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*Engraved by James Watson A.S.P.*

*From the original Portrait, in the possession of the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Lord Sheffield.  
Painted by M. Barton, in the year 1774.*

THE  
MISCELLANEOUS  
WORKS  
OF  
EDWARD GIBBON. ESQ.  
WITH  
MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,  
COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:  
ILLUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS,  
WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,  
BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
JOHN, LORD SHEFFIELD.

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A NEW EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,  
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.  
MEMOIRS AND LETTERS.

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LONDON:  
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# ADVERTISEMENT

to this

## *SECOND EDITION.*

THE great satisfaction evinced on the publication of the former Edition of Mr. Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, and the strong wish repeatedly expressed that I should give to the public several of the pieces in my possession, mentioned in the Advertisement to that Edition, have much lessened my apprehension of indulging too far my partiality for the compositions of my friend, and have induced me to include in a new Edition such Articles as seemed likely to reflect credit on his memory.

It will be remembered that the Memoirs were composed and formed from six different Sketches, and from Notes and Memoranda on loose unconnected Papers and Cards, all in Mr. Gibbon's handwriting. This new Edition of his posthumous Works has furnished me with the opportunity of interweaving several additional

Extracts from the same sources; illustrating and enlarging the Memoirs, where they were most scanty; by Notes principally selected from his Journal.

To the Letters printed in the former Edition, a considerable number, both from himself and many other distinguished persons, are introduced in the present publication.

Availing myself still further of the occasion of a new Edition, I have endeavoured to class the several Essays and Compositions by a convenient arrangement of them, according to their several subjects, under the following heads:

1. Historical and Critical.
2. Classical and Critical.
3. Miscellaneous.

Among the new matter contained under the first Division will be found,

1. Mémoires sur la Monarchie des Mèdes.— This, it is presumed, will be esteemed, by the readers best able to appreciate it, a Dissertation of great erudition and discernment.
2. Les principales Epoques de l'Histoire de la Grèce et de l'Egypte, dans la Nouvelle Chronologie du Chevalier Newton, comparées avec les Chronologies ordinaires.
3. Remarques Critiques sur le Nouveau Système de Chronologie du Chevalier Newton.
4. Extraits

4. Extraits Critiques de Trois Mémoires de M. l'Abbé de la Bleterie sur la Succession de l'Empire Romain et d'un sur le prénom d'Auguste.

5. Remarques sur le Nombre des Habitans dans la Cité des Sybarites.

6. Gouvernement Féodal, surtout en France.—An able Dissertation on the Rise and Establishment of the Feudal Laws.

7. Noces du Duc de Bourgogne avec la Princesse Marguerite, Sœur d'Edouard IV.—The reader will find this a very pleasing and curious account of the Ceremonies and Pageantry with which that royal marriage was celebrated.

8. Introduction à l'Histoire Générale de la République des Suisses.—From the Author's Journal and Memoirs it appears that he bestowed much time and attention on this Article.

9. Remarques touchant les Doutes Historiques sur la Vie et le Règne du Roi Richard III, par M. Horace Walpole.—This Article is mentioned by Mr. Gibbon in his Journal and Memoirs as written by him for a periodical Work edited by his friend M. Deyverdun, entitled, "Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne pour l'an 1768."

10. The Materials for an additional Section on the Antiquities of the House of Brunswick.—These being found in an imperfect state among

Mr. Gibbon's Papers, have been connected, and, where the manuscript ceases, have been continued to the Accession of George the First to the British Throne, from Mr. Butler's very able publication, entitled "A Succinct History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Charlemagne from 814 to 1806."

Under the second Division will be found—

1. An interesting "Essay on the Character of Brutus," in Mr. Gibbon's best manner.

2. A Classical Geography of Ancient Italy, entitled *Nomina Gentesque Antiquæ Italiæ*.—A work composed by Mr. Gibbon preparatory to his tour in that part of Europe: this work is often mentioned in his *Memoirs and Journal*. The manuscript was found in a disordered state; but it is correctly printed from Mr. Gibbon's manuscript, and the inaccuracies are noticed in an *Errata* at the end of the volume.

The following articles are also added under the same Division, viz.

3. *Remarques sur les Ouvrages et sur le Caractère de Salluste.*

4. \_\_\_\_\_ de Jules César.

5. \_\_\_\_\_ de Cornelius Népos.

6. \_\_\_\_\_ de Tite Live.

7. *Remarques Critiques sur un Passage de Plaute.*

8. Re-



8. Remarques sur quelques Passages de Virgile.

In the third, or Miscellaneous, Division, are contained,

1. Remarques sur les Mémoires Posthumes de M. de Chéseaux;—on Jewish, Assyrian, Persian, &c. Chronology.

2. Remarques sur quelques Prodiges.

3. Remarques sur les Dignités Sacerdotales de Jules César.

4. Principes des Poids, des Monnoies, et des Mesures des Anciens, avec des Tables construites sur ces Principes.

5. Dissertation sur les Anciennes Mesures, &c. du Bas Empire jusqu'à la Prise de Constantinople par les Turcs; la France et les Pays Bas; l'Allemagne, la Suisse, et les Pays du Nord; l'Italie et l'Espagne; l'Orient, les Indes, et l'Afrique; also, Remarques sur "An Inquiry into the State of Ancient Measures, the Attic, the Roman, and particularly Jewish, by Dr. Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells."—These difficult subjects are admirably discussed by Mr. Gibbon at an early age. It is to be regretted that he did not complete them as he seems to have intended; they are, however, too valuable to be withheld from the public.

6. On the Position of the Meridional Line; and

an Inquiry into the supposed Circumnavigation of Africa by the Ancients:—This curious Dissertation has the advantage of having been read by a gentleman well known to the learned world; Dr. Vincent, Dean of Westminster, who has most liberally favoured me with Notes and Illustrations, which have greatly enhanced the value of the article. It is highly satisfactory to observe the coincidence of opinion relative to the circumnavigation of Africa in *two* of our most learned writers; both so ably deducing the same conclusions from the same premises, and so exactly, that it might be supposed one had borrowed from the other, which, however, was impossible. This article was written by Mr. Gibbon at Lausanne, between the years 1789 and the beginning of the year 1793; and after his death was sent to me from Switzerland in loose sheets, mixed with many other papers. They have never since been out of my possession until they very lately went to the press, and were never seen, except by Mr. Frederick North, Lord Glenbervie, and Mr. Butler; and not by them till some years after Dr. Vincent had published (viz. in 1800) his *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*; and it was the last week in October, 1814, that I first communicated, at the suggestion of a friend, Mr. Gibbon's manuscript to Dr. Vincent, with whom I had not the honour of being acquainted.

The

The Miscellaneous Division concludes with an Index Expurgatorius, and very copious Selections from the Author's "Extraits Raisonnés de mes Lectures," "Recueil de mes Observations et Pièces détachées," and from his Journal, Common-place Books, Memoranda, &c.; some of which, however unimportant they may appear to the fastidious critic, are introduced with a view of exciting in young students the same diligence and application by which Mr. Gibbon acquired the knowledge and learning that have raised him so high in the estimation of men of letters.

To the Address, the last article in the first Edition of Mr. Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, and the last he wrote, recommending that our Latin Memorials of the middle Ages, the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, may be published in a style worthy of the country, an explanatory Supplement by Mr. Pinkerton (whom Mr. Gibbon mentions as the fit person for such a work) is added. This Supplement undoubtedly will be very gratifying to all those who wish to know Mr. Gibbon's plan respecting that desirable undertaking.

Most of the above articles, although distinguished by great erudition and discernment, must be considered as juvenile performances, as appears from the dates of some, and from the handwriting of others, which handwriting, contrary

to what usually happens, improved considerably as he increased in years; so much so, that it is not difficult, by means of that criterion, to find the dates of his several works. He does not seem to have prepared them for publication; and it is very possible, that several of them were never read by him a second time.

In the Table of Contents, I have marked the dates of the several Articles which have no date in the Work itself; and the reader, recollecting that Mr. Gibbon was born in May, 1737, will decide what indulgence they are entitled to as juvenile compositions. The Articles in these volumes were written, some of them before Mr. Gibbon had attained his 19th, many of them before he had attained his 21st, and the rest before he had attained his 27th year, excepting the Memoirs and great part of the Letters;—the *Mémoire Justificatif*—the Vindication of some Passages in the 15th and 16th Chapters of the History—Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*—Dissertation on *L'Homme au Masque de Fer*—the Essay on the Character of Brutus—on the Position of the Meridional Line and supposed Circumnavigation of Africa by the Ancients—and the Antiquities of the House of Brunswick. Among the earliest may be found some of the most learned disquisitions.

I do not know that Mr. Gibbon ever wrote a  
line

line of verse, at least he never mentioned to me that he had done so; yet he by no means neglected the Poets, but would read them aloud even in his chaise when travelling, particularly Homer.

An Engraving from a portrait of Mr. Gibbon, painted by Mr. Warton forty years ago, viz. 1774, before he became very corpulent, is prefixed to this Edition. It is by far the best likeness of him that exists.

### SHEFFIELD.

• SHEFFIELD-PLACE,  
26th Nov. 1814.

*N. B.* Many of the French Articles having been before printed with an English Translation, it was deemed unnecessary to publish both, and the English Translation of several of them has been preferred.

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# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

*FIRST EDITION.*

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THE melancholy duty of examining the Papers of my deceased Friend devolved upon me at a time when I was depressed by severe afflictions.

In that state of mind, I hesitated to undertake the task of selecting and preparing his Manuscripts for the press. The warmth of my early and long attachment to Mr. Gibbon made me conscious of a partiality, which it was not proper to indulge, especially in revising many of his juvenile and unfinished compositions. I had to guard, not only against a sentiment like my own, which I found extensively diffused, but also against the eagerness occasioned by a very general curiosity to see in print every literary relic, however imperfect, of so distinguished a writer.

VOL. I.

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Being

Being aware how disgracefully Authors of Eminence have been often treated, by an indiscreet posthumous publication of fragments and careless effusions; when I had selected those Papers which to myself appeared the fittest for the public eye, I consulted some of our common friends, whom I knew to be equally anxious with myself for Mr. Gibbon's fame, and fully competent, from their judgment, to protect it.

Under such a sanction it is, that, no longer suspecting myself to view through too favourable a medium the compositions of my Friend, I now venture to publish them: and it may here be proper to give some information to the Reader respecting the Contents of these Volumes.

The most important part consists of Memoirs of Mr. Gibbon's Life and Writings, a work which he seems to have projected with peculiar solicitude and attention, and of which he left Six different sketches, all in his own hand-writing. One of these sketches, the most diffuse and circumstantial, so far as it proceeds, ends at the time when he quitted Oxford. Another at the year 1764, when he travelled to Italy. A third, at his father's death, in 1770. A fourth, which he continued to March, 1791, appears in the form of Annals, much less detailed than the others. The two remaining sketches are still more imperfect. But it is difficult to discover the

the order in which these several Pieces were written. From all of them the following Memoirs have been carefully selected, and put together.

My hesitation in giving these Memoirs to the world arose, principally, from the circumstance of Mr. Gibbon's seeming, in some respect, not to have been quite satisfied with them, as he had so frequently varied their form: yet, notwithstanding this diffidence, the compositions, though unfinished, are so excellent, that I think myself justified in permitting my Friend to appear as his own biographer, rather than to have that office undertaken by any other person less qualified for it.

This opinion has rendered me anxious to publish the present Memoirs, without any unnecessary delay; for I am persuaded, that the Author of them cannot be made to appear in a truer light than he does in the following pages. In them, and in his different Letters, which I have added, will be found a complete picture of his talents, his disposition, his studies, and his attainments.

Those slight variations of character, which naturally arose in the progress of his Life, will be unfolded in a series of Letters, selected from a Correspondence between him and myself,



which continued full thirty years, and ended with his death.

It is to be lamented, that all the sketches of the Memoirs, except that composed in the form of Annals, cease about twenty years before Mr. Gibbon's death; and consequently, that we have the least detailed account of the most interesting part of his Life. His Correspondence during that period will, in great measure, supply the deficiency. It will be separated from the Memoirs and placed in an Appendix, that those who are not disposed to be pleased with the repetitions, familiarities, and trivial circumstances of epistolary writing, may not be embarrassed by it. By many, the Letters will be found a very interesting part of the present Publication. They will prove, how pleasant, friendly, and amiable Mr. Gibbon was in private life; and if, in publishing Letters so flattering to myself, I incur the imputation of vanity, I shall meet the charge with a frank confession, that I am indeed highly vain of having enjoyed, for so many years, the esteem, the confidence, and the affection of a man, whose social qualities endeared him to the most accomplished society, and whose talents, great as they were, must be acknowledged to have been fully equalled by the sincerity of his friendship.

What.

Whatever censure may be pointed against the Editor, the Public will set a due value on the Letters for their intrinsic merit. I must, indeed, be blinded, either by vanity or affection, if they do not display the heart and mind of their Author, in such a manner as justly to increase the number of his admirers.

I have not been solicitous to garble or expunge passages which, to some, may appear trifling. Such passages will often, in the opinion of the observing Reader, mark the character of the Writer, and the omission of them would materially take from the ease and familiarity of authentic letters.

Few men, I believe, have ever so fully unveiled their own character, by a minute narrative of their sentiments and pursuits, as Mr. Gibbon will here be found to have done; not with study and labour; not with an affected frankness—but with a genuine confession of his little foibles and peculiarities, and a good-humoured and natural display of his own conduct and opinions.

Mr. Gibbon began a Journal, a work distinct from the sketches already mentioned, in the early part of his Life, with the following declaration:

“ I propose from this day, August 24th, 1761, to keep an exact Journal of my actions and

studies, both to assist my memory, and to accustom me to set a due value on my time. I shall begin by setting down some few events of my past life, the dates of which I can remember."

This industrious project he pursued occasionally in French, with the minuteness, fidelity, and liberality of a mind resolved to watch over and improve itself.

The Journal is continued under different titles, and is sometimes very concise, and sometimes singularly detailed. One part of it is entitled "My Journal," another "Ephemerides, or Journal of my Actions, Studies, and Opinions." The other parts are entitled, "Ephémérides, ou Journal de ma Vie, de mes Etudes, et de mes Sentimens." In this Journal, among the most trivial circumstances, are mixed very interesting observations and dissertations, on a Satire of Juvenal, a Passage of Homer, or of Longinus, or of any other author whose works he happened to read in the course of the day; and he often passes from a Remark on the most common event, to a critical Disquisition of considerable learning, or an Inquiry into some abstruse point of Philosophy,

It certainly was not his intention that this private and motley Diary should be presented to the Public; nor have I thought myself at liberty  
to

to present it, in the shape in which he left it. But when reduced to an account of *his literary occupations*, it forms so singular and so interesting a portrait of an indefatigable Student, that I persuade myself it will be regarded as a valuable acquisition by the Literary World, and as an accession of fame to the memory of my Friend. With the Extracts from Mr. Gibbon's Journal will be printed, his Dissertations entitled "Extraits Raisonnés de mes Lectures;" and "Recueil de mes Observations, et Pièces détachées sur différens Sujets." A few other passages from other parts of the Journals, introduced in Notes, will make a curious addition to the Memoirs..

His first Publication, "Essai sur l'Etude de la Littérature," with corrections and additions from an interleaved copy which my Friend gave to me several years ago, is reprinted as part of these volumes.

Three more of his smaller Publications are also reprinted. 1. His masterly Criticism on the Sixth Book of Virgil, in answer to Bishop Warburton. 2. His own Vindication of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of his History, in answer to Mr. Davis and others. And 3. His "Réponse à l'Exposé de la Cour de France,"—an occasional composition, which obtained the highest applause in foreign Courts, and of which he spoke to me

with some pleasure, observing that it had been translated even into the Turkish language.\*

Of these various writings the Author has spoken himself, in describing his own Life. I have yet to notice some articles not mentioned in his Memoirs, and which will be found in this Publication. 1. A juvenile sketch, entitled, "Outlines of the History of the World." 2. A Dissertation, which he had shewn to a few friends, on that curious subject "L'Homme au Masqué de Fer." 3. A more considerable work, "The Antiquities of the House of Brunswick;" an historical discourse, composed about the year 1790. In this Work he intended to appropriate separate books: 1. To the Italian descent; 2. To the Germanic reign; and, 3. To the British Succession of the House of Brunswick. The Manuscript closes in completing the Italian branch of his subject.

Among the most splendid passages of that unfinished work may be enumerated, the characters of Leibnitz and Muratori: A sketch of Albert-Azo the Second, a prince who retained his faculties and reputation beyond the age of

\* At Petersburg and Vienna it was currently observed by the Corps Diplomatique, that the English Ministry had published a Memorial written not only with great and more than usual ability, but also in French, so correct, that they must have employed a Frenchman.

one hundred years: An account of Padua and its university, and remarks on the epic glory of Ferrara.

The last Paper of these Volumes has the mournful attraction of being a sketch interrupted by death, and affords an honourable proof that my Friend's ardour for the promotion of historical knowledge attended him to the last. It is entitled merely, "An Address;" and expresses a wish that our Latin memorials of the middle ages, the "Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum," may be published in England, in a manner worthy of the subject, and of the country. He mentions Mr. John Pinkerton as a person well qualified for the conduct of such a national undertaking.

In the collection of writings which I am now sending to the press, there is no article that will so much engage the public attention as the Memoirs. I will therefore close all I mean to say as their Editor, by assuring the Reader, that, although I have in some measure newly arranged those interesting Papers, by forming one regular narrative from the Six different sketches, I have nevertheless adhered with scrupulous fidelity to the very words of their Author; and I use the letter S. to mark such Notes as it seemed to me necessary to add.

It remains only to express a wish, that in discharging

charging this latest office of affection, my regard to the memory of my Friend may appear, as I trust it will do, proportioned to the high satisfaction which I enjoyed for many years in possessing his entire confidence, and very partial attachment.

SHEFFIELD.

SHEFFIELD-PLACE,  
6th Aug. 1795.

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