

'twas said that such an individual MS. was written, at *such a Time*, or by *such a particular Person*; every Book with a *Date* being as a *Standard* whereby to know the Age of those Books of the *same* or a *like Hand*, and of those that are not very much *older* or *newer*. Where Dates have been wanting in some Books, perhaps they have had some Succession of *Emperors, Kings, Popes, Bishops*, or other *Officers*; and setting down the Continuance of their Predecessors for so many *Years, Months, and Days*, if there be only the naked Name of him who is the *last* in order, (all other Circumstances concurring,) I then judge the Book to have been written during *the Life or Reign* of such a Person. Especially if that Succession be afterwards continued by a more recent Hand, or that there be two such Successors, as of *Kings and Bishops*, and the *last* of each happen to be Contemporaries. Other Observations I have made from *Historical Notes*, and *Ecclesiastical Tables*, in some Books. At other Times I light upon some *Authentic Charter*, or *Original Writing*, in the same Hand with such a Book as I have remembred to have formerly seen, but without any Guess at the Age of it. The Age of the *Charter* being known, that of the *Book* is then known also: For I never entertained any Notion, or relied upon any Observation, but as I found it confirm'd by the Suffrage of concurring Circumstances, and sufficient Authority.

But even in *Dates*, I have found that a Man ought to be very cautious; for some have been *altered* by latter Hands, for corrupt and base Ends. Some are so worded, as when one thinks that the time they mention, is the time when the MS. was finished by the *Copiste*, or *Book-writer*, it is meant only as to the Time when the *Author* finish'd his Composition. Other Books are *post-dated*, that they might be accounted new. Of this last kind is a *Greek MS.* I saw in the University Library at *Cambridge*, which, as appears by a written Annotation therein, was bought such a Year at *Rome*, for so much; and yet the Date pretends that the Book was *written* at *Rome* in such a Year, which happens to be two Years after it was bought and paid for. The Reason of these *Post-Dates* was, because, before Printing came up, a Book was, by how much the *newer*, by so much the more *valuable*. An *old Book* might be bought for an *old Song*, (as we say) but he that transcribed a fresh Copy must be paid for his pains. And therefore I have found in some Catalogues of the MSS. formerly extant in our *Abbey-Libraries*, that when they said such a Book was *Liber vetus*, they would often add, & *inutilis*; but *Liber novus* was *nitidus, eleganter scriptus, lectu facilis, &c.* which mean Opinion of the Antient Copies, by the way, may have been the Occasion of the Loss of many a good Author.

The *Librarii* or *Book-writers* were from the Time of the *Romans* a particular Company of Men, and their Business a Trade: But tho' *Book-writing* was their Profession, yet they afterwards had but a third Part of the Business.

Learning (after the Erection of Monasteries,) was chiefly in the Hands of the *Clergy*; and they were for the most part *Regulars*, and lived in Monasteries. Amongst these were always many industrious Men, who wrote continually new Copies of old Books, for their own Use, or for the Monastery, or for both; which seems to have swallowed up above half the Business. Then, if an extraordinary Book was to be written, for the *standing, and more particular Use* of the Church or Monastery, the *Antiquarius* must be sent for, to write it in *large Characters, after the old Manner*, and such a Copy they knew would last for many Ages, without Renovation. Between these two Sorts of People, the *Writing Monks* and *Antiquarii*, the poor *Librarii* or common *Scriptores* (who had Families to maintain) could hardly earn their Bread. This put them upon a quicker way of Dispatch, that so they might under-fell one another: And in order to this Dispatch, they would employ several Persons, at one time, in writing the same Book, (each Person, except him who wrote the first Skin, beginning where his Fellow was to leave off): Or else, they would form the Letters *smaller and leaner*, and make use of more *Jugations* and *Abbreviations* than usually others did. And this, my Lord, is the only Account that I can give, for that *Variety* of Hands which in former Ages, being learnt of, or borrowed from the *Romans*, was commonly used, and in Fashion at the same Time, and in the same Country, (throughout these Western Parts of *Europe*,) and for the growing less and less for one Age after another. An Instance of this may be given from the *Hands of England*, which about the Year of our Lord 730 were of three Sorts.

I. The *Roman Capitals*, still retained, and kept up by the *Antiquarii*, in some Books and Charters.

II. The more *Sett Saxon Letters* (which have a near Affinity with the more *Ancient Irish Characters*, as being with them derived from the *Roman*,) which were used as the common Hand of the Age, by the Monks in their *Books*, and some *Charters* of their dictating and writing.

III. The *Running Saxon Letters*, fuller of Abbreviations, and something of kin to the *Longobardic* and *Franco-Gallic*, (both which, with this third Sort, were also of *Roman* Original,) and was used by these *Librarii* in their Books and in the Charters; as also by some Authors who wrote much, as *Bede*, &c.

There was another sort of *Book writers* still in use, namely, the *Notarii*, whose Business it was to take *Trials* and *Pleadings* at Courts of Judicature; to write as *Amanuenses* from the Mouth of an Author; and to take *Homilies* and *Sermons* at Church, from the Mouth of the Preacher. These *Notarii* made use of *Notæ* or *Marks* instead of Letters: But when, in process of Time, Letters were usually written small and quick, and Abbreviations grew common, the *Notarii* were turn'd off, unless they would write Books in *Long Hand*, as other *Librarii*

brarii did, and their *Notæ* grew out of Use; and most of their Performances in *Notes* or *Marks* have been since destroy'd.

Suppose then, my Lord, that a Man had one *Latin* Book of each of the four Sorts above-mention'd laid before him, written all at a Time, and without any *Date* or *Note* of the Age: Would not he be ready to say that the three first were older than one another? As that *That* in *Capitals* was older than *That* in the *middling* Hand; and this again older than that in the *running* and *smaller* Hand? And that such a Book written in the *Notæ*, being all full of Marks, was not *Latin*, but of some other unknown Language? But to come down later: Suppose that a Person should have some recenter *Books* or *Charters* laid before him in the *Pipe*, *Text*, *Exchequer*, *Chancery*, *Court*, and *Common Hands*, all written at the same Time, would not he be apt to say, that one seem'd to him to be older than another, and that they were the Hands of several Nations?

If it be difficult for an inquisitive Person to be a perfect Master in all the Successions of Hands that have been used in his own Country, so far as he may be guided by the Monuments therein extant, (and I never heard of any Man that was such a Master) surely, it must be more difficult to pronounce the Age of those Books, *from the Hand*, which were written in other Countries, in an unknown Language. And what may make a Man yet more liable to Mistakes, (besides the Want of Dates in the most ancient *Greek*, *Latin*, and other MSS.) was the Practice of many Writers, still to use the very same Hand when in Years, as they learnt when they were young; like as many ancient People, who do yet continue to write the *Roman* and *Secretary Hands*, which were more fashionable fifty or sixty Years ago, than now. I forbear to trouble your Grace with any more Words upon this Head, or to make mention of the different Ways of writing in any other Language; because I find this Letter will prove larger than I intended. I will therefore (with your Grace's Leave) touch upon the next Head in your Grace's learned Essay, shewing the great *Easiness* of finding out an Author, and the Time he lived in, by his *Style* and *Pbrase*.

I wish, my Lord, that it was as easy to discover the *Villanous Authors* of some Treasonable and Scandalous Libels by their *Style*, as it has been to find out the *Printers* by the *Paper* and *Letter*. Could this be done, it might not be unuseful to the Government. But People have learnt the Knack of changing their Style, upon Occasion, so artificially, as not to be discovered, but when they themselves are willing to be known. Who would have thought that *Erasmus* wrote the *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*? Or that some of the nicer, nay, the most eminent modern Criticks could have been imposed upon by their familiar and near Acquaintance, who trump'd upon them their own recent Performances for invaluable Fragments of the Ancients, whose other Works these very Criticks had lying before them?

It has been a frequent Practice, in all Ages, for poor Scribblers to father their wretched Offspring upon illustrious Persons: And the Disparity between the genuine Works of the one, and the spurious Pieces of the other being evident enough, it has been easy to distinguish between the Gold and the Brass. But I would humbly ask this Question, Is all, that is even now by learned Men ascribed to some ancient voluminous *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, undoubtedly theirs? May not there still some supposititious Pieces lurk among them, which have the Luck to be received, only because they have been more ingeniously counterfeited? Nay, may not the same Person, in the Course of his Life, even alter and vary his Style and Phrase unwittingly, and without any Design to do so? I think Mr. *Richardson*, somewhere in his Answer to *Amyntor*, upon occasion of the Difference in point of Style between the *Revelation* of St. *John* and his other Works, between the *Prophecy of Jeremias* and his *Lamentations*, does tell us from Dr. *Cave*, that the Consideration of the *Times when* a Man writes, or of the *Persons to whom*, or the *Subjects about which*, or the *Temper of Body*, or the *Humour* he is in when he writes, or the *Care and Pains* that he takes in writing, may occasion such Alterations in his Style, as that no certain Rule can be infer'd from thence.

And if, my Lord, it was really possible to find out the Time when an Author liv'd, only by diligent *reading* his Works, surely the World would have been long since agreed as to the Time when *Homer* liv'd, though they could not tell where he was born. And I believe even in the List of *Ecclesiastical Writers* there are some, and those not of the least Consideration, who (notwithstanding their Works have been read over and over) are still reckon'd to be of *uncertain Age*.

As for *Pictures*, though I have much less Experience in them, than I *Of Painters* had once in MSS.; yet I will not deny but that the Works of an hundred Masters (besides those your Grace has been pleas'd to mention) may be known by the *Hands*, though they may be almost as *different* as their several Hands in writing: but that one Painter can't copy from another so exactly, as that in Tract of Time it shall not be known which Picture is the Original, is what I dare not assert.

It has been frequently practis'd by Painters to borrow Pictures of those who are Lovers and Judges of such things, to copy them, and to return their Copies for the Originals, without any Discovery made by the discerning Owners. And I believe it possible (though exceeding difficult) for a great Master to copy a Picture so, that when they both stand together, a good Judge shall not dare positively to say which is the Copy, and which not: Nor he that drew the Original dare to own, that he could imitate his own Handywork better than a Stranger has done. There are a great many Stories common among Painters, to this purpose. And one would not think it much more difficult for a Man to imitate a Drawing or Picture, than to counterfeit another

other Man's Hand-writing, which some People can do most exactly. And others with Pen and Ink will copy after any thing that is printed so nicely, as that one would affirm their *Writing* to be *printed off* at the Press.

Your Grace's Notions of discerning the *Age*, as well as the *Hand* of the Painter, by his Picture, is very curious, and altogether new to me: And I doubt not but there is a great deal in it. I only want the whole Works of some great Painter, with an Account of the Time when he wrought each Piece, to fit me for the making the Experiment. And why might not this Notion be advanced a little farther, and the Painter's *Complexion* be known by his Pictures, as well as his Age? As supposing that the *Sanguine* do naturally run upon *Pourtraits*, *Poetical Histories*, *Nudities*, &c. The *Cholerick* upon *Battle-pieces*, *Sea-fights*, *Fire-pieces by Land or Sea*, *Tempests*, &c. The *Phlegmatic* upon the *Still-Life*, *Flower-pieces*, *Birds*, *Beasts*, *Fishes*, &c. and the *Melancholick* upon *Landskips*, *Architecture*, *Pieces of Perspective*, &c. Not but that the different Genius of a Country, or the Desires of a good Customer, may oblige a Painter to work upon a Subject, which he had no great Fancy for.

As to the Difference in the Works of Painters grown old, in respect of what they did when young, I doubt no certain Rules can be established as to their Performances in that kind. I know, my Lord, that Painters do generally live faster than other Men, which may at length occasion a Failure in their Sight and Memory, a Trepidation in their Hands, &c. And yet I never heard that *Michael Angelo*, *Alb. Durer*, *Titian*, and others, painted worse at the latter End of their long Lives, than they did before. Nay, I heard that *Signior Verrio*, though grown old, paints now far better than ever, and is grown almost ashamed of some of his own Works which he painted at *Windsor-Castle* in the Time of King *Charles* the II^d. There may be this in it, that aged Persons having attain'd, through long Practice, to a greater Experience, to a more solid and mature Judgment than they had when younger, and more cautious of that which they let go out of their Hands; and correct those flashy Touches of their Pencil, and other superfluous Irregularities, which they and others were formerly very fond of.

As for the *Flame and Motion of the Eyes* in a Picture, or the *Breath in its Mouth*, I can say but little, having as yet never had the Happiness to see such Rarities, tho' I have been admitted to the Sight of some of the best Pieces of the most celebrated Masters.

As to the Painters painting a living or moving Thing, so that one shall almost discern the Motion, and see the *Bird flying*, the *Horse or Hound running*, &c. that is more easy, especially when assisted with the friendly and pregnant Fancy of the charm'd Spectator. In the *still Life*, indeed, the Eye is quickly deceiv'd; and though there are, I believe, several Masters now living more excellent at it than ever

Zeuxis

Zeuxis and *Parrhasius* were; yet still, with all their Art, 'tis very difficult to impose upon a Man so, as to make him believe 'tis not a *Picture*, but the very *Life* that he sees before him.

Musicians seem to be under the same Predicament with *Painters*, Of Musicians. since they are observ'd to live *fast*, as also the *Poets*. 'Tis by the Practice of many Yerrs that they attain to a just Knowledge and Mastery in their respective Arts; and as their first Compositions are little and light, suitable to the mercurial Temper of heedless and inconstant Youth, so, in time, this wears off; and as their Experience and Judgment increases, their Compositions grow more solid and sound. A young Man may make a better *Minuet* or *Jigg*; but the Elder a more sound *Service* or *Anthem*. The Music of the former (with other Accomplishments) may go a great way towards the enticing a foolish Girl to Love; but that of the latter excites the Devotion, moves the Affections, and raises the Passions of those truly religious Souls, who take pleasure in singing Praises to the Honour and Glory of his Name, who lives for ever and ever.

If your Grace shall say, *That the very best Painters, Musicians and Poets died young, or at least before they attain'd to an advanc'd Age, when they would have fail'd or grown dull, as others did*: I must beg Leave to say that old Men are of two Sorts, either those who *are much affected* with their Age and weakned, or those who *are not*.

If a Man be born of unsound Parents, or hath liv'd all along in an Air disagreeable to his Constitution, or has his Constitution always unhealthful, or has liv'd an intemperate or debauch'd Life, or has been crush'd by any heavy Misfortunes, or always liv'd in Poverty or Discontent; 'tis no wonder, if, in spite of all this, he attains to old Age: but then he will probably lose the Clearness of his Head, the fix'd Attention of his Mind, the Brightness of his Parts, which he might be formerly noted for. If a Man has never had any of these Disadvantages to wrestle with, but has all along been bless'd with the contrary: Then, he being bred up to a Profession, and always following it, his Judgment therein still increases, and his Hand (one would think) should be more nimble and ready, and the Man a better *Painter, Musician* or *Orator* than ever; and why not a better *Poet* too? I say, with Submission, my Lord, if Mr. *Dryden* (though he was said to be unhealthy at last) wou'd have taken as much Pains, or had been allowed Time to his Mind for revising his latter Poems, as in some of his former, they might have been as well, if not better accepted. I don't see that 'tis *old Age* that does a Man this Diskindness, but rather, that 'tis the *Accidents* that do too often attend it, which yet many are freed from to the very last.

Suppose then, my Lord, if *Raphael* or *Vandike*, or the late Mr. *H. Purcell*, or *Alessandro Stradella*, should have continued their Practice of Painting and Music 'till they grew old, from the Accidents attending

tending which, suppose them (as a great many other People) to be very free; might we not then have justly expected from them even greater Wonders than they had ever before perform'd? I won't say that an *old* General is fitter to be trusted than a *young* one; or that the late *Mareschal Schomberg* at his Death was a better Soldier (notwithstanding his Age) than the present Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland*: but rather, that the Study of *Divinity*, or of the *Laws*, do seem as nice and large as those of *Painting* and *Music*. Now the *old and sage* Men of those Professions are every-where most regarded; they are found to have the ripest Judgments, and they are deservedly employed in the most weighty Affairs appertaining to their Professions. And it has been seen (as was partly said before) that some *Painters* and *Musicians* have not at all fail'd as they grew old, but kept that great Reputation to the last, which they had before acquir'd.

My Lord, upon the whole, it seems to me that there is a gradual and sensible Alteration in the Appearance of Things, and especially in the Scripture or Hand-writing of MSS. Now these ought to be consider'd with respect to the particular *Places* wherein they were written.

Every Country is suppos'd to have remaining in it the greatest Variety and most considerable Monuments of its own Characters, unless they are known to be carried away to other Places. And therefore, if any Man be desirous of considering the Letters of any Language that has been confin'd to any one particular Region or Province, 'tis but going thither, and it's ten to one, but (if he be diligent) he may satisfy his Curiosity very well. For Example: Suppose I should be willing to consider the Nature of the *Irish Letters*, their Original, Progress and Variations, with their Relation to the *Roman*, *Franco* and *Anglo-Saxon*: This might be done by travelling *Ireland* principally, by taking a Trip into the *Scotch Highlands*, and perhaps into the *Isle of Man*, and by consulting some *English* and *other* Libraries, whither some *Irish MSS.* have been carried.

If I would consider the *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, or *English* Hands, each Country affords sufficient Helps. But if a Man would consider the Letters of a dead or living Language, which *spread far, and has been, or is used in several Countries*; he can't be suppos'd a perfect Master in all the Ways of writing that Language, till he has consider'd the whole State and Succession of its Letters in each of those Countries: Amongst those Languages I reckon the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Turkish*, *Armenian*, *Persian*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Teutonic*, *Sc'avonian*, &c. And though *Latin* is common amongst us, and every body is pronouncing the Age of a *Latin MS.* yet I think they would do well to inquire *where*, as well as *when*, a Book was written. And if they are certain that such a *Latin Book* was written in such a particular Country, or Province, 'tis then more easy, by considering the Succession of Letters used in that Province, or by comparing it with other Books written therein,

therein, to say *how old* it is. For want of this Consideration many learned Persons have been almost always out in their Calculations, and have pronounc'd at random. If then, my Lord, this Method appears rational, and even necessary, in order to attain a sufficient Measure of this sort of Knowledge; it follows, that 'tis no easy matter to assign the Age even of a *Latin MS.* no, not even in *England*, where yet I suppose there may be as great a Variety of *Latin Hands*, as in most other Countries.

As for *Painting and Music*, they are Arts that I have always had a great Love and Affection for. I know very well that each Painter's *Hand* and each Musician's *Manner* differs from another; but whether there is a gradual and remarkable Variation from themselves in the Course of their Lives, is what I never heard asserted. This is certain, that they can *change* their Way of Painting and Composing at pleasure; and therefore, Mr. *H. Purcell's Dulcibella* is said not to be like his other Music; and Mr. *Fuller* the Painter could put one of his Pieces upon Sir *Peter Lely* for a most incomparable Picture of *Mich. Angelo*. But then these Changes and Variations from their usual Manners are *very* seldom made. And a Man generally pursues and practises that which is most agreeable to his own Genius. For this Reason, when a Painter's *Hand* is fix'd, his *Manner* is then limited; and so when a curious Person comes into a Gallery, he knows that *this* Picture was done by *Ryley, Kneller, Vandyke, Dobson, Tintoret, &c.* and *that* to be a Copy after *Reubens, Georgeon, Salv. Rosa, Han. Caraccio, Pietro di Cortona, &c.* When he comes to an *Opera*, to a *Concert*, or to *Church*, not knowing beforehand what Music is to be perform'd; yet he may soon discern that it was compos'd by *Corelli, Baptist, Bassani, Charissimi, Blow, Purcell, &c.* And so upon reading an ancient Author, a sagacious and learned Person may find, that he writes according to the Manner of such an Age, that the *Stile* imitates such another; or that the Book, tho' it bears such a Man's Name, yet might, perhaps, be more truly ascribed to another, with whose *Stile* it more exactly agrees. As for Example; that Piece of *S. Cyril's*, publish'd from the *Escorial MS.* by *Barthasar Corderius*, is thought (by reason of the Analogy in point of *Stile*) to be *Origen's*; but then, whether *all this* can be *always done, done easily, and without Errors*, is the Doubt. And it seems yet a greater Difficulty certainly to discover *how old* the *Painter, Musician, Poet, Orator, or other Author* was when he finish'd any one Piece of his Works, unless a Man is plainly told so: this being a sort of Knowledge, that those who have been otherwise sufficiently experienc'd in their several Arts and Professions, have not as yet pretended to.

II. 1.] At *Haerlem*, I obtain'd the Sight of the *First Book* print-Printing in-
ed by *Costerus*: It was not *Donatus*, as the *Inscriptiones Hollandicæ* say; vented by
nor *Virgil*, nor *Tully's Offices*, as others have acquainted the World; but Costerus, in
a *Dutch Piece of Theology*, printed on one Side only of the Paper; and 1430. by Mr.
C. Ellis.
after *n.286.p.1416.*

after this is a single *Page* of *Latin*, entitled, *Liber Vitæ Alexandri Magni*, which made some believe it to be *Q. Curtius*, but it is a *Monkish Latin* of that Time. *This* and the *Theology* were printed in the Year 1430; whereas the *Inscriptions*, and some other Authors have told us from *Costerus's* Picture, that Printing was by him invented but *Anno* 1440. But a Picture of *Costerus* before another *Dutch Piece* (bound up in the same Volume, and printed 1432) bears the Date of 1430, under which Picture is the *Inscription* mention'd by Mr. *Ray* (only the Date is *Ten* Years sooner) and the *Tetraſtich*, which is transcrib'd by the Author of the *Inscriptions* from an *Effigies* of *Costerus*, which was then extant in a Garden at *Haerlem*, but is not now to be found.

Of the Invention and Progress of Printing to 1465. by ———. n. 228. p. 1507.

2.] What Mr. *Ellis* says about the Books printed at *Haerlem* by *Laur. Coster*, agreeing so well with the Account given by *Theodore Schrevelius* and others, leaves us little or no room to doubt (who must needs take it for granted, that his Observation is accurate, and the *Dates* to be true) whether the Honour of the Invention be due to *this* or the other Cities, whose Writers have so eagerly contended for it; since none of them have pretended to shew any Book printed so soon as *A. D.* 1430, or 1432, or near that Time. But the Difficulty lies either in shewing, why the Practice of this Art should be at a Stand from *A. D.* 1432, to the noted reviving of it at *Mentz* by *John Fust*, and *Peter Schoeffer*, who (as it has been vulgarly, but erroneously said) did print the first printed Book there *A. D.* 1465, namely, *Tully's Offices*: Or else, in giving any tolerable Account of the Progress of this Invention, during an Interval of above 30 Years.

Boxhornius (as I remember) as well as *Schrevelius*, and other Authors, do expressly say, (and if they had not, it might well be imagin'd) that *Coster* could not advance this Invention so far, as to print so large a Work as the *Speculum Salutis* without gradual Improvements; and that his first Essays were on loose and small *Leaves* of Paper, before he attempted *whole Books*. These being loose and single, are suppos'd to be all lost: but I once observ'd a loose Leaf of Paper *in Octavo*, lying in an old MS. *Breviary* in her Majesty's Royal Library at *St. James's*, which I then thought (and am still of the same Opinion) that 'twas one of *Coster's* first Pieces; done when he had attain'd to some Experience in the Art, and to get Money. 'Tis a little rude wooden Cut of the five Wounds of our Blessed Saviour, and the Instruments of his Passion, with a *Latin* Inscription at the bottom, to this Purport, That those who should say so many *Ave Maria's* before it, should have so many thousand Years of Pardon. In this Cut or Print, the Ink which made it was *Writing-Ink*, and 'twas all black, without those other Colours with which *Coster* seems afterwards to have adorn'd his Books.

In the above-mention'd *Boxhornius's* Book *de Origine Artis Typographicæ*, 'tis said, that *Hadrianus Junius* had a Book printed by *Coster*, and

and like that kept in the Chest at *Haerlem*: Now amongst those bequeath'd to the *Bodleian Library* at *Oxford* by Mr. *Francis Junius* (who was a Kinsman of *Hadrian's*) there is a thin Book in small Folio (*Numbred 31.*) which may probably be the same; and which Mr. *Foss*, a learned and curious *Danish* Gentleman, did assure me was very like to that at *Haerlem*. This contains the Sum of the *History of the Old Testament*, all represented in rude wooden Cuts, colour'd with divers Colours, without *Shadows*, like to our *Cards*, (which, with *Sheet-Ballads*, are Remains of the old manner of Printing) and stamp'd upon one side only; the white side of two Leaves being pasted together; the Black both in the *Pictures*, and *Inscriptions* which shew the meaning of them, being * *Writing-Ink*, (as the aforesaid Leaf) inartificially spread upon the wooden Block; here thick, there thin; spreading and yellowish; the Letters extremely rude, and altogether manifestly shewing that Art was yet in its Infancy. The stamping of this Book on one side only, was not (as some think) because the *Printer* did not know how to dispose the Pages in such manner as might be proper and easy for the *Book-binder's* Use; for it has its *Signatures* all along in *Minuscule Letters* (set in the Middle of the Page, which is remarkable) but because it was thought that the Paper would not bear a second Impression on the Backside; just as the *Book-writers* of those Times (when Paper began to be cheap, and to be made up into Books) would yet have the first and last Leaf of each *Quaternio*, *Senio*, &c. to be of *Parchment* for Strength sake. This Book (as I remember) is imperfect, and has no *Date* now appearing, and perhaps never had any; neither has such another Book as this, which contains the *History of St. John and the Apocalypse*, in such like wooden-colour'd *Pictures* and *Inscriptions*. This is inscribed *LAUDE 65.* in the same *Bodleian Library*, and has its *Signatures* also in *Majuscule Letters* (as indeed I have observed *Signatures* in many MSS. of different Ages, as high as 1000 Years ago, and upwards, expressed either by *Letters* or *Numbers*). This Book, tho' printed on one Side, and pasted as the former, is yet more elegant, and shews that the Art was much improved. And here it may not be impertinent to observe, that in the same Library (*Arch. B. Bodl. 88.*) is an ancient MS. with the same *Figures* and *Inscriptions*, tho' the *Habits* of the Figures be different, those of the MS. being of the older Fashion, and 'tis very likely that there is another Copy of this Book in the *Emperor's* Library at *Vienna*; for *Lambecius*, *Comment. de Biblioth. Cæs. Lib. II. Page 772.* reckons, amongst those which he brought away from the *Archiducal* Library at *Inspruck*, a Book of which he gives this Account; *Apocalypsis S. Joannis Apostoli & Evangelistæ Latino-Germanica, chartacea in folio, una cum Vita ipsius,*

* It is to be wish'd that Mr. *Ellis*, when he had *Coster's* Books in his Hands, had observed whether the *Black Ink* was *Printing Ink* or not; whether *Coster's* *Picture* was ancient, and colour'd or not; or if there were more in either of the Books; whether the whole was cut upon Wood, or compos'd with *Printing Letters*; whether there were *Signatures* for the *Book-binders*, &c.

& multis Figuris Ligno incis, quæ propter Vetustatem suam spectatu sunt dignissimæ; and in this Book at Oxford, besides the printed Cuts, also a Commentary upon the *Apocalypse* in *Higb-Dutch*. Besides these two most ancient printed Books, Mr. Bagford told me, that in the *Manuscript Library* of *Corpus Christi* or *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*, he saw a third, containing the *History of our Saviour*, printed on one Side only of the Paper, with such like wooden Cuts; but yet more neatly than either of the former, which I had before shewn him at Oxford. And these three Books, being as is before said, stamped but on one Side of the Leaf, the whole wrought or cut upon Wood, not set or compos'd with *Printing Letter*, and printed with *Writing-Ink*, do sufficiently demonstrate, that the Art was as yet in its Infancy, and may, tho' they bear no Workman's Name, be very reasonably ascribed to *Coster*, not only because no-body else lays Claim to them, but because in divers Circumstances they agree with the History of the Man, and with what remains of his Workmanship. If it be ask'd, why *Coster* did not set his Name, and the Year to these Books, as well as to that at *Haerlem*, mention'd by Mr. *Ellis*? It may be answer'd, that *Schrevelius* tells us, that *Coster* bound *Fust* above-mention'd by Oath to Secrecy, and not to betray the Art to any Person whatsoever. Wherein 'tis likely, that his Design was not so much to let the World think, that he had a new Way of multiplying the Copy of a Book much quicker than the quickest Penman; but that he design'd to impose upon the World, by selling his *printed Books* for new-written Copies, whereby the *Book-Writer* and *Illuminator* must (as he might well pretend) be so paid for their Work, as to maintain themselves and Families. This Trick might be long undiscovered in and about *Haerlem*. because there was no other Printing, whereby this might be condemned; but at length, as *Boxhornius* and *Schrevelius* write, *Fust* run away with all his Master's Tools and Materials, and in process of Time set up a Printer's Shop at *Mentz*, being assisted by his Servant *Peter Schoeffer* (a young Man of a good Genius) who afterwards married his Daughter, and became his Partner in the Business. The Story goes, that this *John Fust* went to *Paris*, (but whether before or after his settling at *Mentz*, I cannot tell): And that he there offered a great Number of *printed Bibles* to Sale, as if they were *Manuscripts*. But the *French* were not to be so caught. They consider'd the Number of these Books, and their exact Conformity to one another throughout the whole, to a Line, a Word, a Letter, a Point, and that the best of *Book-Writers* could not be thus exact; and therefore by indicting him of *Diabolical Magic* (or threatening him with it) they at once gave Birth to the Story of *Doctor Faustus*, and caused him to discover the Art. And I doubt not but about this Time very many Books were printed and sold for Manuscripts, I having seen divers such Books without Dates, which look'd rather older than any I have seen with them. I speak now of those that are set or compos'd of *Letter*, which, with

Printing-

Printing-Ink of Lamp-black and Oil, and the *Printing-Press*, is said to be the Improvement of *Schoeffer* above-mention'd; tho' *Schrevelius* with less Reason ascribes the two former to his Countryman *Coster*.

When *Fust* and *Schoeffer* began first to work at *Mentz*, is uncertain; but the first Mention I find of him, as a Printer at *Mentz*, is in *Schrevelius*, *Haerlem*, pag. 272, where he says, that this *Fust*, (or *Faustus*, as he calls him) publish'd *Alexandri Doctrinale cum Petri Hispani Tractatibus*, A. D. 1442. but this, and some other Books mentioned by Writers on this Subject, are never said to be extant in any particular Place, in order to be consulted upon Occasion; and therefore their Titles and Dates are not so much to be relied upon. But another Date, which, tho' not so old, is more authentic, may be found in the above-cited Book of *Lambecius*, pag. 989. where he says, he brought away from *Inspruck*, amongst other choice Volumes, and placed in the Imperial Library at *Vienna*, a Psalter printed upon Parchment, with this Inscription at the End; *Præsens Psalmorum Codex Venustate Capitalium decoratus, Rubricationibusque sufficienter distinctus, ad inventionem artificiosam imprimendi ac characterizandi, absque Calami ulla Exaratione sic effigiatus, & ad Eusebiam Dei industrie est consummatus per Johannem Fust, Civem Moguntinum, & Petrum Schoeffer de Gernszheim, Anno Dom. millesimo CCCCLVII. in Vigilia Assumptionis.* From this Time there are constant Remains of the Industry of these Men; and I can mention more Books printed by them, than the *Durandus* (in the Library of *Basil* in *Switzerland*) printed (as a Gentleman, who saw it, told me) A. D. 1458. *Joannes Joannensis's Catholicon* (in her Majesty's and the Lord Bishop of *Norwich's* Libraries) printed 1460. The *Latin Bible* of 1462, yet extant in the *French King's* Library, and in divers Monasteries beyond the Seas, and perhaps in *England*. The *Tully's Offices* printed both in 1465 and 1466. (if both these be not the same Edition, the last Sheet or Leaf being composed afresh): and so on till *Schoeffer* work'd for himself after the Death of *Fust*, and *Schoeffer's* Posterity after him. But I willingly forbear the Catalogue, in hopes that this, with that of the other old Printers throughout *Europe*, and especially of our *English Workmen*, with their Devices, the Effigies of most of them, and a multitude of uncommon Remarks relating to Writing, Printing, Parchment, Paper, Binding, &c. will be communicated to the World, when Mr. *Bagford's* Papers shall be digested.

I add also, that upon the first Discovery of the Art by *Fust* at *Paris*, or at his first Settlement or publick Profession of it at *Mentz*, it quickly spread over the best Parts of *Europe*, * and was commonly used in other Countries before 'twas known in *England*, (notwithstanding what some Writers do affirm to the contrary;) the first Book, that we pretend to have been printed here, being *Hierome* (or rather *Rufinus*) on the Creed, printed at *Oxford*, A. D. 1468.

* From these Places, and from Books, or Parts of Books, where, or wherein such Sorts of Letter were used, the Printers do still call their Letter, *Italick*, *Roman*, *English*, &c. *Austin*, *Canon*, *Pica*, *Primer*, *Brevier*, &c.

To prove this in some measure (not to mention the Progress of *Printing* in other Countries) I instance in *Italy*, and particularly *Rome*. Here, not to insist on the large Catalogue of *printed Books* described in an Epistle to Pope *Xystus IV.* publish'd at the Beginning of the fifth *Tome* of the *Bible* printed with *Lyra's Commentaries* at *Rome*, A. D. 1472. and transcrib'd by *Boxhornius*; I shall only relate the Sum of what I meet with in *Bernard Montfaucon's Diarium Italicum*, Tom. 1. page 255, 256. 'Tis, that *Joannes Aleriensis*, in a flattering Epistle to Pope *Paul II.* (who was elected A. D. 1464.) congratulates him, because *Printing* was first used at *Rome*, under his Pontificate. Which if spoken of the very first Practice of the Art at *Rome*, and not of an establish'd Imprimery, seems to be false; because this learned Monk, in the same place, says he saw a *Laetantius* in the *Musæum* (or Study) of *Monsieur de la Tbuilliere*, which has these Words at the end; *Laetantii Firmiani Institutiones causæ in venerabili Monasterio Sublacensi Anno 1461. antepenultima Octobris*. Now unless a Man will suppose *Printing* to be invented in this Monastery, he must believe it to be brought hither from *Rome*. which is but about 20 Miles distant from it. And the same Author says, that *Floravantes Martinellus*, in his *Roma Sacra*, affirms that *Printing* was practis'd at *Rome* in the Palace of the *Maximi*, A. D. 1455. under Pope *Nicolaus V.* by *Conrad Sweynheim* and *Arnold Pannartz*, who were both *Germans*, and continued *Printers* there for many Years after.

The Custom of putting the *Dates* of *printed Books* at the *End* of them, was taken up in Imitation of divers of the middle-aged and recent *Manuscripts* (for I never saw or heard of any ancient *Manuscript* in *Capital Letters*, either *Greek* or *Latin*, which has a profess'd *Date* written in the *first Hand*; but here the Inspector ought to be cautious, lest he be led into an Error: For several *Manuscripts* at the *End* have a *Date*, which may be by some understood of the Time when those individual Copies were written, whenas they only notify the Time when the *Author finished his Work*. And some of these *Dates*, being printed from the *Manuscripts*, have deceived many curious Men. For Example, the first Edition of *Lynwood, Paulus a Sancta Maria*, and others which I could name. Besides some *Dates* in ancient printed Books, being not Corrected, are false; such as a Book printed in the beginning of the 16th Century, in the Library belonging to the *Ashmolean Musæum* at *Oxford*, which thus pretends to 400 or 500 Years of Age. A *Julius Hyginus* once shewed to me by Mr. *Millington* the Bookseller, printed at *Paris* (as there put down) *Anno Dom. MCCCCXII.* instead of *MCCCCCXII.* For the Printer is mention'd as then living in *l' Origine de l' Imprimerie de Paris*. I have indeed a Book, wherein, amongst other Tracts, is one of an old Print, at the end of which there seems to be such a Mistake, tho' not so easily rectified as the former. The Words are these; *Explicit Opusculum Enee Sylvii de duobus amantibus in Civitate Leydensi Anno Domini*

mini Millesimo CCCC quadragesimo tertio LEIEN. Now tho' *Leyden* seems to be the Place where 'twas printed, yet 1443 cannot be the Time when; for just before *Sylvius* says himself, *Vale, ex Vienna quinto Nonas Julias Mo CCCC quadragesimo quarto.* *Sylvius* was elected Pope by the Name of *Pius I.* A. D. 1458, and died A. D. 1464. Now it may seem probable, that if this Tract was printed after his Election (as suppose A. D. 1463.) or even after his Decease, his Papal Dignity might have been remember'd; if it be judg'd to have been printed before his Election, I know none that will allow of printing at *Leyden* (or even in *Lyons*) so very early.

One Objection may be urg'd against what is said of *Coster's*, or the old printed Books above-mention'd, being printed upon Paper about A. D. 1430, or soon after. For some Authors are of Opinion, that Paper made of Linnen Rags was first made at *Basil*, by some *Greeks* who fled out of their Country after the Saccage of *Constantinople*, A. D. 1452, in Imitation of the *Cotton Paper*, commonly used in the *Levant*. But this can have no Force, our Paper being much older: For I have a Piece, the Writing upon which seems to be about 350 Years old, and agrees very well with a Charter which I have seen of *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, bearing Date A. D. 1358, and 32 *Edw. III.* In the Archives of the Library belonging to the RR. Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, I saw an Inventory of the Goods of *Henry*, Prior of *Christ's* Church there, taken upon his Decease (as I remember) the 20th Year of King *Edward* the IIIrd, and this is written upon Paper. In the *Cottonian* Library, though searching after other Matters, I could not but observe several Writings upon our Paper, in the Time of most of our Kings and Queens, as high as the 15th of King *Edward III.* and I doubt not but that there are others more ancient in the same Place. But in the *East*, the Use of *Cotton Paper* is much more ancient; and I have in the *Bodleian* Library seen an *Arabick* Manuscript (amongst those which the University bought of *Dr. Huntingdon*) written in the 427th of the Year *Hegira*, i. e. A. D. 1049; and others in the same Place, without Dates, seem older.

The Proximity of the Subject causes me here to take notice, that though the Invention of the *Rolling-press* is commonly ascribed to *Lipsius*; yet it seems older than his Time, from a printed Book in the *Bodleian* Library, placed LAVD. D. 138. This is a *Missale secundum usum Ecclesie Herbipolensis*, (i. e. *Wurtzburg* in *Germany*.) *Rodolfus*, Archbishop of that Church, sets forth in an Instrument at the Beginning of the Book, the Reasons why he caused this Missal to be published, which Instrument bears Date the 8th of *November* 1481; by which Time he orders all the Copies to be finished by *Jorius Ryser* his Printer, who seems to have done so, since his Name, and this Year 1481, is written at the End of the Book. Instead of a Seal to this Instrument is an *Engraven Print*, being the *Arms* of the *See* supported by two *Angels*, and *St. Kilian* (its first Bishop and Protector) behind; as

also this Prelate's own Arms, with those of the *See* in another *Escutcheon*, and a very fine *Mantling*. This is extremely well engraven for the Time, and equals the Performances of some of our best Workmen at present. The evident Marks of *Pressure* by the *Plate*, with some Touches of *Ink* at the *Edges*, the *Roughness* of the Print, and other Circumstances concurring, I thought this must needs be wrought off at the *Rolling-press*. But being unwilling to rely too far upon my own Judgment, I shewed it to divers very knowing and curious Gentlemen, to several *Printers*, *Engravers*, and others working constantly at the *Rolling-press*, who all concurr'd (though at different Times, one not knowing what another had said) that 'twas not only excellently well engraven (and this before *Albert Durer's* Time) but that it was certainly pull'd from the *Rolling-press*, and could be done no other way. And that this Print was not done after that Time, appears from several Notes written here and there in the Book. One of them specifies that *William Kewstb*, Vicar of *St. Bartholomew's* Church in *Wurtzburg*, bought this Book the same Year 1481, paying 18 *Florins* for the *Parchment*, *Printing*, *Rubrication*, *Illumination*, and *Binding*. By another it appears, that he gave it to his Church for ever. And by some others it appears that it remained there during the Times of his several Successors, till the last Age, when, as I suppose, the *Swedes*, under *Gustavus Adolphus*, plunder'd the Church, and brought it out.

On the same,
by M. J. Bag-
ford. n. 310.
p. 2397.

3.] The Antiquity of Printing, and the first Inventors, having been treated of by many Authors, I shall now only give a short Account of the Observations I have made in many Years from old Books of several Sorts and Kinds. The general Notion of most Authors is, that we had the Hint from the *Chinese*; but I am not in the least inclined to be of that Opinion, for at that time of day we had no Knowledge of them. I think we might more probably take it from the ancient *Romans*, their Medals, Seals, and the Marks or Names at the Bottom of their sacrificing Pots, which Antiquities we had amongst ourselves in *Europe*, rather than fetch it so far. But if it be certain, that Cards are as old as our King *Henry the Vith*, nothing that I have seen, or considered of, seems to give so fair an Hint for Printing, as the making of Cards; as it is evident by the first Specimen of Printing at *Haerlem*, and by some Books in the *Bodleian Library* at *Oxford*, one in *Junius's* Collection, another in Archbishop's *Laud's*, and a third in the same; being the Lives of the *Russian* Saints in a thin Folio; the Leaves are not pasted together as the former two, but cut on wooden Blocks, and illuminated. There is also another rare Specimen of the first in that valuable Collection of Archbishop *Parker* in *Bennet College Library* at *Cambridge*, bound up with a MS. Book. This was shown me at first by Mr. *Bullord*, and differs very much from them at *Oxford*; it is the *Life of Christ* in

in Figures, or rather the Types of the Old and New Testament. They have not so many Specimens of the first Printing at *Haerlem*, as we have in *England*; and I am apt to believe, that if some curious Persons had the Liberty of looking over the Libraries in both Universities, and that of the Royal Society, there might be found other Specimens of the ancient Printing: the aforementioned Books being taken notice of but of late.

The cutting of the Moulds or Blocks for making our playing Cards, is after the same Manner as those for the Books printed at *Haerlem*. They lay a Sheet of moist or wet Paper on the Form or Block, being first lightly brush'd over with Ink, made of Lamp-black mix'd with Starch and Water: Then they rub it off with a round Lint with their Hand, which is done with great Expedition; this is for Picture or Court Cards: Then they paste them together threefold, the coarsest in the middle. They colour them by the help of several *Patterns*, or *Stanefiles*, as they call them; they are Card Paper cut through with a Penknife, for every Colour, as Red, &c. (for at the first Printing the Card has only a meer Out-line:) These Patterns are painted with Oil-Colours, to keep them from wearing out with the Brushes; they lay it upon the Picture, and by sliding a Brush that is full and loose gently over the Pattern, it fixes the Colour into the cut Holes, and leaves it on the Print that is to be a Card, and so go through all the Colours you see on Cards; but this cannot be so well understood by a Description, as by seeing them perform it. This I humbly conceive to be their Way of printing first at *Haerlem*, and those Books above-mentioned. This, methinks, might have been consider'd before this time of Day, if they would have put themselves to the trouble of inspecting the old MSS. 900 Years old; for the great Letters are done by the Illuminators the same Way as Card-making; as I shall treat of more at large in another Dissertation.

The next Form of Printing at *Haerlem* was by cutting whole Forms in Wood from MSS. exactly written, and without Pictures: Such I take the *Donatus* to be, mentioned in Histories; and this might bear Date in 1450, some say 1440. This may be as plainly demonstrated, as the former, from Copy-Books which we have seen printed at *Rome*, *Venice*, *Switzerland*, and *England*, as high as 1500; and, if I mistake not, there is a Block cut in Box in the Collection of the *Musæum* of the Royal Society. This Writing is harder to perform than either the *Roman*, *Italick*, or any other Letters used in printed Books.

The third Way of Printing was with single Types made of Wood, but to whom the Honour of the Invention is due, is not very evident; it was then esteemed so great a Rarity, that the Printers carry'd their Letters in Bags at their Backs, and got Money at great Mens Houses by printing the Names of the Family, Epitaphs, Songs, and other small Pamphlets.

The fourth Improvement of this noble Art was the Invention of single Types made of Metal. Here we must entirely give the Honour to *Peter Schoeffer* of *Grenschben*, Servant, and afterwards Son-in-law to *Faust*, who entertain'd him to work in his House at *Mentz*: He observing how industrious his Master was every Day to improve this Art, undertook it himself; and with much Study and Industry brought it to Perfection. After he had made several Essays, at last he shews it to his Master *Faust*, who having tried some Experiments with his new-invented single Types, finding that it would answer his Expectation, was so transported with Joy, that, for his Reward, he promis'd he should marry his Daughter, whose Name was *Christian*, which some time after he perform'd, and continu'd together improving this Art with great Secresy, till it became known, and spread itself over all *Europe*. Sometimes you have their Names to the Books they printed at the End, and sometimes not; sometimes with Dates as high as the Year 1457, as the *Psalms* printed by them, now in the Emperor's Library, which *Lambecius* mentions in his *Bibliotheca*, and as low as the Year 1490; and for this we have the Authority of *Erasmus*, in a Preface to *Livy*, printed at *Basil* by *Froben*, in 15..

As for *John Guttenburgh*, though by abundance of Authors he is said to be the first Inventor of Printing, we cannot find one Book with his Name and Printing.

We may rationally conjecture, that Printing with Plates of Pewter, Brass, or Iron, either graved or eat with *Aqua fortis*, was first practis'd by the working Goldsmiths; for they have a Way of taking off the Impressions of their Work by the Smoke of a Lamp, which perhaps gave the Hint to the Graving on Brass. We have a dark Story of it in some Authors.

Having treated of Printing, to satisfy the Curious, I shall say something of the several Advances and Improvements it hath received.

The *Haerlem* Printing at first was a Book with Pictures; they took off the Impression with a List coiled up, as the Card-makers use the same to this Day.

But when they came to use single Types, they made use of stronger Paper, with Vellum and Parchment: Then they made use of a Press, although they afterwards contrived and made it more useful.

Neither was their Ink for Printing brought to Perfection at the first, but improved by degrees.

Rolling-press Printing was not used in *England* till King *James I.* and then brought from *Antwerp* by our industrious *John Speed*.

Of his intended History of Printing.

I shall discourse at large, in my *History of Printing*, of the Invention of making Paper in *Europe*, from all the best Authors, with large Observations of my own; the Time when it began in several Places, more especially in *England*; and I intend to exhibit a Specimen of the Marks of the old Paper, which has not yet been attempted by any.

Book-binding shall be handled in all its Parts, its several Ages and Times: Also the Form, Size, and Volume, Folding, Sewing, Headbanding, several sorts of Boards for Covers, Claspings, Boffing, &c. Also in all Countries, as *China, Persia, Turkey, Greece, Ancient and Modern Germany, Italy, France, Holland, and Spain*; but more particularly in *England*.

The Devices, *Rebus's*, and Signs of the ancient Printers will take up a whole Chapter, where their Descent and Genealogies shall be shewn, and how they succeeded one another in their Office, or Printing-house. On this Subject I have no Path to follow; but *Draudeus* hath a Tract I find mentioned, that treats of the ancient Devices of the Printers: but after my Inquiry, I could never see it, and so can receive no Assistance from it. Also *Naudeus's* Life of *Lewis the Eleventh* hath an Account of *Faust's* printing the Bible in the *Latin* Tongue, his bringing them to *Paris*, and vending them there for MSS. his Troubles and Accusations before the Parliament, being tried for a Conjuror, which I conceive gave Occasion for that foolish Book, that goes under the Name of *Dr. Faustus's* Life. This is not my own Thought, but the Sentiments of others; for we have another Example of the like nature, our famous *Roger Bacon*, though some Centuries of Years before, who had the like Fate.

Since my second Voyage to *Holland*, to satisfy my Curiosity, and remove some Scruples about the Book at *Haerlem*, and the Statue of *Coster*, having recollected myself after my first Voyage, and discoursing with *Mr. Talman, jun.* about *Holland* and the Statue of *Coster*, he told me he had seen the same in *Holland*, and that it was in the *Haerlemer-street* in *Leyden*. This very much run in my mind, to be further satisfied that it should be in *Leyden*, and not *Haerlem*, altho' asserted by several of our modern Travellers.

At my last being in *Holland*, for my further Satisfaction, tho' I had got *Mr. Ball* to take the Inscription for me the Year before, in *June* 1705; on the 23d of *October* 1706, I took Boat for *Leyden*, where I arriv'd about six the same Day; and next Day in the Morning, in the Company of *Mr. Bevell*, a Student there, who was my Guide into the *Haerlemer-street*, so call'd because it leadeth to the *Haerlem* Parts, over the Door of a Glazier's House was the Figure of *Coster* cut in Wood, and painted with the Inscription.

This Statue was not set up by any publick Authority of the Magistrates of that City, but by a private Man; and, if I mistake not, by the Owner of the House, perhaps for the Name and Sake of the Street; and, as I suppose, not older than about 1630. This Statue is done after the graved Print that is in the Book at *Haerlem*, or the Painting over the Door of *Laurence Johnson Coster*, where they say he first practis'd the *Art of Printing*; but I rather take it, that he liv'd in this House in his old Age, and was Church-keeper, or, as we call it, *Sexton*; for so the Word signifies both in the *German* and *Dutch* Language.

Some

Of the Invention and

Some Days after, leaving *Leyden*, we set forth from *Amsterdam* in a Waggon for *Haerlem*, to compare and collate the Book which Mr. *Bullord* had procured for me with that at *Haerlem*, it being another Impression in *Quarto*. The Name of the Book at the latter end runs thus :

This Book was finished in the good City of Culenburgh, by me John Veldener, in the Year of our Lord 1483, on the Saturday after St. Matthew's Day; with the Device of the Printer hanging on the Bough or Snag of a Tree, a Custom they much used in those Days, as may be seen by the Monuments of the Ancients cut on Grave-Stones, not only in the great Church at Haerlem, but several other Cities in Holland.

The Title of the Book in *Low-Dutch*, the Language in which it is printed, is,

De Spiegel onser Bebondenise.

IN ENGLISH,

The Mirror of our Salvation.

When we arrived at *Haerlem*, much to my Surprize we found the House of *Coster* new fac'd with Plaister, and the Picture of his Statue, (for it is no other than a Picture in Oil-Colours) painted on a Board let into the Wall near the Top of the House, although it be a small one. This House was new repair'd, and to be let; although when I was there before, it was inhabited by a Cheesemonger. After viewing the House and the great Church, we directed our way to the Rector, who is the School-master, put in by the Magistrates of the City. He not being in the way, his Servant-Maid took the Key, and readily gave us Admission into the Prince's Garden, in order to shew us the Book, which was removed from the Stair-head of the Prince's *Houffe*, or House, where we saw it last, to the further End of the Garden, in a little House fitted up for that purpose, facing the Garden. On the Chest that it was kept in, there was the Date 1618, inlaid in the Wood. Opening it, the Maid shewed us the Book, where Mr. *Bullord* collated it with the other we brought with us from *Amsterdam*, and found it to agree both in the Words of the Text, and also the Pictures; they only differ'd in this, that being in *Folio*, with two Pictures in a Page, and the Words Column-wise, and 25 Lines in a Column, containing 60 Pages, and printed but on one side, and not pasted together as those at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

This will enable me to oblige the Curious with a Specimen of the *Haerlem* Book, as well as those of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; the latter I have cut for my History of Printing, as I do intend the others.

After

After this, we address'd ourselves to an old Gardener that was at work in the Garden; for Mr. Bullord had enquired of him when we came first into the Garden, Whether he knew any thing of the Statue of *Coster*? And he readily told him, he could shew him it. At the Entrance into the Garden, at the upper End of the Summer-House, on the right Hand, he pointed to it, where we saw it leaning with its left Hand on the Inscription, which bore Date 1440. and in its right Hand the Letter A in a Square, with other Figures, as little Boys naked, and in their Hands ABC, with the Picture of *Fame* holding the Letters CD and E. This was taken from the Story of *Junius*, in his *History of the Low Countries*, and others from him. There are other Stories painted on the Walls of the Summer-House, as one of the Lords of *Haerlem* in his Armour; but they not being to my purpose, I shall pass them by.

All these Pictures, with the Statue of *Coster*, are painted in *Distemper*, and are no older (as appears by the Date on the Cieling) than 1655.

This is a short Account of my second Voyage into *Holland*, and the Advantages I have gain'd by it, in collating the so much esteemed Book by the *Hollanders*, which seems to me not so rare as at first, since I have had a Sight of that at *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*, and those at *Oxford*; which will also enable me to give a further Account than hitherto hath been done, by the help of some Books that have been procured me by my Friends Interest, as that of *Naudeus's* Story of Printing in the Life of *Lewis XI.* in Mr. *Bayle's* Collection, procured me by Mr. *Leers* of *Amsterdam*, who got the Favour for my Friend Mr. *Bullord* to translate that Part which relates to the History of Printing, the Story of *Faust*, &c. and the first Printing at *Paris*, as well as at *Mentz*; this contains 16 Sheets in MS. with other critical Discourses relating to Learning, and Books that were first printed. These I have been in Search of for many Years, and am apt to believe there is never a one in *England*.

One Book more I want to see, and should be extremely satisfied if any one could procure me the Sight of it. It is a small Tract wrote by *Draudius* in small *Twelves*; *The Devices of the Printers*.

I have had the Chronicle of *Collen*, which *Naudeus* could never see, and also a Book printed at *Leipswick* in the *German* Language, giving an Account of the *Jubilee* kept there in Memory of *Printing* and its Invention, translated into *English* by my Friend and Correspondent Mr. *Bullord*, with many other Tracts relating to the first Invention of *Printing*.

I have spared for no Cost or Pains in procuring of Copies of Books, where they are to be had, for the illustrating it in all its Parts, to satisfy the Curious. Now as *Printing* itself is but another way of Writing, and brought to Perfection by degrees, as other Arts; and as Pictures either painted, cut in Wood, or graved, were called the

Lay-

Lay-mens Books; for every one could read a Picture, and say this is an House, and that a Tree; so I may say, that the Pictures, or Drawings of the Ancients, gave the first Hint of *Printing*: And if the Scribes in process of time had not brought their *Art of Writing* into the Decorum and Uniformity, and Rule in their several Volumes, the *Printers* could not have followed them so exactly in the Imitation of their Letters and Pages of their Books. Pictures first were those of Devotion; then the making of Cards was another Introduction to the Invention of *Printing*: The making of Cards I take to be very ancient.

For the first Specimen of *Printing* was on one side only, as that at *Bennet-College*, most in Figures, with some few Words only on the side in Labels, like that at *Oxford*.

The next Step is that Book at *Haerlem*; the Designs of the Prints are better perform'd; and then they came to have not only Lines, but whole Pages of Words, besides the Pictures on a Page.

The next Step was *Ballad-printing*, with the like Pictures, and them but on one side.

The next Improvement of this noble Art was the cutting of whole Pages on wooden Blocks or Moulds, and printing on both sides of the Page; and the first Specimen of this Nature was a *Donatus*, and, as Authors say, was printed at *Haerlem* and at *Mentz*, although some say a Bible was printed the same way 1457.

For the History of making Paper here in *Europe*, I have, by the Assistance of my Friends in the *Tower* and elsewhere, been enabled to give a large Account of its Antiquity, almost two Centuries higher than I thought of, and shall give the Marks of the ancient Paper, from the 12th Century down to 1600, in the several Countries where the *Paper-makers* lived.

This, I am apt to think, was never attempted by any Author before. The Specimens of ancient Pieces of MSS. and also of ancient Paper, collected by myself some Years since, and bound up in two Volumes in large Folio, are now to be seen in the Library of his Grace the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in *St. Martin's*, collected and put together at no small Cost and Pains; perhaps the first of that kind that ever was done in any Part of *Europe*.

I conclude with informing you, that in this Treatise I shall give an Historical Account of the several Versions and Impressions of the *Holy Bible*, *Testament*, *Psalms*, *Primmer*, and other Books of Devotion, from the Beginning of the *Reformation* down to 1600. At first I had no Thought to have inserted them; but some Collections coming into my Hands of late, wherein I find several material Passages not mentioned by any that have gone before me, so amply and fully, I shall, for the Information and at the Request of my particular Friends, treat of them in a distinct Chapter.

4.] Mr. Bagford's Collection for his *History of Printing* consists chiefly of *Title Pages*, and other *Fragments*, put together into Books, many of them in some Sort of Order and Method, and others not. *Ex. gr.*

An Account of Mr. Bagford's Collections for a History of Printing, by Mr. H. Wanley, ibid. p. 2407.

In one Volume there are Specimens of *Letters* of all sorts, as well of those used in foreign Countries, as in *England*.

In another, are Titles and Fragments of *Almanacks* from *A. D. 1537*, downwards; with Titles of *Bibles, Law-Books, &c.* Printed by the *Company of Stationers* in *London*.

In other Volumes are the Titles of Books of all kinds, printed by the *London Printers*, disposed into some sort of Order, viz. as to the Subject of the Book, or Dwelling-place of the *Printer*.

In others, are Title-Pages of Books printed in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

In others, Title-Pages of those printed in *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Title-Pages and Frontispieces, with other Specimens of the Works of our *English Engravers*.

Titles of Books printed by *Roman Catholicks, Presbyterians, Quakers*, by other *Seċtaries*, by *seditious Persons, &c.*

Cuts of *Monuments, Tombs, Funerals, &c.* in *England*.

Cuts of the same in foreign Parts, with the Cuts of the Manner of *executing Criminals*.

Cuts with some Drawings of Habits of divers Nations, of several Trades, of *Utenfils, Weapons, Fountains or Wells*; with other Prints useful in *Joyners* and *Masons* Work.

Cuts of Figures in different Postures, as *Writing, Reading, and Meditating*; with all the *Utenfils* used in *Writing, &c.* during some Ages. Cuts of *Schools*. The *Heads* of some *Arithmeticians*; *Alphabets*; Specimens of *Knot-work*, and some *Great Text* and other Letters. Specimens of *Letter-Graving*. *Heads* of *Writing-Masters, Dutch, French, English*. Specimens of Letters engraven in *Small*; as also of *Short Hand, &c.* *Heads* of *Short-hand Writers*, and Specimens of their Works, and many other things.

Title-Pages of Books, and *Printers Devices*; printing in the *Spanish Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal*; Titles of Books published by *English Catholicks*, *Alphabets* of *Plantin's Capital Letters, &c.*

Title-Pages, Alphabets, and Printers Devices, used in *Basil, Zurich*, and in other Places in *Switzerland*.

The like for the *United Netherlands*.

The like for *France*.

The like for *Germany*, with some others of *Poland, Switzerland, Denmark, Bohemia, and France*.

The like for *Italy*, with some others of *Geneva, Sicily, &c.*

Collection of *Acts of Parliament, Ordinances, Proclamations, &c.* regulating the *Press*; with many other Papers.

Proposals for printing particular Books.

Catalogues of Books, relating to *Painting, Printing, &c.* Specimens of Paper differently coloured. Marks on the Outsides of Reams of Paper; with *Orders, Cases, Reasons, &c.* relating to the *Manufacture.*

Old *Prints* or *Cuts* from *A. D. 1467.* with the *Effigies* and *Devices* of many *Printers, Foreigners* and *English*; with other *Cuts* and Specimens of *Paper, &c.*

Collection of *Epitaphs* of the *Printers* in *Basil*; with the *Life* of *John Froben*; Catalogues of Books, &c.

Collections relating to the *Lives* of the *Engravers* of divers Countries.

Titles of Books printed in most Parts of *Europe*, before the Year 1500.

Collection of *Patents* for printing *Law-Books, &c.*

Some *German Cards.*

With many other Volumes of Collections of the kinds above-mentioned, tho' not so well sorted.

And these *Title-pages* of *Books* are really useful, upon many Accounts, *viz.* as being authentick and exact, when as in most *Catalogues* the *Titles* are abbreviated and otherwise imperfect. Besides, these *Titles* informed me of many *Books* I had never heard of before; and from them I have been enabled to enquire for several *Books*, some of which I have since procured to my great Satisfaction. And it is my Opinion, that there are but few curious Men, but upon the View of this Collection, will own they have here met with several *Titles*, or other *Fragments* of *Books*, in their several ways, which they knew not of before. And thus we see, that a single Leaf of *Paper*, tho' not valuable in its self, yet when come to be part of a Collection, may be of good Use, not only in respect of the *Matter* it treats of, but as to the *Mark of the Paper, the Date, Printer's Name, Country, Title, Faculty, &c.*

Mr. *Bagford* has also a very plentiful Collection of the *Titles* of *Books* remarkable and curious, which he has taken from the *Books* themselves. And when they are of such Sorts, as now are seldom to be seen entire, he has made such Observations, as that the several Editions shall be certainly known, tho' your *Book* be imperfect at beginning and end.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Chronology. History. Antiquities.

I. 1.] **T**HE Learned *R. Thornton*, Esq; on reading *Dr. Wallis's* *The Rule for finding Easter*, made this Calculation.

by *Mr. R. Thornton*; communicated by *Mr. R. Thoresby*. n. 297. p. 1901. † *Vid. supra*, V. iii. p. 402.

Rightly to understand the Rule in our *Common-Prayer Books* for finding *Easter*: Note,

1. That the 21st of *March*, in all but Leap-years; and in Leap-years the 20th of *March*, was, at the Time of the Council of *Nice*, when this Rule was made, the vernal Equinox: Consequently,

2. That the 20th of *March*, in Leap-years, is the same as the 21st of *March* in common Years.

3. That the Full Moon meant in this Rule is not to be found in our Almanacks, but by the Kalender of our *Common Prayer Books*, where, in the first Column, the Golden Number of every Year is placed over-against the Day of the New-Moon in every Month of the Year.

4. That the 14th Day, including the first Day of the Moon, is the Full-Moon, and not the 15th, as *Dr. Wallis* would have it.

2.] Having met with several Explanations of the Rule for *Easter* in our *Common-Prayer Book*, but none right and sufficient; I have undoubtedly collected the true Sense of the same, by comparing the said Rule and the Table for *Easter* in the *Common-Prayer Book* together.

Explanation of the Rule for finding Easter; by *Mr. J. Jackman*, n. 303. p. 2123.

The Rule is thus worded, *viz.*

Easter-Day is always the first Sunday after the first full Moon, which happens next after the One and twentieth Day of March. And if the full Moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter-Day is the Sunday after.

For the right understanding of which, it is sufficient to observe;

1. That the full Moon meant is the 14th Day of the Moon, according to the Kalender in the *Common-Prayer Book* (which may be call'd the Church-Kalendar) counting that Day of the Month for the first of the Moon, which hath the Golden Number of the Year collateral to it in the first Column of the said Kalender. And,

2. That these Words [*next after Mar. 21.*] are meant inclusively, as if it had been said [*next after the Commencement of Mar. 21.*] so that if the full Moon happens on *Mar. 21.* the same must be the *Pascal full Moon*.

Of finding Easter-Day.

Now, in order to prove these Observations are both right, and sufficient for the understanding of the Rule, I shall only suppose, that if they are necessary and sufficient to reconcile the Rule with the authentic Table to find *Easter*, (from which Practice never varies) then are they right and sufficient. Which being premised,

1. I prove that the first Observation is necessary to that End: Because, if the *Paschal* full Moon be any Day before or after the 14th of the Moon by the Church-kalendar, then the Rule and the Table will clash. For, 1. If it be any Day before, then as often as the said 14th of the *Paschal* Moon is a *Sunday*, that very Day, at latest, must be *Easter-day* by the Rule, as being a *Sunday* after the full Moon therein meant: Whereas by the Table and Practice it is not till the *Sunday* after that. Thus *Sunday, April 1.* this Year (1705.) was the 14th Day of the Moon by the Church-kalendar, and therefore must have been *Easter-day* (or after) by the Rule, if the full Moon therein meant had been any Day before the said 14th of the Moon; whereas *Easter-day* was *April 8.* by the Table, and accordingly observ'd. And this obliges us not to understand the true full Moon by the full Moon in the Rule, because that happens about four Days before the 14th of the Moon by the Church-kalendar. 2. If the full Moon meant in the Rule be any Day after the 14th of the *Paschal* Moon by the Church-kalendar, then as often as the said 14th happens to be *Saturday*, and consequently the full Moon meant in the Rule to be the *Sunday* following at soonest (that being the very next Day) that *Sunday* cannot be *Easter-day* by the Rule; whereas by the Table and Practice it is. Thus *Saturday, April 4.* 1702, was the 14th Day of the Moon by the Church-kalendar; and therefore if the full Moon meant in the Rule were any Day after that, it must have been on *Sunday, April 5.* at soonest; consequently, *April 12.* at soonest, must have been *Easter-day* by the Rule; whereas *April 5.* was *Easter-day* by the Table and Practice: And this evinces the Mistake of those, who make the 15th Day of the Moon to be the Full in the Sense of the Rule; as Dr. *Wallis*, and Mr. *Wright*, in his *Postscript* to his *Short View of Mr. Whiston's Chronology*, &c. and the *Introductio ad Chronologiam*, (reprinted at Oxford, A. D. 1704.) p. 37.

2. I prove the second Observation necessary to the same End; because a full Moon in the Sense of the Rule, (*viz.* the 14th Day of a Moon by the Church-kalendar) often happens on *March 21.* and in that Case the *Sunday* following is always *Easter-day* by the Table and Practice; whereas it must be a Month after by the Rule, unless we understand these Words, [next after *March 21.*] as I explain them. And this will be the Case next Year (1706.) nor doth the Proof of this Point need the Supposition of the foregoing, (though that may now be fairly suppos'd, as being already prov'd:) For, count you the full Moon how you will, *March 22.* can never be *Easter-day* by the Rule, unless *March 21.* may be the *Paschal* full Moon by the same; and

and yet *March 22.* is *Easter-Day* by the Table and Practice, as often as the Golden Number is 16, and the Dominical Letter D.

I am aware that this second Observation may seem to many forc'd and unnatural; and that, perhaps, might induce some to count the 15th Day of the Moon for the Full in the Rule; and Mr. *Thornton*, to substitute *March 20.* in Leap-years for *March 21.* neither of which *Hypotheses*, however, do any service, all things consider'd. The former, indeed, would vacate my second Observation, (*March 21.* never being the 15th Day of the Moon by the Church-kalendar) but then it would make the Rule notoriously irreconcilable with the Table and Practice, as hath been already seen. And, as to Mr. *Thornton's Hypothesis*, 1. The only Colour for it (*viz.* That at the Time of the Council of *Nice* the *Vernal Equinox* was *March 20.* in Leap-years, and not *March 21.* as in common Years) is, for any thing that I know, more likely to be false than true, and doth by no means follow from the Inter-calation. 2. If this Colour were true, it were too great a Nicety to have been probably regarded by the Church. 3. This *Hypothesis* puts more Force upon the Words of the Rule than mine. And, lastly, If it were admitted, it would solve the Difficulty only in Leap-years, and my second Observation would still remain necessary; because the Case happens as well in Common as in Leap-years; whereof we have an Example in the next Year (1706.) Nor will my second Observation be much boggled at by those that know and consider the inclusive Way of reckoning used by the *Romans*, and from them deriv'd to all the *Latin Churches*, and particularly that of *England*; for 'tis as proper to say [next after *March 21.*] with the Meaning I contend for, as to say, *Tertio (ante) Calendas, Nonas vel Idus* in the Sense of the *Roman Kalendar*; or, as to say (as our Church doth a little after this Rule for *Easter*) that *Ascension-day* is Forty Days after *Easter*, intending *Easter-day* itself to be one of those Forty. And 'tis observable in this very Rule, that, after it had been said, that *Easter-day* is always the first *Sunday* after the full Moon, &c. 'tis added, that if the full Moon happens on a *Sunday*, *Easter-day* is the *Sunday* after; which had been a gross Tautology, if by the first *Sunday* after the full Moon might not be understood the Day of the full Moon itself, when happening to be *Sunday*. And if the *Sunday* of the full Moon may be signified by the first *Sunday* after the full Moon, then the full Moon of *March 21.* may be signify'd by the full Moon next after *March 21.* 3. I prove, that my two Observations are sufficient to reconcile the Rule and the Table; because I myself have drawn up a Table to find *Easter* for ever by the Rule understood according to those Observations, and in the plain and obvious Sense in all other respects; and upon comparing, have found it to agree in every Particular with the Table for the same Purpose in the Common-Prayer Book.

*An Account
of Norman
Coins found
at York; by
Mr. R. Tho-
resby. n. 267.
p. 2127.*

II. Mr. *Samuel Buxton*, late Sheriff of *York*, designing to build upon a Piece of Ground he had bought in *High Ousegate*, had Labourers to remove the Rubbish of a former House; which, with about 30 more, was burnt down *April 3. 1694.* In digging below the Foundations of the former House, at a considerable Depth they discover'd the more ancient Foundations of an older Fabrick, very probably unknown to the Builders of the later House. These lower Foundations were very well supported at several Angles with good Oak Piles, some of which were so firm and sound, that they were good again for the same Purpose; besides these Piles, there were several great Timber-trees, that lay athwart, to make the stronger Foundation: Betwixt the Head of two Piles in this lower Foundation, the Workmen found a little decayed *Oak-box*, wherein had been hoarded about 200, or 250 Pieces of the *Norman Coins*; but Age and the Moisture of the Place had so defaced them, that not much above 100 of them could be preserved. I had the Perusal of about half that Number; which proved the noblest Stock that ever I saw, or indeed heard of, of *William the Conqueror's* Coins; not above two or three in the whole Cargo that I saw being of any other Prince: Those, though later in Time, are more rare in Value than many of the *Roman* and *Saxon Coins*: These lower Foundations also very well answer the Account we have of the *Timber-buildings* in those Ages.

*William the
Conqueror.*

The Coins are very much alike; the King is represented full-faced, with a Crown and Labels, but neither Sceptre, Cross, or Star, as in other Moneys of his that I had before; most of them are inscribed *WILLEMV REX*, which some have mistaken for *William the Second*; but by the declining of the Strokes, it appears to be design'd for *V*, as I have one with the *S* after the *V* and before *REX*. By this Accident there appears greater Variety, than ever was known before, of the *Conqueror's* Money. I have of these Sorts, *WILLEMV REX. WILLEMVS REX. WILLEMV REX. I.* (which is not to be reckon'd a Numeral Letter, it being improper to pretend a Distinction, when there was none of the Name before, but for part of the Letter *A*) *WILEM REX A. (Angliæ.)* And for the Reverse I have that were coin'd at *LUNDRE (London.) EOFER wick. (York.) WINC (Winchester.) EXETE (Exeter.) LIN (Lincoln, I presume, Lyn-Regis not being old enough.) LINCOL (Lincoln.) DEOTFORND (Thetford.)* and *LOYNC* (which I take for *Loyn* or *Lancaster.*) I have only one Duplicate, which I present to you, and hope you will find it safe in the Seal of the Letter; 'tis inscribed + *WILLEMV REXI.* Reverse + *DEII. IRDON LIN.*

*An Account of
some Swedish
Coins, by the
same. n. 297.
p. 1901.*

III. I have a *Swedish Coin*, or rather square Copper-Plate, nine Inches broad, and nine and a half long, which is much like the *Roman Æs grave*, and was current there so lately as *Ann. 1679*, (though now they are

are not to be met with.) It has at each Corner the Impression of a Crown, under which is the Year, and round it this Inscription, CAROLUS XI. DG. SVE. GOT. WAN. REX. and in the middle of the Plate is a Circle 2 DALER. SOIH. M^{rit}. The other Side of the Plate is without any Inscription.

I have *een Svenska marc* of Charles the 9th with it, surrounded with Rays of Glory in the midst of the Area on the Reverse, and a Mark, $\frac{1}{2}$ Mark, and a 2 Mark Piece all of the famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, with the like Characters above the King's Head.

IV. King James having turned all the Brass Guns of Ireland, and all the Brass and Copper Vessels of Protestants that he could seize, into Coin, viz. Half-Crowns somewhat bigger than an English Half-penny, Shillings broader, but not so thick as a Farthing, and Sixpences in proportion; it was order'd to pass current in all Payments, even in Bonds and Discharge of Judgments and Statutes; (inso-much that if Ages to come knew not the Reason, they would admire to be told, that there was a time when Men absconded, to avoid receiving their Debts, as many here did :) But these Stocks of Metal being all spent (which he began to coin in June 1689.) and no Circulation to bring them back into his Treasure, he call'd in all that he had coined, and the Half-Crowns, which before were stamped with a Face, were re-stamped with his *Effigies* on Horseback, and then paid out to those who brought them in, as Crowns, and the smaller Coins were melted down, and re-coined again under the same Denominations, but with less Metal. After the Turn was served by this Stratagem, he had not wherewithal to import Copper and Brass; but, for want of it, made use of the Pewter Dishes, &c. — And the Proclamation to make this Coin passable was as ready as the Stamps, for it was prepared: But King William passing the *Boyne*, prevented their proclaiming it. There was very little of it coined, for our Government could meet with none of it; until one Day, rummaging their Treasure, that they had left behind them in *Dublin* when they were routed, by Accident I met with one Bag of 150 of those Pieces.

This Crown Piece of Pewter has the same Inscription on both Sides, as the common Brass Crowns; but there is this Legend added upon the Rim of it, *MELIORIS TESSERA FATI ANNO REGNI SEXTO*.

V. On December the 4th, 1699, a certain Person digging in a Ground of Sir John Eyles's, near the *Devizes* in *Wiltshire*, about two Foot under the Surface, took up a Pot of a pretty narrow Mouth, about 18 Inches in its greatest Circumference, and 10 Inches deep, the Clay of a blueish Colour, and of such Strength and Compactness as it seem'd but little injur'd by Time, containing several Hundred Pieces of ancient Roman Coin by different Emperors, with great Variety of curious Figures, and Devices on the Reverse.

Pewter Money coin'd by the late King James in Ireland; by Mr. T. Putland. n. 297. p. 1875.

Roman Antiquities near the *Devizes* in *Wiltshire*; by Mr. J. Clarke. n. 268. p. 758.

were

Salonina.
-lena.

Pots,

were of Copper, and but a very few of mix'd Metal. A great Number had the Characters effaced, but the legible were the fairest I ever saw. 'Tis observable, many of the said Pieces were gilt with Silver, which on several that I have seen seem'd very little impaired, tho' they have lain under-ground for some Ages, and appear'd as much canker'd as the rest. I have among several others two very odd Pieces; one of them gilt; on one Side a Woman's Face, with this Inscription, SALONINA AVG. the other a Woman's Face, Part of the Inscription HE-LENA; the remaining Characters I cannot decypher. On the Reverse, PAX PVBLICA. This latter is of a mix'd Metal resembling Brass, of the Largeness of a Silver Penny, ungilt. Thus far of Coin. About the same time, and within a few Yards of the same Place, were found some Pots, made of very firm and durable Clay, of pretty strange Figures, and different Earth, two of which I have by me: One of them, somewhat resembling an Oyster-Pot, is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Inch thick, 9 Inches in Circumference, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in Depth, and for Strength and Compactness, scarce to be parallel'd by any now made; the other is one half of the Pot, in which the Treasure was found. There is likewise another Pot in the hands of another Person, of about 11 Inches Circumference, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ deep, wherein was found a whitish Powder, supposed by the Owner to be the Ashes of human Bodies, and therefore by him taken to be an Urn. But the Experiment made on the supposed Bone-Ashes, by putting a small Portion into the Bowl of a clean Tobacco-pipe made glowing, it soon appeared to the contrary; for the said Matter immediately kindled into a bright Flame, and sent forth a Scent somewhat like that of Hoofs or Horns, tho' it had a very fragrant Smell before. I am told moreover, that 'tis very usual in these Parts of the Kingdom to find various sorts of ancient Earthen-Ware, some exceeding *China* in Fineness. I remember I once saw a Piece in the Hands of an Apothecary in *Caln*, that had been finely gilt with Gold.

An Account
of Roman
Coins in
Yorkshire, by
Mr. R. Tho-
resby. n. 316.

p. 134.

* Vid. Infra,
S. IX.

Domitian.

VI. Mr. *Arbington* shewed me some Roman Coins, which were lately plough'd up at *Cookeridge*; which are a Confirmation of the Conjecture that the *Roman Via Vicinalis* (which comes from the great Military Road upon *Brambam Moor*) pass'd from that Station at *Adellocum* (of which there is an Account, *Phil. Trans.* N^o 282.*) through these Grounds to *Ilkley*.

There are but few of them, not above twenty, but those mostly very fair: The eldest is of *Domitian*, *Ann. Urb. cond.* 846. which falls in with *A. D.* 95; his Head is surrounded with this Inscription, IMPERATOR CAESAR DOMITIANUS AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS P. M. (Pontifex Maximus) TR. P. (Tribunitia Potestate) XIII. The Reverse shews he was then saluted Emperor the twenty-second time, IMP. XXII. COS. (Consul.) XVI CENS. PP. (Pater Patriæ.) The *Flavian* Family particularly affected the Title of *Censors*; and *Domitian* is the last Emperor who has that Title upon his Medals: the Figure upon this

this Reverse has a Helmet upon the Head, and a Spear in the Right Hand. The next is *Nerva's*:

IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. PM. TRP. COS. Reverse, CON- *Nerva.*
CORDIA EXERCITVVM. Dextræ junctæ.

The next Seven are of *Trajan's*, but all different.

IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIANVS. GERM. Reverse, PM. *Trajan.*
TRP. COS. III. PP. figura stolata stans, sinistra cornucopiæ.

The next has the same Inscription, save that it was in his 4th Consulship, and has *figura galeata cum hasta*.

IMP. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. PM. TRP. Reverse,
COS. V. PP. SPQR. (Senatus Populusque Romanus) OPTIMO
PRINCipi. Pacis stantis typus, dextra facem admoventis spoliis, ea
conflagraturus, sinistra cornucopiæ tenentis. (Exergue) PAX.

IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO. OPTIMO. AVG. GER. DA-
Cico. Reverse, PM. TRP. COS. VI. PP. SPQR. Deus Genius
stans, dextra pateram.

IMP. TRAIANVS. AVG. GER. DAC. PM. TRP. Reverse,
COS. VI. SPQR. OPTIMO. PRINC. fig. stolata.

IMP. TRAIANO. OPTIMO. AVG. GER. DAC. PM. TR.
P. P. Reverse, COS. VI. PP. SPQR. figura stolata dextra Cadu-
ceum, sinistra cornucopiæ.

IMP. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI.
PP. Reverse, SPQR. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. Columna cochlidis
Trajani.

The rest that are legible are of *Hadrian's*, viz.

Hadrian.

HADRIANUS. AVGVSTVS. Reverse, COS. III. Victoria cum
Palma.

The other has upon the Reverse :

FELICITATI. AVGVSTI. Above the *Navis Prætoria*, and be-
low it COS. III. PP.

These are all of Silver : There was a large one of Copper of
the Emperor *Domitian*.

Domitian.

IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM.
but the Reverse was not legible.

John Dyneley of *Brambope*, Esq; has also three, one with FIDES
EXERCITVVM, one of *Titus's*, and one of *Trajan's* with *Dacia*
Captive under a Trophy ; but I want the Inscriptions : All the rest are
in the Possession of the ingenious *Cyril Arthington* of *Arthington*, Esq;
who oblig'd me with one, the Figure whereof I send you, it being
upon a remarkable Occasion, and not mention'd in *Occo* (at least in
my Edition of that Author ;) 'tis inscribed HADRIANUS AVG. *Hadrian.*

Fig. 1, 2.

COS. III. PP. Reverse, RESTITUTORI HISPANIÆ. This was upon his peaceable settling of Affairs in that his native Country; *Spain* is represented here as a Woman with a Branch in her Right Hand, to denote her Fruitfulness, kneeling before the Emperor, who kindly takes her by the Hand to raise her up.

By these it appears, that this Station flourish'd when the *Roman Empire* was in its prime; and there being none of a later Date, makes it probable, that it perish'd in some of the Insurrections of the native *Bri-gantes*, about *Severus's* Time, as it was conjectur'd from the Form of the Letter A in the Inscriptions upon the funeral Monuments accounted for. † (*Philosoph. Transact.* N° 282.)

† *Vid. infra,*
S. ix.

Roman Coins
near Edling-
ton in York-
shire, by Mr.
Thoresby.
n. 303. p. 2149.

VII. These Coins were dug up at the East Entrance of *Clifton* (a Village on the Cliff of the Hill) three Miles from *Doncaster*, the *Roman Danum*, where the *Præfectus Equitum Crispianorum* resided, and one from *Cunsbrough*, or *Coningsburgh*, an ancient Seat of the Kings during the *Saxon Heptarchy*, now belonging to Mr. *Cook* of *Norfolk*. They were found so near a Highway, that the Cart-tracks had worn the Earth off the top of the *Urn*, which a Labourer struck his Pick-Ax into, before he was aware of it. Upon another Search they found another *Theca Nummaria*, both full of Copper Coin; the Haste and Scramble of the Workmen to get the supposed Booty, made them break in pieces both the Urns, which were large and entire; the bigger of them might contain two Gallons: By the Fragments of them they appear to have been of a finer Clay than those found at *South-Holland* in *Lincolnshire**, and the Coins also much better preserv'd, being in a drier Soil. Of Sixty I bought of those found at *Fleet*, Com. *Linc.* there was not one before *Gallienus*, nor after *Quintillus*; and of near 150 of these from *Clifton*, there is not one of an elder or later Date; so that both those in *Holland*, and these in *Yorkshire*, seem to have been hid in some common Calamity that follow'd the Death of that short-liv'd Emperor *Quintillus*, who reign'd but seventeen Days, *Anno Dom.* 271. And within six Years after, we find that *Probus* the Emperor, upon some Commotions in *Britain*, sent over certain *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, who had invaded *Gaul*, to inhabit *Britain*; upon whose Arrival, probably, such as had made the Insurrection, might conceal their Treasure; and being slain in the Conflict, it lay hid till now. This I look upon as a more probable Conjecture, than the Persecution of *Dioclesian*, which was not till thirty-four Years after. So far as are in Capital Letters are upon the Coins, and the rest are only for Explanation.

* *Vid. supra,*
Vol. IV. P. ii.
Chap. iii.

Reverses of
Gallienus.

SECVRITAS PERPETUA. PAX AVGVSTI. APOLLINI CON-
servatori AVGVSTI. PVDICITIA. LAETITIA. AEQVITAS. AVG.
AETERNITAS AVG.

LIBERO Patri CONS. AVG. DIANAE CONS. AVG. MARTI
PACIFERO. P. VII. COS. (*Pietas libans*) S. STA-
TOR; which I take for *Mars*, who is sometimes so stiled as well as
Jupiter. VICTORIA AETERNA. CONCORDIA. *Sal-*

Salonina. Reverfa VESTA.

Salonina.

Posthumus. PAX AVG. P. M. TRP. COS. V. which I take to be Posthumus. remarkable, having not met with any more than the 4th Consulship.

Victorinus. INVICTVS (Typus Solis vel Apollinis) VIRTVS AVG. PAX AVG. SALVS AVG. PIETAS AVG. Victorinus.

Tetricus the Father. SALVS AVG. PAX AVG. HILARITAS AVG. VICTORIA AVG. FIDES MILITVM. LAETITIA AVG. SPES PVBLICA. COMES. VIRTVS AVG. COMES AVG. Tetricus the Father.

Tetricus Cæsar. SPES PVBLICA. SPES AVGG. PIETAS AVGVSTORVM. Tetricus Cæsar.

Claudius. GENIVS EXERCI. LIBERALITAS AVG. VIRTVS AVG. VICTORIA AVG. PAX AVG. FELICITAS TEMPORIS. AEQVITAS AVG. IOVI VICTORI. Claudius.

Quintillus. PROVIDENTIA AVG. VIRTVS AVG. Quintillus.

VIII. The Roman Monument, lately discover'd at York, was found in digging a Cellar in Coning-street, not far from the Roman Wall and Multangular Tower, † that Dr. Lister has given so curious and particular a Description of. This Monument, dedicated to the Genius or tutelary Deity of the Place, is not of that coarse Rag that the Generality of the Roman Monuments are, but of the finer Grit, like the Altar at the Lord Fairfax's House in York: 'Tis 21 Inches long, and 11 broad, and is inscrib'd GENIO LOCI FELICITER. There was a larger Stone found with it, but without any Inscription; nor is there upon either of them the Representation of a Serpent, or a young Visage, by both which the Ancients sometimes describ'd these *Dij Topici*; if the Name had been added, it would have gratified the Curiosity of the Neoteric Antiquaries; but they must yet acquiesce (for aught I know) in the old DVI, who is said to be the Tutelar Deity of the City of the Brigantes; from which *Diw*, as the Britons call'd him, *Dewsbury*, or *Duisburg* in this Neighbourhood, seems to have receiv'd its Name; a Place now chiefly noted for a sort of coarse Cloth there made, and thence call'd *Duberians*. The Monument is of this Fig. 3. Form.

An Account of a Roman Inscription, by Mr. R. Thoresby. n. 303. p. 2145. † Vid. supra, Vol. III. P. ii. C. ii. S. 13.

The Author of this Votive Monument seems to have had the same superstitious Veneration for the Genius of York, as those at Rome had for theirs, whose Name they were prohibited to utter, or enquire after; hence it is, upon their Coins the Name of this Deity is never express'd, but in a more general manner by *Genius P. R.* or *Pop. Rom.* Such a one I have of *Constantius*, minted at London, as appears by the Exerg. LON. under the Effigies of that Deity, with a *Patera* in the Right Hand, and *Cornucopia* in the Left, inscrib'd GENIO POPULI ROMANI. I rather instance in that of this Emperor (the Father of *Constantine the Great*) because he made York his Imperial Seat, and was

here



here deify'd; the Medal of whose *Apotheosis* I also have, minted at the same Place, and inscribed MEMORIA FELIX, which I mention (though nothing relating to the Genius) because of the Expression of a noted Antiquary (*Burton's Com. upon Anton. Itin. p. 78.*) "That Rome, " in the Height of its Greatness, had not a more glorious and gallant " Show to exhibit, than what this poor Piece of Copper would express." As the *Genius* of the *City of Rome* was express'd by G. P. R. so that of the *Commonwealth*, in a most sordid Flattery, by that of the *Emperor*, who they pretended to be their *happy Genius*. I have one even of *Nero*, and not only after his *Quinquennium*, but the Year after he had laid most of the City in Ashes; yet, by the express Order of the Senate, inscrib'd GENIO AVGVSTI. S. C. Some of the Fathers have therefore justly reproached the *Romans* for paying a greater Veneration to the *Genii* of their Emperors, than to *Jupiter* their supreme God. This Custom of deifying the *Genii*, and that of assigning *Gods* for Defence of particular Cities, is very ancient, as appears by what the Prophet *Jeremiah* (ii. 28. and xi. 13.) saith of revolting *Judah*, *According to the Number of thy Cities are thy Gods*; after the manner of the Heathen, who, according to *Varro* (*Pool's Synopsis Critic. in loc.*) had above thirty thousand; and yet, notwithstanding this prodigious Number, it is evident from their Medals, that several Cities were sometimes assign'd to the same tutelar Deity. Thus the *Greeks* (from whom the *Romans* receiv'd this and several other of their Superstitions) committed both *Magnesia* and *Smyrna* to the Protection of *Cybele*. Medals of the former are more common, of the latter more rare. His Excellency Baron *Spanheim* has writ a learned Discourse upon them, which makes me more to value one in my *Museum*, which has the Effigies of that *Mother of the Gods* with her towered Head, and CMYPNA; upon the Reverse is a Lion Passant, with CMYPNAION. I have also a large curious Medal of *Julius Philippus*, that would tempt us to believe that *Antioch* also was devoted to the same *Cybele*; for it has round her Head with the turreted Crown ANTIOKEON MHTPOKOLON. with Δ (or rather Λ) E and SC on each side the Head. I must own myself somewhat at a loss about the latter Word, except the *Greek* and *Roman* Tongues began then to admit of a sort of mongril Mixture; so that from MHTER and *Colonus* might proceed MHTPOKOLONON; and so the *Antiochians* have the Title of the Men of the Mother-Colony, the ΔE which are *Greek*, the SC in *Latin* Characters, the former signifying *Lustrum Quintum*, the other *Senatus Consulto*, seem to countenance this Conjecture, the *Roman* S being different from that in ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ and CEBAΣΔΣ upon the same Coin.

This Curiosity of the City of *Antioch* is not so valuable as it was the Metropolis of all *Syria*, and highly applauded by *Ammianus Marcellinus* (who liv'd within a hundred Years of this Time) as it is because here the Name of *Christians* was first taken up, and that *St. Paul* both preached and kept a Synod here, as *Eusebius* tells us; and so another

I have

I have of *Antoninus Pius*, inscribed ΒΕΡΟΙΑΙΩΝ, which is more valuable in my Fancy for that Passage, *Acts xvii. 2.* than if it could be certainly ascribed to the noblest of the four Cities that bore the same Name.

IX. 1.] There has been lately discovered the *Vestigia* of a Roman Town, upon the *Moor* near *Adell Mill*, four Miles from *Leeds*; 'twas found out accidentally by a Tenant of Mr. *Arbington*, who endeavouring to plow Part of his Farm, was retarded by a great Quantity of Stone, immediately below the Surface of the Earth, which he was forced to dig up before he could proceed, and has already, out of the Foundations of Houses, which they traced on both sides the Street, got so many Stones as has built above 100 Rods of Walling. At a very little Distance is a *Roman Camp* pretty entire; 'tis above four Chains broad and five long, surrounded with a single Vallum, which from the top of the Agger to the bottom of the Trench is yet twenty-two Foot deep in the Place I measured. The Town seems to have been of considerable Note by the *Inscriptions*, and Fragments of *Statues*, *Pillars*, &c. there dug up, all which (as Dr. *Lister* has truly observed, that most of the *Roman Monuments* in these Parts) are made of the common sort of coarse Rag or Millstone Grit, of which are also the Remains of a large *Aqueduct*, in Stones of a great Length, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Yard thick, wherein the Passage for the Water is about six Inches broad and as many deep, almost double to those of Clay found in the *Roman Burying-place* at *York*, formerly accounted for, † one of which is in the Repository of the *Royal Society*. Some time ago here was dug up a *Statue* to the full Proportion of a *Roman Officer*, with an *Inscription*; both which perished through the brutish Ignorance and Covetousness of the Labourers, who in a superstitious Conceit bound Wythys or Wreaths of Straw about the poor *Roman Knight*, and burnt him, in hopes of (by I know not what magical Apparition in the Smoke) finding some hid Treasure, and after in Anger at their Disappointment broke him to pieces, of which only the Head is now forth-coming; but the two *Inscriptions* lately discovered there are preserv'd. *Cyril Arbington* of *Arbington*, Esq; made me a Present of these *Inscriptions*; the one is but a Fragment, yet has enough to discover it to have been sepulchral, by the H S E for *Hic situs est*, below *PIENTISS*; the other is almost entire, and is evidently a *Funeral Monument*; it begins as usually, with *Dijs Manibus Sacrum*, and ends *Vixit Annos X*, as it seems to have been by the Vacancy: 'tis one Foot thick, two broad, and three high; the Letters are very large, full three Inches long, some of them interwoven, as AND (AD) and ED (as I apprehend the EO to be) in *Candiedianæ*. The Form of the Letters, and particularly the A, may perhaps discover the Age that this *Roman Station* flourished in, viz. in *Severus's* Reign (*Anno Dom. 194.*) or before, if the Observation of

The Vestigia of a Roman Town at Adell in Yorkshire, by Mr. R. Thoresby. n. 282. p. 1285.

† *Vid. supra, Vol. III. P. iii. C. ii. S. xiv.*

Two Inscriptions.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Mr. Cam-

Mr. Camden (in his *Britannia N. E.* p. 808.) hold good, and I know none of the modern Criticks that dissent from it.

“ This Observation (says he) I have made, that from the Age of Severus to that of Gordian, and after, the Letter A in the Inscriptions found in this Island wants the Cross Stroke, and is engraved thus A.”

It seems to have perished, and perhaps was burnt down (as by the flag and adust Colour in some Places may be conjectured) in some of the Insurrections of the Native *Brigantes*, who were impatient of Restraint.

Mill-stones.

Amongst the Ruins were found two or three *Mill-stones* for the grinding of Corn, which by the Smallness of the Size (20 Inches broad) shew that the *Romans* of those, as well as the *Egyptians* and *Jews* of former Ages, made use of their Slaves or Captives for that Employ, who were placed *post molas*, Exod. xi. 5. *non precedunt, sed sequuntur, brachiis & toto corpore trudentes*; what the old MSS. Bibles have in respect of *Sampson* (Judic. xvi. 21.) *clusum in carcere molere fecerunt*, our Saxon Predecessors render expressly *hanbcypne*. (Mr. Thwait's *Hept. Anglo-Sax.*) Besides this, which is entire, I have a Fragment of another Mill-stone, whereon the Rows are yet remaining; but this being heavier, almost as thick at the Circumference as the other is at the Centre, (for they are convex on one Side) I suppose might be the *Runner*. The learned *Gataker*, in his Notes upon *Isaiab* xlvii. 2. observes, the original Word is of the *Dual Form*, and that the Law prohibiting the taking the Mill-stone to pledge, does particularly mention *Receb* or the *Rider*, because that lying loose might the more readily be taken off, and carried away upon that Occasion; and in his Annotations (which are incomparably the best of those falsely ascribed to the Assembly of Divines) upon *Lament*. v. 13. *they took the young Men to grind*, says, the *Talmudists* have a Story, that the *Chaldeans* made the young Men carry Mill-stones with them to *Babylon*, where there was a great Scarcity of them; whence probably their Paraphrase renders that Text, *Have borne the Mills or Mill-stones*, which might be true in a literal Acceptation: They have also a proverbial Speech of a Man with a Mill-stone about his Neck (alluded to *St. Matth.* xix. 6.) used of one that lies under an exceeding heavy and almost insupportable Burden.

Urns.

As we were traversing the Ground, I found the Fragments of *Urns* and other *Roman Vessels*, one of which has been 23 Inches, or two Foot in Circumference; the generality of them are of the common red Clay; but I have also one of the best Coral-coloured Varnish, and others of a bluish Grey; as also a brass Ring found in the same Place.

The *Roman Rig*, that this Town stood upon, comes from the great Military Road upon *Bramham-moor*, of which *Leland* in his MS. Itinerary affirms, “ I never saw in any Part of England so manifest a To-
ken,

“ken, as here, of the large Crest of the Way of *Watling-street* made
“by Hands.”

From thence this *Via Vicinalis* passeth by *Thorner* and *Shadwell*, Via Vicinalis.
Street-lane and *Hawcaster-Ridge* upon *Blackmoor* (near which is the *Ro-*

man Pottery *) to *Adel*, thence through *Cookridge* over the Moors to-
wards *Ilkley*, a known *Roman Station*. This same Ridge is very evi-
dent in some part of the Grounds of *Thomas Kirk* of *Cookridge*, Esq;
who shewed me the Place where a *Roman Monument* in his Possession
was dug up; it seems to have had a large Inscription, but so erased,
that nothing distinct can be made of it; perhaps the said *Cukeryg*, as
it is called in the Original Letters Patents of King *Edward VI.* to
Archbishop *Cranmer*, (in the Possession of that Gentleman) was so de-
nominated from this *Roman Ridge*, which passeth directly through it.

* Vid. supra,
Vol. III. P. ii.
C. ii. S. x.

But what the Name of this Station was, I cannot divine. The learn-
ed Dr. *Gale* some Years ago gave me notice, from an Anonymous
Geographer, of a Station in these Parts called *Pampocatia*, which he
thought should be read *Campocatia*, and had sent into France for vari-
ous Lections, concluding, “Where to place this I know not, but my
“Hopes are, that you will be so happy as to find it, and so kind as
“to communicate the Discovery, &c.” Now considering, that in the
said Author (printed at *Ravenna*, An. Dom. 1688.) this *Pampo* or *Cam-*
pocatia is the very next Station to *Lagentium* or *Legeolium*, it seems not
improbable that this Camp, &c. was the very Place; but because
things so many Ages past admit of various Conjectures, I will offer
another, which I am induced to from the Similitude of the Names, the
Agel or *Adelocum* of the Ancients, and the present *Adle* or *Adel*, as it is Adelocum.
in the *Monasticon Anglic.* 'Tis true, 'tis sometimes writ *Segelocim*; but,
as Mr. *Burton*, in his Comment upon *Antoninus's* Itinerary, well ob-
serves, it is to be reckon'd among those Words to which the Ancients
sometimes put an S or *Sibilus*, and sometimes omitted. If this be
thought too much northward for that Station, which is placed south of
Danum, it may be reply'd, that, not to insist upon the Transposition
of some Places, of which there are Instances in the Itinerary, I see no
Inconvenience in admitting that the *Romans* might then, as we at this
Day, have several Towns of the same Denomination. Thus, from an
Altar in my Possession, inscribed *CONDATE* (the whole Inscription
may be seen in the new Edition of the *Britan.* p. 782.) the said learned
Dean of *York* concludes, that *Consley* near *Piersbridge*, where this Altar
was found, was as well called *Condate*, as *Congleton* in *Cheshire*. And
to me it seems highly probable, that the Legions, being detached
against the Enemy to distant Places, might endeavour to leave such
Memorials of their Removes. Thus the *Legio vicesima valens victrix*,
usually quartered at *Deva*, *West-chester*, were detached into *Westmor-*
land, as appears by an Inscription; and the *Lingones*, who were seated
at *Ilkley*, I question not but were also at *Lingivel* near *Thorp on the Hill*,
where

† *Vid. supra,*
Vol. III. P. ii.
C. ii. S. xxiii.

where the *Roman* Coining Moulds (*Phil. Trans.* N^o 234. †) were found, and that the Intrenchments there were so denominated from them, the *Roman Vallum* being pronounced *Wallum*, of which see *Cassaubon, Somner, &c.* At this *Agelocum* or *Adelocum*, as *Camden* himself once read it, is a Church of the most antique Form that ever I beheld, and being built of small squared Stones like the *Roman Wall* and Multangular Tower in *York*, I verily thought it the Remains of some *Roman Temple*, 'till I found in it some Christian Histories, particularly the Descent of the Holy Ghost in the Form of a Dove, done in *Basso Relievo*, but after so intolerably rude a Manner, as sufficiently evidences their great Antiquity. The Inhabitants have an old Tradition, that *Adell Church* once stood upon *Blackbill*, the Place where these *Roman Monuments* were lately discovered, occasioned perhaps by the Removal of the Stones from some publick Edifice at the Destruction of the old *Roman Town*.

Roman Monuments at Adell, by the same. n. 319. p. 289.

2. Three *Roman Monuments* have been sent me lately from *Adell*, but the Inscriptions are not legible. One of these, though it be made exactly in the Form of an *Altar* in all other respects, wants the *Discus* or *Lanx* upon the Top; instead of the *Discus* or *Hearth*, it has three Rolls or Wreaths upon the Top, which are so entire, that it is plain there never was any thing else wrought upon it. As I have never yet seen an *Altar* without the *Discus*, I think it is certain this Monument was never design'd for one.

On the same, by the same. n. 320. p. 314.

3.] The Size of these Monuments (which were found amongst the Ruins upon *Adell* or *Echop-Moor*) at first seem'd strange to me, they being but 18 Inches high, and six broad. One of them, as appears by the *Discus*, has been evidently one of the *Roman* portable Altars. That there should be Altars so small, was no Surprize to me; but that any other sort of *Commemorative Monuments* should be no bigger, was new to me, till I found others as small, though of richer Materials, being Marble, in the Collections of *Christopher Wren, Esq;* and *Mr. Kempe*; whereas these are of a very coarse Stone, as *Dr. Lister* has truly observ'd most of those found in the North are.

Not Adello-cum, rather Burgdunum.

When the *Vestigia* of this *Roman Station* were first discovered, I fancied it might have been the *Adellocum* of the Ancients, as I have before suggested; but since that, having perused *Domesday-Book* in the *Exchequer*, I found, besides *Adele* and *Echope* before-mention'd, another Place in the Neighbourhood call'd *Burghedunum* or *Burgdunum*, which I am now of Opinion was the ancient *Roman Name* of this Station. That the *Itinerary* is silent herein, is no Argument against it: for none, I presume, do imagine that the Names of all the Towns in the Province are there recited, but only such as lie upon those Roads that are particularly mention'd; but that it has, at least, the Appearance of a *Roman Name*, may be argued, because *Burghi* was the common Name whereby they call'd such Castles and Forts as were convenient for War, and well stor'd with Provisions of Corn; as appears

appears by the Authorities quoted by *Cambden* and *Burton* in their Notes upon the *Roman Verteræ*, or *Burgh*, under *Stanemoor*; and the *Burgundians* received their Name from their inhabiting such Castles: And it seems probable, that the small squared Stones, wherewith the Antique Church at *Adel* is built, were brought from the Ruins of such a Castle, and gave Rise thereby to an old Tradition, which continues to this day, that *Adel* Church once stood upon *Black-hill*, the Place where these *Roman* Monuments were found; the elevated Situation of which Place sufficiently accounts for the Termination of the Name, the *Gaulish* or *British Dunum*, which signifies a Hilly or Mountainous Place, being naturaliz'd in the *Roman* Provincial Language. It may be added too, that within a Mile of it, there are two scattering Houses that do to this day retain the Name of *Burden* (for *Burdun-*)*Head*.

X. At Mr. *Gyles's* without *Boutham-bar* at *York*, a *Roman* Burying-Place has been discovered; where in digging Clay for Bricks, they have frequently found Urns †, &c. But they have found lately a very remarkable Lead Coffin, which by the Circumstances seems to have been for a Person of Quality; 'twas 9 Foot deep in the Ground, whereof 6 were Clay, and 3 a black Earth; the Lead Coffin, which was about 7 Foot long, was enclos'd in a prodigious strong one made of Oak Planks about 2 Inches and a half thick, which, besides the Rivettings, were tacked together with Brags, or great Iron Nails; the Nails were 4 Inches long, the heads not Die-wise, as the large Nails now are, but perfectly flat, and an Inch broad: I have one somewhat different, half an Inch broad, and thin, somewhat in the form of a Wedge, and the Head not round as the others, but somewhat like the modern Draw-Nails; but the rest of the old ones are square, the four Sides being of an equal Breadth: Many of them are almost consumed with Rust, and so is the Outside of the Planks; but the Heart of the Oak is firm, and the Lead fresh and pliable; whereas one found a Year ago (1701) is brittle, and almost wholly consumed, having no Planks to guard it. The Bones are light, and entire, tho' probably interr'd 1500 Years ago; for 'tis above so many Centuries since their Custom of Burning gave Place to that more natural one of interring the Dead; which, according to *Monfieur Muret*, was re-introduced by the *Antonines*. I have a Thigh-Bone (which is wonderful light) and the lower-Jaw which was furnish'd with all the Teeth. The double Coffins were so heavy that they were forced to drag them out of the Dormitory with a Team of Horses.

An Account of a Leaden Coffin found in a Roman Burying-place at York; by the same n. 296. p. 1864. † Vid. supra, V. iii. P. ii. C. ii. S. xiv, xv.

Two Roman Inscriptions at York, proving that the ninth Legion resided there, by Mr. R. Thoresby, n. 305. p. 2194.

XI. I now send you an Account of two *Roman* Inscriptions found at *York*, one very lately, the other several Years ago, but no where yet taken Notice of, tho' it hath this very remarkable, That it is an un-



deniable Argument that the *Ninth* Legion was not only in *Britain*, which is rarely taken notice of, but that it resided at *York*; which was heretofore unknown. It is a Funeral Monument, whereupon, under the Statue (in *Basse-relieve*) of the Standard-bearer of the *Ninth* Legion, is this Inscription:

Λ DVCCIVS

* Lubens voluit.

* L. VOT. RVF L

- NVS. VIEN

SIGN. LEG. VIII.

AN. XXII.

Hic situs est.

H. S. E.

This Monument was found in *Trinity-Yard* in *Micklegate* at *York*. That this *Ninth* Legion was in *Britain* in *Galba's* Time, and that it was also *Hispaniensis*, appears from *Sir Henry Savile's* Notes at the End of his Edition of *Tacitus*; but that it, as well as the *VIth* and the *XXth*, was also called *Vitrix*, or that it resided at *York*, has not been observed before; and yet both are evident from this Inscription upon a *Roman Brick* found there.

LEG. IX. VIC.

This is also an Argument of the Peace these Parts enjoyed at that Time, (possibly the latter End of *Severus's* Reign) making Bricks, casting up High-ways, &c. being the usual Employment of Soldiers at such Vacancies.

Sir Henry Savile was of Opinion, that this *Nona Hispaniensis* in *Britannia* was one of those established by *Tiberius*, *Caius*, or *Claudius*, or, peradventure, in the latter Times of *Augustus*; but, however, that it was certainly here in *Nero's* Reign, and that *Pætus Cerealis* was then Lieutenant thereof, is evident from *Tacitus*, (*lib. 14. cap. 10.*) who gives a lamentable Account of the Slaughter of seventy thousand Citizens and Confederates by the enraged *Boadicea*, in which Number was all the *Foot* of this *Ninth* Legion: *Cerealis* with the Horse hardly escaping. I suppose it needless to add, that this Number is frequently by the *Romans* writ *VIII* as well as *IX*; for one that is but competently vers'd in their Coins or Inscriptions, cannot but have observed Instances of both kinds: But that this is the *Ninth* Legion, is confirm'd by the other Inscription upon the Brick, which was but lately found. I shall only add, what *Mr. Hearne* of *Oxford* writes: "I am mightily pleased with the Inscriptions you sent me relating to the *Ninth* Legion, there being now no room to doubt about the Place

“ Place of Residence, a thing which was unknown before; and for
 “ that Reason, those who have written about the *Roman* Legions have
 “ said nothing about this, but leave us quite in the Dark: Only *Ur-*
 “ *satus* [in his Book *De Notis Rom.*] does remark, that it must be
 “ somewhere in *Britain*, because *Tacitus* tells us, that when the Colo-
 “ ny at *Camalodunum* was destroy'd by *Boadicea*, *Pætelius Cerealis*, Le-
 “ gate of the ninth Legion, came to their Assistance; but yet he
 “ makes no mention of its being stiled *Viêtrix*.”

XII. The following Inscription was found among the Remains of the Ruins of the famous *Piêts-Wall*, built by the *Romans* to secure themselves against the Incurfions of the Natives of that Part of *Britain* they cared not to conquer. The Inscription, tho' broken and in great Part illegible, suffices to fix the Name of one of the ancient Nations of *Britain*, that has hitherto been greatly miscalled. 'Tis thus,

Remarks on a Fragment of a Roman Inscription found in the North of England by ——— n. 356. p. 813.

CIVITATE CAT
 V VILLAVA'
 ORVM·L·O[S
 CDIO'

and is to be seen on the *Wall*, about two Miles West from *Lenercrofs-Abby*, near the Confines of our two Northermost Counties.

Here 'tis observable, that the last A of the second Line has a Mark that follows it, not unlike to the last Stroke of an *N*; and if instead of *A'* we put *N*, we shall read it CIVITATE CATVVILLAVNORUM, which we cannot doubt to have been the true Name of that People which *Dion Cassius*, lib. lx, calls *κατβελλανοί*, and *Ptolemy*, in his Geography, lib. ii. cap. iii. more falsly, *κατρευχλανοί*; the first λ by producing the transverse Stroke having been mistaken for χ. This Nation appears by *Dion* to have been more potent than their Neighbours the *Dobuni*, (whom he calls *Boduni*;) and had, according to *Ptolemy*, *Verolanium* for their Capital, which 'tis most probable was the *Cassivellauni oppidum* of *Cæsar*. So that it should seem *Cassivellanus*, King of these *Catuvillauni* when *Cæsar* invaded *Britain*, either gave his Name to his People, or took theirs. But he was no doubt the most potent Prince at that time in *Britain*, since by common Consent of the rest, he was made General of their united Forces, in Defence of their Country's Cause against the *Romans*.

Catuvillauni;

XIII. A Person in *March* 1717, being at plough in a Close near the Bank of the River *Ufk*, which the Ancients called *Isca*, (which glides by *Caerleon* about a quarter of a Mile off, and in Sight of this Town) came thwart a Stone, and finding Letters thereon, took it up whole; 'tis about a Yard in Length, and about three quarters broad. I went to the Place, and took a true Copy thereof. There was underneath it some seeming oblong square Sepulchre of Stones, rude in

A Roman Inscription at Caerleon, by the Reverend Mr. C. Rice. n. 359. p. 940.

Order, a little farther in that Close, where that River wears out the Land, there was, some time before, a large Earthen Pot taken out of the Bank by the River-side, which had therein the Skull and Bones of some Person, by some thought to be a Child murder'd; but I rather conjecture it a *Roman Urn*. The Inscription is as follows.

D M
G. VALERIVS. G. F.
GALERIA. VICTOR
LVGDVNI SIG. LEG. II AVG
STIP. XVII. ANNOR XLV. CV
RA. AGINT. AMNIO. PERPITVO. B

Conjectures
on it by Dr. J.
Harris, *ibid.*

This ancient and fair Inscription confirms what others have found hereabout; and what *Cambden* and other Historians shew us, *viz.* That the second *Roman Legion*, called *Augusta*, brought into *Britain* by *Claudius Cæsar* under the Conduct of *Vespasian*, was placed here at *Isca*, or *Caer Legion*, by *Julius Frontinus*, in order to awe the *Silures*: And that General obtained several Victories over them and their Neighbours in several Places hereabouts.

There seems to be nothing of Moment or of Difficulty in this Inscription, but *Victor Lugduni*: Which as I think, we have no Ground from History to refer to *Lyons* in *France*, so I guess that Expression may be thus accounted for. The River *Lugg* is famous in the neighbouring Parts; and as *Dynas* or *Dyn* hath been said to signify a Town in the ancient *British* Language; and that *Dun* doth also serve to express a Hill, or *Down*, as we still call it, (which I think is derived from the *British* also;) probably *Lugduni* here may express some Town or Hill near the River *Lugg*; and since there is a Place called to this Day *Luckton*, on the Side of the River *Lugg* in *Herefordshire*, perhaps that may bid fair to be the very Place where *Valerius* obtained the Victory perpetuated by this Inscription.

Roman In-
scriptions and
Antiquities in
Yorkshire, by
Mr Chr. Hun-
ter, n. 278,
p. 1129.

XIV. As to the *Roman Station* in the County of *Durham*, at a Village called *Ebchester*, I could not till very lately satisfy myself so far as to be able to reduce my Mind from the vulgar Opinion, that this has never been more than a Place named from that Pious Virgin St. *Ebba*, which is all Mr. *Cambden* says of it.

It has been surrounded with a Wall of hewn Stone, and seems to have been an exact Square of about 200 Yards on every Side: Here have been Suburbs toward the West, South, and perhaps East, of a con-

con-

considerable Extent: But towards the North, the Wall has stood upon the Top of a steep Bank, under which runs the River *Derwent*, in which not long since was found a long Altar, but its Inscription is defaced: As also a lesser Stone, with this Word HAVE, not on the Front, but on one Side. There is another, (which is used as a Grave-stone) it lies before the Church-Door, which, by the engraving of a Man from the Breast upwards in a *Roman* Dress, seems to have been *Roman*. These are all the Stones I can meet with, that have ever had any *Roman* Inscription. I enquired of the Inhabitants concerning what had been found there whilst they digged up the Ruins of this Place, who told me they had dug up many Inscriptions, but broke them: And they add, that in most Places they plainly discern two different Foundations of ruined Houses; and most Stones thus dug up are ting'd of a deep red Colour, undoubtedly by Fire. That Part of the Village which stands within the Walls is called the *Mains*, and there are the most Ruins: Here are many Tiles dug up of a red Clay, but not one entire.

About twenty Years ago, some began to undermine an old Foundation still visible on a Hill-side, and after they made a small Progress, found a considerable Quantity of a melted Metal, which at first View they supposed had been Silver; but upon a second Examination, it proved to be no more than Pewter.

Watling-street passes by this Place about a hundred Yards to the West: For it could not conveniently be brought through the Town without a tenfold Charge, by reason of a Brook two or three hundred Yards to the South, whose Banks are not a little uneven, and the above-mention'd steep Hill towards the North makes a Passage that way next to impossible.

I can meet with no certainty whether the *Romans* have had a Bridge over *Derwent* at *Ebchester*; but the Affirmative seems to me more reasonable, both from the Number of Soldiers who must needs have passed that way, as also from the considerable Largeness of this River.

The Passage in the second Book of *Ptolemy's* Geography, *Sub Elgovis & Olludinis ad utraque Maria habitant Brigantes, in quibus Urbes Epiacum, Vinnovium, Caturactonium; Calatum, Isurium, Rbigodunum, Ollicana, Eboracum*; seems to persuade me that this may probably have been *Epiacum* of the *Romans*, especially if it can be granted that this Author mentions only the Places in the Eastern Parts of this Province (and only *Epiacum*, if placed at *Papcastle*, and *Rbigodunum*, if at *Ribchester*, thwart this Assertion.) And indeed I am apt to believe that *Ptolemy* begins his Enumeration of the Places among the *Brigantes* at the Place nearest *Hadrian's* Wall, and has advanced in Order, (tho' with some Omissions) to *Eboracum*, the chief Town in the Province: And further, the modern Name *Ebchester* agrees as well with *Epiacum* as *Papcastle* does, for all know the Mutation of P into B to be a thing not unusual.

Some

Fig. 6.

Some of the Inscriptions are not very perfect, and most of the Words in that mark'd *Fig. 6.* are so artificially erased, that I am apt to believe it has been thus defaced upon some Revolution in the *Roman* Government. This (with several more, beautify'd with Inscriptions and Engraving, but which are now taken away) was dug up some time ago in a Field called the *Bower*; it is about half way between the *Roman* Wall and *South Tine*, and is near two Miles West from *Busy-gap*: Here has been a *Roman* Garison kept; it has been surrounded with a single Wall, and is square; 'tis nothing now but Heaps of Stones, overgrown with Bushes.

Some Years ago, on the West Side of this Place, about fifty Yards from the Walls thereof, there was discover'd under a Heap of Rubbish, a square Room strongly vaulted above, and paved with large square Stones set in Lime; and under this a lower Room, whose Roof was supported by Rows of square Pillars of about half a Yard high: The upper Room had two Niches, like (and perhaps in the nature of) Chimneys on each side of every Corner or Square, which in all made the Number sixteen; the Pavement of this Room, as also its Roof, were tinged black with Smoke. The Stones used in vaulting the upper Room have been marked as our Joiners do the Deals for Chambers; those I saw were number'd thus, X. XI. XIII.

The other Inscriptions were all found near the *Houfesteads*, a Place so call'd from the Abundance of Ruins; this is about half a Mile from *Busy-gap* towards the West, and is placed just within the *Roman* Wall: Among the Ruins I found several Pedestals, two or three Pillars, two Images, but somewhat defaced. The Stone, *Fig. 7.* lies against a Hedge a quarter of a Mile from this Place. That marked *Fig. 8.* is only Part of an Altar. The two Altars, *Fig. 9,* and *10.* are very legible; I found them on a rising Ground South of the *Houfesteads*; they call it *Chapel-hill*, and suppose a Foundation, which is visible there, to have been a Chapel; and say that within the Memory of their Fathers they used to bury their Dead here. *Fig. 11* and *12.* are the Sides of the Altars. I found *Watlingstreet* very visible from near *Ebchester* almost to *Corbridge*, which is about seven Miles: Here, beyond Expectation, I met with the Altar marked *Fig. 13.* with its Sides, *Fig. 14.* on the Top it is hollow at least eight Inches deep. The Inscription is all legible, except the second and last Letters in the first Line, the second and third in the third Line, and the third in the last, which are a little doubtful; the Altar is at present in the Church-yard, it has been there a long time.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9, 10.

Fig. 11, 12.

Fig. 13, 14.

Vid. infra,
S. xv. and
Fig. 15.

Fig. 16.

The Fragment, *Fig. 16.* I found in the Front of a House in the same Town; it is still sufficient to shew the real Value which ought to have been set upon the Inscription, if it had been entire: I was very sensible at first View that History would receive some Light from this, if perfect.

From

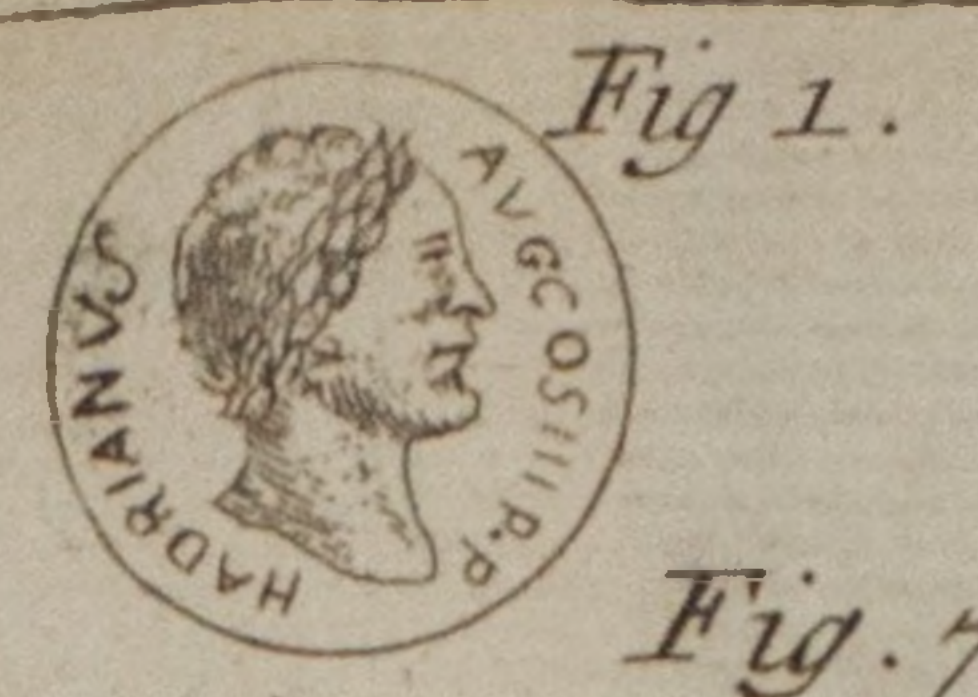


Fig. 7.
NI VENO RI
G OFERSIONIS
R OMVLOAIMAHI
MANSVETIOSENIC IONI
RE VINCE QVARTIONIS
ERESIPROCVRAVIT DELF
VSRATIONIS EXGS.

Fig. 3.
GENIO LOCI
FELICITER

Fig. 4.
DMS V
CADIFI
NIA VFOR
TVNA
PIA V V XV

Fig. 5.
IVGIPIENTISS
H S

Fig. 8.
LEG VI V P F
V S L L M

Fig. 9.
I O M
E NVMINIBVS
AVG COH ITV
NGRORVM
MILCVI RAE
ST Q VERIVS
SVPERSTIS
PRAEFECTVS

Fig. 10.
ET NVMINIBVS
AVG COH I
TVNGROR
CVI PRAEEST
QIVL MAXI
MVS PRAEF

Fig. 6.
GALLOR
VOTAM
IRRIBVS
ERVNTSVB
NPR
NIENSPOP
IUNDAMEN
CLXENEPHO
CVRANTE
EG

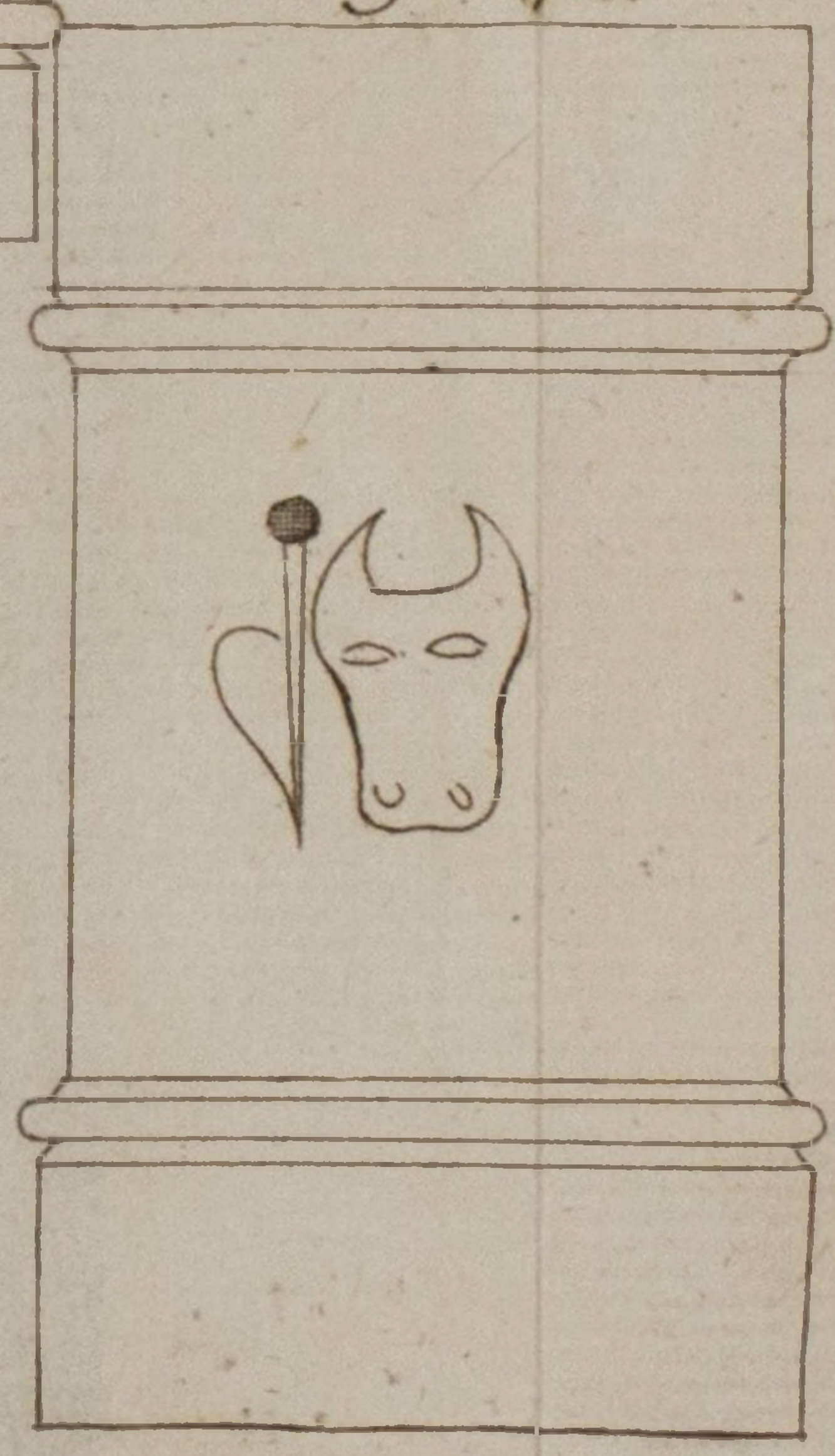
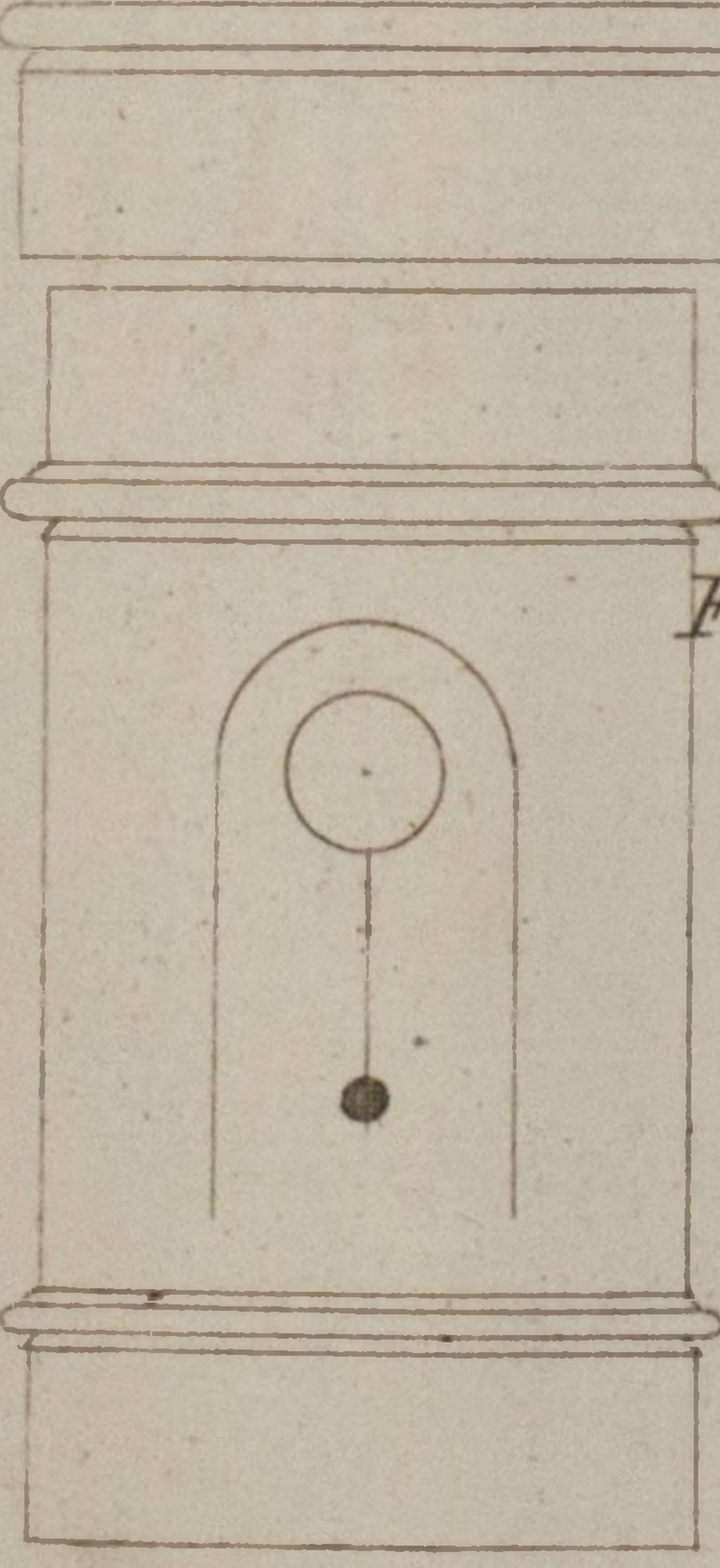
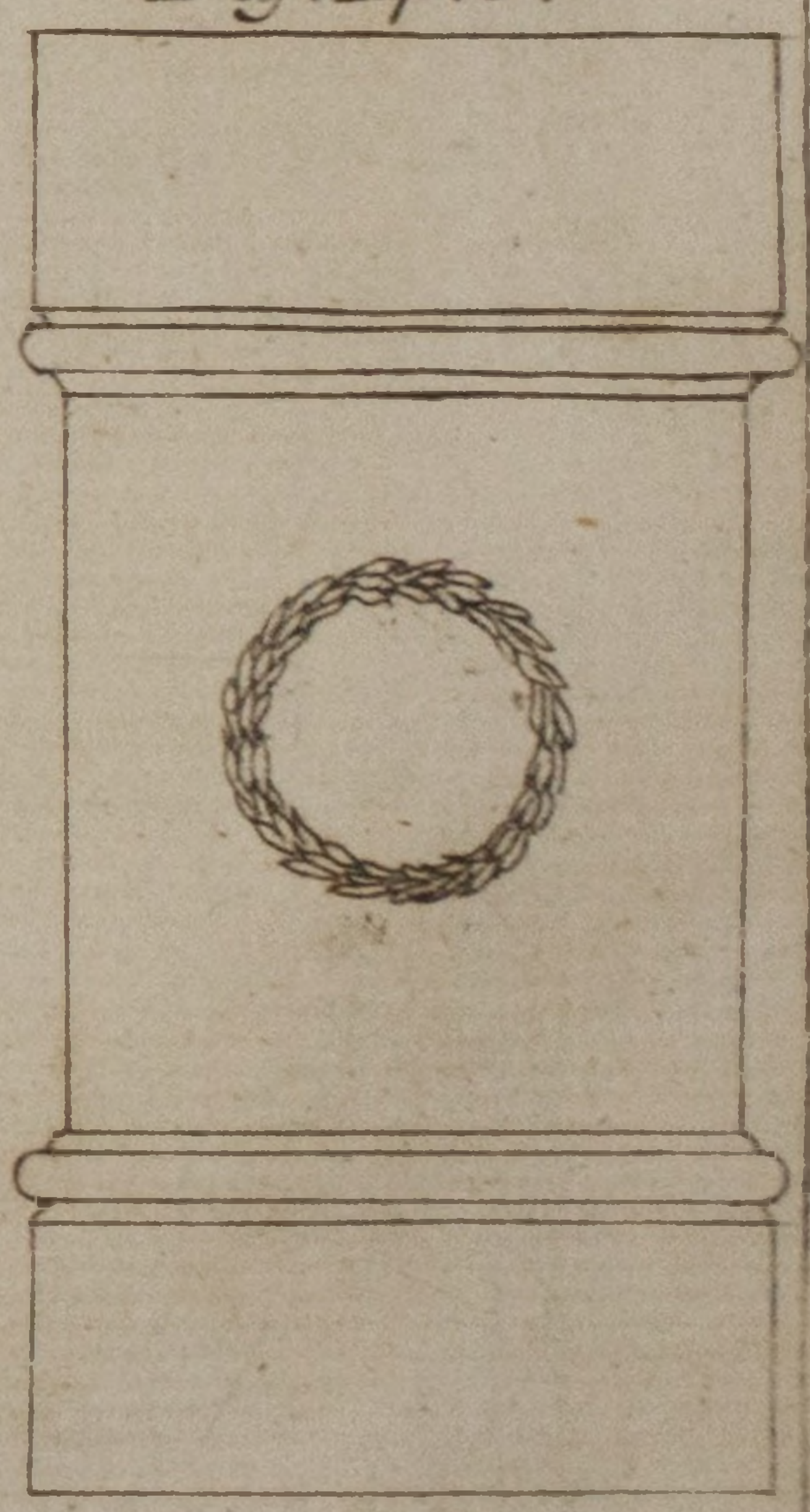


Fig. 13.
HPAKACIC
CTYPIOC
ΔΙΔΩΡΑ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΓΑ



From hence I travell'd upon this Street almost to *Resingham*; it is very visible all this Way. About a Mile south from *Resingham* there is a Pillar of about eight Foot in Length, which has stood by the Wayside, but is now fallen: At this Place I was shewn the Inscription in Fig. 17. a Wall on the Inside of a House. I got a Medal which was found here a Year ago, 'tis a Brass one, the Emperor's Name worn out, AVG PIVS very legible; but by the Figures of other Medals I take it to be *Antoninus*; on the Reverse a Wolf, without any Inscription.

The next Roman Town I visited was *Rocheſter*; *Watling-street* is very visible some Part of it, but how far I cannot tell, not having traced it. I found the Altar, Fig. 18. near this Place. I cannot say this is Fig. 18. the largest, but think it has been one of the best fortified Places the Romans have been Masters of in the North: And indeed it stood in need of being so, since it was not only a Frontier Town, but also surrounded by Enemies.

From this Place I return'd to the Roman Wall at *Carrow*, between which and *Walwich* the Wall has been repair'd, and fronted with its old Stones again, upon which I found the Inscriptions, Fig. 19, 20, Fig. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

XV. I have endeavoured to get what Account I could of the Truth of a Relation, which was sent up to the *Athenian Society*, of the entire Skeleton of a prodigious Monster, of human Form, above 22 Foot in Length; which was discover'd upon the Banks of the River *Tyne*, not far from *Corbridge* in *Northumberland*. I shall give an Account, *First*, Antiquities at Corbridge in Northumberland, by Dr. H. Todd. n. 330. p. 291. Of the Place itself, and of the Antiquities that are there. *Secondly*, Of the Bones and Teeth, which are discover'd there, and said to be of so prodigious a Bigness. *Thirdly*, I shall offer my Thoughts of the Matter.

First, The Place where the Bones were found is not *Corbridge*, but *Colchester*, a Mile West of it, upon the N. Banks of the River *Tyne*: Formerly a Roman Colony; but, at present, a Field of Corn; nothing of Antiquity remaining, but some Walls and Rubbish; which shew it to have been a very large Fortrefs. Stones, which have been dug up, with Figures and Inscriptions upon them, have been all remov'd to *Corbridge*, which has risen out of its Ruins. There I saw Altars inscrib'd; one IMP. M. AVRELIO . . . another LEG. II. AVG. COH. III. But that which is most remarkable, is that which stands in a Corner of the Church-yard, dedicated to *Hercules*, in old Capital Greek Characters; the like to which is not to be met with, I think, in any other Part of this Island. The Characters are indifferent plain, and, as I could read them, thus: Fig. 15. i. e. *Herculi Tyrio Divina* Fig. 15. and *Dona, Archi-Sacerdotalia; vel, per Summum Sacerdotem offerenda.* The Vid. supra, Fig. 13. Altar seems to have been erected by some of the *Asiatick, Phœnician* Auxiliaries, who might be in Garison here, near the Frontier, under *Urbicus Lollius*, in the Time of *M. Aur. Antoninus*, about A. D. 140. The Altar

An Altar to Hercules.

Fig. 15. and Vid. supra, Fig. 13.

Altar is very large, hollow at the Top (as usual) for Incense. On the Sides are engrav'd a Bull's Head, with Garlands and sacrificing Instruments.

Secondly, The Teeth and Bones, which were discover'd by the River Tyne's breaking in upon the Bank, were found near the Foundations of the old Fort; and neither higher up, nor lower down, than the Ruins of it seem to reach. I examin'd the Person who made the first Discovery, and was as exact as possible in the Remarks which I made myself upon the Spot. Upon the whole, it appear'd to me that there never was an entire Skeleton found in that Place. The Teeth and Bones lie in the Bank in *Strata's*; sometimes at one, sometimes at two Yards depth, for above 200 Yards in length. In some Places there appears to have been a sort of Pavement, or Foundation of Stone, which runs along with the Bones, *stratum super stratum*; sometimes above, sometimes below them. The Bones are of different Sizes; the Teeth, which are most perfect and entire, are very large, some three or four Inches in Compass; Ribs, Shank-bones, &c. (many of them) not exceeding the ordinary Dimensions of those of Sheep and Oxen. I could meet with no Remains of Horns, those being more easily corrupted than the Bones, which are of a harder Substance. The Teeth look as if they were human; but I cannot affirm them to be so: And they lie sometimes at so great a Distance from the Ribs and Shank-bones, that should any one compute the Length of the Monster, from one to the other, they might calculate his Longitude to 200 or 300 Yards, as reasonably as to 22 Foot. The Teeth and Bones are in such Quantities, that, with the Help of a Labourer or two, you might in a few Hours gather a Bushel of them.

Thirdly, From the Account I have given, it may not be unreasonable to infer, that the Altar here dedicated to the *Tyrian Hercules* was very famous, and much frequented; that Oxen and such like Creatures, as Bisons and Bonassus, (with which the Country hereabouts did anciently abound; the entire Head and Horns of one, being lately dug up in a marshy Ground, resembling exactly those Creatures, as they are describ'd by *Gesner* and others) were sacrificed thereon: And, that their Bones being all thrown together, and, according to the Superstition of those Times, laid under the Foundation and Pavement of the Fort, are the very same Bones, Teeth, Skulls, Ribs, &c. which, by the River's washing away the Bank, are now discover'd and brought to light. And, if I might be allow'd to guess a little farther, I might think it not impossible, that (as *Erkelens* in *Gelderland* is *Herculis Castra*, and *Hertland* in *Cornwall* was *Herculis Promontorium*, so) upon the Recess of the Romans, the Saxons who succeeded them might call this noted Station *Hercul-cestre*, and by Corruption, *Colceaster*, or *Colchester*, its modern Name. And, what may somewhat confirm the Conjecture, the ancient Town of *Corbridge*, which, as I said, has risen out of its Ruins, is called in the Charter

of

of Henry I. (whereby that King gave it to the Secular Canons of *Carlisle* before the Erection either of the Priory or Bishoprick, *Colbruge* and *Colburgh*, the same as *Col-ceaster*; the Bridge, from whence it may seem to take its Denomination, being of a much later Erection. That Oxen used to be sacrificed to *Hercules*, there needs no other Evidence than the Altar itself; whereon an Ox's Head, with sacrificing Instruments, are delineated.

As to the Teeth and Bones, if it does not appear that they agree perfectly with the Teeth and Bones of Oxen, it will not follow, that therefore they must be Human, and that there were Men of prodigious Stature who made use of them; seeing there were in these Parts other Creatures of very great Size, to whom they might belong, and of whose Teeth and Bones we have now very few Specimens to compare them with.

XVI. 1.] The Inscription, *Fig. 28.* was dug up two Years ago in the Roman *CASTRUM*, near *Lanchester*: The Inscription is very legible, and gives me Reason to hope a Search after the first fortifying this Place will not be unnecessary, especially being able to fix the Time of *Gordian's* repairing this Fortrefs to the 243d Year of CHRIST. We may reasonably ascribe the Foundation to the prudent Administration of *Julius Agricola*, in the Reign of *Fl. Vespasian*, about 169 Years before.

A Roman Inscription near Lanchester, by Dr. C. Hunter. n. 354. p. 701. Fig. 28.

In the second Year of the Emperor *CLAUDIUS*, *An. Dom. 44.* the Romans invaded *Britain*, under the Command of *Aulus Plautius*, in which Expedition *Vespasian**, then Legate of the second Legion, made a glorious Figure, having been engaged in no less than thirty Battles, and reduced two powerful Provinces, above twenty Towns, and the Isle of *Wight*. All these Successes, though continued with good Improvements in some of the following Years and Governments, could not frighten the Natives into an entire Submission, especially no Advance being made into the Country of the *Brigantes*, till the Advancement of *Vespasian* to the Imperial Throne, about 26 Years after, *An. Dom. 70.* Then the whole Empire was deliver'd from the Miseries of *Nero's*, and the short, but lamentable Devastations of the three succeeding Reigns: *Vespasian* then resolved to push on his begun Conquests in *Britain*; choice Armies, commanded by Experienced Generals, are sent over; and the 20th Legion, having in the preceding Troubles acted seditiously, (not without difficulty) was reduced to submit to *Vespasian* (most of the Officers as well as Soldiers having been advanced by *Vitellius*.) *Julius Agricola* is constituted Legate, who, under the Governor *Petilius Cerealis*, bore a considerable Share in the Successes against the *Brigantes*; † “ Sed primò *Cerealis* modò labores & discrimina, mox & gloriam communicabat: Sæpe parti Exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu præfecit.” *Tacitus* afterwards in a few Words sums up the whole of

* *Suetonius, Vespasian, cap. iv.* † *Tacit. Vit. Agric. viii.*

Cerealis's Acquisitions, || “Terrorem statim intulit *Petilius Cerealis*,
 “*Brigantum* Civitatem, quæ numerosissima Provinciæ totius perhibe-
 “tur, aggressus; multa prælia, & aliquando non incruenta; mag-
 “namque *Brigantum* partem aut victoria amplexus, aut bello.” Not-
 withstanding these Advantages, I dare not suppose the *Romans* to
 have then penetrated so far into this Province as our *Longovicum*,
 which is situate so near the Northern Bounds of the *Brigantes*, that at
 present it is not distant above twelve Miles from *Corbridge*, the *Roman*
Curia, the chief Town of the adjoining People the *Otadini*. I now ad-
 vance to my principal Motive, (being under no Obligation to account
 for the Government of *Jul. Frontinus*, Successor to *Cerealis*) to fix upon
 the second Year of *Julius Agricola's* Government for this Work, which
Tacitus thus describes: * “Sed ubi Æstas advenit contracto Exercitu
 “——loca Castris ipse capere, æstuaria ac sylvas ipse prætentare:
 “& nihil interim apud Hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis Ex-
 “cursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus
 “irritamenta Pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multæ Civitates quæ in
 “illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis Obsidibus iram posuere, & Præ-
 “fidiis Castellisque circumdatæ, tantâ ratione curâque, ut nulla antè
 “Britanniæ nova pars illaccessita transierit.” This excellent Conduct
Tacitus further confirms from the Observation of others. “Adnota-
 “bant periti, non alium Ducem Opportunitates locorum sapientius
 “legisse, nullum ab *Agricola* positum Castellum aut vi Hostium ex-
 “pugnatum, aut pactione aut fugâ desertum.”

Agricola, this Summer, having quieted so large a Tract, and finished
 so many Fortresses, it cannot be expected all should be built with the
 most exquisite Art, sufficient to perpetuate them. I proceed to *Gor-*
dian's Repairs; whose Historian, *Julius Capitolinus*, having never once
 named *Britain*, yet giving so many Hints of the excellent Oeconomy
 of his Government, under the prudent Administration of his Father-
 in-Law *Misitheus*, I dare not fix this Work till the third Year of his
 Reign, he having before been under the Direction of the Eunuchs and
 Officers of the Court, whom *Capitolinus* represents in *Misitheus's* Let-
 ter to *Gordian*, to have prostituted all Employments to their own Co-
 vetousness and mercenary Creatures.

—on the same
 by Mr. R.
 Gale. n. 357.
 p. 823.

2.] Dr. *Hunter* having only given us his Conjectures as to the first
 fortifying the Place where it was found, and the Time of its Repair
 after it had been destroyed, but said nothing relating to the Explanation
 of the Inscription itself, I shall offer some Thoughts that occur'd to me
 at first Sight of it. I shall not dispute or call in question the Time of its
 Foundation, as fix'd by the Doctor, but begin with the Place where it
 was discover'd, namely, *Lanchester*, or *Lancaster*, in the Bishoprick of
Durham; which I am, with him, fully persuaded was the *Longovicus*,
 where the *Notitia Imperii* places the † *Numerus Longovicariorum*.

This Place is seated upon a great Military Way, about twelve
 Miles distance from *Binchester*; and seven from *Ebchester*; the one the
Vinovia,

|| cap. xvii.

* cap. xx.

† *Not. Imp.* fol. 176.

Vinovia, and the other the *Vindomora* of *Antoninus*, as the Correspondence of the Numbers may evince; *Binchester* being 19 Roman Miles from *Ebchester*, as that is 9 from *Corbridge*, the exact Numbers the *Itinerary* gives us between *Vinovia*, *Vindomora*, and *Corstopitum*. What is very strange, is, that the *Itinerary*, which must go upon the great Road directly through this Town of *Longovicus* betwixt *Vindomora* and *Vinovia*, takes not the least notice of it, but measures the Way at the whole Length, and Number of Miles, from the first to the latter of those Stations. If *Longovicus* was founded, as Dr. *Hunter* supposes, so early as the Time of *Julius Agricola*, and if that *Itinerary* was composed by any of the Emperors that bore the Name of *Antoninus*, this Station might have been destroyed or deserted during the Wars with the *Britons*, and not being repair'd till the Reign of *Gordian III.* was passed over by the Author of the *Itinerary*, as a Camp not then in being, or of no use to the *Roman Armies*; and this would be no weak Argument for the Antiquity of that Work: And perhaps some Parts of it may have been described as early as the Reigns of those Emperors, or earlier, and such Names of more modern Places as are found in it, may have been afterwards added, as Occasion required. As a farther Confirmation of this Conjecture, I observe, that this Place, after it was repaired by *Gordian*, subsisted even to the Ruin of the *Roman Empire* in *Britain*, as is evident by the mention of it in the *Notitia Imperii*; so that had this * Journey, which carries us from *Vindomora* to *Vinovia*, been composed after the Reign of *Gordian*, it would be very hard to account for the Omission of this remarkable Station and Town, as it appears to have been from this, and many other Inscriptions found there.

I take this Opportunity to rectify a Mistake in the *Essay towards the Recovery of the Roman High-ways through Britain*, printed in the 9th Volume of Mr. *Hearne's Itinerary of Leland* †, which having brought the *Erming-street* (not the *Watling-street*, as Dr. *Hunter* and the Country call it) a little beyond *Cattarick* in *Yorkshire*, divides it there into two Branches, tracing one of them to *Tinmouth*, and the other to *Carlisle*; but omits the main Stem of it, that runs almost directly northward to *Piercebridge*, so to *Denton*, *Houghton*, *Binchester*, *Lanchester*, *Ebchester*, *Corbridge*, and through the Heart of *Northumberland* into *Scotland*, about a Mile and a half to the West of *Berwick*. It is in several Places very entire and fair, especially between *Corbridge* and *Binchester*, the Ridge of it there being for the most part two Yards in height above the Level of the Soil, no less than eight Yards broad, and all paved with Stones, that are as even as if new laid, as I am inform'd by Mr. *Warburton*, who has often viewed it.

Having fix'd the Seat of this *Longovicus*, where the Inscription was found, let us consider next what sort of a Place it was; and upon due Enquiry it will appear to have been one of the most ancient and

eminent Stations the *Romans* were possessed of in these Parts. As to its Antiquity, Dr. *Hunter* has made it probable, that we ought to look for it as high as *Julius Agricola's* commanding under *Domitian*, in this Island: As to its Eminency, the Inscription that came last from him to the Society, as well as several others found there, is an undeniable Evidence of its being a Place of great Consideration; but nothing can put that more out of dispute than the *first*, which was some Years ago transmitted by the same Hand*, which I shall insert here with that which came last from him; and the rather, because little or nothing has ever been said upon it, and that they will give great Light one to the other.

* *Vid. supra,*
V. iii. C. ii.
S. xxi.

Fig. 27.

The Stone whereon the first is cut, has been broke in two, whereby some of the Letters are defaced; however, it may be very well read as follows: The Letters *PRE* in the fourth Line I take to be a Mistake of the Workman, having seen several Copies where they are so transcribed; that they should be *PER*, is evident from the fifth Line of the Inscription, *Fig. 28.*

Fig. 27.

*Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus
Pius Felix Augustus Balneum cum
Basilica a solo instruxit
Per Cneium Lucilianum Legatum Augustalem
Proprætorem curante Marco Aurelio
Quirino Præfeto Cohortis primæ Longovicariorum; or rather,
Legionis Gordianæ.*

The next can be read only after the following manner:

Fig. 28.

*Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius
Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus
Principia & Armamentaria
Conlapsa restituit
Per Mæcilium Fuscum Legatum
Augustalem Proprætorem curante Marco Aurelio
Quirino Præfeto Cohortis primæ Legionis Gordianæ.*

From these two Inscriptions compared together, it will be apparent that they were not only erected under the same Emperor, but by the Care of the very same Person *Aurelius Quirinus*, though not in the same Year. The Emperor can be no other than *Gordianus* the youngest, or third of that Name; the two former having been slain so very soon after they had assumed the Purple, that it is improbable they should have given any Orders or Commands for the erecting of new, and repairing of ancient Buildings, in so remote a Province as *Britain* was from *Africa*, where they were murdered after a short joint Reign of scarce seven Weeks.

Dr. *Hunter*

* Dr. Hunter tells us, that the first was dug up about a hundred Yards East from a great Square, which had been fortified with a thick, strong Wall, faced with hewn Stone, within which, and without, especially towards the East, are nothing but ruinous Heaps of Stone; and thinks the Lodging of the Garison only to have been included within those Walls. His Conjecture is very much confirmed by the Account he gives us of the finding the last Inscription within that square Inclosure; so that there seems to have been at this *Longovicus* a large Town, and one of those Camps called *Castra stativa*, where the Legions lay in Quarters during the Time of Peace and Quiet.

* *Pbil. Trans.*
N^o 266.
p. 658.

The first Inscription tells us, that the Emperor *Gordian* built the *Balneum* and *Basilica* from the Ground, *à Solo*; whereas, by the second he appears to have been only the Repairer of the *Principia* and *Armamentaria*. Perhaps therefore here might be no Town, till the Romans thought fit to repair their old deserted Camp at this Place, and then the Emperor might also build the *Bath* and Palace for the Residence of the *Proprætor*, when in these Parts of *Britain*; the word *Basilica* importing both a Palace, and an Edifice for hearing of Causes, and transacting all publick Affairs. As this eminent Building was erected by the Emperor's Command, it is an undeniable Argument of the Splendor of this Town, as are the great Heaps of Rubbish and Ruins, where this Inscription was found, of its Largeness and Extent.

The second equally puts the Being of the *Castrum stativum* out of dispute, when it acquaints us with the Rebuilding of the *Armamentaria* and *Principia* there; that is, the *Arsenals* and *Quarters* either of the Legionary Soldiers that were called the *Principes*, or the Place where the Eagles and other military Ensigns were kept. It is probable they did not belong to one particular Legion, but to several, as they had Occasion to be employed here; though the † *Legio sexta Victrix* seems to have the best Title to them, as being constantly quarter'd in the North; whereas the †† *Legio Secunda* and ††† *Vicesima* were generally garison'd, the first at *Caerleon* in *Wales* and *Richburrow* in *Kent*, and the other at and about *Chester*; so that the ** Monuments they have left in the North were erected by them when the Wars, and other Works, as particularly the *Walls* carried cross the Island, called them thither; which being finished, they returned home to their more Southern Quarters, and continued in them till commanded abroad upon new Services. I will not pretend to determine when these *Armamentaria* and *Principia* first fell to Ruin; perhaps it might be when *Hadrian*, *Lollius Urbicus* and *Severus* had carried their Conquests farther into the Enemy's Country, and having built those famous *Walls*, the Relicks of which we still see in the Shire of *Sterling* in *Scotland*, and in *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* in *England*, that this Camp might be thought

† *Ptol. Leg. VI. Niceph. Ebor. locat.*

‡ *Anton. Itin. XII. Not. Imp. p. 161.*

†† *Anton. Itin. II.*

** *Camd. p. 835, 920. Pbil. Trans. N^o 269.*

thought useless, the *Roman* Forces being drawn nearer to, and quartered upon the Frontiers; and so this Fortrefs was abandoned and suffered to fall into Decay, as the word *Conlapsa* implies; and not that it was destroyed by any Fire, War, or other Enemy, than Age and Neglect.

Tho' the word *Conlapsa* is wrote here with an *N*, there can be no doubt, but the Pronunciation of it was, as we usually find it spelt, *Collapsa*; a certain Argument of the Letter *N*'s being silent in the middle of a Word before two Consonants, especially *NS*, and *NT*, when the *T* was pronounced like an *S*. To omit what * *Quintilian* says to this Purpose, it is confirm'd by the Absence of that Letter in numberless Inscriptions in *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, &c. and no wonder, since the Workmen in those Days, as well as ours, usually wrote as they spoke their Words. I shall not trouble you with Quotations of any of them to this End; but, as a Proof of what I say, only assure you from ocular Inspection and a most accurate Examination, that there is no transverse Line over the Letters *ES* belonging to the word *FABRIGESIS* in the Inscription of *IVL. VITALIS* at *Bath*, whatever has been affirm'd to the contrary, but that the Letter *N* is totally omitted there. I shall endeavour to explain a short Inscription belonging to some of our Countrymen, though found at *Amerbach* in *Germany* †, since it will be a new Proof of the foregoing Assertion.

NYMPHIS ϕ
N ϕ BRITTON
TRIPVTIEN
SVB CVRA ϕ
M ϕ VLPI
MALCHI ϕ
> LEG XXII
PR ϕ P ϕ F ϕ

Nymphis.
Numerus Brittonum
Triputiensis, or ——— enus
Sub cura
Marci Ulpii
Malchi
Centurionis Leg. 22.
Primigeniæ, Piæ, Felicis.

There is no Difficulty but in the word *TRIPVTIEN*, and that will presently vanish if you insert the Letter *N*, and read it *TRIPVNT*, i. e. *Tripontienus* or *Tripontiensis*, the Mutation of the *O* and *V* being frequent. This will bring you to *Tripontium* || or *Dowbridge* in *Northamptonshire*; though *Dr. Battley*, in his † *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, would read it *RIPVTIEN*, and fix'd the Place whence this *Numerus* took its Appellation at *Richburrow* in *Kent*.

But to return to the Camp at *Longovicus*, it will be as difficult to assign a Reason for its being repaired, as it was for its being deserted; unless that the *Proprætors* might judge it adviseable about the Time of *Gordian III.* to fix their Residence there, and consequently refortify the old Camp for their State and Security. And that it was not refortified upon

* *Quintil. Instit. Lib. I. c. 7.* † *Gruter. p. xciii.* || *Antonin. Itin. VI. † P. 21.*

upon any sudden Emergency, but for Time and Duration, is evident both for the strong Stone-works that encompassed it, and a Body of Forces lying here, even at the Expiration of the *Roman* Empire and Authority in this Island, which from its Continuance in the same Station, had got the Name of the *Longovicarii* *.

The Person that under the Emperor gave Direction for these Repairs was *Mæcilius Fuscus*: As *Mæcilius* is a Diminutive of *Mæcius*, it is not unlikely that he was the Son of *Mæcius Fuscus*, who was Consul with *Turpilius Dexter*, *A. D.* 225. in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*: By this Inscription it appears that this *Mæcilius* was the Emperor *Gordian's* Lieutenant here, and *Proprætor*. And as the Name of *Fuscus* stands in the same Place in the 28th *Fig.* as that of *Lucilianus* does in the 27th *Fig.* and with the same Adjuncts both before and after, we may fairly conclude he was either his Predecessor, or Successor; but which, it is impossible to determine.

And here it may be remarked, we never meet with a *Legatus Augustalis* in any Inscription in this Island, without the joint Title of *Proprætor*; and † *Tacitus* himself either makes them the same Office, or at least unites them in the same Person, when he tells us, *In Britannia P. Ostorium Proprætorem turpidæ res exceperere*: and having presently after related the Manner of the Fight with the *Iceni*, styles him *Legatus, Quâ pugnâ filius Legati, M. Ostorius, servati civis decus meruit* ||; and a little after he gives both the same Titles to *A. Didius* the Successor of *Ostorius*.

These two Monuments have given us an Account of the *Roman* Arms and Magnificence at *Longovicus*, and the Names of two *Legates* and *Proprætors* of *Britain*, that would otherwise have been buried in Oblivion, viz. *Cneius Lucilianus* and *Mæcilius Fuscus*: For from *Virius Lupus* (who was *Proprætor* and *Legate* here about the Year 208, under *Severus*, and just before that Emperor's coming into this Island, repaired a Bath burnt down at *Lavatræ*, or *Bowes* †, in *Yorkshire*) we have no where extant the Name of one of those Officers, till we come to *Nonnius Philippus*, whom I take to have succeeded the last of these; the Stone which was found at *Old Carlisle* in *Cumberland*, and has preserv'd his Memory, setting forth that he was *Legate* and *Proprætor* when *Atticus* and *Prætextatus* were *Consuls*, which was *A. D.* 242. the very Year that our *Gordian* went upon his *Persian* Expedition, from which he never return'd. And as that Emperor left *Nonnius Philippus* in that Post, when he marched into the East, where he was murdered about two Years after, it is highly probable that he was the last *Proprætor* of his appointing, and consequently, that *Mæcilius Fuscus* was his Predecessor, and the Repairs begun at *Longovicus* before the Year 243. This Inscription is faultily transcribed in *Cambden*.

I. O. M.

* *Notit. Imp.* fol. 176. b.

† *Tac. Lib. An.* xii. c. 32.

|| *Ibid.* c. 39.

‡ *Cambd.* p. 762. Edit. 1695.

∴ *Cambd. Britan.* p. 830.

I. O. M.

PRO. SALVTE. IMPERATORIS
 M. ANTONI. GORDIANI. P. F.
 INVICTI. AVG. ET. SABINE. FvR
 IE. TRANQVILE. CONIVGI. EIVS. TO
 TAQVE. DOMV. DIVIN. EORUM. A
 LA. AVG. GORDIA. OB VIRTVTEM
 APPELLAT. POSVIT. CVI. PRAEEST
 AIMILIVS. CRISPINVS. PREF
 EQQ. NATVS. IN. PRO. AFRICA DE
 TVSDRO. SVB. CVR. NONNII. PHI
 LIPPI. LEG. AVG. PROPRETO.
 ATTICO. ET. PRETEXTATO COSS.

The Person, who had the Care of these Repairs both in Town and Camp, was *Marcus Aurelius Quirinus*, *Præfēt* or *Commander* of a Company of Foot; another Argument for the Proprætors *Lucilianus* and *Fuscus* succeeding immediately one the other, he serving in the same Post under both. I must observe, however, that altho' the * two first

* Fig. 27, 28. Inscriptions have been cut very near the same time, and by the same Hand, as appears by the Form of the Letters, and Manner of the Abbreviations in each of them; yet the Office that this *Quirinus* bore, is something differently express'd in the first from what it is in the second, if they have been accurately transcrib'd; the first shewing † after

† Fig. 27.

QVIRINO the Letters PRE. CH. I. LG. R. which, before I had seen the latter, I was induced to read *Præfēto Cohortis primæ Longovicariorum*, the || *Notitia Imperii* placing the *Præfētus numeri Longovicariorum Longovico*. That *Numerus* and *Cohors* were the same thing, *Pancirollus* ‡, in his Notes upon that Book, quotes *St. Chrysoſtom* to prove, and some others, *Cohors orat qui vocatur Numerus*; but I rather take it to be an indefinite Number of Men, which might comprize several Companies independent of any Legion. ** *Vegetius*, speaking of the *Legati Imperatoris*, says, *In quorum locum nunc illustres viros constat Magistros Militum substitutos, à quibus non tantum binæ Legiones, sed plures Numeri gubernantur*; by which it is plain, the *Numeri* were no *Legionary Cohorts*. Neither was the Name so modern as from the *Notitia Imperii* and *Chrysoſtom* it might appear to be; for we meet with a †† *Numerus Britonum* upon an Altar found in *Transylvania*, dedicated to the *Nymphs*, when the Emperor *Commodus* and *Glabrio* were Consuls, *A. D.* 186. And ||| another *Numerus* upon an Altar erected to *Hercules* for the Prosperity of *Septimius Severus*, when *Lateranus* and *Rufinus* were Consuls, *A. D.* 197. But after I had review'd the Letters at the End of the second Inscription, which are plainly transcribed PR. CoH. I. L. COR. I could read them no otherwise than *Præfēto Cohortis primæ*

|| Fol. 266. b. † Fol. 16. b. ** Lib. II. c. 9. †† Gruter. p. 942. ||| Id. 6. 46.

primæ Legionis Gordianæ. Gordian III. was so belov'd of the Soldiery, that several Legions complimented him by honouring themselves with his Name, as the * *Legio tertia Italica*, which took the Addition of *Gordiana*; and the † *Legio decima gemina*, and ‖ *Decima tertia gemina*, did both give themselves the same Appellation. But which of the Legions quartered in this Island so stiled itself, is not determin'd by this Inscription, or any other that I know of. However, as the *Legio sexta Victrix* was all along quarter'd in the Northern Parts of this Kingdom, where these Inscriptions were erected, I make no doubt but it was that which called itself *Gordiana*, though the numeral Distinction of VI is omitted, only perhaps for want of room on the Stone. We find by several Inscriptions in *Cambden*, that there was an *Ala* in those Parts which prided itself upon its Valour, and was therefore call'd the *Ala Augusta*. Of the many Memorials it has left us of its Title, I shall only mention ‡ one found at *Old Carlisle*, and which is the ancientest of them all, by any Certainty of Date.

I. O. M.
AL. AVG. OB
... RTVT. APPEL. CVI
PRAEEST. TIB. CL. TIB. F. P.
LING.. N. IVSTINVS.
PRAEF. FVSCIANO.
II. SILANO. II. COS.

That is, *Jovi Optimo Maximo, Ala Augusta ob Virtutem appellata, cui præest Tiberius Claudius Tiberii filius, provincia Lingonensi, Justinus Præfectus, Fusciano secundo, Silano secundo Consulibus.*

This Altar was dedicated when *Fuscianus* and *Silanus* were the second time Consuls, that is, in the Year 188. under the Reign of *Commodus*, and fifty Years before our *Gordian* came to the Empire. At the same Place was also discover'd the Inscription, p. 56. where we find this same *Ala Augusta* stiling itself also *Gordiana*; from whence I think it is not a little probable, that the Legion, to which this Wing appertain'd, was the *Legio Gordiana* mention'd in the Inscriptions found at *Langchester*; and that Legion to have been the *Legio sexta Victrix*, from the long Continuation of this *Ala Augusta* in these Northern Parts of the Nation, the constant Quarters of that Legion.

XVII. A Roman Inscription (Fig. 29.) from *Hadrian's Wall* by the Kirk of *Kil-patric*. *Imperatori Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino, Augusto, Pio, patri patriæ, vexillatio Legionis sextæ victricis p. fofam per ter mille & DCLVI passus.*

Fig. 30. An Irish Inscription on a stately Cross, carv'd on all Sides. 'Tis at *Munster Boys*, near *Drogheda*.

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H

The

Roman,
French, and
Irish Inscrp-
tions and An-
tiquities in
Scotland and
Ireland, by
Mr. Edw.
Lhwyd.
n. 269. p. 790.
Fig. 29.
Fig. 30.

* *Velf. Monum. Augustæ Vindel.* p. 431. † *Grut.* p. 80. ‖ *Id.* p. 433. 1. ‡ *Camb.* p. 827.

The two Cats and the Inscription we know not what to make of.

Fig. 31. Another at the Abbey of Cluinmacnos in the County of Roscommon. } Or Angilla Giarain.
} Pray for the sake of Giarain.

Fig. 32. A *Pictish* Monument near Edinburgh, *In oc tumulo jacit veta F victi*. This the common People call the *Ket-stean*. Note, that the *British* Names beginning with the Letters Gw, began in *Latin* with v, as we find by *Gwytheyrn*, *Gwytheuir* and *Gwythelin*; whom *Latin* Writers call *Vortigernus*, *Vortimarus* and *Vitellinus*. So I suppose this Person's Name was *Gweth* (or *Geth*) of which Name were divers Kings of the *Picts*; whence the vulgar Name of *Ket-stone*.

Fig. 33. A Monument of *Kadran* Prince of *North Wales*, about the midst of the sixth Century. *Catamanus Rex sapientissimus opinatissimus omnium Regum*. This is above the Church-Door of *Lban Gudwaladr* in *Anglesey*, and is a Confirmation of the Authority of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, who makes Prince *Caduan* the Grandfather of our last King *Cadwaladr*.

Fig. 34. A *French* Inscription at *Bullifont* Abbey in *Ireland*. *Phelip de la Chapele Ghyt ici, Deu de sa alma eyit mercipte*.

Fig. 35, 36. Two *Irish* Inscriptions on the Tombs of *Scottish* Princes at *Y Colum Kil* in the *Hebrides*. The 35th signifies, Pray for *Eogain* (or *Eugenius*); the 26th, Pray for *Ilfata*.

Fig. 37. An Arrow's Head of *Flint*, commonly call'd *Elf-Arrow* throughout *Ireland* and *Scotland*, where they are fully persuaded the *Elves* often shoot them at Men and Beasts. This is set in *Silver*, and worn about the Neck as an Amulet, against being *Elf-shot*.

The various Reading of an Etruscan Inscription on a Statue of Tages, &c. by Dr. G. Hickes. n. 302. p. 2076.

XVIII. I have carefully examined the Statue, a Description of which was given by *Mess. Spanheim* and *Geoffroy*, to be presented to the Royal Society; together with *Boivin's* Dissertation upon it in *French*, in which he endeavours to prove by a great many Arguments, that the Juvenile Image which was lately sent from *Paris* was that of *Tages*. But whether *TAGES* amongst the *Tuscans* was Author of the Art of Divination, or a Gladiator, or perhaps one who had got a Prize at the Publick Games, or in short whatever he was who is represented in that Statue, those *Tuscan* Characters which are wrote upon the Thigh and the left Leg, which these learned Men gave us, or hope they had given us for the *Tuscan Alphabet*, may so far be easily described in two more different Manners by the *Roman* and *Greek* Letters, as far as the Characters remain still whole and entire. The Alphabets we make use of in interpreting them are four, viz. one of *Father Francis Giambullar*, another of an anonymous Interpreter, a third of *James Gruter*, and a fourth of *Brogiotti*.

The first, in which *Francis Giambullar* has expressed the Figures and Significations of the *Tuscan*, is in that excellent little Book of his upon the

Fig. 15.
ΘΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΘ
ΘΤΤΡΙΩΘ
ΘΔΕΟΔΩΡΑΘ
ΘΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΑΘ

Fig. 18.
D M
CIVL FL
INGEN
MI LEC
VIV F

Fig. 19.
C·H VI
O DELIMIX
NA

Fig. 20.
NRB

Fig. 21.
) PP

Fig. 22.
COHX
IVNRV

Fig. 25.
ELIVLIANI

Fig. 26.
) CVSINIO

Fig. 23.
COHVI
LOVS
SVAVIS

Fig. 24.
COHVI
) LI BE
M S

Fig. 16.
IMPERATC
M AVRELIOAA
POTESTATI

Fig. 17.
DOLOCHENO
CIVEPVBL
PIVS·TRIB
V S L M

Fig. 29.
IMP·CAESAR·T·AELIO
HADRIANO ANTONINO
AVG·PIOP·VEXILLA·TO
LEGVI·VIC R P·F
PER·M·P·III·DCLXVI

Fig. 30.
on donn me da hier
nd ern ma
h no 88

Fig. 27.
IMP·GAS·M·NT·GORDIA
NVS·P·F·AVG·BALNEVM·GM
BS·L·G·A·L·INSTRVXIT
PRENEGIANM·LEG·AVG
PR·PR·GR·NT·M·AVR
QVIRINO·PRE·CHILGR

Fig. 31.
on artil
La Ziara in



Fig. 32.
IN OCTV
M LOIACIT
VETTA S
VICTI-

Fig. 33.

CATANANURREX
TAPIENTINIMUROP
NATINIMUROMNIUM
REZUM

Fig. 28.
IMP·CAESAR·M·ANTONIVS
GORDIANVS·P·F·AVG·
PRINCIPIA·ET·ARMAMEN
TARIA·CONLPSARE·ITF
IT·PER·MEGLVM·FVSCMLEG
AVG·PR·PR·GRANTE·M·AVR
QVIRINO·PR·CHILGOR.

Fig. 36.
+ on domanzataric

Fig. 35.

on archmmeozain

Fig. 34.

† p h e l i p : d e : l a g h a p g l e : e h i t : i a i : d e g :
d e : s i a l a g g y i t : o g r g e : p a e g :

the Origin of the *Tuscan* Language writ in *Italian*, the Title of which is this; *Origine della Lingua Fiorentina. altrimenti IL GELLO DI M. PIER. FRANCESCO GIAMBULLARI Academico-Fiorentino. in FIORENZA. M. D. XLIX.* In this inestimable Book, page 97. he has given us, he says, the *Tuscan* Characters, printed from right to left, together with their Significations express'd by *Roman* Letters, as delineated in Figure 38.

Fig. 38.

In the second, which is to be found amongst the *Tuscan* Memorials sent to the Royal Society by *R. Fabretti* of immortal Memory, the Figures and Significations of the *Tuscan* Characters are described by an anonymous Author the same way as they are express'd, Fig. 39.

Fig. 39.

In the third, *James Gruter*, in his Book of ancient Inscriptions, pag. 165. gives a Copy of the *Tuscan* Characters of the *Eugubine* Records, together with their Significations express'd in *Greek* Letters, as he had conceived them in his Mind; which you may see Fig. 40.

Fig. 40.

But in the fourth, which *Andreas Brogiatti*, the Son, has delineated in his Book, intituled, *INDICE DE CATATTERI con l'Inventori & Nomi di essi esistenti NELLA STAMPA VATICANA & CAMERALE in ROMA. M. DC. XXVIII.* the *Tuscan* Characters of seven Brass Tables, which were found long ago at *Eugubio*, are express'd in quite another manner, and, in my Opinion, a much truer than they are by *Gruter*, with their Significations marked in *Roman* Letters, as in Fig. 41.

Fig. 41.

According to the first of the Alphabets, which are expressed in the Tables, calling both Characters of the second likewise into our Assistance, the *Tuscan* Inscription on the left Thigh and Leg of the Figure of *TAGES*, reading it from right to left, runs thus:

MI. GLEDEM: STULPOE: ADI^a IMI
GASSI D^b GD^c II. XD. CECLES: CEVA:

a perhaps K.
b perhaps A.
c perhaps V.

But according to that of *Janus Gruter*, which is the third Alphabet in the Order, the Inscription must be read thus:

μ: ωζεδεμ. υλουζαωε: αοπιμ:
ωευ . . ι: ο. d ωο. e χο. ππζεν: πε^f α:

d perhaps N.
e perhaps MI.
f perhaps TZ.

By the last again, viz. that of *Andreas Brogiotti*, the Son, it seems to run in this Manner:

MI. GLEDEM: g RULAGE: ADIFIMI
GA: h I: D, . . . GG . . . XD. CECLLEN: CETA:

g perhaps Z.
h perhaps ZZ.

Upwards of eighty Years ago *Adrianus Scribeckius* attempted to explain the *Tuscan* Characters, and not without Success, in a Book which he wrote in *French*, but gave the following *Latin* Title to it: *Adriani*

Scrieckii Rodorni Originum rerumque Celticarum & Belgicarum libri XXIII. In Book 1. pag. 32, 33, &c. there is a *Tuscan* Inscription, which was given to him when he was a Student at the University of *Paris*, by *Erricus Memmius*, which he undertook not only to describe, but likewise translate some Part of it into *Dutch*. But had he translated the whole Inscription into this Language, as well as he seems to have done some Part it, then he would have put it beyond all Controversy, not only whence the *Tuscan* Language was derived, viz. from the *Dutch*, the ancient *Tutonick*, but likewise enabled us to explain the Tables at *Eugubium*. It is a Part of these which *Gruter* has describ'd and publish'd in his Book of ancient Inscriptions. And these Tables, which *Fabretti*, when he was a dying, bequeath'd to the Royal Society, seem to be Copies of the same, which he had taken Care to have accurately done from the Originals, being a great Inquirer into Antiquities. Besides one of the Tables, which (it would seem) the Royal Society has Copies of, and (excepting some Errors of the Ingraver) the most beautiful of them all, is the same with that which *Adrianus Scrieckius* tried of his own accord to explain, and declared that, God willing, he should interpret the whole of it. But altho' formerly *Scrieckius*, and of late *Fabretti*, much better versed in ancient Literature than *Scrieckius*, who wanted very much to explain the Tables at *Eugubium* had not the Success which they desired; yet still it is to be hoped that some time or other there will spring up a Lover of Antiquity, who will not only be able to explain the several Tables at *Eugubium*, which have been so long a Reproach to the Learned, but likewise those of *Volterra*, mentioned by *Giambullari*, pag. 96. and every other Passage of the *Tuscan* Inscriptions, whether in Statues or Records, that puzzle the Curious. For that there are Statues as well as Tables or Records, with *Tuscan* Inscriptions, is not only plain from the Original of your Copy, and several of the same kind, which *Fabretti* took Care to send together with his Tables to the Royal Society, but especially from what *Giambullari*, whom I have quoted so often above, says in his Book, pag. 96. as follows: *In the Year 1507, the nine and twentieth of January, I went to pay a Visit at a Castle in the Neighbourhood, where the Governor's Lady having ordered a Vine to be dug up, there was found a Chamber under Ground twenty Cubits long, five thick, and three broad, with a kind of jetting out in the Sides; where there were found Statues, Ashes, Ornaments, and Tuscan Characters: Of which I can shew you a great many, whenever you have a mind, being allowed the Privilege by our learned and good natured Peter Vettori, a diligent Enquirer into Antiquities; together with the Tuscan Alphabet, which at that time was not destroyed.*

A Pagan
Temple, and
unknown
Characters
at Cannara
in Salsset, by
Dr. A. Stuart.
n. 321. p.
372.
Fig. 42.

XIX. The rocky Mountain *Cannara* in the Island of *Salsset*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, with the Temple and Caverns; Fig. 42.

A. The Temple and Sacrificing-place, like the Choir of a Church, arched and supported by 45 Pillars, all cut out of the Rock.

B. The

Fig. 38 A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Y. Z.
R. A. D. C. E. I. I. M. N. O. P. Я. Z. T. V. Z.

Fig. 39. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. f. t. u. x. y. z.
A. C. E. F. G. I. K. L. W. П. O. 3. V. I. X.
. A. L. M. N. B. E. V.
. J. Y. W. П. A. I. V.
W. N. W. J.
S. N.
E.
N.

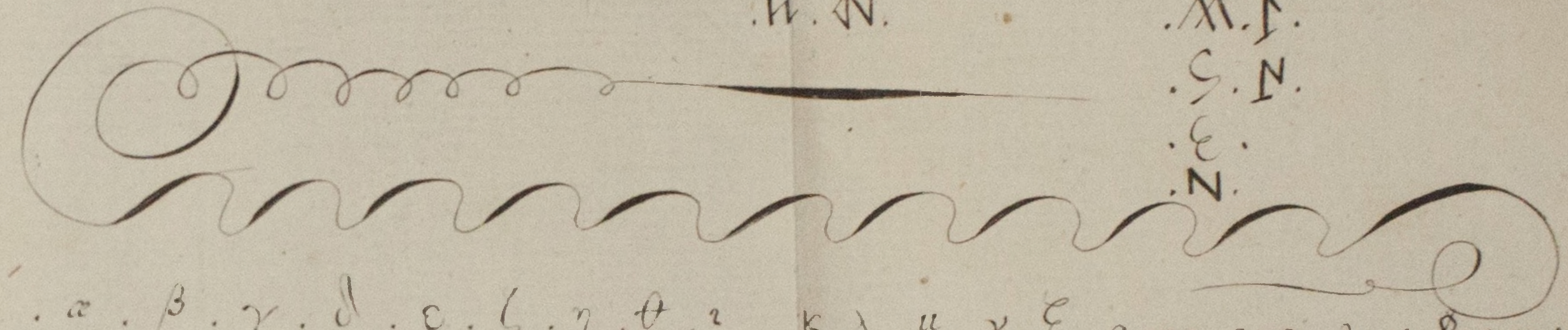


Fig. 40. α. β. γ. δ. ε. ζ. η. θ. ι. κ. λ. μ. ν. ξ. ο. π. ρ. σ. τ. υ. φ. ψ. ω.
A. B. d. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Y. Z.
Y. pr. O. Y. H. R. F. O.

Fig. 41. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. r. f. t. u.
A. B. C. D. E. Y. Z. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. S. V. V.
db O

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a cipher or shorthand. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be combinations of letters and symbols. The script is dense and difficult to decipher without a key.

Fig 43

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a cipher or shorthand. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be combinations of letters and symbols. The script is dense and difficult to decipher without a key.



B. The Altar in the furthest End of it also cut out of the Rock, with a narrow Canal about the Foot of it, I suppose design'd to be fill'd with Water.

C. C. The unknown Characters engraven on the Rock, on each side of the square Entry, represented in *Fig. 43.*

D. D. D. &c. The various irregular Paths of Ascent, some cut out in Steps as Stairs.

1, 2, 3, &c. The various Caverns, mostly of a square Figure, some large, others smaller, cut out of the Rock, whose Roofs are cut plain, like a plaister'd Room: At the Door of each without is a large Cistern or two, cut out of the Rock, full of Rain Water; at least, I could not perceive them to be Springs.

Upon the Sides of the Doors of some of the Caverns are Characters like those of the Temple.

Fig. 43. Characters engraven on each Side of the Door or Entry of the Pagan Temple of Cannara. *Fig. 43.*

See *Phil. Transf. N. 201.* † where some of these Characters are engraven. † *Vid. supra,*

XX. 1.] About 40 Perches distant North from a ruinous Wall, call'd the *Old-Works of Wroxeter*, once *Uriconium*, a famous City in *Shropshire*, in a Piece of Arable Land, in the Tenure of Mr. Bennet, he observ'd a small square Parcel thereof to be fruitless, and not to be improved by the best Manure. Guessing the Cause of Sterility to be underneath, sent his Men to dig and search into it; but the Soil being then unfown, caus'd them to mistake, and search in a wrong Place, where they happen'd upon Bottoms of old Walls, buried in their own Rubbish, (being such as are often found in those Fields;) and the Inhabitants digging one of them up, for the Benefit of the Building-Stone, were thereby guided to the Western Corner of the said unprofitable Spot of Land, where they found (near the Foundation) a little Door-place, which, when cleansed, gave Entrance into the Vacancy of a square Room, walled about, and floor'd under and over, with some Ashes and Earth therein.

V. III. P. ii. C. ii. S. xiv. A Roman Sudatory at Wroxeter in Shropshire, by Mr. T. Lyfter. n. 306. p. 2226.

This was built in Times past (as some suppose) for a *Sudatory* or *Sweating-House* for Roman Soldiers; being set with four Ranks of small Brick Pillars, eight Inches square, and laid in a strong sort of very fine red Clay, each Pillar being founded upon a Foot square Quarry of Brick; and upon the Head of every Pillar was fix'd a large Quarry of two Foot square, hard almost as Flint, as most of those Roman Bricks are, and within as red as Scarlet, and fine as Chalk. These Pillars were to support a double Floor, made of very strong Mortar, mix'd with coarse Gravel, and bruised and broken Bricks: The first of these Floors was laid upon the large Quarries, and, when dry, the second Floor was laid upon it.

But first there was a Range or Rank of Tunnel Bricks, fix'd with Iron Cramps up to the Wall within, with their lower Ends level with the under Sides of the broad Quarries, and their upper Ends with the Surface of the upper Floor; and every Tunnel had alike two opposite Mortices

Mortice-holes, one on either side, cut through for a cross Passage to disperse the Heat amongst them all.

- Fig. 44. *Fig. 44.* Is the Ground-plat, on which the Pillars of Brick stand.
 Fig. 45. *Fig. 45.* Is one of the said Bricks ; which are in Number 24.
 Fig. 46. *Fig. 46.* Is the Ceiling of square Tiles, which lie upon the Heads of the square Pillars.
 Fig. 47. *Fig. 47.* Is the Sweating-house in Perspective, shewing in part the manner of the Floors and Pillars as they were placed.
 Fig. 48. *Fig. 48.* Is the double Floor, whose upper Surface lies even with the tops of the Flews in perspective Draught.
 Fig. 49. *Fig. 49.* Is one of the Flews, or Tunnel-Bricks.

—on the same,
 by Dr. J. Har-
 wood, *ibid.*

2.] *Wroxeter* was one of the most considerable Military Stations or Colonies the Romans had in this Island ; the City Wall, as appears from a Survey taken by Mr. *Lyster*, was not much less than three Miles in Circumference ; it is not improbable but that it was founded by *Suetonius Paulinus*, or after by *Agricola*, in their March to subdue *Mona*, now *Anglesey*.

Since I presented Mr. *Lyster's* Module to the Society, I have been inform'd by Sir *Christ. Wren* that he discover'd the Remains of such another *Hypocaust*, when they were laying the Foundation of the King's House at *Winchester*.

Mr. *Hunter* has given an Account of an Antiquity of this kind dug up in *Yorkshire*, in the *Philosoph. Transact. Anno 1728* †.

† *Vid. supra*,
 p. 46.

Mr. *Lbwyd*, in his Additions to *Cambden*, takes notice of another discovered at *Kaerbyn* in *Carnarvonshire* ; one of the hollow Bricks or Tunnels whereof he there describes, and gives a Figure of it in the Table of the Curiosities, added at the End of the *Welsh* Countries, Numb. 8.

Mr. *Cambden* himself mentions an *Hypocaust* discover'd at *Hope* in *Flintshire* ; an Account of which is to be met with in his *Britannia*, page 688, of the *English* Edition.

Of the Hypo-
 causta of the
 Ancients, by
 Mr. W. Bax-
 ter, *ibid.*

3.] The Ancients had two Sorts of *Hypocausta* ; the one called by *Cicero*, *Vaporarium*, and by others, *Laconicum*, or *Sudatio*, which was a large Sweating-Bath. In which were *Tria vasaria abena*, called *Caldarium*, *Tepidarium*, and *Frigidarium*, from the Water contained in them. The other Sort of *Hypocaustum* is not so distinctly handled by Antiquaries, and it was a sort of a *Fornax*, or Kiln, to heat their Winter Parlours, or *Cænatiunculæ Hybernæ*. *Erat & Dieta, sive Cænatiuncula* (saith *Argol* upon *Panvinius*) *sub qua ignis accendebatur : Unde & Cænatio Hypocaustum. Cænationes Æstivæ & Hybernæ*, are mentioned by *Cicero* in *Epistolis*. The Terrace Floor is called by *Vitruvius* *Testudo. Testudines Alveorum in Communi Hypocausti calefacientur*, saith the same Author. This *Hypocaustis* was called *Alveus* and *Fornax* : And the Man that tended the Fire, *Fornacator*. The *Tubuli* seem to have been contrived to convey away the Smother, that otherwise would choke the *Fornacator*. This kind of Stove seems to be graphically described by *P. Statius* in *Balneo Hetrusci*. —Ubi

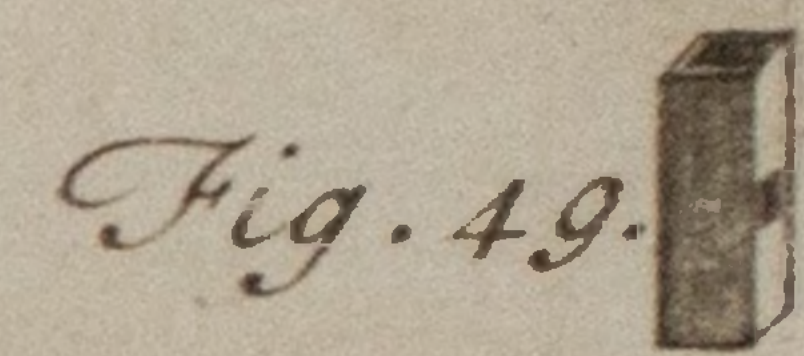
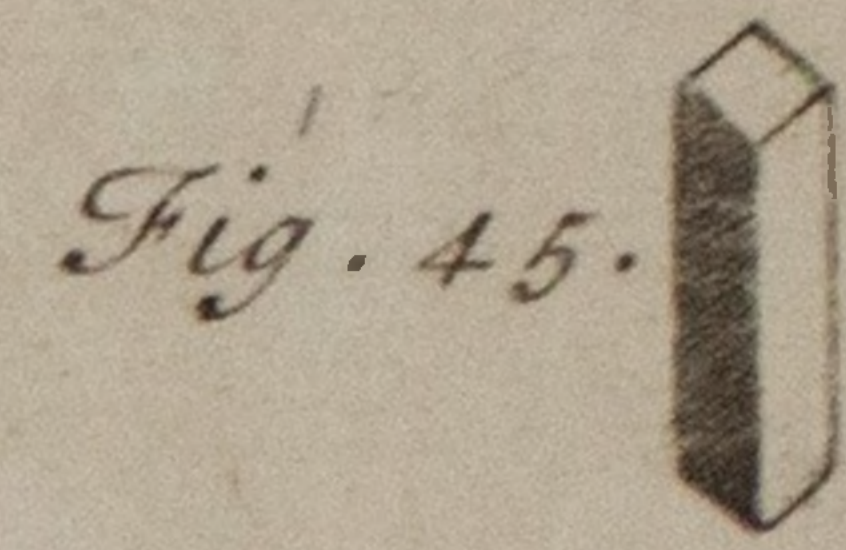


Fig. 44.

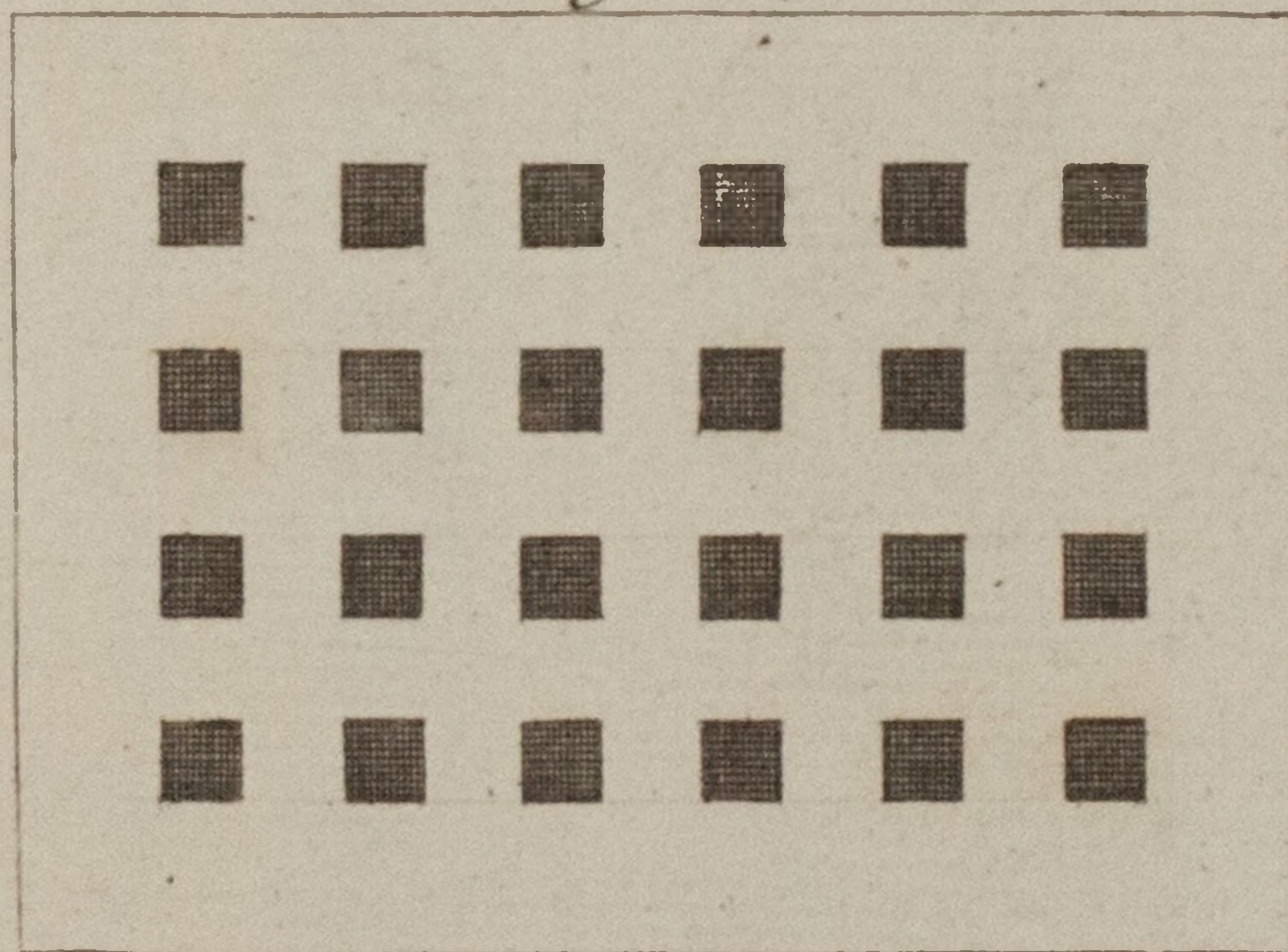


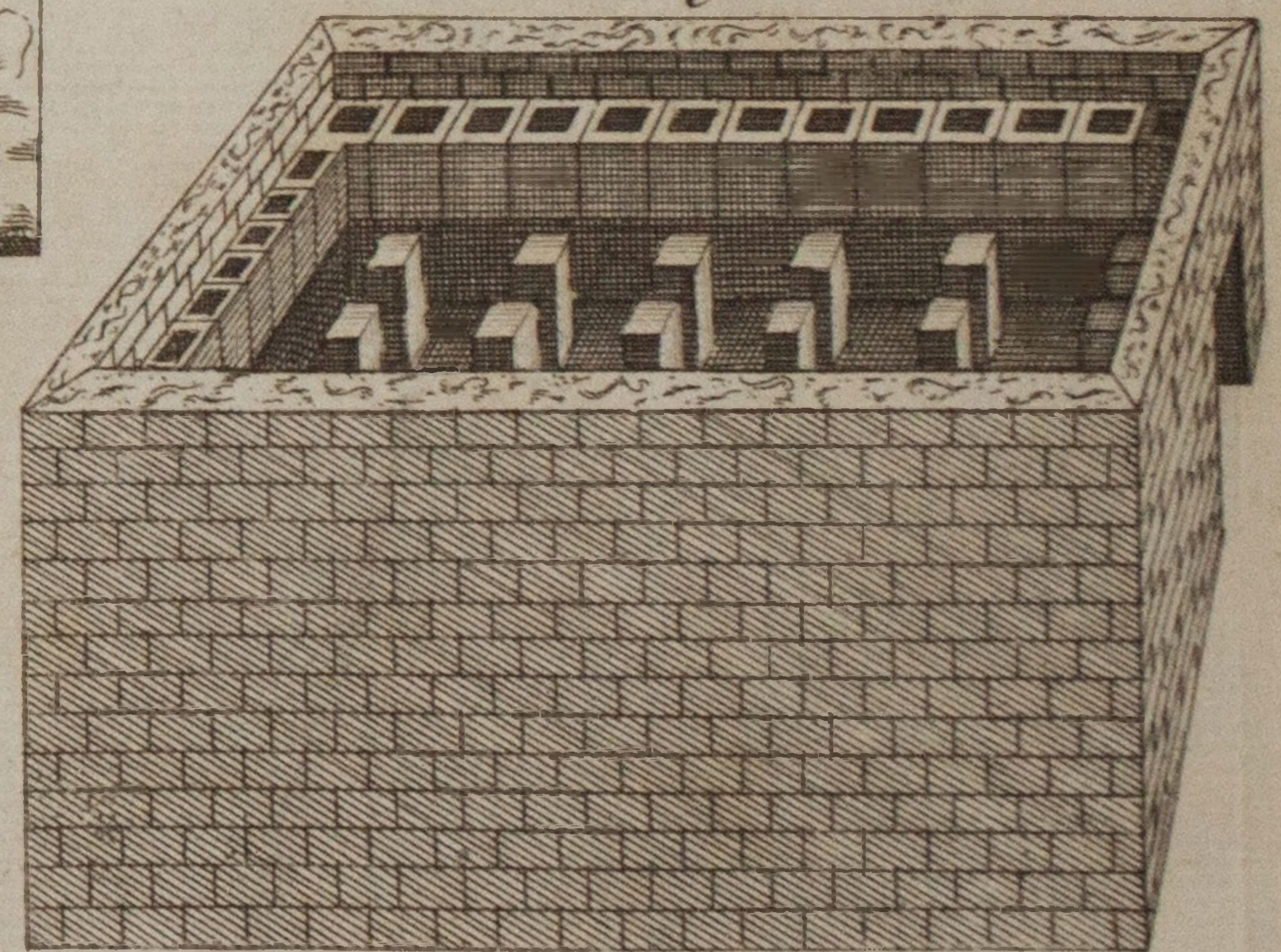
Fig. 48.



Fig. 46.



Fig. 47.



10

—Ubi Languidus Ignis inerrat
 Ædibus, & tenuem volvunt Hypocausta vaporem.

Of the Terrace *Argol* has these Words, *Testitudines sunt Pavimenta sub quibus Fornax ardet.*

I take the word *Stove* to be derived from *Æstus*, quasi *Æstuvium*; there wanting hitherto a probable Etymon.

XXI. This Draught is of an *Opus Tessellatum*, still extant in a Cellar A Mosaic Work at Leicester, by Mr. S. Carte, n. 331. p. 224. in *Leicester*, over-against the Elm-Trees, near *All-Saints Church*. It is generally called *Ætæon* by such Authors as mention it; but the bare Inspection of it will convince any one, that 'tis a Representation of the Fable, which says, that a Person having found Fault with *Venus*, she, to be revenged of him, engaged her Son *Cupid* to make him fall in love with a Monster.

It was first discover'd about forty Years ago, upon digging of the Cellar, at about a Yard and a half under the common present Surface of the Earth. What Extent the whole Pavement was of, is not known; but this Figure, which was preserved, is an *Octogon*, surrounded by a List, as is in part represented in the Corners of the Picture. Without this, though not here represented, is a Twist or Wreath of various Colours; and round that is a second List like the former. These two Lists, with the Wreath between them, are 6 Inches and $\frac{1}{4}$ broad. The downright and transverse Diameters of the *Area* are just a Yard; but the others leading from the Corner, are a Yard and two Inches and an half. The Man from Head to Foot, is two Foot and $4\frac{1}{4}$ Inches. *Cupid* seems to be two Foot; but his Feet, as well as the bottom of the Monster, are spoiled, the *Tessellæ* representing them being gone. The whole *Area* of the *Figure*, which is here left blank, ought to be fill'd up with white *Tessellæ*, in like manner as Fig. 50. Intervals of the Figures are here.

XXII. The Meadow, in which the greatest part of this tessellated Of a Tessellated Pavement; and other Roman Antiquities near East-Bourne in Suffex, by Dr. J. Tabor, n. 351. p. 549. *Pavement* lies, is near a Mile and a half South-East of *Bourne*; it contains about four Acres, and is of a triangular Form; the southern Side is against the Sea; only a few Fishers Cottages, and a small Publick House or two being between that and the Sea. On the northern Side of the Meadow is a High-way, which leads from *Bourne* to *Pevensey*: The West-side is by a Fence of Posts and Rails separated from a large Corn-Field, in common, belonging to the Parish. About the middle of this Fence is the Pavement, distant from High-Water-Mark a Furlong; in former Times it might have been somewhat more, because from this Point to the Westward, the Sea is always gaining from the Land.

LI the common Corn Field, West to the Meadow, to the Distance of near half a Mile, they often raise Bits of Foundations with their Ploughs; and in dry Summers, by the different Growth of the Corn, they can plainly perceive all that Tract of Ground to be full of Foundations.

The Pavement was little more than a Foot below the common Surface of the Ground; what lay next it, was a small Sea Gravel; the Position of it is very near due East and West (about two Foot of the West End of it reaching into the Corn Field;) its Length is seventeen Foot and four Inches, its Breadth eleven Foot. At first it seem'd to have been bounded with a thin Brick set on Edge, about an Inch above the *Tesseræ*, so exactly strait and even, as if shot with a Plane; and so well cemented, as if one entire Brick. But when the Outside of the Pavement was broke up, we found, that instead of Bricks set on Edge, as was imagined, it was bounded with a Border of Bricks laid flat, and their Ends next the *Tesseræ* turn'd up. The Thickness of these Bricks was an Inch and a quarter; the Breadth not under eleven, and not more than twelve Inches; the Length full fifteen Inches; which before they were turn'd up at the Ends, could not have been less than seventeen. They were very firm, and not in the least warp'd or cast in burning: When broke, their Substance was fine and well mix'd, of as uniform and clean a red Colour, as a piece of fine *Bole*: Except at the Ends where turn'd up, they were all over cover'd with Plaister (the same which *Vitruvius* calls the *Nucleus*) half an Inch thick, so hard, entire, and even, that it seem'd as one Stone, quite round the Pavement.

Next within the Bricks, there was a List or Border of white *Tesseræ*, thirteen Inches broad; within that, a List of brown *Tesseræ*, (somewhat darker than a Whet-Stone, and somewhat lighter colour'd than the Touch-Stone) four Inches broad; then a List of the White, five Inches broad; next within that, another List of the Brown, four Inches broad: All the rest of the Pavement was set with white *Tesseræ*, without any Ornament or Figure.

When the Ground about the Pavement was dug, on the North-side of the Pavement we discover'd an entire Bath, sixteen Foot long, five Foot nine Inches broad, and two Foot nine Inches deep; it was fill'd with Rubbish of Buildings, which seem'd to have been burnt; *sc.* hard Mortar adhering to pieces of *Roman* Brick, squar'd Stones, and headed Flint, mingled with Ashes and Coals of Wood. From the Northwest Corner of the Pavement was the Passage into the Bath, three Foot three Inches wide; at which Place, the Bricks that bounded the Pavement were not turn'd up at their End, but lay even with the *Tesseræ*. At the distance of fifteen Inches from the *Tesseræ* there was a Fall of two Inches, to the Landing-place out of the Bath; the Landing-place was also three Foot three Inches long, and two Foot two Inches broad: Thence, by two Stairs, was the Descent into the Bath; the Length

of

A Roman
Bath.
Fig. 51.

of the Stairs, the same as of the Landing-place; the Breadth of each Stair was eleven Inches; the Height of each Step a little more than ten Inches: The lowest Stair was twenty Inches from the farther Side of the Bath.

Explication of the Figure.

Fig. 51.

A the Pavement. B. the Bath. C the Sink, and the other Passage through the Wall at the East-End of the Bath. D the Roman Brick which bounded the Pavement laid flat, and covered with Terrace. F Foundations continued several Ways. E the Landing-Place out of the Bath. G the Corner of a large Space paved with Roman Brick, and covered with Ashes, Coals, &c.

The whole Work was very compact, and exactly well made; not in the least injured by Time, nor the Violence it underwent when fill'd up; truly answering the Precepts of *Vitruvius* (a).

Although the Author and Time of these Works cannot as yet be discover'd; yet it is evident the Artificer near enough followed the Directions *Vitruvius* (b) gave for framing such like Structures.

As to the Pavement, it was secured on every side, and the Edges of it rested on a very firm and neat built Wall, made of *Roman* Brick, squared Stone, and headed Flint; between five and six Foot deep below the Surface of the Pavement, and full twenty-three Inches thick; which we may suppose to have been two Foot by the *Roman* Measure. The Bricks were not in regular Courses, as they are to be seen

VOL. V. Part II.

I

in

(a) *M. Pollio Vitruv. de Architectur. Lib. II. Cap. III. Hæc autem ita fieri debent, ut habeatur ratio firmitatis, utilitatis, venustatis. Firmitatis erit habita ratio, cum fuerit fundamentorum ad solidum depressio, & ex quaque materia copiarum sine avaritia diligens electio.*

(b) *M. Vitruv. Poll. Lib. VIII. Cap. I. Primumque incipiam de Ruderatione, quæ principia tenet Expolitionum, uti curiosius summaque providentia solidationis ratio habeatur. Et si plano pede erit ruderandum, quæratum solum si sit perpetuo solidum. — Si aut omnis aux ex parte congestitius locus fuerit, fistucationibus cum magna cura solidetur. — Tunc insuper statuminetur ne minore saxo quam quod possit manum implere: statuminibus inductis ruderetur. Rudus si novum erit, ad tres partes una calcis misceatur, si redivivum fuerit, quinque ad duum mixtiones habeant responsum. Deinde Rudus inducatur, & vectibus ligneis Decuriis inductis crebriter pinsatione solidetur; & id non minus post pinsum absolutum crassitudine sit dodrantis. Insuper ex Testa Nucleus inducatur, mixtionem habens ad tres partes unam Calcis; uti ne minore sit crassitudine pavimentum digitorum senum. Supra Nucleum, ad Regulam & Libellam exacta Pavimenta struantur, sive Sectilibus, seu Tesseris. Cum ea extracta fuerint, & fastigia extruções habuerint, ita fricentur, uti, si Sectilia sint, nulli gradus in scutulibus, aut trigonis, aut quadratis, seu favis extent. Sed coagmentorum compositio planam habeat inter se directionem. Si Tesseris structum erit, ut ex omnes angulos habeant æquales, nullibique à fricatura extantes. Cum enim anguli non fuerint omnes æqualiter plani, non erit exacta ut oportet fricatura.*

in those *Roman Buildings*, which are in View above Ground; but without Order dispers'd about in the Wall. The top of the Wall indeed was but fifteen Inches thick; and that was cover'd with the Bricks first mentioned, which bounded the Pavement: But about fourteen Inches below the Top, there was a Set-off in the Inside of the Wall, eight Inches broad. We did not dig up the Foundation of the Pavement to the bottom, but opened it at one Corner only, that we might discover how it was fram'd; for when it was bor'd through, they observ'd, next under the *Tesseræ*, a Bed of very strong Mortar, more than a Foot thick; under the Mortar, a Bed of Clay, two Foot thick; and under the Clay, a firm Foundation of Brick. We observ'd the Clay (which the Ground thereabouts does not afford) to be very fine and red, and also close; no doubt but carefully ramm'd. The Surface of the Clay was neatly pitch'd with small Flint and Stones, pointed at their lower Ends, and headed at their upper Ends. This Pitching or Paving is by *Vitruvius* call'd *Statuminatio*; and the Stones 'tis done with he calls *Statumina*. He directs them to be set, when the Underwork is made sound and firm, by well ramming.

This pitch'd Work was exactly even with the Set-off in the inside of the Wall; on it was laid a Bed of coarse Mortar, of about nine Inches thick; the Skirts of this Mortar, (which by *Vitruvius* is call'd the *Rudus*) rested on the Set-off above-mention'd; it was compos'd of Lime, a sharp coarse Sand, small Pebbles, and bits of Brick. Upon this *Rudus* was a finer Composition, made, as near as I could guess, with Lime, a fine sharp Sand, some kind of Ashes, and (which was the greater Part) stamp'd Brick and Pot-sherds, in Grains not larger than Cabbage-Seed, and the Flower or fine Powder separated from it. This Bed was about half a Foot thick, and is what *Vitruvius* calls the *Nucleus*. Whether we may call it *Terrace*, I leave to others. Both this *Nucleus*, and the *Rudus* under it, very near equall'd the *Portland Stone* in Hardness and Compactness. Upon this *Nucleus* or *Terrace* were the *Tesseræ* set: They were set an end; but so exact was the Workman in setting them, that he used two Sorts of Cement to fix them withal; their lower Ends stood in a Cement of Lime only, well work'd; their upper Halves were cemented with a fine grey Mortar, consisting of fine Sand, and (as it seem'd) Ashes and Lime. This grey Cement every where fill'd the Intervals at their Heads, and was much harder than the *Tesseræ* themselves.

The *Tesseræ* were but of two Colours, white, and of a dark brown; they were harder than a glaz'd and well burnt Tobacco-Pipe, and of a Grit somewhat finer; the Brown seem'd to be of the same Substance with the white, but colour'd by Art, (as *Pliny* informs us (c) the Workers in Clay, of old, had a Method to do): They seem'd
to

(c) Plin. Secun. Hist. Mund. Lib. XXXVII. Cap. XII.

to have been form'd in a Mould, and afterwards burnt. Hence I am inclin'd to take the Meaning of *Vitruvius*, where he makes so plain a Distinction between the *Tesseræ* and the *Sectilia*; that the one was, according to the Import of the Name, form'd by Instruments out of Stone, Brick and Tile; the other shap'd in a Mould and burnt. They were not of an equal Size, none exceeding an Inch in Length; the shortest were $\frac{1}{2}$ of an Inch; most of them were equally made their whole Length; but of some the lower Ends terminated almost as sharp as a Wedge, on purpose, as may be suppos'd, to be driven where any Interstices were left: At their Heads likewise, they were not all equal and alike, some exactly Square, some oblong Square, some Semi-lunar, but none Triangular: The Diameter of those that were square was about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Inch; the longest Side of those that were oblong at the Head little exceeding half an Inch. It may be observed, that the Preparations for fixing this Pavement here, go beyond those which *Vitruvius* prescribes (in the firm Wall near six Foot below the Surface, in the Bed of Clay within it two Foot thick, and in the Foundation of Brick under the Clay.) But when we consider the Situation of the Ground here is low, not many Feet higher than the Sea might be elevated at Spring-Tides; and that it might as well be annoy'd by Land-Springs after great Rains, as by Water owzing through the Earth from the Sea so near, from which the Work in time might receive Damage; we must allow the above-mentioned Additions to be the Result of a very judicious Fore-sight.

The Bath also was form'd and secur'd by a very compact Wall of *A Roman* the same Breadth and Depth with that on which the Pavement rested: *Bath.* The Wall, which sustain'd the North-side of the Pavement, made the South-side of the Bath. On the South-side of the Bath, from the East end to the Ends of the Stairs, there was a solid Seat, twelve Foot nine Inches long, very near ten Inches broad, and fourteen Inches high. The Bottom or Floor of the Bath was made after the same manner as the Pavement was made, excepting the *Tesseræ*, and the thick Bed of Clay; for under all there was Brick, then a Bed of the *Rudus* or coarse Mortar somewhat more than a Foot thick; above that the *Nucleus* or Terrace only half a Foot thick. The Sides of the Bath, the Seat and Stairs, were plaister'd over with this Terrace about half an Inch thick; all which were throughout so hard, compact and smooth, that, when first open'd, the whole seem'd as if it had been hew'd out of one entire Rock, and polish'd. At the middle of the East end, at the Bottom, there was a Sink-hole, a little more than three Inches long, and above two Inches deep; about four Inches above it there was another Passage through the Wall of the same Size; the first we may suppose to let out the Water which had been used, the other to let in fresh. The Stairs and Seat were chiefly made of *Roman* Brick, between fifteen and seventeen Inches long, between eleven and twelve broad, and near one and a half thick.

Fig. 52, 53.

At the North-side of the Bath the Ground was not open'd ; but at the East-end of the Bath and Pavement, at the South-side of the Pavement, and at the West-end of both, there seem'd to have been several Vaults or Cellars : for there were very firm 23 Inch Walls continued every way (to the farther Ends of which we did not trace,) whose Foundations were as low as that which supported the Pavement ; so that to the Depth of six Foot the Ground was fill'd with such Rubbish as was taken out of the Bath. The Bricks in this Rubbish, which were all broke, had several Degrees of Thickness from three Inches to a little more than one Inch ; some had one of their Sides wav'd, as in *Fig. 52.* some Fret-wise, as in *Fig. 53.* others had Rofes on them well imitated ; we found also two Sorts of channel'd Bricks ; the one like a Trough, the Channel three Inches broad, and as many deep, the Brick itself an Inch and a half thick ; the other Sort had a Cylindrical Channel ; so that when two were clapt together, they form'd a hollow Cylinder of three Inches diameter. These channel'd Bricks being all broken, their Length when whole, is uncertain, as is the Use they serv'd to ; whether for Passages to convey Water, or whether they were placed in the Walls to distribute Heat throughout the Building, as was usual in the ancient Structures at *Rome.*

Fig. 51.

'Tis farther observable, when the Ground was open'd a second time, that off from the South-West Corner of the Pavement, which the Letter G shews, five Foot lower than the Surface of the Pavement, there was discovered a large Space (to the end of which we did not search,) paved with Brick, eleven Inches broad, almost one and a half thick, and fifteen long ; it was substantially paved, for it had two Courses of this Brick. There was half a Foot of Mortar under the lower Course, and about an Inch of Mortar between the two Courses ; these Bricks also were perfectly well made ; but on the other side of each were two Knobs, about the Size of half a Walnut, fix'd on them, as may be guess'd, to keep them steady, till the Mortar they were set in might dry. This paved Place was searched six or eight Foot every way ; it was all covered with a Coat, about two Inches thick, of Ashes and large Coals of Wood ; on that lay confusedly large Pieces of the *Rudus* or Coarse Mortar above-mentioned, and Lumps of the *Tesseræ* in all respects like those on the Pavement, and cemented as they were. There were moreover mingled with the Ashes many large Iron Nails, bigger, but not quite so long, as those we call double Tens ; some Hooks for Doors to swing on : Several small Pieces of Earthen Ware ; some like Bits of Urns ; some of a fine yellow Clay ; some red, thin, neatly wrought and adorned with Flowers ; and lastly, part of a human Skull, and pieces of Bones near it ; which Bones were not inclos'd in any Vessel, but lay loose : They were discoloured, like those I have seen in Urns ; so that the Body they belong'd to, might perish by the same Flames that these Buildings were destroyed

destroyed by. There was no Inscription found either on Stone or Brick; no Statue or other Figure, save those on the Bricks mentioned; neither were there any Coins met with there. But something more than a Furlong North-West of these Works, near three Years since, there was a Malt-house, and near two Years since a Dwelling-house erected; in digging the Foundations for the first there was a Coin of *Posthumus*; and in the Ground dug for the last, a Piece of *Constantine's* found.

From the Nearness of the Bath, it may reasonably be concluded that the Pavement was neither a Part of a Temple, nor for a Place of Justice: The Continuation of the Foundations every way to be traced from it, and what was last discovered, are rather an Argument it was an Apartment of a magnificent Palace.

Pliny supposed that these *Lithostrota* (*d*) or tesselated Pavements had *Lithostrota*. their Original in *Greece*; but perhaps the *Grecians* borrow'd their Patterns from *Asia*: For from the Book of *Esther* (*e*) we learn there was a most Royal Banquet at *Suza*, on a *Lithostroton* (so the Septuagint has it) of costly Stones, four hundred Years before the Time of *Sylla*, who brought them first into *Italy*. *Josephus* affirms (*f*), that the *Grecian* Laws, Learning and Arts were fetch'd from *Asia*; and indeed when we reflect on the Antiquity of the *Levitick* Law; the Pyramids of *Egypt*; the Temple of *Solomon*; the Walls and Palaces of *Babylon*; and the sumptuous Remains of *Palmyra* and *Persepolis*; we have no reason to esteem the *Grecians* Authors, but as good Imitators of those early Examples of Learning and Arts they had to follow.

When *Quinctus Cicero* was here with *Cæsar*, the second time he invaded *Britain*, his Brother *Tully* had the Oversight of some Buildings he had appointed to be made in the *Villa Manliana* at *Arcano*; and in a Letter sent into *Britain*, *Tully* informs *Quinctus*, that he was well pleas'd with the Seat, and the more, because the *Pavimented Piazza* was magnificent; that the Pavement seem'd (*g*) to be exactly well made; that he had directed some Chambers to be alter'd, because he did not approve of them; that in the Bathing Apartment he had removed the Sweating-Room into another Corner of the *Apodyterium*. And afterwards in the same Letter makes mention of such another Work which was in hand for him in the City also. Again, about the time *Quinctus* returned out of *Britain*, and was fix'd, with the Legion he presided over, in Winter Quarters, among the *Nervii* (of which *Cæsar* in his Commentaries makes mention,) *Tully* (*h*) takes notice

(*d*) *Plin. Sec. Hist. Lib. XXXVI. Cap. XXV.*

(*e*) *Esth. Chap. I. v. 6.*

(*f*) *Joseph. against Appion. Book II.*

(*g*) *Tull. Cic. ad Quinct. Frat. Lib. III. Ep. I.*

(*h*) *Ibid. Ep. III.*

tice of a Pavement that was making for himself also: *Expolitiones utriusque nostrum, sunt in manibus; sed tua pæne ad tectum jam perducta res est rustica Arcani & Latexii.* It is hinted by *Varro* that a *Litbostroton* was one of the Members of a complete *Villa* (i): *Varro* was eighty Years old when his Books *de re rustica* were compos'd: *Tully* was something more than fifty when the above-cited Epistles were wrote; *Cæsar*, when a General, made the *Tesseræ* (k) and *Seçtilia* for Pavements to be part of his Baggage; and *Vitruvius*, Cotemporary with these three, calls the *Litbostrota*, *Principia Expolitionum* (l); which make it evident these Floors were held in Esteem. We may observe too, that some time before, and in the first Age of the Empire, the Humour of these Kinds of Floorings much prevail'd among the *Romans*; wherefore it is no wonder they are found in so many Places of this Island. But in the Time of *Pliny* they began to be out of use on the Ground; but then he tells us, they were made above Stairs (m) or, in his own Words, in Chambers. Whether the *Litbostrota* in Chambers were usual in *Vitruvius's* Days, we have no Warrant to suppose from any Hint in his Writings; notwithstanding he gives Rules for making them, *plano pede*, on the Ground; and *sub* (n) *dio*, (which from the Method by him prescrib'd must be) aloft; because, for sustaining those *sub dio*, he orders the Work underneath to be well secured with two Lays of Plank, that should cross (o) each other, and be nail'd down; then the *Statuminatio* or Pitching, the Mortar, Terrace and *Tesseræ*, as before on the Ground. But because by *sub dio* *Vitruvius* could not design Chambers; and altho' *Pliny* informs us the *Grecians* used (p) to cover or flat-roof their Houses with these Pavements, yet since neither *Vitruvius* nor *Pliny* mention any such Mode prevailing in their Times at *Rome*, it remains, that we may imagine *sub dio*, or the *Subdialia* of *Vitruvius*, to mean Pavements mounted on Pillars or Arches, which might afford delightful Terraces out of the upper Rooms, and shady Piazzas underneath; and in this Sense perhaps may be understood the *Porticus Pavimentata* of *Tully*. By the many Apartments the Foundations about these Works point out, there seems to have been nothing wherein the Buildings that once stood there might come short of the magnificent Structures, wherewith the *Romans* delighted to gratify

(i) Ter. *Varro de rustic. Lib. III.*

(k) Suet. *Tranq. Jul. Cæs. Cap. 46.*

(l) M. *Vitruv. Pol. Lib. VII. Cap. I.* (m) *Plin. Hist. Lib. XXXVI. Cap. XXV.*

Pulsa deinde ex humo Pavimenta in cameras transiere è vitro: novitium & hoc inventum.

(n) M. *Vitruv. Lib. VII. Cap. I. Sub dio vero maxime idonea faciunda sunt pavimenta.*

(o) *Ibid.* Itaque si necessitas coegerit, ut minime vitiosa fiant sic erit faciendum: cum coxatum fuerit, super altera coxatio transversa sternatur, clavisque fixa, &c.

Statuminatio facta rudus inducatur, &c.

(p) *Plin. Hist. Lib. XXXV. Cap. XXV. Subdialia Græci invenere talibus domus contegentes.*

gratify their Luxury. The Uses each were design'd for, is not to be determin'd: Whether there was a Piazza cover'd with a *Lithostroton*, cannot be affirm'd. But be that as it will, 'tis next to Demonstration, there was some upper Floor sustain'd by Wood, and pav'd with the *Tesseræ*, after the same manner as *Vitruvius* directs; and, on the Brick Pavement (last discover'd,) the Coat of Ashes and Wood-Coals with Nails, cover'd with large Pieces of the *Rudus*, and great Lumps of the *Tesseræ* well cemented together, and the *Nucleus* adhering to them, shew there was an upper Pavement broke by its Fall, when Fire had consum'd its Support.

As to the *Roman* Architecture, it is to be observed that when they design'd a Building, they could not immediately begin it; their Preparations required Time; by their well-shap'd durable Bricks, and by their Stone-like Mortar, we may plainly perceive they built not with such hasty Materials as are now used. *Vitruvius* and *Pliny* both direct, that Brick should be form'd in the Spring, and be two Years drying. And where *Pliny* speaks of their Mortar, he says, it was ordain'd by the old Laws of *Rome*, that no Undertaker should build a House with Mortar which had not been made three Years before. We find indeed, their Walls seem to bid fair for Eternity; whereas ours, for Parsimony and ill Management, are scarce able to endure one Age.

Where *Tacitus* speaks of *Britain* and its Affairs, his Descriptions are ^{n. 356.} so lively deliver'd, that one would think himself had been here, with ^{p. 783.} his Wife's Father *Agricola*; and where he mentions the *Irish* (*q*) Prince, the Expression by him used seems to give Strength to such a Supposition.

The gaining the southern Part of this Island, was the greatest, if not the only Acquisition, made to the *Roman* Empire, from the Death of *Tiberius* to the sixth Year of *Claudius*; which we may well suppose was not pass'd over in Silence by *Tacitus*: But his four Books of Annals, which contain'd the Transactions of those nine Years, are lost. From the Mention *Suetonius* makes of *Claudius's* Expedition hither, it is commonly insinuated his Conquest here (*r*) cost no Blood. Our Countryman *Bede*, we may see was of that Opinion; because, in the Account given by him of *Claudius*, the Words of *Suetonius* (*s*) are copied. But *Dio Cassius*, from whom we have the most particular Information of that War, gives a quite different Relation of the Matter: He takes notice of at least four Battles fought with the *Britons* (before *Claudius* came over) by *Aulus Plautius*; who had *Flavius Vespasianus*,

(*q*) Tac. Agric. Cap. XXIV.

(*r*) Suet. Claud. cap. xvii. *Ac sine ullo prælio aut sanguine, intra paucissimos dies parte insulæ in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam Rediit.*

(*s*) Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Gent. Angl. lib. i. cap. iii.

pasianus, *Flavius Sabinus*, and *Hofidius Geta*, that commanded under him: In the first Conflict, *Cataractacus* was defeated; in the second, *Togodumnus*, and as may be inferred from his Words, afterwards slain. From the Manner of his delivering the Story, all those Battles seem to have been fought, South of the River *Thames*, and North of the *Sylva Anderida*, except the last; and that in the first Campaign the Conquests of *Plautius* could not have extended beyond *Kent* and *Surry*: For it is likely (*t*) that the two first Actions happen'd about the Skirts of the *Sylva Anderida*, eastward of the River *Medway*; and the third, which held two Days, on the Banks of that River; because, from the River, where they were routed two Days successively, the *Britons* retiring, assembled (*u*) their Strength again, before their fourth Overthrow in that part of *Kent* which borders on the *Thames*, not far from its Entrance into the Sea; and having pass'd it, were follow'd by *Plautius's* *Germans*, and on the other side put to Flight; which was the fourth Action mention'd by *Dio. Claudius* having been sent for, comes the second Year with powerful Succours to the Assistance of *Plautius*; who with his Forces waited his Arrival near the *Thames*, not unlikely still where he quarter'd in the Winter, which perhaps was in that large strong Camp, as yet to be seen (*w*) not far from *Bromley* in *Kent*, on the River *Ravensbourn*. The Emperor joining him (*x*), immediately cross'd the *Thames*, overthrew the *Britons* posted on the other side to resist him, advanced to *Cynobelin's* chief Residence *Camalodunum*, and took it: Then receiving Homage of some States return'd to *Rome*.

Considering therefore that *Claudius* staid but sixteen Days (*y*) in this Island, we must conclude his Dispatch was great; and that his Progress could not have been through more Parts than *Kent*, *Essex*, *Hertfordshire*, *Middlesex* and *Surry*. As to what else relates to the *British* War in the Time of *Claudius*, save that three Years after *Titus* rescued

(*t*) *Dion. Cassii Hist. Rom. Lib. LX. Claud. V. p. 768. A.* Οἱ γὰρ Βρεῖταιοὶ μὴ προσδοκῆσαντες αὐτὲς δι' ἄπειρ' ἐπυρδάνοντο ἡξίην, ἔπερσυνελέγησαν, ἔμω' ἔδε τότε ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἦλθον ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰ ἔλη καὶ ἐς τὰς ὕλας κατεφυγον, ἐλπῶσαντες σοῦς ἄλλως κατατεῖψεν, ὡς δ' ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐγέρνει, διακενῆς αὐτὲς ἀναπλεῦσαι. Ὁ οὖν Πλαυτῖος πλὴν μὲν πρῶτα ἀναζητήσας, ἔχεν, ἐπεὶ ἡ εὐρε ποτε φῶτον μὲν κατόρθωσαν ἔπειτα Τογοδύμνον Κυνοβελίνου παῖδας ἐνίκησεν. — — — — — φυγόντων ἡ ἐκείνοι — — — — — πρῶτον ἦν, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ ποταμῶ πινὶ ἐγένοντο.

(*u*) *Pag. 678. D.* Ἀναχωρησάντων δ' ἐν τεύθει τῶν Βρεῖταιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν ποταμὸν, καὶ ὅ ἐς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκείνη, πλημμύροντός τε αὐτῶν λιμνάζει.

(*w*) *Cambden Brit. Edit. 1695. Col. 213. c.*

(*x*) *Dion. Cassii Hist. Rom. Lib. LX. pag. 679. B.* Κάντιον δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν περιούριον, πρὸς τὸ ὠκεανὸν ἀφίκετο, καὶ περιωδὴς ἐς τὴν Βρεῖτανίαν, συνέμιξε τοῖς στρατοπέδοις πρὸς τὸν Ταμέσαν ἀναμένονσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὡρῶν λαβῶν σοῦς, ἐκείνον τε ὀπίδωκε, καὶ τοῖς Καρβάρους πρὸς τὸ ἔφοδον αὐτῶν συνεραμμένοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν, μάχη τε ἐνίκησε.

(*y*) *Dion. Lib. IX. pag. 680. B.* Ἠλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Κλαυδῖος, ἔξ μιλῶν ἀποδημίας (ἀφ' ὧν ἐκκαίδεκα μόνας ἐν τῇ Βρεῖτανίᾳ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.

rescued his Father *Vespasian* when in great Danger, we have no Account from *Dio*. But where *Suetonius* (z) treats of *Vespasian's* Life, we are told, when that Emperor commanded in *Britain* for *Claudius*, that he fought thirty Battels, subdued two of the most powerful Nations, won twenty Towns, and brought the Isle of *Wight* under the *Roman* Obedience. Of which Actions, besides what might have been said in the last Books of *Annals*, *Tacitus*, in other Pieces of his, largely (a) hints, that when *Claudius* ruled, *Vespasian's* Behaviour and Success in this Island shew'd to the World his Conduct and Courage in the Affairs of War: The same is also taken Notice of (b) by *Dio*. From his Conquest of the Isle of *Wight*, it may be implied, the Stage of his Actions here was in those Countries which border on the South Channel rather than in the North: Since therefore the Clime, the Soil, and the more ready Conveniencies for foreign Trade and Correspondence might intitle this Part of the Land to sustain as numerous, as stout, and as experienc'd a People as any other (because *Cæsar* (c) takes notice they not only lent Aids to the *Veneti* in their Revolt, but were wont to assist the *Gauls* in most of their Wars against (d) the *Romans* :) And whereas no Historian afterwards mentions any Disturbance given to the *Romans* from the southern Parts, we may conclude, *Vespasian* entirely subdued them.

The *Romans* as soon as the Countries they had conquer'd were reduced to some degree of Quiet, endeavoured to make the People in love with their Government, by introducing their Arts and Customs among them: From that inconsiderable Instance recorded (e) by *Pliny*, we may see how ready the *Romans* were to oblige the People under their Power with any Curiosity that might entertain their Senses, in order to endear them to the Authority they had over them. (He tells us, Cherries were not known in *Italy*, till the 680th Year of *Rome*, when *L. Lucullus* first brought them thither from *Pontus*; and that in a hundred and twenty Years they were so increas'd, that not only many other Countries, but *Britain* also was supplied with them, which must have been about three Years after *Claudius* himself had been here. The usual Landing from *Rome* being then in the

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County

(z) Suet. *Vespasian*. cap. 4.(a) Tacit. *Agricol*. cap. xiii. *Divus Claudius auctor operis transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, & assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano; quod initium venturæ mox fortunæ fuit, domitæ gentes, capti Reges, & monstratus fatis Vespasianus.* Tacit. *Hist.* Lib. III. cap. xlv. *Et Britanniam inclytus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundæ Legioni à Claudio præpositus, & bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adjuxit cæterarum.*(b) Dion. *Cass.* *Hist. Rom.* Lib. lxxv. p. 736. ἢ τε γὰρ αὐτῶν εὐνοία πολλὴ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν — ἢ γὰρ ἐν τῆς Βρετανίας δόξα, καὶ ἢ ἐν τῆς ἐν χειρὶ πολέμου εὐκλεία.(c) *De Bello Gal.* lib. xiii. *Socios sibi ad id Bellum Osismios, Lexobios, &c. auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas Regiones posita est, accersunt.*(d) *Idem* lib. iv. *Tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod, omnibus spherè Gallicis Bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat.*(e) *Plin.* lib. xv. cap. xxv.

County of *Kent*, that Fruit without question was there first planted, and the Soil well agreeing with it, may be the Reason that the best and greatest Quantity of it is yet there to be had.

Agricola, in the second Year of his Lieutenancy here, when in Winter-Quarters, pursued the same Maxims (which *Tacitus* terms *Saluberrima Consilia*; and, as it may be inferr'd from an Expression of (f) *Gæsar*, conducive to the same End) to gain the *Britons*, by making them acquainted with the *Roman* Manners: He not only in private persuaded, but publickly helped and encouraged them to build Temples, Places for common Assemblies, and private Houses after the *Roman* Mode: He took Care to have the principal Youth instructed in the liberal Arts: He allur'd them to affect the Habit of the *Romans*: And last of all, to engage them the more firmly, helped them to a Taste of the *Roman* Luxury and Good-fellowship, by introducing the Use of shady Piazzas and Baths (g), and their way of banquetting. But here *Tacitus* may be understood to speak of what was done in order to civilize the Northern Parts of this Nation, where *Agricola's* Prefence was required; the Southern was, we may suppose, softened and quieted by the same Methods near forty Years before, when reduced by *Vespasian*.

From hence it may be inferr'd, that should never any other Tokens of the Antiquity of these Works be found, yet would the Bath denote the Age of the Pavement, and set it near as high as the most early Time that the *Romans* had any real Authority in this Island.

As, by the Loss of some of the Annals of *Tacitus*, we may have been depriv'd of the most early History of this County; so likewise, for want of ancient religious Houses, there have been little or no Accounts left of its Circumstances in the Times next after the *Roman* Authority expired here. *Malmsbury* (b) says, that in his Time there were here only the Abbies of *Battell* and *Lewes*, and those not long erected. The earliest Mention made of it (i) is by *Bede*, who informs us that Bishop *Wilfrid*, in the Year 678, being thrust out of his Province of *Northumbria* by King *Ecgfrid*, settled at *Selsey* in 680, and staid five Years, labouring in the Conversion of the neighbouring Parts; but of what else relates to the County, except the miserable Ignorance of the Inhabitants, and the Number of Families, he has left no Account. *Bede* spent most of his Time in the Monasteries of *Wiremouth* and *Jarrow*, and travell'd little.

The

(f) De Bell. Gallic. lib. i. *Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgæ: Propterea quod à cultu atque humanitate Provinciæ longissimè absunt, minimeque ad eos Mercatores sæpe commeant, atque ea quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important.*

(g) Tacit. Agricol. cap. xxi.

(b) Gul. Malmsb. de gestis Pontific. Ang. lib. ii.

(i) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. xiii.

The next Records we have to view are those of *Ethelwerd*, the *Chronicon Saxonicum*, and *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon*. But the ancient State of this County may be clearly apprehended by looking into the Map of it, and at the West-end you will find *West-Harting* and *Stansted* distant from each other six or seven Miles: Imagine a streight Line to be drawn from *Harting* to *Bourne* near *Pevensey*, and another to be drawn from a Point which must be little South of *Stansted* to *Brightbelmstone*: What lies North of these Lines is the Weald or Low-Lands, formerly the *Sylva Anderida*; that which is comprehend- ed between these Lines and bounded by the Sea, from *Brightbelmstone* to *Bourne*, is the *Downs*, so famous for their pleasant Situation and Fruitfulness. The Part South of these Lines is a flat champain Ground, ending like a Wedge at *Brightbelmstone*. These two last Parts were those only that were inhabited in *Bede's* Time; they contain not more than two Fifths of the whole County, which must be the Reason why *Bede* said, *Suffex* (*k*) consisted not of more than 7000 Families or Farms; whereas in another Place he computes *Kent* to have 15000 Families.

In the three Accounts (*l*) above-mention'd, it is agreed, that in the Year 477, *Elle*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing* and *Cissa*, land- ed his Forces at *Cymenes-Ora*, (which, from a Charter of King *Cedwal- las* to the Church of *Selsey*, the learned (*m*) *Cambden* proves to be about *Wittering* near *Selsey*;) not far from which he routed the *Britons*, and drove them into the Weald (*Andredesseige*). Their farther Progress is most distinctly and naturally deliver'd by the Archdeacon of *Hun- tingdon*, in these Words: *Saxones autem occuparunt littora Maris in Sud- fere, magis magisque sibi regionis spatia capessentes, usque ad nonum annum adventus eorum. Tunc verò cum audaciùs regionem in longinquum capesserent, convenerunt Reges & Tyranni Brittonum apud Mercredesburne, & pug- naverunt contra Elle & filios suos, & fere dubia fuit victoria. Uterque enim Exercitus valdè læsus & minoratus, alterius congressum devovens, ad propria remearunt. Misit igitur Elle ad compatriotas suos auxilium flagitans.*

This County having been invaded in the most Western Part of it by the *Saxons*, if what they did afterwards was to possess themselves of it, their Progress must have been from West to East. And so much *Henry Huntingdon's* Words plainly imply. He says farther, they were eight Years about it; which if we consider the Circumstances of the Country, will be no great Wonder it should take up so much Time, unless their Forces had been very great, which we have no Warrant from any History to suppose; for the Weald then uncultivated must have been most difficult to pass, even in the driest Summers. The

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Downs,

(*k*) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. xiii.

(*l*) Ethelwerd Hist. lib. i. cap. v. Chronic. Saxon. Anno cccclxxvii. Hen. Hunt. Hist. lib. ii.

(*m*) Cambden Brit. Suffex.

Camps on the
Downs on
Suffex.

Downs, like a Wall, (with a Terrace-Walk on the top) have a very steep Descent into it, their whole Length; excepting, that every ten Miles, or thereabouts, they have deep Channels through them to afford Passage for the Rivers into the Sea: Therefore, what was then habitable, being thus canton'd out into so many Parcels by the Rivers, nothing could be more difficult to gain than those Cantonments, were there any Forces to defend the Passes that should have been attempted, the Rivers being deep and muddy, and the Morasses on each side broad and boggy: Hence we may conceive, it was no very difficult Task for the *Britons* to defend, nor an easy one for the *Saxons* to gain the Country. And indeed, the many old Camps, still to be seen on the *Downs*, are an Evidence that scarce any Part escaped being a Scene of War. Mr. *Cambden* mentions but two, *Cissbury* and *Chenbury*. In the new Edition of his Works, Dr. *Harris* has added three more; a *Roman* Camp at the *Brile* near *Chichester*, *St. Rook's-Hill*, and *Gons-Hill* near the West Limits of the County. I shall here insert an Account of the rest; in which I shall first take notice of those that are on the North Edge of the *Downs*, and overlook the *Weald*.

First, *Chenbury*, mention'd by Mr. *Cambden*, two Miles west of *Steyning*, and about three Miles North of *Cissbury*; it is circular; its Circumference about two Furlongs. From *Chenbury* eight Miles East, over *Poynings*, is a very large one, an Oval, not less than a Mile round; accessible at one narrow Neck only, and that fortified, with a deep broad Ditch, and a very high Bank: I could never learn any other Name it has gone by, than *Poor-Man's-Wall*, perhaps from its having been a Security to the distressed *Britons*. About three Miles East from thence is *Wolsenbury*, on a Hill, projected beyond the rest of the *Downs*, like a Bastion; it comes near a Circle in shape; its Diameter a little more than a Furlong. Near three Miles East of *Wolsenbury*, on the highest Part of the *Downs* in that Quarter, is a Camp, near square, about 60 Rods long, and 50 broad, much like a *Roman* Camp; the side next the North is secur'd by the Precipice of the Hill, which is both very deep and steep; the other three Sides have each their *Portæ* after the *Roman* Manner still very visible; the Ditch seems to have been not less than eleven Foot broad; but the Ground having been ploughed, the Bank is but low: This is called *Ditchling*, as is the old Town under it. Near seven Miles farther East, and a Mile and half East of *Lewes*, is the last on the North Edge of the *Downs*; it goes by the Name of *Caburn*, which perhaps is but a Corruption of the *British* word *Cadir*; the Parish below it still retains its *British* Name *Glynd*: This is a round Camp, scarce three Furlongs in Circuit, its Ditch very broad and deep, and the Rampart within very high; the Places where the Tents were pitch'd are yet visible; which, from the Strength of the Out-Works, intimates that those within held it no small Time. Near a quarter of a Mile West