

V. *A Letter from Mr. Tho. Hearne, M. A. of Oxford, to Mr. Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S. occasion'd by some Antiquities lately discover'd near BRAMHAM-MOOR in YORKSHIRE.*

WORTHY SIR,

§. I. **F**ROM the great Variety of *antient Monuments* continually found in these *Islands* 'tis plain that vast *Improvements* might be made to the *Accounts* that have been hitherto given of the *British Antiquities*, and there is no reason to doubt but if *Mr. Camden* were now living he could with ease enlarge his *Britannia* to another Volume of *equal Value* with the former. *Coyns* were not so generally taken notice of by *learned Men* at that time as they have been since; at least if they did take notice of them, yet they were not so *curious* as to put down the several *Descriptions* of them, nor to consider their *true Use*. Since his *Excellency* *Baron Spanheim's* Book, and other *Works* of the same kind were publish'd, *Scholars* have been more *inquisitive* after these *Relicks*; and from the *infinite* numbers dug up amongst us, divers *Places* that were of *note* in the times of the *Romans*, but are now quite destroy'd, have been found out, which *Mr. Camden* knew nothing of in his time for want of these *Discoveries*. Add to this that the *Antiquity* of some other *Towns* may be carried by these *Helps* much higher than he has done in his *respective* Discourses of them; and particularly *Witney*, within seven Miles of *Oxford*, appears to be of

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note long before *Edward the Confessor's* time, as I gather from *Roman Coins* lately found there, some of which I have had communicated to me by the Reverend Dr. *Ralph Trumbull*, not long since *Rector* of that *Place*. The best of those sent to me is one of *impure Silver* (according to the *Custom of that Time*) in Honour of *Julia Mamaea*, Mother to *Alexander Severus*. That which makes it the more likely that here was a *Town* so early is this, that the *Ickenild Way* passed not far from it on the right hand in its Course to *Cirencester*, where all the four *Great Ways* cross'd. I might here mention other *Places*, that have receiv'd the same *Advantage* for their *Antiquity*, if I were not sufficiently satisfied that you are much better acquainted with this Part of *Learning*, and with the *several Uses* of it than I am. Thro' the *Ignorance* of divers that light upon these *old Monuments* it is that many of them are quite destroy'd ; but then there are not wanting several *ingenious Gentlemen*, who out of a *natural Love* to *Antiquity* spare no *Costs* nor *Pains* to collect and preserve as many as they can, and are always ready to communicate to the *Publick* their *Observations* upon them. Amongst these I deservedly reckon your self, who as You have made a very *good Collection*, so you have withal been pleased to oblige the *Learned World* with several *curious Discourses* upon them in the *Philosophical Transactions*. You have likewise been so kind as to favour me with the Account of some of them, and when I was engaged in the *Oxford Edition* of *Livy*, you took care to transmit to me two *Inscriptions*, which shew that the *ixth Legion* of the *Romans* resided at *York*. These I have made publick at the End of the last Volume in the *Annotations* (a). But I am most concern'd at present for the *old Instruments* which you tell me were some *Months*

(a) See Vol. VI. pag. 181.

since found at a Place call'd *Osmondthick* near *Bramham-Moor* in your *County*, concerning which you desire I would give you my Opinion; which I shall the rather do that you may see I am not unmindful of your *Favours*, but am willing to make all *possible Returns* I can.

§. 2. These *Instruments* it appears from your *Letter* are of *Brass*, and are *five* or *six* in *number*, but of different *Sizes*, from a little more than three to four *Inches* and a half in *length*, and from one and a half to two and a half in *breadth*. They are somewhat in *form* of a *Wedge*, as proceeding from a *thin Edge* to one and a half or two *Inches* at the *thicker End*, where they are *hollowed* to put upon a *Shaft*. Each of them has an *Ear* or *Loop*, which that I may the better perceive the *form* of, you have been at the *Pains* of adding the *Draught* of one, accurately done by your self. From your *exact* and *nice* Relation 'tis plain that they are just like that we have in the *Repository* adjoining to the *Bodlejan Library* at *Oxford*. This has been kept there for several *Years*; but where 'twas discovered there is not the least *Memorial* to inform us. Perhaps it might be procur'd by *Dr. Plot* when he was writing the *Natural History* of *Staffordshire*, where he has (b) mentioned several *Instruments* of the same kind dug up in that *County*. You have told me that 'tis your Opinion that these *Instruments* were the *Heads* of *Spears* or *walking Staves* of the *civiliz'd Britains*; and for *Confirmation* of it you refer me to *Mr. Speed's History* of *Great Britain*, (c) where he has publish'd the *Figures* of the *antient Britains* both before and after they were *civiliz'd*. You acknowledge however that the *Tops* of the *Spears* there are *somewhat different* from those we are now considering. And indeed they are not only *somewhat* but *altogether* diffe-

(b) See Chap. X. §. 19. &c. (c) L. I. c. 7.

rent, being exactly of the same *Make* with those we find in the *Columna Trajana* and the *Books* that represent to us the *Military Instruments* of the *old Romans, Greeks, &c.* But had they been of some *Resemblance*, yet I cannot see that those *Figures* in *Speed* are of any *Authority*. For tho' you guess that they were copied from *old MSS.* yet I could never yet meet with any *MSS.* of our *British History* that have any such *Figures*. If ever any one had them, we have reason to presume that other *Books* upon the same *Subject* would have retain'd them; at least we ought not to doubt it of *Copies* of the same *Author*. That is the *Method* observ'd in other *Sorts* of *MSS.* The *Illuminators* were generally left at liberty as to the *Ornamental* Parts of the *Great Letters*; but when any *Figures* were to be *depicted* that should illustrate and explain the *Author*, there they were to be *exact* and *punctual*, and they had no more Allowance to *alter* them than they had to *alter* and *interpolate* the *Text* of the *Author* himself. Hence I am inclin'd to think that these *Figures* are *modern*, and are *owing* to Mr. *Speed* himself. 'Tis also what himself insinuates in the same *Chapter*, acknowledging that they were adapted to the *Descriptions* given of the *Britains* in *antient Authentick Authors*. But not to examine other *Particulars*, the *Form* of the *Spears* in their Hands is not countenanc'd by any *Authority* of Note. For tho' *Herodian* has acquainted us that they used *short Spears*, yet he is silent as to the *Make* of them. Nor indeed have we any where a good Account of the *Military Arms* of the *Britains*. The *Authors* transmitted to *Posterity* by them are modern in comparison of the *Roman Writers*, and are withal *Romantick* and not to be rely'd on. And as for the *Bards* they took no care to transmit to *Posterity* these *Weapons*, or to give us *nice Relations* of their *Countrymen*. 'Tis true, there have been and are still found several *Instruments* made of *Flint*, which the best *Judges* esteem to be *British*. The *Flint Heads* of their *Arrows* are commonly called in *Scotland* *Elf-Arrows*, as
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being supposed to have an *extraordinary Virtue* against the *Elves*, and to drop from the *Clouds*. There are other *Flints* somewhat in form of *Axes*, and these Dr. Plot calls (d) *British Axes*; but Dr. Leigh thinks (e) they are *Indian*. Sir William Dugdale inclines to the Opinion embrac'd by Dr. Plot, and he acquaints (f) us with several of about four *Inches* and an half in *length*, curiously wrought by *Grinding*. But they might as well have been *Roman*, the *Romans* having used *Flint Weapons* as well as the *Britains*, and 'twas from the *Romans* that the *Britains* learn'd the *Art of working* them. That which also seems to make us believe that they might be *Roman*, is that those mentioned by Sir William were found at *Oldbury*, *Aldbury* or *Ealdbury*, which was a *Roman Fort*, and is the same in Signification with *Alcester* in *Oxfordshire*, *Alcester* being nothing else but *Æalþ-ceaster*, so call'd by the *Saxons* to shew that 'twas a *Place of Antiquity* even in their *Time*. And tho' the *Anonymous Author* of the *Antiquities* of *Alcester* at the End of the *Parochial Antiquities* of *Ambrosden* derive it from *Allectus*, as if he were the *Founder*, yet there is no *Authority* either from *Coyns*, *Inscriptions*, or *Books* to countenance the *Conjecture*.

§. 3. Now since there are no *Authentick Authors* by which we may learn what *Arms* were made use of by the *Britains* in their *Wars*, I can think of no properer *Method* for finding this out than by seeing what *Arms* were in use amongst those *People* from whom they *immediately* had their *Original*. Mr. *Sheringham*, who was a *learned Man* and endued with an *accurate Judgment*, inclines to the *Story* of *Geffry* of *Monmouth*; who deduces the *Bri-*

(d) Loco supra citat. (e) *Natural History* of *Lancashire*, lib. I. p. 181.
 (f) *Antiquities* of *Warwickshire*, pag. 778.

tains from the *Trojans*. And this is the Opinion too of several other *learned Men*. But whatever their *Abilities* and *Authority* might be in other *Respects*, yet in this they must be reckon'd *partial*, and I rather strike in with those other *Writers* of *more authority* who derive the *Britains* from the *Gauls*; amongst whom *Mr. Camden* is *chief*. He has *diligently* and *nicely* prov'd that the *Gauls* and *Britains* had the same *Religion*; that they *both* had their *Bards* and *Druids*, enjoy'd the same *form* of *Government*, us'd the same *Method* of *Fighting*, had the same *Natural Genius*, were equally *candid* and *innocent*, were addicted to *change* when provok'd, were *compassionate* to their *Relations*, and always ready to partake in their *Vindication*. He has withal shew'd that they *both* affected *great Numbers* of *Servants*, that their *Buildings* were alike and were surrounded with *Woods*, that they *both* usually wore *Chains* of *Gold* about their *Necks*, and had *Rings* on their *Middle-Fingers*; that they *both* wore *long Hair*, and that the *Garments* call'd *Brachæ* were *common* to *each*. These Things he confirms from the *best* and *most approved Authors*. And as the *chiefest Argument* he has alledg'd *Variety* of *Instances* to shew that they spoke the same *Language*. *Mr. Sheringham* himself was aware of this, and therefore to evade the *Force* of the *Argument* he makes (g) the *Trojans* to come through *Gaul*, which being then thinly inhabited, he says *Brute* and his *Companions* soon conquer'd it, built a *City*, and continued there 'till such time as they had well peopled it, after which they pass'd over into *Britain*, and by that means the *Britains* came to have the same *Language*. This is his *Hypothesis*, which is so far from deserving *Approbation*, that it does not seem consistent with usual *Prudence*, nor with the other *wise Acts* that are ascrib'd to *Brute*. For no one that *rightly* considers can think that *Brute* would voluntarily leave so large a

(g) See his *Book de Origine Gentis Anglor.* pag. 7. & seqq.

Country as *Gaul* for one that was so much *less*. It is therefore more likely that the *Britains* had their *immediate Original* from the *Gauls*. *Cæsar* himself thought so as to those that inhabited more near the *Coasts*, notwithstanding his *Observation* that the *Midland People* were *Aborigines*. Nor will *Boxhorn's Assertion* that the *Gallick Tongue* was the same with the *Scythian* overthrow this *Hypothesis*. For it may very well be supposed that the *Gauls* came first from the *Scythians*, who are in *Justin* (b) observ'd to have been the most *antient People*, and to have contended with the *Ægyptians* on that *Score*. This will *exactly* agree with what *Camden* and others have asserted concerning the *Gauls* being descended from *Gomer*, the *eldest Son* of *Japhet*. I know indeed that *Mr. Sammes* derives the *Scythians* from *Magog* the *second Son* of *Japhet*. But (not here to take notice of his contradicting himself in this *Point*) since *Strabo* (i) and *Stephanus* (k) mention a *City* call'd *Gogarena* between *Colchis* and *Iberia*, and since the *City Hierapolis* in *Cælo-Syria*, according to *Pliny* (l), was call'd by the *Syrians* *MAGOG*, 'tis more probable that *Magog* seated himself in those *Countries*, near to which 'tis agreed his *Brethren* settled, than that he wandred so far out of the *Way* from them. Here I cannot but take notice that the *Britains* were like the *Scythians* a *frugal People*, and their *long Lives* (they often living to the *Age* of *120 Years*) might in great measure be ascrib'd to their *Temperance*, and their *Milk Dyet*, (just like the *Hippomolgs* mentioned by *Homer* (m). And as *Æschylus* tells us that the *Scythians* were ἰκπιμῶς βοτῆρες σὺννομοί, a *just Nation* and *addicted to the Feeding of Horses*,

(b) Hist. lib. II. c. 1. (i) Lib. II. (k) De Urbib. voc. Γογαρένη.
 (l) Nat. Hist. lib. V. c. 23. (m) II. XIII. v. 3.

so the same may be said of our *antient Britains* who were very *religious* and observ'd the *Rules* of their *Priests*, and took extraordinary *Delight* in *Cattle*, whence perhaps they might effect to have the *figures* of *Beasts* cut upon their *Bodies*. From what has been laid down I hope 'tis plain that the *Gauls* and *Britains* were of the same *Original*. What we have next to do is to see what *Arms* were us'd by the *Gauls*. There are several *Authors* that have written of the Nature of them, and particularly *Cluver* and *Boxhorn*. Their *Names* are *Spatha*, *gessum*, (*gesum* or *gesum*) *lancea*, *sparum*, *cateia*, *mataris* or rather *materis* (not *matara*, *machara*, *uists*, *uists*, *uists* or *uists* (*n*) *thyreos*, and *cetrum* or *cetra*. I shall not here insist upon the Signification or reason of the *Names*, but only observe in general that the *gessum* was a *Javelin*, the *sparum*, *cateia* and *mataris* were different Sorts of *Darts*, and that the *thyreos* was an *oblong* and the *cetrum* a *short* sort of *Shield*. So that the *Spatha* only remains (for the nature of the *Lance* is well known) to be compar'd with the *Weapons* we are considering. 'Tis call'd by the *Italians* *SPADA*, and by the *Spaniards* *ESPADÁ*. From the *Description* that *Isidore* has left us of it, we are inform'd that 'twas a *two-edg'd* *Sword*, with which they *cut* and did not *thrust*. Whence 'tis plain these *Arms* had not *sharp* *Tops*, agreeable to what *Livy* (*o*) has related that their *gladij* were *prælongi*, *ac sine mucronibus*. And *Polybius* has the same reason why they did not *push* with them. Hence it is clear that our *Instruments* which have not *two* *Edges*, but are *dull* like *wedges* were not *spathæ*, and since they do not agree to any of the other *Gallick* *Instruments*

(*n*) See *Livy* lib. VIII. c. 24. Edit. Oxon. (*o*) *Lib.* XXII. c. 46 Edit. Oxon.

we must carry on our *Inquiry*; and examin whether they agree with any of the *Arms* of some other *antient Nation* that made a *Figure* in *Britain*.

§. 4. Our *Ancestors* the *Saxons* will have no share in this *Inquiry*. For 'tis plain from the *History* of them given by *Verstegan*, and the *figures* publish'd also by him, that *Spears*, *Halberds*, *Shields*, *Cross-bows*, *Swords*, (which were *broad* and *bowing*, somewhat in fashion of a *Syke*;) and *Hatchetts*, which they call'd *Bills*, were the *Arms* made use of by them; nor did the *Weapons* of the *Danes* that succeeded them much vary if at all. Coming from the *same Parts* they us'd the *same Customs* in their *Military Undertakings*. For tho' the *Normans* endeavour'd to make an *intire Alteration*, yet they found the *Attempt* impracticable, and they were forc'd to acquiesce, and lay aside their *Proposals*, which thwarted so very much those *antient Customs* that were here *generally* entertain'd, and receiv'd. But however notwithstanding these *Instruments* do not resemble either the *Saxon* or *Danish Military Arms*, yet I find in *Wormius's Museum* (p) two *Cimbric Instruments* with which they have some *likeness*. These he tells us were of *Brass*, and he calls them *Wedges*. The larger of them was five *Inches* in *length*, and three in *Breadth*. He is of opinion that they were us'd in the *Wars*, especially when the *Armies* were *very near* each other. If they had *Holes* by which they might have been fix'd to *Helves* he would have believ'd them to be *Battle-Axes*; but being neither *hollow* (as ours are) nor having no other way of being fasten'd to other *Instruments*, he concluded that the Name of *Wedges* might be most proper. A *very ingenious Gentleman* some time since inform'd me

(p) Pag. 354.

that much such *Instruments* had been found in the *Isle of Man*, and that a great many *Urns* had been also discover'd there, as likewise divers *Inscriptions* with *strange Characters*. I do not question but the *Inscriptions* are *Runick*. And 'tis highly probable that the *Instruments* were like those in *Wormius*; but if they agree *exactly* with ours they will from what I shall say by and by appear to be *Roman*. For notwithstanding it be commonly held that the *Romans* never were in this *Isle*, yet I see no other reason why it should be thought so, than that the *antient Authors* now remaining do not mention it. This is only a *negative Argument*, and what we ought not to lay a very great *Stress* upon. The *Urns* seem clearly to evince that they were here. I know indeed that 'tis said that these *Urns* must be perfectly *Danish*, by reason of the *small black Bones* and *Ashes* found in them; which however is no *sure Ground* to go upon. For I have seen in the *Bodlejan Repository* a Piece of a *Roman Urn* which was dug up several *Years* ago at an *old Roman Town* in *England* with many others, some of which were of *different Figures*. 'Tis now in a *Box*, and with it are *little black Bones*, *Ashes*, &c. wrapped up in two *Pieces* of *course Linnen*. This *Linnen* is in the same *figure* with the *Urn*, but the *Urn* for one of the *Pieces* is wanting. The *Smallness* of the *Bones* shews that they are the *Relicks* of *Children*. It was customary among the *Romans* after the *Bodies* were burnt to wash the *Bones* with *Wine* and *Milk*, and afterwards the *Women* wrapt their *Children* in *Linnen*, dry'd them in their *Bosoms*, and then put them into *Urns* to be buried. This *Custom* was also peculiar to the *Danes*, who learn'd it from the *Romans*, from whom likewise they receiv'd *Urn-Burial* it self. Such *Urns* too are mention'd by the famous *Sir Thomas Brown* to have been found at *Old Walsingham* in *Yorkshire*. Nor is the *Roman History* altogether silent of the *Isle of Man's* being knownto the *Romans*.

mans. For *Plutarch* expressly tells us, that one *Demetrius* sailed hither, as well as to other *British Isles* in the Reign of *Adrian*. 'Tis no wonder that *Runick Inscriptions* are discovered in the *Places* where *Roman Urns* are found. Those *Inscriptions* might have been made upon other occasions after it became in *future Ages* inhabited by *Danes* and *Norwegians*. The same *Accident* has sometimes happened in *England*. And *Mr. Camden* particularly relates in the Close of his *Discourse* concerning *Stone-Henge*, that in the Time of King *Hen. VIIIth.* was found at *Stone-Henge* a *Table* of *mixt Metal* on which were ingrav'd many *Letters*, but the *Character* was so *strange* that neither *Sir Thomas Elyot*, nor *Mr. Lilly*, the famous *School-Master* of *St. Paul's*, could tell what to make of them, and so there was no care taken to preserve the *Monument*, the *Loss* of which was afterwards much lamented by *Olaus Wormius*, who thought it to be *Runick*, as without question it was: and yet *Stone-Henge* itself is a *Roman Work*, as has been made out by *Mr. Inigo Jones*, who tho' he was confuted by the late *learned Dr. Charleton*, yet *Mr. Jones's* Opinion was very well defended by *Mr. John Webb*, who has in his *Book* distinctly examined the *Methods* made use of both by the *Romans* and the *Danes* in their *Buildings*.

§. 5. Having proceeded thus far in this *Inquiry*, and shew'd that these *Instruments* were not *military Arms* either of the *Britains*, or of the *Saxons*, or of the *Danes*, I shall now carry it on farther and endeavour to prove that they are owing to the *Romans*, which is what I have before insinuated. I once thought that they were a sort of *Axes* which the *Romans* made use of in their *Sacrifices*, of which *Dr. Plot* takes notice of two sorts, the *secures Lapidææ* and the *secures Cuprææ*, tho' *Dr. Leigh* will have his *Instances* to be both *Indian*. Upon a more narrow consideration of the *Roman* sacrificing *Instruments*, I have quite

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chang'd this Opinion, not finding the least Footsteps of such Axes in any of the Books of Roman Antiquities I have hitherto consulted. On the contrary they are in the *Suovetaurilia* or *Solitaurilia* of the *Columna Trajana* represented in the same Form, and fastened in the same manner, that we use at this Day. And so also in other Sacrifices, as may partly be seen in the *Gemms, Rings, &c.* publish'd out of the *Studies* of *Augustinus*, and *Gorlaeus*, as well as in the *Monuments* of *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, *Spon* and *Fabretti*, to omit the *Authors* collected upon this Subject by *Grævius* in his large *Body* of *Roman Antiquities*. Neither could they have been the Heads of Spears, as is manifest from the same *Authorities*. The *Roman Spears* and *Javelins* occur very frequently, and yet not one of them either on their *Coyns* or *elsewhere* is to be met with in the *Figure* of these *Instruments*. 'Tis true some of their *Spears* had two *Heads*, so they might use either *End* uppermost as they pleas'd. We have one of these in *Augustinus* (q). The *Heads* differ from one another, but they neither of them answer our *Monuments*. Nor are the most antient *Spears* of the *Romans* we meet with different from those they made use of in more *modern* Times, as may in some measure be seen in the *famous Shield* lately published at *Oxford* (r), which is certainly *authentick*. It's *Antiquity* is defended in the *Place* I have cited. It may here be farther added to what is there alledg'd that *Lucius Florus* gives (s) us the first *Instance* of the *Romans* fighting upon *Horses* without *Bridles*; and in the *Columna Trajana* (t) the *Horses* are placed in *full speed* with their *Riders* without any *Bridles* or other *Curbs* to restrain and guide them,

(q) *Gemm. & Script. antiq. ex Edit. Jac. Gronovii* Franeg. 1694. *Part. num. 155.* (r) *Vide Livij Edit. Oxon. Vol. VI. p. 195.* (s) *Lib. I. c. 9.* (t) *Num. 199.*

a great many of the *Romans* having made themselves *Masters* of this *Method of Fighting* that they might like the *Numidians* (who were *famous* for it) be the less incumber'd in the *Battle*, and rush upon the *Enemy* with the more *Force*. Their *Desultores* also are *Proof* enough of it's being *practicable*.

§. 6. But now tho' these *Instruments* are not properly *Roman military Weapons*, such as they us'd in their *Battles*, yet they were of service amongst the *Souldiers*, and good Numbers of them were *constantly* provided to be carried about in the *Army*. For I believe that they are *Roman Chissells*, and that they were us'd to cut the *Stones*, and other *Materials* that were judg'd serviceable for building their *Camps*. This is not *Conjecture* only as appears from the *Columna Trajana*, where (u) the *Souldiers* are represented polishing the *Stones* for the *Roman Tents* in the *Dacic Wars* with such sort of *Chissells* made of *Brass*. These *Chissells* they beat and worked into the *Stone* and other *Materials* with *Mallets* of the same *Metal*. We have other *Instances* of it in the same *Pillar*; which is one of the best *Monuments* we have by which to judge of the several *Instruments* made use of by them in their *military Enterprises*. These *Chissells* were of *admirable* service in making their *Aggeres*, which consisted of *Earth*, *Stones* and *Timber*. The *Stones* were sometimes thrown together without any *polishing*; but that was more rarely; and 'twas look'd upon as a better *security* to have them work'd that they might lye even. By this *Account* the reason will be easily perceiv'd why these *Instruments* are *hollow*, namely to fasten *Handles* to them for more convenience in driving them. If

(u) In num. 167.

they had been *Wedges*, 'twould have been a great *Inconvenience* to have had them *hollow*. Besides the *Wedges* by being drove into the *Wood* or *Stones* would have been *strangely* worn on the *Sides*, and have receiv'd considerable *Alterations*, whereas the *Sides* of ours in the *Bodlejan Repository* (and I suppose your's are so too) are just as they were at first, and there is not the least *Change*, unless it be on the *Edge*, which is very *blunt* and much *broken*, which I guess to have proceeded from the *Stone*. As for the *Ears* or *Loops*, 'tis probable they might be put on that thereby the *Handles* might be fixt the better; or perhaps they were design'd for the *Ease* of the *Souldiers*, who in their *Journeys* might by this means fasten them to their *Girdles*. For I believe most if not all the *Souldiers* had such *Instruments*, which they were oblig'd to make use of when *Necessity* requir'd. I know that 'tis the opinion of most that there were a few particular *Persons* always in the *Army* to whom these *Works* were committed, and that they were *exempt* from the Office of *Souldiers*, and that they were *marmorarij, quadratori, tignarij* and *structores*. These may be call'd all by one Name *fabri murarij*, tho' that is commonly reckon'd only another Name for *structores*. But this is a wrong *Perswasion*, and *Fabretti* has (w) well observ'd that there are no *fabri murarij*, as they are taken for *Artists* distinct from *Souldiers*, on *Trajan's Pillar*. This *Observation* he has made in opposition to *Santi Bartoli*, who calls them expressly *fabri murarij*. *Fabretti's Remark* as 'tis very just with respect to this sort of *Artists*, so it must be noted that there were no other distinct *Artists* that were freed from the *Dutys* of *Souldiers*. Even the *Artists* that had receiv'd *liberal Education* are to

(w) Syntagma de columna Trajana pag. 208.

be comprehended in this *Observation*, I mean their *Physicians*: which is the reason that in *Fabretti* we have (x) the *Picture* of a *Physician* fortified with a *lorica* or *Coat of Mail* and moving his *Hands* to a *sick Person* that was his *Patient*. The *lorica* shews he was one of the *better sort* of *Souldiers* call'd *evocati*, those of the *inferior Order* being allow'd only a *Pectoral* of *thin Brass*. It withal points out to us that he was after he had finish'd these *Offices* to the *Sick* bound to betake himself to the *other Offices* of a *Souldier*. This was sometimes intermitted, but in *Trajan's* strict *Discipline* 'twas *always* observ'd, he being resolv'd to imitate and bring into *fashion* the *Severity* that had been made use of in the more *antient Times*. For this reason we see the *Souldiers* in this *Pillar* duly exercising and performing, when there was any *need*, all the *Offices* of *Tradesmen*, it being at this time *customary* to list *Tradesmen* amongst the *Souldiers* for this *Intent*.

§. 7. Besides the *Uses* these *Instruments* were put to in forming the *Roman Camps*, they were moreover employ'd in making and repairing the *High Ways*, which swallow'd up a *large Quantity* of *Stone*, especially in such *Places* as were *marshy* and *Fenny*. The *Pomptin Marshes* were vastly large, and yet at such time as the *Souldiers* were too many to be us'd against the *Enemy*, a *motion* was made that they should be employ'd to *drain* them, which was so well approv'd, that the *Senate* immediately gave *Orders* for it, and the *Soil* was so *rich* and *fertile* that *great Numbers* came and settled here, insomuch that there were no less than XXXIII. *Towns* built upon the *Ground*. The *Waters* however afterwards got strength again, and 'twas in a manner *wholly* drown'd; which made *Fulius Cæsar* entertain some *Thoughts* of *draining*

(x) *Loco cit. pag. 217.*

them *afresh* and of carrying the *Appian Way* through them, whereas it had before went about them; but he fail'd in his *Design*, and 'twas left for one of his *Glorious Successors* the Emperor *Trajan*, who after he had cleans'd the *Fens*, caus'd a *Stone Way* to be made through them, whereon were built *large Inns* and *magnificent Bridges* for Conveyance of the *Water* which was in the upper Part of the *Marsh*. For memory of which he had a *Monumental Stone* erected with a proper *Inscription*, by which it appears that the *Way* was *XIX Miles* in length, there being plac'd at the End of every *Mile* a *Mile Stone*, and from thence the *Way* it self was in succeeding Times call'd *Decennovium*. I might from hence take occasion to mention other *Works* of the *Romans* in *Italy* of this kind, in which *Chiffells* were *absolutely necessary* for cutting the *Stones*; but this is needless at present, and therefore I shall only remark that as *Trajan* was diligent about the *Ways* in *Italy* and other *Parts*, so it seems he was no less careful of these *Affairs* in *Britain*. For notwithstanding some tell us that the four *Great Ways* in *Britain* are owing to *Molmutius*, one of the *British Kings* and *Belinus*, his Son, yet *Mr. Camden* and others have shew'd that they are rather to be attributed to the *Romans*, being repair'd and made as it were quite anew. (whereas before they were very *wear*) by *Trajan*, after he had reduc'd the *Britains* to *Obedience*. Besides which *Ways* he also made divers other *Lesser* ones here, and perhaps these *Chiffells* that have occasioned this *Letter* may be some of those us'd by the *Souldiers* in his *Reign*, tho' before his Time *Acts* of this kind had been perform'd by the *Roman Souldiers*, who also forc'd the *Britains* to undergo the same *Drudgery*, which occasion'd them to complain to *Agricola*, as if they were too *severely* and *hardly* dealt with.

§. 8. If it be ask'd how it comes to pass that these *Instruments* are of *Brass* rather than of any other *Metal*? it may be reply'd that they as well as the *People* of other *Nations* in former times thought there was an *extraordinary virtue* in *Brass*. Whence it was that they us'd *brass Instruments* when the *Moon* was in an *Eclipse* (y), thinking that by beating of them she would the more easily be recover'd from her *Labour*, which *custom* almost *universally* prevail'd. And 'twas upon account of this *peculiar Virtue* suppos'd to be in *Brass* that the *Instruments* made use of in the *sacred Offices* were in the more *early times* all of *Brass*, that the *Tuscans* used *Brass Plowshares* when their *Cities* were built, and that the *Priests* of the *Sabins* were shav'd with *Brass Razors* (z). *Hesiod* himself tells (a) us that the *Antients* us'd *Brass Instruments* before *Iron* ones :

Χαλκῶ δ' ἐργάζοντο μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σιδῆρος;

At which time not only their *Arms* but their *Houses* were likewise of *Brass*.

Τοῖς δ' ἦν χαλκεαὶ μὲν πύργα, χαλκεοὶ δὲ τε δίκαι. (a)

The *Custom* might prevail as well in *Britain* as elsewhere, *Iron* being not so very plentiful in the *first time* of the *Romans*; however it might increase afterwards when the *Bath-Forge* was erected, and all *proper Methods* us'd upon that occasion. Nor ought it to be wonder'd how the *Brass-Chisells* could be apply'd to the *Stone* without *breaking to pieces* immediately, any more than that the *Ploughshares* did not suffer the same *Damage* in casting up the *Ground* and *grating* against the *Stones* with more *Violence*. The *Brass* in those *early times* was of a different nature from ours, and so temper'd as to endure much longer with less *inconvenience* in the several *Operations* to which employ'd.

§. 9. I have finish'd what I have to say at present upon these *old Instruments*. As for another *Pièce* of *Anti-*

(y) See *Livy lib. XXVI. c. 5. Edit. Oxon.* (z) *Vide Rhodigini antiq. Lectr. l. XIX. c. 10.* (a) *Εργ. & Ημ. lib. I. v. 150.* (b) *I. id. v. 149.*

quity which you tell me you have in your *Collection*, namely a *Spur* that is no less than 6 Inches and an half long from the *Heel* to the *Middle* of the *Rowell*, which you take to be of a much later Date than the other *Monuments*, we have one in the *Bodlejan Repository* of much the same length, of which I have made mention in my *Additions* to Sir *John Spelman's* Life of King *Ælfred*. There have been several others found in *England*, and you have justly guess'd your's to be more *modern* than the other *Instruments*. For these *Spurs* are certainly *Danish*, as appears from *Wormius's Monumenta Danica* (d), where he has given us the *Figure* of one, and there is an Account of divers others towards the latter End of his *Museum*, one of which is a foot and some odd Inches in length.

§. 10. I have been the more particular upon this *Subject*, because I do not remember that it has as yet been treated of by any of our *Antiquaries*, and I was willing to discuss several *Points* that occasionally offer'd themselves when I began to consider it. *Conjectures* in *Affairs* of this nature are allowable, and accordingly I have made use of them; but I have endeavour'd to keep my self within the *Bounds* of *Modesty*, and I leave the whole to your better *Sagacity*. If I have suggested any thing that may be of use to you, as well as serve to gratify your *Curiosity*, it will be abundant Satisfaction to,

Oxon.
1709.

Sir,

Your oblig'd humble Servant

Tho. Hearne.

(c) Pag. 43. (d) Pag. 50.