sunt Alpes excogitatae Pœninæ.*”

i Ptolemy ii. 12. p. 61. Πœναις.

k Saussure iv. 227. “*J'en ai même vu un, où l'on lisoit* “*Jovi Pœno.*”

course of successive ages; that Hannibal carried his Carthaginians, over this mountain. It began, we see, *before* the days of Livy. It went on *through* the days of Livy. It continued to the time of Ptolemy. It even descended, to the late periods of Marcellinus and the Notitia. The current even increased in force and vehemence, as it rolled along. The conviction actuated equally the peasant and the scholar; influenced both the graver and the pen, in the hand of numbers. *Penino* was complicated into *Panino*, by its secret power; and *Panino* was then contracted into *Pano*, by its insensible operations. The whole exhibits to us a picture of the predominance of tradition, and of the energy of its impressions; that is hardly to be paralleled on such a point, I suppose, in any other portion of the history of man.

— V. —

So unhappy is Livy in the outset of his reasonings, against Hannibal's passage over the Great St. Bernard! He heads a band of peculiar witnesses for it. Nor is he more happy, in the progress of his argument. "CÆLIUS," he says concerning a late historian of Rome, "TELLS US " THAT HANNIBAL PASSED OVER THE RIDGE OF " CREMO; BOTH WHICH WILDS," this and the

Pennine, " WOULD HAVE BROUGHT HIM, NOT
 " AMONG THE TAURINI, BUT THROUGH THE
 " SALASSI OF THE MOUNTAINS TO THE LIBU
 " GALLI.¹"

This argument has been strangely seen in a mist, in that mist has been magnified into a gigantick form, and has thus been seen stalking in formidable grandeur along the hills. The ridge of Cremo has been taken, without hesitation and without argument, to be the celebrated Mount Cenis. But the words immediately following in the sentence above, show it to have been a hill that had a Roman road over it, which I have proved Mount Cenis to have never had; one too, that would not " have brought him—among the " *Taurini*," as the pass of Mount Cenis certainly would; and one, that actually led to the same point with the Pennine Way, itself. " Both these " wilds," notes Livy, " would have brought " him" &c. The ridge of Cremo, therefore, is the Graian Alps or Little St. Bernard; the Roman road over which, as I shall soon demonstrate, coincided with that over Great St. Bernard near the southern foot of the Alps. Yet the whole argument has been pronounced by one writer, who

¹ Livy xxi. 38. " *Cœlius per Cremonis jugum dicit trans-
 " isse; qui ambo saltus eum, non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos
 " montanos ad Libuos Gallos, deduxissent.*"

is an author of the first name among the *natural* historians of the age, but is little conversant with that infinitely more important and more puzzling history, the annals of the human mind, and has therefore no acuteness of discernment and no sagacity of intellect, for objects merely human; to be an argument very good in itself, and proving the point asserted^m. But let us state the positions of these tribes named by Livy, and we shall soon see the weakness of his reasoning from them.

“The Taurini,” says Pliny, “had for their towns Vibi Forum,” I know not what place, but conjecture Chevas, “Segusio,” Susa; “and for their colony, Augusta Taurinorum,” or Turin. “The Salassi,” he adds, “had the colony Augusta Prætoria” or Aosta, “and the town Eporædia” or Ivrea below it. The Libui Galli also, or (as he calls them) “the Libyci Galli, had Vercellæ,” Vercelli directly to the east of Ivreaⁿ. Livy therefore argues, that, had Hannibal crossed the Pennine Alps into Italy, he could not have come immediately to Turin, as Livy justly apprehends him to have done; but must have marched by Aosta, towards Vercelli

^m Saussure iv. 228. “Tite Live—prouve par de tres-bonnes raisons, qu’Annibal—passa par le Mont-Cenis.”

ⁿ Pliny iii. 17. “Oppida, Vibi Forum, Segusio, coloniarum—Augusta Taurinorum—; dein Salassorum Augusta Prætoriarum,—oppidum Eporædia—; Vercellæ Libycorum.”

and its neighbourhood. This is the very course, which we see the Roman road across these Alps to have actually taken; going from "Summum Peninum" or Great St. Bernard, to "Augustam Prætoriam" or Aosta, "Vitricium," Verrex, "Eporædia," Ivrea, and "Vercellas," Vercelli. A Roman road appears from Livy's manner of speaking, to have equally taken the same course in his time; and, for that very reason, he concludes Hannibal *not* to have gone over the "Summum Peninum" or Great St. Bernard, because he went to Turin; and because the road keeps to the east of Turin, to Ivrea and Vercelli. But he also concludes Hannibal for the very same reason, not to have gone over "the ridge of Cremo," the Graian Alps, or Little St. Bernard. Another road of the Romans appears, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and in the Tables of Peutinger, traversing this portion of the Alps, as I have equally shown before; and extending from "Bergintrum," to "In Alpe Graiâ" or the top of Little St. Bernard, to "Augustam Prætoriam," "Vitricium, Eporædiam," and "Vercellas." These two roads, therefore, fall into one point at Aosta, and go in one line from Aosta to Verrex, Ivrea, and Vercelli. They appear from Livy's manner, to have equally done so in his time. But in his matter he argues, that neither of them could have been the course actually pursued by Hannibal, because both would have led him to

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the

the east of his grand object, Turin. His argument thus concludes with equal force, against both; and Little as well as Great St. Bernard, if there was any weight in the reasoning, would be equally deprived of this celebrated march over it,

But indeed the reasoning carries no weight with it, at all. Though the roads over both these Bernardine hills *did* respectively push away from the Alps, to Aosta, Ivrea, and Vercelli, in the days of Livy, the Itinerary, and the Tables; yet it is infinitely absurd to *conclude*, that in those days, or in the days of Hannibal, *no road went from them to Turin*, and that *therefore* Hannibal *could not have marched upon them*. He might undoubtedly have marched upon a part of the road, though he did not proceed through the whole. The whole actually leads to Milan at one end, and to Mentz at the other. Shall it then be reasoned, as a Livy must in congruity reason; that Hannibal never went upon the road at all, *because* he did not begin with it at Mentz, and *because* he did not end with it at Milan? He began with it at the point, that was most commodious for his purpose. He ended with it at the point, where it ceased to be commodious any longer. As his entrance upon it from Lyons and the Rhone, shows he did not commence his progress on it at Mentz; so his appearance at Turin just after he had descended

descended from the Alps, shows he terminated his advance upon it some time before he reached Turin.

But if Hannibal had marched over either of these hills, observes Livy, he must have ranged "through the Salassi of the mountains to the Libui Galli." To this I shall *not* reply, that the road over Little St. Bernard did not go at all through "the Salassi of the mountains," but through the Centrones and the Graiocei; because I shall soon produce another Roman, carrying this road equally through the Salassi, and the Salassi must consequently have possessed a part of the mountains, on the descent from Little St. Bernard to Aosta. But I shall observe, that Hannibal, as we have previously seen, had been marching many days before he reached Great St. Bernard, through the very mountains of the Salassi. He also marched through their very mountains again, as we shall soon see, in his route of descent from Great St. Bernard. Their possessions extended to Aosta and to Ivrea; and, to complete the evidence, at Ivrea actually appears a Roman road in the Tables of Peutinger, as a road actually exists at present, turning short on the right to those who come from Aosta, and running directly to Turin*. So absurd even upon Livy's own pre-

* Second segment, and Map of Savoy &c.

mises, does Livy's conclusion appear! So confused is he here, in the Alpine Geography of the war! So weak too is he in his reasonings, even if his geography was clear, and even if his premises were certain!

— VI. —

BUT Livy ends in a still greater strain of weakness. — “IT IS IMPROBABLE,” he adds, “THAT “THOSE ROADS” over the Pennine Alps and across the ridge of Cremo, “WERE THEN OPEN “INTO GAULE; THE ONE OVER THE PENINE, “PARTICULARLY, BEING BLOCKED UP BY NATIONS HALF GERMAN: NOR TRULY, IF ANY “ONE IS INFLUENCED PERHAPS BY THE NAME “OF THIS MOUNTAIN, HAVE THE VERAGRI, THE “INHABITANTS OF THE HILL, EVER OWNED THE “NAME TO BE GIVEN FROM ANY PASSAGE OF “THE PŒNI ACROSS IT; BUT FROM THE GOD, “TO WHOM THEY HAVE CONSECRATED A STATUE ON THE VERY SUMMIT OF IT, AND ON “WHOM THEY CONFER THE APPELLATION OF “PENINUS P.”

• Livy xxi. 38. “Nec verisimile est, ea tum ad Galliam partuisse itinera; utique, quæ ad Peninum ferunt, obsessa gentibus semi-germanis fuissent: neque, herculé, montibus his (si quem fortè id movit) ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, nōrunt nomen inditum; sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice, Peninum montani appellant.”

This

This is all a mass of inaccuracy, forgetfulness, and error. I shall take the trouble of separating, in order to expose, the several parts of it. I shall thus be enabled, to give an additional and closing confirmation to all my historical accounts before.

Livy's assertion, that the Veragri were the inhabitants of the Pennine Alps; is a strong evidence of what I have noted before, his unskilfulness in the general geography of the regions, through which he has been hitherto conducting Hannibal. The Veragri, as we have already seen with the greatest distinctness from Cæsar, had no footing within the hills at all. They resided solely on the banks of the Rhone. The Seduni inhabited the hills above; and the Salassi ranged behind the Seduni, possessed the Great St. Bernard, and even owned a large compass of the Alps to the north and south of it. All this has been repeatedly shown, in the course of the present work; and all serves to convict Livy here, of gross ignorance. I am sorry to use such language, concerning such a writer; but it is necessary, to the assertion of the truth and the ascertainment of the history. There is a false modesty hanging upon every mind, that comes to examine a writer of Livy's celebrity in the world of history; which would chill the current of examination, and bind up the critical powers of the judge-

judgement in a kind of frost; if we are not upon our guard against it, if we do not prevent its benumbing influence by continual exercise.

The Salassi, so mistaken for Veragri, might well not acknowledge their hills, to be denominated the Pennine Alps from the march of the Pœni or Carthaginians over them. Their hills had received their denomination, ages before this march. Yet they had it not, as Livy intimates they had, from the statue of their God Peninus upon Great St. Bernard. They had it, as I have already shown, from the very frequent appellative for mountains, in the language of the Celtae about them. Livy's derivation of the name, indeed, is just as petty, poor, and ridiculous; as if a modern school-boy of Britain should imagine the Tarpeian Hill of Rome, to have been called the *Collis Capitolinus* by the Romans, not from its being the *capital* hill of the city, but from the *Jupiter Capitolinus* worshipped upon it.

Yet, independently of this glaring injudiciousness in Livy, we cannot pay the slightest deference to his opinion here, for one striking reason. He has previously argued, that Hannibal could not have marched over the Great or the Little St. Bernard, because the road over either would have carried him wide off the point, to which he actually went. He now argues, that there was then

then no open road at all over either. He is thus, without any consciousness of his own contradictions, balancing one argument by another, and leaving the reader suspended in air between both. He objects, however, to the passage of Hannibal over either. But by what course does he take him himself? *By no one specified course.* He draws no line of his own. He points at none. Yet he expresses his surprize, that there should be any doubt concerning the actual course of Hannibal; and still tells us not, what he thinks his actual course to have been. This is such a procedure, as would invalidate his evidence of itself; and concurs with the contradictoriness, nearly to supersede it.

On a close examination indeed of what he says, he seems to mean the Cottian Alps or Mount Genève, for the mountains passed by Hannibal into Italy. He objects to the Great St. Bernard, as being then "blocked up by nations half German." This reason concludes with greater energy, against the more easterly passage over the Simplon; and with still greater, against the still more easterly way, over St. Gothard. He thus bars up all the roads through the *northern* Alps. Of those in the *western* too, he objects to that over Little St. Bernard, as, equally with that over Great St. Bernard, carrying him wide off his aim, and probably indeed not an open road at the
time.

time. He thus brings him as low towards the south, as the Cottian Alps or Mount Génèvre. The Roman road over these, as we have seen before, stretched away directly for that terminating object in Livy's visit of reasoning, Turin; it going from "Brigantio," Briançon, to "In Alpe Cottiâ," Mount Génèvre, "Segusio," Susa, and "Taurinos," Turin. This then was the route, which Livy privately supposed to have been taken by Hannibal; yet had not confidence enough amidst his confusedness, to point out by any direct intimation to his reader.

Strabo also concurs with him in this, and speaks out boldly upon the point; so serving to show us more clearly, the half-concealed sentiments of Livy. "Polybius," says Strabo, citing some account of the Alps which has now perished, "names only four passes over them; that through the *Liguri-ans*, and nearest to the *Tyrrhene sea*; that through the *TAURINI*, by which *HANNIBAL* PASSED; then that through the *Salaffi*; and the fourth, that through the *Rhœti*." This passage has been little understood, I believe, and has therefore given rise to some gross errors. The proper mode of explaining it, is by taking Strabo's own

^a Strabo iv. 319. Τέταρα δ' υπερβασις ονομαζει μόνον δια Λιγυρων μεν τοι εγγιστα τη Τυρρηνηκη πελαγῳ· ἕτα του δια Ταυρινων, η Αρμενας δηληθιν' εἰσα τῶν δια Σαλασσων· τεταρτην δὲ, την δια Ραθῶν.

ideas, and adducing Strabo's own words. The first and second roads, then, are over the Maritime Alps and across Mount Génèvre. In a preceding passage Strabo informs us, that "of the "road mentioned" from Spain into Italy, "the "direct one to the Alps, as I have already said, "is the short one through the *Vocontii*; but that "through the sea-coast of *Marfeilles* and *Liguria*, "is longer indeed, yet has the passes that go into "Italy more easy, the mountains now lowering "themselves there." The road of the *Vocontii* in the latter passage, is plainly the same with the way of the *Taurini* in the former; the next on the north, to the Ligurian or Maritime road of both. In a second passage preceding, Strabo describes the stages on these two roads from Spain; noticing the sea-coast which is possessed by the men of *Marfeilles*, and by the *Salyes*, as far as the *Ligurians*, up to the sides of Italy and the stream of the *Var*; tracing the road in this line from the *Pyrenees*, to *Narbonne*, to *Nismes*, to *Beaucaire*, *Tarascon*, *Aix* near *Marfeilles*, *Antibes*, and the *Var*; and then adding thus: "upon the other road, that through the *Vocontii* "and the land of *Cottius*, as far as *Beaucaire* and

† Strabo iv. 285. Της δ' ὁδοῦ τῆς λιχθίουσης, ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἐστὶ, καθάπερ εἶπομεν, ἡ συντομὸς διὰ Οὐκοκίου* ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς πωραλίας τῆς Μασσαλιώτικης καὶ τῆς Λιγυρικῆς, μακροτέρα μὲν, τὰς δ' ὑπερθετίως τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ευμακροτέρως ἔχει, ταπεινώμεναι κ' ἰσχυροῦσθαι πρὸς τῶν ο. π. π.

“ Tarafcon the road from Nifines is common, to
 “ it and the other ; then up to the *bounds* of the
 “ *Vocontii*, and the beginning of the ascent of the
 “ Alps, over the Durance and through Cavaillon,
 “ sixty-three miles ; thence again to the *other*
 “ bounds of the *Vocontii*, and *the land of Cottius*,
 “ a hundred miles wanting onc, to the village of
 “ *Embrun* ; then through the village of *Briancon*,
 “ Skincomagus, and the pass over the Alps, to
 “ *Ocelum*,” Exiles, “ the *limit of the land of*
 “ *Cottius*, twenty-seven miles .” These names
 point out the Vocontian road demonstrably, to be
 the road over the Cottian Alps or Mount Genève,
 and the very way therefore by which Strabo con-
 ducts Hannibal. But, however un-necessary it
 may be to add to such evidence, yet we may use-
 fully do so ; superfluity indeed being never ne-
 cessary in itself, and yet frequently useful in rea-
 soning to the generality of minds. Polybius’s
 road “ through the Salaffi,” is equally explained

• Strabo iv. 270. Κατα δε την εβραν οδον, την δια Ουοκοίνων και της Κοτίου [Κοτίου]· μέχρι μιν εν Γερμα [Ουβέρμα] και Ταρισκανος, κωνη οδος η απο Νεμασσε· ενθεν δε επι μιν τας Ουοκοίνων ορει, και την αρχην της αναδασειω των Αλπειω, δια Δρηνησια; και Καθαλλωνος, μιλια εξηκοντα τρια· παλιν δ’ εντευθεν επι τας εβρας ορους των Ουοκοίνων, προς την Κοτίου, μιλια εκατον ενος διασηζ, ει; Επιθροδουνη [Εθροδουνη] κωμη· ειτ’ αλλοι τοσουτοι [two words, as I have formerly noted, totally superfluous and greatly embarrassing] δια Βραβιου κωμης, εκ [a word equally noted before as superfluous and embar- rassing] Σκηνομαβου, και της των Αλπειω υπερθεσιω, επι Βικου, το σπρας της Κοτίου γης, — μιλια x ζ.

by another passage in Strabo before, and only a little way before. "Of the passes over the mountains that lead out of Italy, into Transalpine Gaule and the northern regions," he tells us, "that through the Salaffi leads to Lyons; but it is DOUBLE: one, capable of receiving wheel-carriages, and being much the longer, that through the *Centrones*; and the direct, narrow way, but short, that over the *Pænine*." Strabo equally informs us in another place, that, "when you go out of Italy to cross the Alps, in the valley below them THE ROAD DIVIDES IN TWO; one part passes over what is called the *Pænine*, across the tops of the Alps; the other more westerly, through the region of the *Centrones*." We thus find Polybius's road "through the Salaffi," to mean equally that over *Little*, and that over *Great*, St. Bernard; just as Livy argues before against Hannibal's passing over either, because either would have led him *through the Salaffi*. The Salaffi possessed both these branches, of the road to Lyons; that over the Pennine Alps, to

† Strabo iv. 318. Των δ' υπερβαστων των εκ της Ιταλιας, εις την εξη Κελτικην και την αφοσαρκιον, η δια Σαλαστων εστιν αλουσα επι Λουγδουρον· δευτη δ' εστιν η μιν αμαξιτευσθαι δυναμητη, δια μικρους πλιονος, η δια Κεντρωνων· η δε ορθια και γρη, συντομος δε, η δια του Παινου. P. 314. Ζευγισιν εν Βαλη.

‡ Strabo iv. 314. Τόις ουν εκ της Ιταλιας υπερβασται τα ορη, δια την λιχθελιος αυλωνος εστιν η οδος· ειλα σχιζεται διχα· και η μιν δια του Παινου λεγομενου Φερελιαν· κατα τα ακρη των Αλπειων· η δε δια Κεντρωνων οδουρικαθηα.

the very summit, but that over the Graian, only a little way up the sides of the mountains; the Centrones, as the conquerors of the Graioceli, occupying the summit of the Graian, and being therefore said expressly by Strabo in another place, to live “on the heights above the Salassi.” Strabo’s or Polybius’s road “through the Taurini,” then, appears with a double demonstration to mean the way over Mount Genève, which came from the country of the Vocontii, went over the Alps of Cottius, and fell down directly to Turin. This road Strabo characterizes expressly, as that “by which Hannibal marched;” thus throws a light upon Livy, by coinciding in sentiments with him; illustrates the dubious and dark language of Livy, by his own clearness and explicitness; and unites with him, to carry Hannibal over Mount Genève.

But Livy little considered because of his confusedness, and Strabo perhaps was not sufficiently an historian to know; that though this was the direct road in their time, from the lower part of the Rhone to Turin, yet it was no road at all in the time of Hannibal. This portion of the Alps, as I have shown before, first received a road across

† Strabo iv. 313. Ὑπερ δὲ τούτων [Σαλασσῶν] ἐν ταῖς καρυφαῖς, Κωρίωσις.

it in the days of Augustus; when indeed these Alps were still governed by their own Sovereign, but when the Sovereign was so much in alliance with Augustus, as to take the name of *Marcus Julius*, to erect a Roman arch in honour of the Emperour, and to construct Roman roads across the country, for the accommodation of the Emperour's subjects.

Thus does Livy's own argument, which he presses with such imaginary force against Great St. Bernard, turn with a real energy against Mount Genève and himself. *This* had certainly no formed road, in the days of Hannibal; while *that* as certainly had one in the days of Cæsar, one in the days of Young Pompey before, and the very one, that Pompey and his cotemporary countrymen knew Hannibal to have used. Livy therefore does not assert before, that it is improbable the two roads over Great and Little St. Bernard were then opened into Gaule, because he knew *that* to have been opened before the days of Cæsar; and only intimates in language which would accommodate itself to both, that the road over *Great* St. Bernard was not then open, as "blocked up by nations half German," and that the road over *Little* St. Bernard was equally not open, as having been formed at a period posterior to Hannibal. He thus allows the *antiquity*
of

of the *Pennine Way*; and, by the allowance, precludes almost all his own reasonings against Hannibal's use of it. The "nations half German," that he supposes to have then "blocked it up," were no more formidable *in the days of Hannibal*, than nations wholly Gallick; and could have become so to the mind of a Roman, only *since* the Gauls were subdued entirely by Cæsar, *since* the Roman arms had advanced to the frontiers of Germany, and *since* the Germans had risen into great formidableness, by the surprize of Varus and his legions. But Livy intimates the pass to have been blocked, by "nations half German;" from another confusion, one equally in reasoning and in geography. He had heard the Vallais to be peopled by nations, half of them Germans and half of them Gauls; and he confounded this proposition with the very different one, that these nations were all of them half Gallick and half Germanick. He thus applied the intelligence to the Western Half, who were wholly Gallick; and blocked up the pass at Martigny in it with nations half Germanick, that existed as Germans only to the east, and there existed wholly Germanick. The present state of language in the Vallais, points out this very significantly to the present day. "The *highest* part of the Vallais," says that best of witnesses Simler, "hath retained *its old inhabitants* and *its German language*; the use of the French, or Ro-

“ man, is introduced *every where else*.” Or, as he says a little before, “ the *Veragri* inhabit the “ *lowest* valley ; their region, *from the river Morge* “ *to the jaws by which the Rhone escapes out of the* “ *Vallais*, being now called *the Lower Vallais* :— “ in our time the *Veragri* speak *the French or Sa-* “ *voyard language*, which they themselves deno- “ *minate the Roman*.” Thus the *Lower Vallais* appears to have been originally Celtick, in its inhabitants and in its language ; and so, in consequence of the Roman conquest, changed its Celtick, like Gaul and Spain, for the present French and the original Latin. We thus see the confusion in Livy’s geographical ideas, rectified by the living history of language ; and the nations of half or whole Germans, with which he bars up the Pennine Way to Hannibal, removed confi-

✓ Simler 78. “ *Suprema pars Vallefiæ, veteres incolas, linguam quoque Germanicam, retinuit ; alibi linguæ Gallicæ, seu Romanæ, usus introductus est.*”

² Simler 77. “ *Veragri imam vallem inhabitant ; a Morfiâ flumine ad fauces usque quæ Rhodanus egreditur, Inferiorem Vallefiam eorum regionem hodie nuncupant.—Nostrâ ætate Veragri Gallicâ linguâ sive Sabaudicâ utuntur, quam ipsi Romanam vocant.*” See also p. 66, mis-printed 86. Coxe iii. 279 has much about the *Romansb*, as he says it is called ; but nothing half so definitive or clear, I presume, as this short account. Coxe had never seen Simler’s Description of the Vallais ; and it is not in his catalogue of books consulted, ii. 406. Astronomers see not the stones over which they stumble, while they are contemplating the stars.

derably

derably to the east of it^r. So plainly has Livy acknowledged the Pennine Way, to be a regular road in the time of Hannibal; and so feebly does he attempt to block it up, to the entrance of the Carthaginians! As to the sister-road over Little St. Bernard being then not opened, Livy is undoubtedly right in the supposition, but wrong in the application, and infinitely wrong in applying it as a *supposition* only. This road, as I have shown before, was formed when the road over Mount Genève was, *a very few years* only before Livy wrote, and within the memory of himself and his cotemporaries. Yet he avers not the fact, of its then being an un-opened road; but suggests merely the probability, that it was so. So uncertain is Livy, in the very incidents of his own period! So treacherous is his memory, or so imperfect are his notices, even of the most recent and the most publick events! Livy comes down to the road over Mount Genève, which was made together with the way over Little St. Bernard, made equally therefore within memory; and, in a rashness as violent now as his modesty before was excessive, supposes this very recent way to be the very road of Hannibal.

^r The Germans of the Upper Valley, in 1475 (Coxe l. 382), reduced the Gauls of the Lower, and have kept them ever since in subjection.

Strabo comes after him, and copies his closing absurdity. He supposes the way over Mount Genève, to have been trodden by Hannibal; though he expressly acknowledges Augustus, to have constructed roads over the Alps²; and though all the antient men of Rome could have told him, this was one of them. He expressly calls the Alps of Great St. Bernard, not the *Pennine* or the *Pennine*, but the *Pænine* and the *Pænene*, as denominated from the *Pœni*; and is indeed the earliest writer that we now have, personally calling them so; yet never brings the *Pœni* over them. He speaks too of the road “through the Centrones,” or over Little St. Bernard, as being “capable of receiving wheel-carriages,” and, from his appropriation of the character to this road exclusively, as the only one so capable; yet he carries Hannibal with all his wheel-carriages, not over this but another road. So much does Strabo vie in contradictoriness and confusion, with Livy himself! Yet this is not all. Strabo has plainly confounded the *Pennine* and the *Graian Ways* together, in this circumstance concerning the admission of wheel-carriages; and attributed that to the latter, which he designed for the former. The way from *Italy* over the Alps to *Lyons* “is double,” he says, because “in the valley below them it divides into

² Strabo 313.

“two.”

“two^a.” For “one part goes—westerly through “the region of the Centrones,” or over Little St. Bernard; “capable of receiving wheel-carriages; “and being MUCH THE LONGER,” which *this notoriously is not*, and which *the next as notoriously is*^b. This next “goes over what is called the Pœnine,” and “is the DIRECT and narrow way^c;” as narrow, it is incapable of admitting wheel-carriages; as direct, “it is SHORT” also^d. These two touches of the pencil form a feature in the description, which shows at once a mistake in the mountain; when *that* road over *Little St. Bernard* turns “westerly,” to push directly for Lyons; when *this* over *Great St. Bernard*, takes a sweeping circuit by Martigny and along the Rhone to it, and is one third longer at least than *that*. The asserted length and shortness of the two ways respectively, shows demonstrably a shuffle to have taken place in the names and qualities of the ways; the Graian to have been substituted for the Pennine, and the Pennine for the Graian, with some of the qualities of the one transferred over to the other; the “westerly” road over *Little St.*

^a Strabo 318. Η δια Σαλασσῶν εἰν ἀέντα ἐπὶ Λουζβάνου· διὰ τὴν δὲ εἰν; 314. Δια τοῦ λεχθενῶς ἀπλωνος εἰν; ἢ οὐκ εἴη σχεδὸν ἴσως δίχα.

^b Strabo 314. Η δὲ δια Κεντρῶν δυσμικώτερα. P. 318. Η μὲν ἀμαξενιστῆται δυναμνη, δια μικροῦς πλωσιος, ἢ δια Κεντρῶν.

^c Strabo 318. Η δὲ ορθία καὶ εἰνη,—εἰ δια τοῦ Πεννίνου.

^d Strabo 318. Σύντομος δὲ ἢ δια τοῦ Γραίου.

Bernard being meant, as "narrow," as "short," and as "direct" to Lyons, but the road over Great St. Bernard, as "capable of receiving "wheel-carriages," and "much the longer." We thus annihilate at once all the difficulties, that this passage of Strabo has created against the march of Hannibal by Great St. Bernard. We see him confounded, by some casual mis-arrangement of his notices; thrown off from the road that *they* described, as the only one capable of receiving wheel-carriages; unable to rest upon the road of Little St. Bernard, because perhaps he *suspected* some mis-arrangement in them; therefore noting incidentally, and as from Polybius only, whom we are sure he has most grossly mis-represented, that Hannibal marched over Mount Genève. We thus contemplate him as a fair reflection from the mirror of Livy, like him beaten off from the point of truth, like him embarrassed, perplexed, and dubious; but, like him too, resting at last, though only with the tip of a single toe, on the summit of Mount Genève, fearful even of touching the ground with that, and ready to flutter away every moment,

— VII. —

YET after all, and when hypothesis is brought to the test of narration, how does Livy actually
carry

carry Hannibal? Does his history move, in correspondence with his reasonings? Does he actually take Hannibal at once, from his passage across the Rhone, to Briancon almost directly before him, to Mount Genève, and to Turin? To be sure, he does. Every power of consistency, and every principle of propriety, requires that he should. Nor can a Livy, even in the moments of victorious weakness, act so weakly; as to form a speculation contradictory to his own narrative, and engage his arguments in an open hostility with his facts. Yet with a sigh of friendship over an historian, whom I have found so eminently useful to me; whom I have frequently felt coming in as a powerful auxiliary to my aid, when Polybius had shrunk from my side; I am obliged to acknowledge, that Livy is weak enough at these inauspicious moments of writing, to do all this. His very narration dashes all his speculation aside. Conjecture may weave her web of reasoning, and Fancy may throw her wanton colours over it, to mislead the minds equally of the author and of his readers; but facts are those stubborn elements of matter, which will not be molded to the purposes of Conjecture, and will not assume the disguises of Fancy. History must move in the heavy harness of a Roman legionary, steady, disciplined, and ir-resistible; while Fancy and Conjecture are only the light-armed, light-heeled *Velites*, that may provoke a battle, but can never sustain an attack.

attack. Livy accordingly moves in the sober trammels of incident, very differently from the course that he takes in his flight among the clouds. He conducts Hannibal with Polybius up the Rhone to Lyons, leads him with Polybius to Geneva, and brings him with Polybius to the northern Alps. He therefore carries him over those very Pennine Mountains, which he is now labouring to prove that Hannibal never crossed; and half the range of Alps off from those very Cottian Mountains, across which he hesitatingly and darkly insinuates him now to have passed. Such is Livy, at this peculiar point of his history!

----- Like Bellerophon,
He bears his own indictment.

But let us push this historical reasoning against him, to its full and final conclusion. The roads over Great and Little St. Bernard, Livy thinks it probable, were not *then* open into Gaule. This is a plain indication, as I have formerly intimated, and as Strabo now concurs to prove; that they were *both* open in the days of Livy. Pliny comes in with a similar indication, when he places Aostia “near *the two mouths* of the Alps, the Graian and the Pœnine.” The Alps

There op'd their ponderous and marble jaws,

• Pliny iii. 17. “Juxta geminas Alpium fauces, Graias at-
que Pœninas.”

in the two roads through them. They also opened their jaws equally, at the Cottian and at the Maritime Alps. All these openings but one, were made in the days of Strabo, in the days of Livy, and in the reign of Augustus. That one was what Cæsar had noted half a century before, as *the* road through the Alps, as *the* way which was much frequented by the traders, and as *the* pass by which were conveyed great stores of merchandize to and from Italy. This was also the very road, by which ALL THE GAULS OF ITALY HAD COME INTO THE COUNTRY, for ages before Hannibal; and this was the very road too, by which LIVY HIMSELF BRINGS THEM THITHER. Thus are the Pennine Mountains the first of the Alpine, that emerged from the deluge of the un-historical ages of Europe; lifting up their heads just over the surface of the water, and attracting the attention of man, while the other heights of the Alps were buried beneath the surface, till a recess had taken place for ages, and laid them equally bare to the view.

In all this march, as I have repeatedly observed before, Hannibal was under the guidance of Magalus the King, and of those Kings of the Boii who came with Magalus to Hannibal, as embassadors from some of the Gallick States of Italy. They all came from the banks of the Po †,

† Polybius iii. 44, Livy xxi. 25, Pliny iii. 15 and 17.

to meet him on his crossing the Rhone. They knew well the road, by which they had come to him at this point. They knew also the road, by which their forefathers had gone out of Gaule originally, to settle along the borders of the Po. They therefore meant to carry Hannibal by the very same way, at present. "These very embassadours whom ye behold," cries Hannibal to his army *even in Livy's own history*, were "not transported over *the Alps* on wings; nor did their ancestors, the natives of their country, and the fixers of their nation in Italy, pass safely on wings OVER THESE VERY ALPS, when they crossed them frequently in great armies, accompanied in the manner of emigrants with their wives and children &c." The embassadours therefore came, and their ancestors went, by that avenue through the Alps betwixt Gaule and Italy, by which the former were now conducting Hannibal. Accordingly Polybius, speaking of some historians before him, who gave a wild and miraculous air to Hannibal's march across the mountains, says they knew not from history; "that the Gauls, WHO DWELL ALONG THE RIVER RHONE, not merely *once or twice*

* Livy xxi. 30. "Eos ipsos quos cernunt legatos, non penis sublimé elatos Alpes transgressos; ne majores quidem, eorum indigenus, sed advenas Italiæ cultores, has ipsas Alpes ingentibus sæpe agminibus, cum liberis et conjugibus migrantium modo, tuto transmisisse."

“ before *the arrival of Hannibal*, and not in *antient*
 “ *times only*, but *very lately*, had passed over the
 “ Alps with great armies, and, coming as aux-
 “ iliaries to the Gauls INHABITING THE PLAINS
 “ ABOUT THE Po, had encountered the Ro-
 “ mans ^h.” Livy also corroborates all, in a par-
 ticular account of these first irruptions of the
 Gauls into Italy; bringing them plainly by the
 same road, by which he brings Hannibal over the
 Alps; even carrying them expressly, to our asto-
 nishment at his confused memory in the present
 part of his history, over *the Pennine Alps* them-
 selves.

We have seen him conducting Hannibal before,
 “ into the country of the TRICASTINI;” in his
 way from Lyons to the Alpsⁱ. We shall now

^h Polybius iii. 48. Της Κελτίας, τες παρα τον Ροδανον ποταμον
 οικησας, απαξ εδε δις προ της Ανιβης παρωσιας, εδε μιν παλαι, προσ-
 φαλως δε, μεγαλοις στρατοπειδοις υπερβαινας τας Αλπεις, παραίελαχθαι
 μεν Ρωμαιοις, συναγωνισκσθαι δε Κελτοις τοις τε περι τον Πεδον πεδια
 κατοικησιν. “ The Gauls, that lived along the Rhone, had *often*
 “ passed those mountains. And even *not long* before the time
 “ of Hannibal, they had led a very numerous army over them,
 “ to join the *Cisalpine* Gauls in their wars against the Romans”
 (i. 351). This has so little of what Polybius says, and is so
 unlike in its *manner* where it says what he does; that I can ex-
 pose it only, by appealing to the literal version of his words
 above, and requesting my reader to collate it with Mr.
 Hampton's.

ⁱ Livy xxi. 31. “ In Tricastinos flexit.”

see him equally conducting the first Gauls, that he allows to have crossed the Alps into Italy, through the same country. From that spirit of restlessness and adventure, which we see at times in the giddy part of our own young men, but which attends all stages of life and all dispositions of mind, in an un-civilized state of society; keeping man without any proper *ascription to the glebe* on which he lives, rendering motion necessary to gratify the fallies of his blood, and making even the casualties of war a requisite amusement to his un-occupied mind; Bellovësus, sister's son to Ambigatus King of the Bituriges in Gaule, was sent by him to penetrate into Italy, and seize some new lands there, at a time when Gaule was so little overstocked with its own multitudes, that almost half the region was covered with forests. The Gauls undoubtedly promised themselves warmer suns and brighter skies, than they had in their own country; lands more amenable to the spade or plough, or luxuriating in a greater store of grass; and what would equally excite minds not disciplined to sentiments of justice, not subdued to habits of compassion, as fond of indolence as they were prone to war, and ever fluctuating betwixt the flood-tide of war and the ebb-tide of indolence, cattle which they had not reared, harvests which they had not sown, and cities which they had not built. On these united motives, Bellovësus "began his march," says Livy,

Livy, "with a vast army of horse and foot, and "came into the country"—of whom?—"of the "TRICASTINI^k." But Livy *then* considered the Tricastini, as extending all along the Rhone to the Alps; in his very next words subjoining, that "there the Alps crossed their march^l." Livy therefore referred *then* to all the tribes, which range in his history of Hannibal from the Tricastini to the Alps, two of them with names, and the rest without; under the general name of Tricastini. He thus brings the Gauls to the Alps, just as he has brought Hannibal before.

These Alps "indeed," adds Livy, "I wonder "not to have been considered as un-surmountable, when (according to the settled tradition, "unless we chuse to credit the fables concerning "Hercules) they *had never yet been surmounted by "the foot of travellers^m.*" But these Gauls appear evidently from their march towards the point, to have heard there was a chasm in the face of one of the mountains near the Rhone, which promised an access into the heart of the Alps, and held out a hope of a passage over

^k Livy v. 34. "Profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque "copiis, in Tricastinos venit."

^l Ibid. "Alpes inde oppositæ erant."

^m Ibid. "Alpes—inexsuperabiles vias haud equidem miror, "nullâ dum viâ (quod quidem continens memoria sit, nisi de "Hercule fabulis credere libet) superatas."

them into Italy. To minds keen on the quest of adventure, a slight promise and a feeble hope would be sufficient, for the march of an army. "There," as Livy goes on in a train of ideas that is very amusing to our historical fancies, "the height of the hills kept the Gauls, as it were, inclosed awhile; and they looked around to see, by what avenue they could pass over the Heaven-touching pikes into another globe."ⁿ They saw this grand chasm formed by the Drance. They boldly ventured in, with all their wives and children; explored their blind way up, by the channel of the Drance; and so reached its spring-head, on the top of Great St. Bernard^o. In this manner and at this period, was the road up to Great St. Bernard first found, and became the one only pass through the Alps for ages afterward. But, in the language of Livy, "they mounted over the Alps through the country of the TAURINI, and through forests unpassed before; became the Insubres of Italy, and laid the foundation of Milan^p." Here we have the clear evidence of Livy himself, for the passage of

ⁿ Livy v. 34. "Ibi, quum velut septos montium altitudo teneret Gallos, circumspectarentque quamquam per juncta cœlo juga in alium orbem terrarum transfirent."

^o See map prefixed to Saussure, vol. iii.

^p Livy v. 34. "Ipsi per Taurinos, saltusque invios, Alpes transcenderunt;—cognomine Insubribus pago—condidère urbem, Mediolanum appellârunt."

the first Gauls that ever came into Italy, across the *Pennine Alps* into it. Having the extremities of their line of motion, the *Tricastini* upon one side and the *Taurini* on the other, expressly specified to us; we know the intermediate points, of course. Livy thus appears carrying and conducting his first army across the Alps, from Bourges in the Dutchy of Berry, the capital of the *Bituriges*, and considerably to the north of Lyon; *by* the same region on the Gallick side of the mountains, by which he conducts the *Carthaginians*; and *to* the same country on the Italian side, *into* which he carries the *Carthaginians*. Yet, forgetful of all this, he objects to those who bring Hannibal—just as he brings him; alledges this pass over the Alps to have been probably blocked up, in the days of Hannibal, “by nations half German,” when these nations plainly appear in this part of his own history, to have been actually Gauls; and argues Hannibal *not* to have gone by this pass, *because* the road from it would have carried him *up to Milan* and *off from the Taurini*, when he himself had previously led these Gauls by it, through the *Taurini* and to *Milan* expressly. Such an amazing proof suddenly starts up under our hand here, of Livy’s total neglect of recurrence to his own ideas and his own facts, in the prior parts of his history! So fully, too, does this single incident prove the use of the *Pennine Way*, as the first, the natural,

the only road up the Alps; in those earliest times of antiquity, which the telescope of history can show to us in Gaule! Livy indeed was grossly misled in his reasoning, by an occasional mistake in his geography; and momentarily considered those as lying wide of the road from Great St. Bernard to Milan, whom he had previously placed himself upon the very crown of the road, and who were so placed undoubtedly by the historical records from which he wrote.

But let us examine the next irruption of Gauls into Italy, which is recorded by Livy. "A little while afterwards," adds this historian immediately to his account preceding, "another army" of emigrants, "composed of the Cenomanni" from the diocesis of Mans probably, the province of Maine, and the very borders of Bretagné¹, "under the conduct of Elitovius, FOLLOWED THE STEPS OF THE PRECEDING ARMY, passed the Alps BY THE SAME FOREST with the assistance of Bellovesus, seized the country of the Libui, and settled on the sites of the present Brescia and Verona," beyond or to the east of Milan². This second army of colonists therefore, equally

¹ D'Anville at *Aulerci*.

² Livy v. 35. "Alia subinde manus Cenomannorum, Elitovio, duce, vestigia priorum secuta, eodem saltu, favente Belloveso, quum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt (locos tenuere Libui) confidunt."

with

with the first, passed through the Tricastini to the Alps, entered these at the grand clink which the Drance had worked out for itself near Martigny, mounted up them by the grand hollow which the Drance had equally formed for its own use, and so turned the trough of its waters into an useful road again. They thus ascended the Pennine Alps, thus descended them through the country of the Taurini, and thus passed through the Insubres of Milan to Brescia and Verona. Yet Livy urges, that Hannibal *could not* have marched over the Pennine Alps, because he did not descend upon the Insubres of Milan to the *east*, but upon the Taurini to the *west*; while he himself makes these Cenomanni come down from those very Alps, to the Taurini, to the Insubres, and even to the *east* of the *latter*. Never surely was a writer more completely refuted in his reasonings, than Livy thus is by his own facts. He falls upon his own sword, he dies by his own hand, and may exclaim with the fullen satisfaction of triumphant suicide in Ajax,

Ut nemo Ajacem possit superare nisi Ajax.

Livy immediately subjoins a third irruption out of Gaule into Italy; but notes no circumstance, that serves to ascertain the particular funnel of the Alps, by which the gathering storm discharged

itself out of one country into the other. He only says thus: "after these, the Salluvii settle
 " near that ancient nation the Lævi Ligures,
 " who inhabit about the river Ticino^s." This account however, following instantly after the other two, and pointing at no other channel of conveyance, certainly implies the old one to have been used again. That terminating point of the whole invasion too, the settlement of the invaders upon the Ticino, corroborates this reasoning; this emigrant army journeying with both the others into the neighbourhood of Milan, and so advancing from the Pennine Alps to Ticinum or Pavia, a few miles south-west of Milan^t.

But even this slight ambiguity in Livy, is directly changed into a full explicitness. The darkness of the oracle bursts out into ample light; and Livy tells us in express terms, that the fourth irruption was over the Pennine Alps. "Then
 " the Boii and the Lingones," he relates, "crossed
 " THE PENINE MOUNTAIN; and, as all the region
 " betwixt the Alps and the Po was already seized,
 " wafting themselves over the Po upon floats,
 " they drove not only the Etrusci, but the Umbri,

^s Livy v. 35. "Post hos Salluvii [confidunt], prope anti-
 " quam gentem Lævos Ligures, incolentes circa Ticinum
 " amnem."

^t Pliny iii. 17. "Levi—condidère Ticinum."

“ out of the country ”. They first settled, to speak with greater precision from Pliny, on the northern side of the Po, at Lodi a little to the *south-east* of Milan; then, according to another passage in Livy himself, stretched on to Cremona upon the Po, a little farther to the *south-east*, and to the south of Brescia; afterwards, finding their quarters there too confined for their numbers, floated themselves over the Po^v. For this last act Livy himself assigns a reason, which shows the three colonies before to have passed by the same way, into the same region. “ All the country *betwixt the Alps and the Po* was “ *already seized,*” by the three colonies preceding; except only a narrow portion on the south, which the fourth seized, and found so narrow, as to venture over the confining Po upon the precarious embarkation of floats, in order to procure an addition of room. This notice unites with the mention of the Pennine Alps, as the very course by which the fourth migrated over the mountains; to bind the half-vague and half-fluctuating account of the third, to history and the two others,

^v Livy v. 35. “ Penino deinde Boii Lingonesque transgressi, quum jam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus trajecto, non Etruscos modò, sed etiam Umbros, agro pellunt.”

^v Pliny iii. 17. “ Condidere—Boii, trans Alpes profecti, Laudem Pompeiam;” and Livy xxi. 25. for Cremona.

Quam pius Arcitenens oras et littora circum
 Errantem, Mycone celsâ Gyaroque revinxit,
 Immotamque coli dedit, et contemnere ventos.

But that this fourth army “crossed THE PENINE MOUNTAIN” to come into Italy, is expressly affirmed (we must remember) by the very historian; who, in a paroxysm of astonishing forgetfulness, ventures to suppose afterwards, that this way was *blocked up* in the days of Hannibal, by nations half German; and therefore presumes to take Hannibal by a road, actually non-existent at the time, and actually proved to be non-existent by the highest of all testimonies. This positive declaration of his own in an earlier period of his history, removes at once to the reader all his posterior doubts, and should have precluded them for ever in the writer by anticipation. It particularly throws a decisive lustre of light, upon all his three accounts before; dispells the shade of his Tricastinian route; and illuminates the gloom of his Taurinian woods. It thus enables us to determine with the energy of demonstration from all, that the Boii and Lingones, the Salluvii, Cenomanni, and Bituriges, all entered by the same avenue of nature into the bosom of the Alps, all mounted by the same road of nature to the summit of the Alps, and all came down from the same Alps of the Pennine to the same region of the Taurini, with Hannibal himself.

— VIII. —

HANNIBAL then went into the Alps by that grand channel of communication, which the Tricastini had first explored, which the Cenomanni had next traversed, and the Salluvii, Boii, Lingones had successively used afterwards. Thus the very Boii, who were now conducting his army, had actually gone along it themselves on their original emigration into Italy. The Senones also, who, as Livy tells us, were “the last of these emigrants,” and, as Polybius informs us, had passed the Alps “very lately” before Hannibal; equally crossed the Alps, as the Boii informed Hannibal on the banks of the Rhone, in the same direction that the fathers of these Boii had gone, that they themselves had come, and that they meant to carry Hannibal^w.

In these repeated expeditions across Great St. Bernard, the primitive road had undoubtedly been improved by the hand of art, and transferred from the bed to the bank of the Drance; thus avoiding the constant embarrassments of the stream, and the occasional obstructions of the

^w Livy v. 35. “Senones, recentissimi advenarum;” Polybius iii. 48. *ἠψοσφαλις*; Livy xxi. 30. “Has ipsas Alpes,” and “eos ipsos quos cernunt legatos.”

floods;

floods; yet still keeping, as the road to this day keeps, close to the channel. It thus became at last what Strabo, corrected, describes it to be in his time, and what we see it to have actually been in the march of Hannibal, a road capable of receiving wheel-carriages. The first explorers of it must certainly have ascended the mountains, without any possibility of introducing carriages upon it, and with their wives, their children, all riding in the center of their motley army, upon the little horses of Gaule; exhibiting a scene of military movement, that could not have been very uncommon in those ages of colonial irruptions, yet must seem peculiarly picturesque and striking to our fancies at present.

Accordingly we see Hannibal at the entrance, not struggling along the channel of the Drance, but straining up a narrow and rocky road by the side of it, and having his loaded cars, his burdened horses, in the confusion tumble down the precipice into it. We again see him at the hill of ambushade, not attempting the impracticable work of mounting up the high fall of the Drance, but ascending the hill from the current by a road along the declivity. We finally behold him, in the region between this hill and the regular road, not taking the bed of a river for the course of his movements, but wandering with dubious steps along the wilds, rashly entering vallies by conjecture,

jecture, and obliged to return because he could find no way through them. Those therefore, who have carried Hannibal along the trough of a river in his passage over the Alps, have suffered their imaginations to usurp upon their judgments, have turned the realities of history into the dreams of fancy, and have confounded the march of Hannibal with the migration of Bellocesius.

But, by a very extraordinary recess in the flowing tide of Alpine improvements, the original mode of conveyance over the Alps has been generally recurred to by our own times. The saddle-horse is again used. Nor is *any pass over the Alps now travelled in carriages*, from the West of Europe; except that at Mount Cenis, which did not use to be travelled at all, and that at Mount Genève, which has been long travelled. At Mount Cenis indeed, as we all know, the inhabitants take the chaise in pieces at the foot of the mountain, transport the pieces over the mountain on the back of mules, and then unite them on the other side again; while the traveller himself has the very extraordinary conveyance, of a wicker chair with a foot-stool and poles to it. This Alpine use of chairs was not long since, I apprehend, familiar upon Great St. Bernard too, was practised there (I suspect) before it was adopted at Mount Cenis, and is still retained upon some Alps adjoining, not merely where carriages
are

are used, but where saddle-horses are*. Thus the modern modes of passing the Alps are much less hardy and resolute, less full of enterprize, and less commanding of success, than the antient. Hannibal could mount to the very summit of the Alps at Great St. Bernard, with all his long train of military carriages; when one of our own travellers cannot do so any where at present, except at Mount Genève, with only a single chaise. This forms a strong contraste, between the rough and painful exertions of labour, necessary to an antient traveller over these mountains, and the luxurious ease, with which a modern crosses them at present. Nor does a loaded cart ever presume to pass the Alps in any point, at present. Yet let not the contraste throw a shade of suspectability over the history, as it may be likely to do; criticism often starting back from antient facts, when it finds them so different from the modern, and so compressing the military vigour of past ages, into the puny exertions of present travelling.

* Miffon i. 66. "I go over the mountain of Great St. Bernard, then covered with snow: here I give a description of that mountain, and of the manner of going over it, which is something singular." Coxe i. 372. In the way up the Gemmi, a chain of mountains separating the Canton of Berne from the Vallais, "the road continued good, as far as the village of Kandersteg; from whence delicate travellers, who do not chuse to mount a rugged ascent, either on foot or on horseback, are carried in an arm-chair supported by means of poles upon men's shoulders."

Nor let the reader startle at the present use of chaises upon Mount Genève, and the total disuse of them upon Great St. Bernard. The Alps, like the lower parts of our globe, are subject to many changes. That fine road, which was called the *Via Aurelia*^y, went “through the sea-coast of “Marfeilles and Liguria,” and had “the passes “that go into Italy more easy, the mountains” of the Maritime Alps “now lowering themselves “there^z ;” which should therefore have been peculiarly preserved, as the best way into Italy; is now no longer travelled^a. Thus also Mount Genève is now practicable for chaises; has “all “the carriages which go into Italy” from France, “pass” over it; and even “is almost the only “mountain of all the Alps, where the carriages “are not dismounted, in order to be transported “over the hill on the back of mules;” because it became two centuries and a half ago, “the general way for those who travel out of France “into Italy^b.” And thus Mount Cenis, with less conveniency for passing the Alps, because with much interruption from dismounting the

^y Itin. Anton. p. 18. “Via Aurelia, a Româ per Tusciam et Alpes Maritimas Arelatum usque.”

^z Strabo 285. Δια της παραλιας των Μασσαλιωτικης και της Λαγυρικης, —τας δ’ υπεβασεις τας εις την Ιταλιαν, ιμαφοριζας εχου, τα επισημευον ενλαυθα ηδη των ορειν.

^a Smollet ii. 4.

^b See chap. i. sect. ii. before.

chaises, taking them in pieces, and uniting the separated limbs into one body again; is so much more frequented than Mount Genève, that the actual passage of chaises over the latter is totally unknown at Geneva, in the Vallais, and even in a land of travellers like Britain^c.

But, amidst all these variations of accident and under all this indolence of travelling, the march of modern armies over the Alps substantiates the truth of history concerning the antient. Their baggage, their provisions have been conveyed like Hannibal's, over those very Alps, across which a cart or a chaise presumes not to venture now. When Mount Cenis makes its first appearance in the world of history, and is first known to have been traversed by a road, Charlemagne carried his army over it, and sent a detachment over Great St. Bernard^d. In August 1793 a detach-

^c Saussure iv. 245. "St. Bernard est moins fréquenté, depuis qu'on ne voyage plus qu'en voiture; parce qu'on préfère le Mont-Cenis, où l'on a plus de facilité pour les faire démonter et transporter." Saussure plainly knew nothing of carriages passing over Mount Genève. "Carriages can pass only by the first and the last of these routes," St. Gothard and the Tyrol: "in crossing Mount Cenis, they must be taken in pieces; but the whole road through the Tyrol is not merely practicable, but even excellent, for a carriage" (Gentleman's Guide 1-2). This author evidently knew as little as M. Saussure, of chaises passing Mount Genève.

^d Mod. Un. Hist. xxiii, 128-129 and Saussure iv. 231.

ment of the Piedmontese army marched over Great St. Bernard to Martigny, and, in order not to violate the neutrality of the Vallaisans, marched without arms in their hands, but transported their arms in covered carriages attending them. Nay, those very extraordinary impediments to modern armies, impediments ten-fold heavier probably than all the provisions and baggage of Hannibal's, even CANNONS; have been occasionally transported along almost all the formed roads of the Alps, and over those Alps too which never had any formed roads at all^d.

^d See vol. i. chap. i. sect. 2. and chap. ii. sect. i.—
 When Francis I. of France resolved to invade Italy in 1515,
 “ *tormentorum subinde majorum minorumque tantam copiam,*
 “ *quantam duobus justis exercitibus satis esse constaret, ad Gra-*
 “ *tianopolim atque infimas Alpes præmisit. Fuit bigarum car-*
 “ *rorumque incredibilis numerus, quibus ferreæ pilæ, sulphurei*
 “ *pulveris vis ingens, præterea vectes, dolabæ, omnis generis*
 “ *ferramenta, atque alia domandis itinerum asperitatibus op-*
 “ *portuna præsidia, convehantur; totusque is apparatus*
 “ *quinque-milium equorum perpetuo labore trahebatur.—Fran-*
 “ *ciscus ad Alpes duxit, sparitque exercitum ad primos aditus*
 “ *trium semitarum quæ tantum perviæ sunt Alpes,”* Mount Ge-
 névre, Little St. Bernard, Great St. Bernard; “ ne hostes cer-
 tiore conjecturâ per diligentissimos etiam speculatores assequi
 possent, quænam Alpes, quæve potissimum juga transitu
 destinarentur. Enimvero Helvetii in Taurinis Salassisque,”
 at the pass to Great St. Bernard, “ adversus [eum] Alpium
 radices occuparant.—*Igitur, quum mollioribus usitatisque*
 “ *itineribus minimè transeundum existimaret, ad fallendos*
 “ *hostes, novæ Alpes, nova asperioraque montium culmina, quæ*
 “ *nunquam ullis antea exercitibus patuissent, tentanda erant.—*

" Id iter ab Coctiis [Cottiis] initium capiebat; mox relicto ad
 " *Levan Genebræ monte*, vasto horribilique deflexu per ab-
 " ruptas vallés montesque asperos ad Argentarias extendé-
 " batur.—Trivultius primùm se munitorem itineris atque ag-
 " minis ducem professus: per hæc, inquit, aspera tibi, Rex,
 " fortiter enitendum, ut *quum ænea tormenta transvexeris,*
 " *Anaibale major appareas*; transmissit ille *mitioribus jugis sine*
 " *tormentis*.—Sancti Pauli rupem,—quòd abrupta inaccessibleif-
 " que erat, incredibili celeritate ferro pandunt, *tormenta que*
 " *traducunt*. Sequenti die in Barcelloniam vallem descensum.
 " Ea ingentibus saxis et iniquissimis collibus interpositis impe-
 " dimenta, magnam rerum desperationem, afferebat. Nam
 " ligonibus dolabrisque profcindere saxeos colles, exæquare
 " crepidines, et, quum nullus per derupta equorum usus
 " foret, *subjectis militum humeris tormenta transvehere* necesse
 " erat. Interdum ea *magnis funibus ad scopulos et stipites arbo-*
 " *rum circumductis* suspendebantur, et *versatilibus machinis eri-*
 " *gatarum*, et *troclearum artificio*, de rupe ad rupem, interce-
 " dentibus profundissimis vallibus, cum summâ admiratione
 " totius exercitûs, trahebantur. Nonnullis etiam in locis, nu-
 " darum rupium latera, ubi via deerat, *suppositis tibicinibus in-*
 " *terjectisque longuriis* muniébant, et, *insuper injectis stratisque*
 " *virgultorum fascibus, cespitibus, ac glebis*, penfiles vias tranf-
 " euntibus curribus parabant. Ita mirâ fabricorum industriâ,
 " et singulari militum labore, in Argentariam vallem cuncta
 " exercitûs impedimenta traduxerunt" (P. Jovius i. 298, 299,
 301, 302).

