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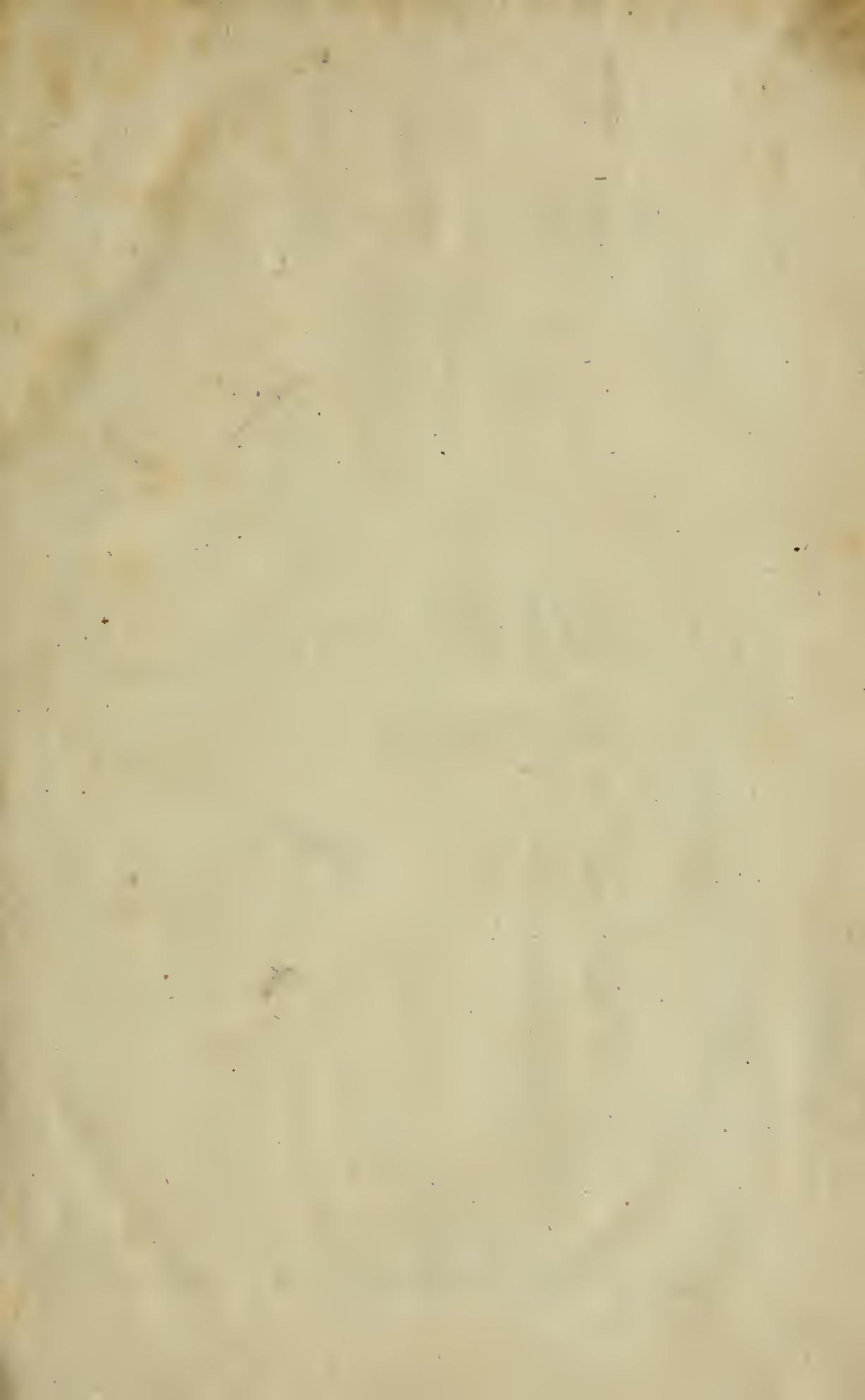
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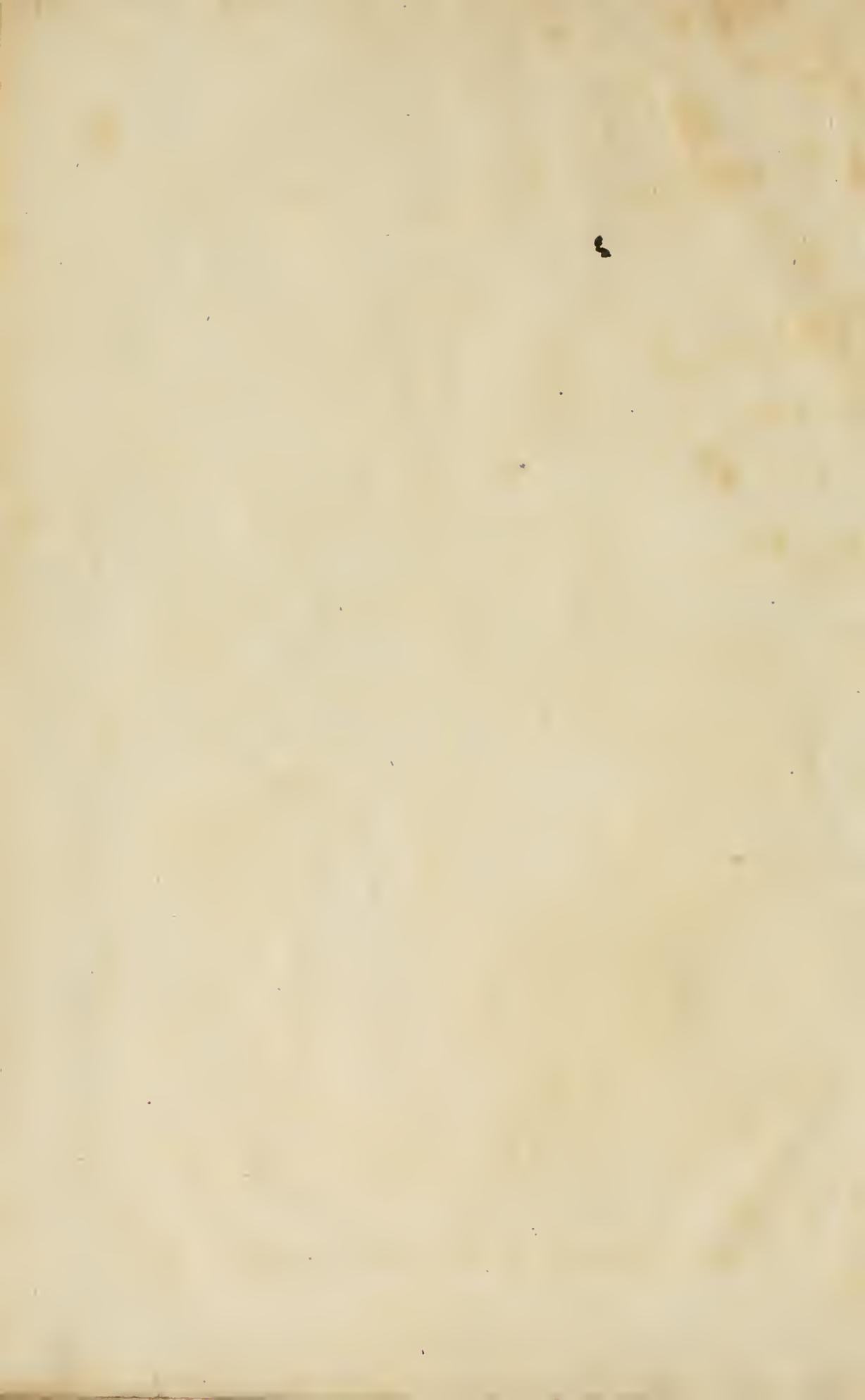
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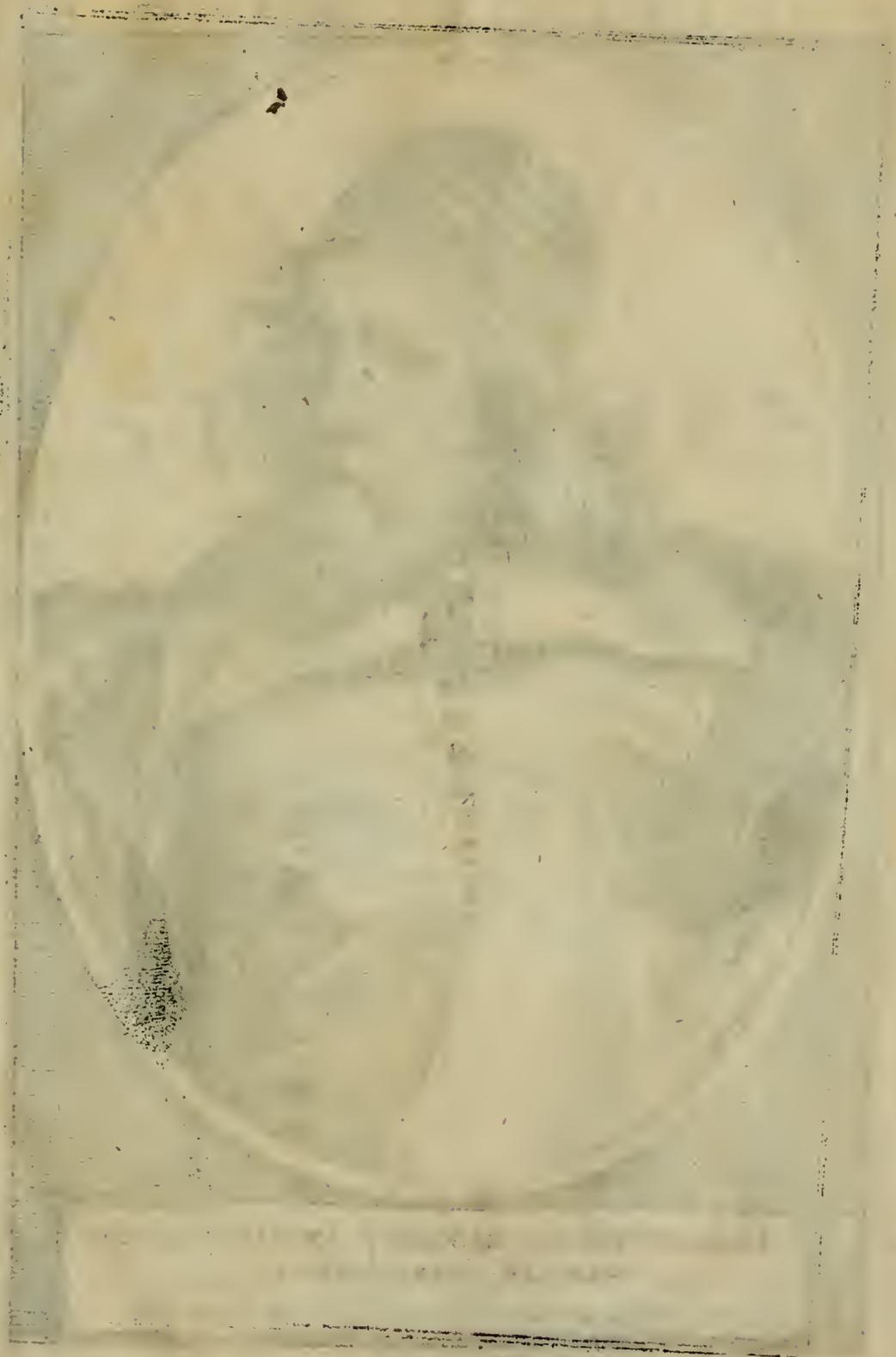
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IGNATHI IONES MAG: BRIT: ARCHITECTI GE:  
NERALIS, VERA EFFIGIES,

*Artis. van Dyke Equo pinxit.*

*W. Hollar fecit, aqua fortis.*

THE  
most notable

ANTIQUITY

OF  
GREAT BRITAIN,

vulgarly called

STONE-HENG

ON  
SALISBURY PLAIN.

RESTORED

By *INIGO JONES* Esquire,  
Architect Generall to the late  
K I N G.

---

L O N D O N,

Printed by *James Fleisher* for *Daniel Pakeman* at the sign of the  
*Rainbow* in *Fleetstreet*, and *Laurence Chapman* next door  
to the *Fountain Tavern* in the *Strand*. 1655.



T O  
The Right Honourable

**PHILIP**

Earle of *Pembroke* and *Montgomerie*,  
Baron *Herbert* of *Caerdiff* and *Sherland*,  
Lord *Parr* and *Rosse* of *Kendall*, Lo: *Fitzhugh*  
*Marmyon* and *Saint Quintin* &c.

STONE-HENG restored

is

hu bly dedicated

by

Your LO<sup>ps</sup> devoted servant

*John Webb.*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# PHILIP

BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

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CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

T O  
T H E F A V O U R E R S  
O F  
A N T I Q U I T Y .

**T**His Discourse of *Stone-heng* is moulded off,  
and cast into a rude Form, from some few  
indigested notes of the late judicious *Architect*,  
the *Vitruvius* of his age *Inigo Jones*. That so  
venerable an *Antiquity* might not perish, but the  
world made beholding to him for restoring it  
to light, the desires of severall his learned  
*Friends* have encouraged me to compose this  
*Treatise*. Had he survived to have done it with  
his own hand, there had needed no *Apology*.  
Such as it is, I make now yours. Accept it in  
*his name*, from

*J. W. who lived  
to Inigo Jones.*

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# STONEHENG RESTORED,

BY

INIGO JONES Esquire.

**B**Eing naturally inclined in my younger years to study the *Arts of Designe*, I passed into forrain parts to converse with the great Masters thereof in *Italy*; where I applied my self to search out the ruines of those ancient *Buildings*, which in despight of *Time* it self, and violence of *Barbarians* are yet remaining. Having satisfied my self in these, and returning to my native *Countrey*, I applied my minde more particularly to the study of *Architecture*. Among the ancient monumients whereof, found here, I deemed none more worthy the searching after, then this of *Stoneheng*; not only in regard of the *Founders* thereof, the *Time* when built, the *Work* it self, but also for the rarity of its *Invention*, being different in *Forme* from all I had seen before: likewise, of as beautifull *Proportions*, as elegant in *Order*, and as stately in *Aspect*, as any.

King *James*, in his progresse, the year one thousand six hundred and twenty, being at *Wilton*, and discoursing of this *Antiquity*, I was sent for by the right Honourable *William* then *Earl of Pembroke*, and received there his Majesties commands to produce out of mine own practise in *Architecture*, and experience in *Antiquities* abroad, what possibly I could discover

## Stoneheng restored.

concerning this of *Stoneheng*. What mine opinion was then, and what I have since collected in relation thereunto; I intend to make the subject of this present Treatise. And certainly, in the intricate, and obscure study of *Antiquity* it is far easier (as *Camden* very well observes) to refute and contradict a false, then to set down a true and certain resolution. For mine own part, in what I shall here deliver, I intend not to struggle against any opinion commonly, and long since received. Let every man judge as it pleaseth him. What opinion soever the Reader inclines to, I shall not make much materiall, my aime being, a desire only to vindicate, as much as in me lies, the *Founders* of this venerable *Antiquity* from oblivion, and to make the truth, as far forth as possibly I may, appeare to all men.

Severall Writers, both Strangers, and our own Countreymen, have treated of *Stoneheng*. Before recite whose opinions, I think not amisse to seek this subject from the most ancient times, endeavouring thereby to give satisfaction whether or no, the *Druides*, aliàs *Druidæ* (in Authors indifferently written, and in old time the *Priests* of the *Britans* and *Gauls*) or the ancient *Britans*, for the *Druid's* use, might not be the *Founders* of so notable a monument; which if they were, there is then no cause why bestow farther study or pains, in searching who the *Founders* were, but acquiesce in the honour of our own Nations first erection of it.

As far neverthelesse, as from History ancient or moderne may be gathered, there is little likelyhood of any such matter, considering especially what the *Druid's* were; also, what small experience the *Britans*, anciently inhabiting this Isle, had, in knowledge of what ever *Arts*, much lesse of building, with like elegancy and proportion, such goodly works as *Stoneheng*.

Concerning the *Druid's* in the first place, true it is, they are reported in ancient times, to have been in great esteeme in this Island, where their discipline, and manner of learning, was supposed to be first invented, and from hence translated into *Gaul*. *Disciplina in Britannia reperta* (saith *Caesar*)

*atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur.* They are said in like manner to have ordered and disposed all divine matters, as well in relation to their severall kinds of Sacrifices, as to expounding whatever rites of their idolatrous superstition; insomuch, you may call them (if you please) the Bishops and Clergy of that Age. *Plin. lib. 16.*

Their power moreover, and preheminance was not confined within the strict limits of sacred matters, but enjoying a more large prerogative, temporall negotiations, and affairs of State were transacted by them: the managing of Peace and War was usually remitted to their Authority, even when Armies were ready to joyn in Battell. *Publica iis* (saith *Strabo*) *& privata judicia committuntur, & aliquando causas bellorum disceptandis jam acie congressuros composuerunt.* Judges they were (saith *Cæsar* also) in almost all civill and criminall causes: sentence they gave in case of life and death: decide they did controversies, and debates betwixt party and party: finally, whatever else was requisite and convenient to keep the people in due obedience to their Princes, they wholly took the care and charge of. *Strab. lib. 4.*  
*Cæsar. lib. 6.*

These were the maine affaires wherein the employment of the *Druides* consisted, and whereunto they wholly addicted themselves. Whosoever desires to know more of them, may read *Cæsar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and such like ancient Authors. But, whatsoever these, or other Historians have written of the *Druides*, certainly, *Stoneheng* could not be builded by them, in regard, I find no mention, they were at any time either studious in *Architecture*, (which in this subject is chiefly to be respected) or skilfull in any thing else conducing thereunto. For, *Academies of Designe* were unknown unto them: publique Lectures in the *Mathematiques* not read amongst them: nothing of their *Painting*, not one word of their *Sculpture* is to be found, or scarce of any Science (*Philosophy* and *Astronomy* excepted) proper to informe the judgement of an *Architect*; who, (as *Vitruvius* saith) *Vir. li. 1.* should be *peritus Graphidos, eruditus Geometria, & Optices non*

*ignarus &c. perfect in Designe, expert in Geometry, well seen in the Opticks, skilfull in Arithmetick, a good Historian, a diligent hearer of Philosophers, well experienc'd in Physick, Musick, Law and Astrologie.*

*Cæsar. li. 6.* Of all that have written of the *Druid's*, no Author knew them better then *Cæsar*, neither hath any more fully described them; who after a large discourse of their discipline, priviledges, and *Theologie*, *Multa de sideribus* (saith he) *atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, &c. disputant, & juventuti transdunt.* They make much dispute, and instruct their Scholars in many things concerning the Stars, and their motion, the greatnesse of Heaven and Earth, of the nature of things &c. As for other Arts relating to the *Mathematiques*, or any works of this kind, he makes no manner of mention, though himself an *Architect*, glorying in his own, and much more extolling others invention in that *Art*.

The truth is, those ancient times had no knowledge of publique works, either Sacred or Secular, for their own use, or honour of their *Deities*. Besides, they us'd not any buildings of Stone, or (for ought is manifest) knew so much, as how to order working therein. The *Druid's* led a solitary contemplative life, contenting themselves with such habitations, as either meer necessity invented, to shelter them from contrariety of seasons, without *Art*, without *Order*, without any whatever means tending to perpetuity: or, such as *Nature* alone had prepared for them in dens, and caves of desert and darksome woods; esteeming it, questionlesse, the highest secret of their mystery, rather to command in caves and cottages, then live like Kings, in Palaces, and stately houses. They were too wise, knew too well, 'twas their humility, integrity, retired manner of life, and pretended sanctity possess the people with an awfully reverend esteem of them; and which fed, and kept up their reputation throughout the Countrey, when outward appearances of State and magnificence would either have brought them into envy, and their superstition into contempt, or them-

themselves and Religion both to be wholly extirpated and laid aside.

Pomponius Mela discoursing of the Druides, *Docent multa* (saith he) *nobilissimos gentis clam & diu vicenis annis in specu, aut in abditis saltibus,* They teach the Nobility, and better sort of their nation, many things, even twenty years together, secretly in caves, or close coverts of obscure woods and forrests. Such, and no other were their habitations, such their Universities, and publique Schooles. *Pomp. Mela lib. 3.*

As for their Temples and sacred structures, they consisted not in variety of formes, costlinesse of materials, or perfection of humane Arts, but were of Natures own framing in like manner, being no other then groves of Oke. The Druid's chose of purpose (saith Pliny) such groves for their divine Service, as stood only upon Okes; nay they solemnized no Sacrifice, nor performed any sacred Ceremonies without the branches, and leaves thereof; from whence they may seem well enough to be named Dryadae in Greek, which signifies as much as Oke Priests. *Pliny lib. 16.*

The Romans having forced their passage, and gained victory over the Druid's in Anglesey, cut down their woods and groves, amongst them reckoned holy, and consecrated to their execrable superstitions. *Excisi luci* (saith Tacitus) *sævis superstitionibus sacri.* *Tacit. Ann. lib. 14.*

To this purpose, Humphrey Lloid, in his history of Wales, The vast woods growing in that Island, were not only by the Romans, but afterwards, when the Christian Faith took place in this Nation, by the Christians also fell'd and rooted out. And why? because of the idolatry (saith he) and absurd Religion used in them. Again, in his Epistle to Ortelius concerning the Isle of Anglesey, the same Author affirms; Though there is little wood now growing there, yet every day the roots and bodies of huge trees of a wonderfull length and bignesse are by the inhabitants found, and digged out of the earth, in divers places in low grounds, and champion fields.

Now, if in stead of these roots, and bodies of trees, the ruins of ancient Structures had been there found, it might per-

peradventure, with some probability, have been presumed, either that the *Druid's* used *Temples*, or some other buildings of stone. For, their ancient seat was in the Isle of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, whence modern Writers style it *Insulam Druidum*, the *Island of the Druid's*, and *sedem Druidum*, the seat of the *Druid's*. And from hence, questionlesse, it came to passe, the *Romans*, with such difficulty, under the conduct of *Suetonius Paulinus*, brought that Island under their power; nor was it wholly subdued to their Empire, untill *Julius Agricola's* time. For, whereas in other parts of *Britain*, the people contended for Liberty only, there, they fought *pro aris & focis*, for Liberty, and Religion both.

*Tacit. Ann.*  
*lib. 16.*

There it was the *British* armies (saith *Tacitus*) being im-battailed, the women ran to and fro amongst them in sable weeds, their hair about their ears, and fire-brands in their hands, like infernall furies, the *Druid's* round about them also, lifting up their hands to Heaven, and pouring forth deadly curses; the novelty of which sight bred such amazement in the *Roman Legions*, (the *Romans* here, it seems, were unacquainted with the *Druid's* till then) that they stood stock still, and close together, not once moving a foot, as if possessed with a resolution to act nothing at all, but receive their deaths tamely and without any great resistance.

Wherefore, besides, that History hath not remembered the ruines of any ancient buildings digged up in *Anglesey*; if either, this *Antiquity* had been remaining in that *Island*, or any Author delivered such Actions of the *Druid's*, as aforesaid, performed about the place, where *Stoneheng* remains standing, there might have been some advantage made thereof to the purpose now in hand. But *Anglesey* excepted, ancient Writers give them residence in no part of *Britain* beside, nor are they remembered by any, to have been found elsewhere, throughout the whole Nation. With respect whereunto, if the *Druid's* had knowledge, either to build the like magnificent structures, or use, for any such, [they would, without all peradventure, have erected them upon the same place rather where themselves resided, then elsewhere.

Nei-

## Stoneheng restored.

7

Neither are we to wonder, they chose such an out-nook or corner as *Anglesey*, to reside in; in regard, there, they lived remote, and solitary; there, were store of caves, and dens to instruct their Scholars in, close and retired places for their own habitations, and plenty of groves to perform their sacred mysteries in. Moreover, they past their days there, like the Hermits of old time, according to their own desire, in full contentment, and with free liberty to study, and contemplate what they pleased. For, *Anglesey* (we must know) in those times of yore, was wholly overgrown with desert Woods, and obscure forrests, from whence the ancient *Britans* call'd it *Ynis Dowil*, the shadowy or dark *Island*. Which name it still retains, and is well known thereby to the now inhabitants, who are, even at this day, likewise enclined, (yea, they usually accustom themselves) to commit things more to Memory, than Writing; and, as having received it by tradition from their Ancestors, living in those ancient times, still endeavour to observe that custom of the *Druid's*, who held it unlawfull to commit any thing to writing. As *Cæsar* (in the sixth book of his Commentaries of the Gaulish war) delivers.

*Cæs. Com.*  
*lib. 6.*

Concerning the *Britans* in the next place, The condition of those ancient inhabitants of this *Island* in the *Druid's* time duly considered, (*viz.* in what manner they lived, how unskilfull in all Sciences, and civill customs, what Deities they had, in what places they adored them, and what manner of buildings, or sacred or secular, were used by them) as little reason appears, that this Antiquity was by them erected.

As for their manner of living, the *Britans* were then a savage and barbarous people, knowing no use at all of garments. *Vestis usum non cognoscunt* (saith *Herodian.*) Now, if destitute of the knowledge, even to clothe themselves, much lesse any knowledge had they to erect stately structures, or such remarkable works as *Stoneheng*. What fashions they used to adorn their bodies with, the same Author tells us. As a rare and rich habiliment, they wore about their waists  
and

*Herodian.*  
*lib. 3.*

and necks ornaments of iron (saith he) and did pounce and colour their bodies with sundry forms, in rude manner representing severall creatures. In which regard, they would not be otherwise clothed, lest constrain'd thereby to hide such their simple (though with them much esteemed) bravery.

Again, in other their civill customs, they were no lesse rude and ignorant; yea, so barbarous, even in things appertaining to common sustenance, and whatever husbandry; that (as Strabo) *Quidam eorum ob imperitiam caseos nullos conficiant, cum tamen lacte abundant: alii hortos colendi, & aliarum partium agriculturae ignari sunt.* Many of them, though they had great plenty of milk, yet their want of skill was such, they knew not how to make cheese: others so simple, they knew not to order their gardens or orchards, or any thing belonging thereunto.

Their Countrey also then lay uncultivated, no corn sown: *Quævis herba & radix cibus est,* Their food was herbs and roots (saith Dion Cassius.) Hence Sir Walter Raleigh calls them the *British Nomades.* And (by the way) it may not inappositely be observ'd, milk, roots, and fruit were the chief banquetting dishes; and skins of beasts (if clothed) the most costly habits of our Forefathers. Now who can, in reason imagine, that any great knowledge, practice, or delight of Arts and Sciences, wherein the elegancy of Architecture consists, should be in use or esteem, amongst a people, wholly devoted (as I may so say) and given over to such barbarity?

There were then no publick roads, or common highways to passe from one place to another, no constant habitations, *Nec mœnia, nec urbes,* Nor towns nor walls (as Dion out of *Xiphiline* hath it) much lesse Temples, or other buildings made of stone, compos'd by Art, with Order, and Proportion.

Moreover, who cast their eies upon this Antiquity, and examine the same with judgement, must be enforced to confesse it erected by people, grand masters in the Art of building, and liberall sciences, whereof the ancient *Britans* utterly ignorant, as a Nation wholly addicted to wars, never

ver applying themselves to the study of Arts, or troubling their thoughts with any excellency therein. *Omnis arbor domus. Every tree being in stead of a house to them.* Dion lib.62.

In the wars which *Bunduica* (whom *Tacitus* calls *Boadicia*) Queen of the *Iceni*, undertook against the *Romans*, wherein seventy thousand of their Citizens, and allies perished; in disdainfull contempt of the experience in Arts, wherein the *Romans* flourished, She accounted it her chiefest glory (saith *Dion Cassius*) to command over the *Britans*, in regard, a people they were, who had not learned, or knew, what belonged to the cultivating and manuring of lands; or the practice of Arts, or to be craftsmen in any thing, save war. *Qui non agros colere, non opifices esse, sed bella gerere optimè didicerunt.* Dion lib.62. Where you see, their having nor experience nor practice in any kinde of Sciences, war excepted, was enforc'd, by *Bunduica*, as redounding greatly to the *Britans* honour, much advantage being made thereof by Her, towards advancing Her designs, as the Historian plainly tells us.

But certain it is, however barbarous in other affairs, a most warlike people they were. Never, untill the forces of the whole world united in the *Roman* Empire conspiring to subdue them, liable to conquest: neither could all that power, till after numbers of years spent in the attempt, with infinite expence of men and treasure, ever prevail against them. Now, as their sole skilfulnesse was in war, so they idoliz'd principally what had relation thereunto, their *Dea optima maxima*, being *Victoria*, whom they worshipped under the name of *Andates*. Another Goddesse they had in much esteem, called *Adraste*, which some imagine (as the *Nemesis* amongst the *Greeks*) was their Goddesse of Revenge. These, according to their savage manner of living, they adored in groves, and woods, the only *Temples* in use amongst them, to perform their Sacrifices, and divine mysteries in. (as from severall Authors I have already proved) Neither find I any particular place mentioned, to which any of these their *Temples* (if they may so be called) were assigned; only *Andates* (it seems from *Dion Cassius*) had a grove

sacred to her in the Countrey of the *Iceni*, anciently containing *Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge,* and *Huntingdon* Shires, farre enough from *Stoneheng*.

Besides, it is not to be past over in silence, how *Tacitus* expresseth himself in the before cited four eenth Book of his *Annals*, telling us; *The Romans overthrew not the Temples, or razed to the Foundations, any of the sacred structures of the Druid's and Britans made of stone, or other materials, which he might as readily have done, if they had used any such: but positively, the Romans cut down the Britans woods and groves, amongst them reckoned holy, and consecrated to their execrable superstitions.* True it is, other Temples, of greater magnificence then already spoken of, I find none: Ornaments of Art to enrich them they were not acquainted with: such orderly composed works as *Stoneheng*, they had not any: yea, no kind of sacred structures of stone were in use amongst hem: their idolatrous places being naturally adorned, only with wild, and overgrown shades, designed and brought to perfection by Dame Nature her self, she being Architect generall to all their Deities. Nor did it consist with their vain Religion to use any other, they making their worship, performing their Ceremonies, offering their Sacrifices in dark and obscure groves, most conformable unto their barbarous, and inhumane, humane oblations.

*Mayer.*  
*1 K. 1. Ch.*

*Herod. li. 1.*

Neither must it seem strange, they used no other Temples then these, it not being their custom alone; for the *Excelsi* or high places mentioned in the sacred Story, wherein the Heathen performed idolatrous rites unto their Idols, were commonly groves, affectedly sited upon some mountainous place, without any *House* or *Temple*. The *Persians* of old, (of whom *Herodotus*) *Neque statuas, neque templa, neque aras extruere consuetudo est, Erected neither Images, nor Temples, nor Altars: quinimo hoc facientibus insanix tribuere,* accounting it great folly and madnesse in those that did: but ascending to the tops of the highest, and most lofty hills, on them offered sacrifices to their Gods. From hence, *Xerxes*, in his expedition, burnt down the Temples of the *Greeks*, because they

shut

shut up their Gods therein, to whom all things are open and free, and to whom the whole Universe serves for a Temple. The *Abasgians* also (inhabiting Mount *Caucasus*) did worship, even till *Procopius* his time, groves and woods; and in a barbarian simplicity esteemed the very trees themselves to be Gods. In like manner, the Northern and Southern people of *America*, made all their Invocations and Exorcisms in woods. The ancient *Germans* likewise consecrated woods and forests. *Lucos ac nemora consecrant*, saith *Tacitus* of them. And the like places for idolatrous superstition, did divers other barbarous Nations use, before reduced to order, and civility of life, *Tacitus* giving this reason for it: They thought it a matter ill beseeming the greatnesse of their Deities, to enclose them within Temples made by Art. His words are, *Nec cohibere parietibus. Deos arbitrantur*, They thought it not fit to restrain their Deities within compacted walls: *id est, neque templis, neque domibus, viz. neither within Temples or Houses made with hands*, as *C. Picbenas* commenting thereon more fully interprets.

Touching the manner of the buildings of the ancient *Britans*, and of what materialls they consisted, I find them so far short of the magnificence of this Antiquity, that they were nor stately, nor sumptuous; neither had they any thing of *Order*, or *Symmetry*, much lesse, of gracefulnesse, and *Decorum* in them, being only such as *Ovid* (relating to the first Age of the world) makes mention of.

*Ovid. Met.  
lib. 1.*

————— *domus antra fuerunt,*  
*Et densi frutices, & junctæ cortice virgæ.*

Thus Englished by *Arthur Golding*.

————— *their houses were the thicks,*  
*And bushy queaches, hollow caves, and hardles made of sticks.*

To like purpose *Vitruvius*. In the first Age of the world (saith he) men lived in woods, caves, and forests, but after they had found out the use of fire, and by the benefit thereof were invited to enter into a cer-

*Vitru. lib. 2.*

tain kind of society, *cœperunt alii de fronde facere tecta, alii speluncas fodere sub montibus, nonnulli hirundinum nidos, & adificationes earum imitantes, de luto & virgultis facere loca, quæ subirent.* Some of them began to make themselves habitations of boughs, some to dig dens in mountains; other some, imitating the nests of birds, made themselves places of lome and twigs, and such like materials, to creep into, and shroud themselves in. Directly after which manner of workmanship, were the houses of the ancient Britans.

*Dido. li. 6.* *Domos ex calamis aut lignis ut plurimum habent compactas,* Their houses for the most part are of reed and wood, saith Diodorus Siculus.

In the Northern parts they live in tents. *Degunt in tentoriis,* (saith Dion, epitomis'd by Xiphiline.)

*Strab. lib. 4.* **TOWNS.** *Urbium loco ipsis sunt nemora,* (saith Strabo) woods stand them in stead of Cities or Towns. *Arboribus enim dejectis ubi amplum circumulum sepierunt, ipsi casas ibidem sibi ponunt, & pecori stabula condunt, ad usum quidem non longi temporis.* For when by felling of trees, they have inclosed, and fenced therewith a large circuit of wood, therein they raise cabbins and cottages for themselves, and hovels for their cattell, of no great continuance, but only to supply their present use and occasion.

*Caesar. lib. 5.* *Opidum Britanni vocant (saith Caesar) quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitanda causa, convenire consueverunt,* The Britans call a thick wood, enclosed about with a ditch and rampire, made for a place of retreat to avoid the invasion and assault of their bordering enemies, a Town.

Thus, you see, in what condition the Inhabitants of this Island lived in those ancient times, having of themselves, neither desire, nor ability to exercise, nor from others, encouragement to attain whatever knowledge in the Art of Building. Precepts, and rules therein, the *Druid's* neither could, nor would impart unto them. That they could not, appears from what is formerly said, and in what skilfull above others, they communicated nothing, but to those of their own society, taking speciall order (as *Caesar* affirms) their discipline might not be divulged.

As for Colonies of any Nation practised in Arts, from whom they might receive or knowledge, or civil conversation, there were none settled amongst them: neither had they commerce, or traffique, with any people experienced therein, much lesse acquaintance with any other, except those of *Gaul*, welnear as barbarous as themselves. None of the Gauls in a manner, had any knowledge (saith *Cæsar*) of the nature and quality of the people of Britain, or of the places, ports, or passes of the Countrey. *Neque enim temerè præter mercatores illò adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quidquam, præter oram maritimam, atque eas regiones quæ sunt contra Galliam, notum est.* For, not any went thither without eminent danger, except merchants, and they also could give accompt of nothing, save only the Sea-coast, and those Countreys which were opposite to Gaul. Never any Colony of the Greeks, for ought I know (saith *Ortelius*) was seated in Britain. And *Cæsar*, the first of all the Romans that discovered it, saith *Camden*.

*Cæsar. lib. 4.*

*Ortel. descr. Fr.*

*Camden fo. 2.*

If desire neverthelesse, to know in what times the ancient Britans began to be civilized, when to learn the knowledge of Arts, to build stately Temples, Palaces, publick Buildings, to be eloquent in forrain languages, and by their habits, and attire, attain the qualities of a civil, and well ordered people, *Tacitus* shall relate the same.

*Sequens hiems saluberrimis conciliis absumpta &c.* The winter ensuing (being the second year of *Julius Agricola* his Propratorship, or Leivtenancy in Britain; *Titus Vespasian* Emperour, about one hundred thirty three years after the first discovery thereof by *Cæsar*) was spent in most profitable, and politick Councils (saith *Tacitus*.) For, whereas the Britans were rude, and dispersed, and thereby prone, upon every occasion, to warre; *Agricola*, to induce them by pleasure to quietnesse and rest, exhorted in private, and helpt them in common to build Temples, Houses, and places of publick resort, commending those, that were forward therein, and punishing the refractory. Moreover, the Noblemens sons he took, and instructed in the liberall Sciences, preferring the wits of Britain, to the students in Gaul, as being now eagerly ambitious to attain the eloquence of the Roman tongue, whereas lately they utterly rejected that language. After that, our attire grew in account, and the gown much used amongst them,

*Tacit. in vit. Agr.*

them, and so by little and little they proceeded to provocations of vices, to sumptuous galleries, baths, and exquisite banquettings. Thus far Tacitus. Now had there been but the least mention made, by any Author, concerning the *Druid's* instructing, and training up the ancient *Britans* in any such matters, as these, (which Tacitus remembers the *Romans* to have done) what conclusions might have been rais'd from them? what presumptive reasons drawn, to prove, Stoneheng a work of the *Druid's*, or at least erected for their use?

To conclude, if this authority from Tacitus only, (an Author esteem'd the *Polybius* of the *Latines*) be thoroughly weigh'd, it will evidently manifest, (whatever else hath formerly been delivered) there was no such thing in *Britain*, before the *Romans* arriv'd here, as that which we now call Stoneheng. What credit else with posterity could Tacitus expect to gain, in affirming the *Britans* were taught and instructed in the liberall Sciences by the *Romans*; if those *Arts* acknowledg'd, to be practis'd amongst the *Britans* before? What need to have told us, the *Romans* made them skilfull in erecting sumptuous *Palaces*, stately *Portico's*, and publick places, if the inhabitants here, accustomed to enjoy such noble buildings, before the *Romans* arriv'd in this Land? Why, tell succeeding Ages, when gentle persuasions not prevail, to make the *Britans* innovate, and admit of sacred structures to whatever Deities, *Agricola* compell'd them to found magnificent *Temples*, and assist therein, if this Antiquity Stoneheng extant before those times? Why also, should the *Britans* look upon the *Temple* erected by the *Romans* at *Camalodunum*, (supposed *Maldon* in *Essex*) in honour of *Claudius* sacred memory, as an *Altar* of perpetuall dominion over them, if been used to such structures before? yea, such an eye-sore the *Britans* accounted it, as, that *Temple* was one of the principall causes, which gave birth to that fatall insurrection under *Boadicia*. Neither would Tacitus have magnified the introducing those customs amongst them, as admirable policy in *Agricola*, and the true and only rule to bring them from their rude, and dispersed manner of living

to civility, if the *Britans* attain'd such discipline before, or any knowledge in the excellency of *Architecture* preceding the time of the *Romans* government here. No, for what saith *Camden*? It was the brightnesse of that most glorious Empire, which *Camden*.fo.63. chased away all savage Barbarism from the *Britans* minds, like as from other Nations, whom it had subdued.

Furthermore, in the time of this *Agricola*, *Britain* was fully discovered, the *Romans* had circumnavigated it, and knew, for certain, it was an Island, formerly doubted of till his time; yea, there was not a Port (as I may so say) a bay, mountain, valley, hill, plain, wood, or forest, either any custom, rite, ceremony, or what else belonging to the knowledge of the Countrey, or manners of the People, but the *Romans* were then as well acquainted with (especially, in that part of the Island now call'd *England*) as, at this day, the Inhabitants themselves are. Neverthelesse, what mention soever is made by their Historians, concerning other matters of the *Britans*, not one word is to be found of this Antiquity, or any building of this kind in use amongst them. But, because some curiously learned have desired somewhat to be spoken for their better satisfaction touching this particular, I have been too prolix. In a word therefore, let it suffice, *Stoneheng* was no work of the *Druid's*, or of the ancient *Britans*; the learning of the *Druid's* consisting more in contemplation then practice, and the ancient *Britans* accounting it their chiefest glory to be wholly ignorant in whatever Arts. Neither could it be otherwise, seeing their life so uncivil, so rude, so full of wars, and consequently void of all literature. (as *Camden* relateth)

*Cam*.fo.4.

Yet, before I come to speak of this middle Age (if I may so call it) wherein the *Romans* prevailed, and to compleat their victories gave first rise to civility in this Island; as, I began with times of great Antiquity, so must I now descend to those lesse ancient, and modern, wherein, as posterity hath suffered an irreparable damage, through want of writing in those first times, so hath it been almost at as great a losse, by too much writing in later times; so many  
 Authors,

Authors, so much contrariety, so little certainty is found amongst them. Who, when they could not search out the truth in deed, laboured to bring forth narrations invented by themselves, without or reason, or authority: delivering (saith Camden) their severall opinions, rather with a certain pleasant variety to give contentment to their Readers, then with any care or judgement to find out the truth of things.

Leyland. de  
assert. Arth.  
fo. 35.

THOSE ancient Historians who (among other actions of the Britans) treat of this Antiquity, differ much in their severall reports. And, as it is usuall with *Historiographers* of other Nations, where, they cannot give a just and rationally accompt of unwonted accidents, beyond the common course of things, to fill up their stories with fabulous, and incredible relations; so, no marvell, if we hear the like in our own Histories. *Credibile enim est calamitatem bellicam, quæ ecclesias unâ cum bibliothecis exhausserat infinitis, clara vetustatis monumenta abrasisse.* For evident it is, through the calamities of wars (saith Leyland) which together with infinite Libraries ruined the Churches themselves, the certain records of our Antiquities, are utterly lost. *Unde scripturienti de antiquitate Britannica occultissima pleraque omnia.* Whereby the Writers of the British Stories, are all of them, for the most part, very obscure and doubtfull.

Some others again, especially the most ancient and authentick British Historians, who liv'd in Ages next succeeding those, wherein, Stoneheng might probably be first erected, have wholly passed it over with silence. In like manner venerable Bede, William Malmesbury, Roger Hoveden, and others, speak nothing thereof, as happily, willing rather to decline it altogether, then deliver it upon frivolous conjectures, and in so doing cast a blemish upon their other labours. Neither is it improbable, that the most ancient Authors, considering the times wherein they wrote, upon the first springing up of Christian Religion here, might through zeal unto the true God, forbear to commemorate unto posterity, places designed for idolatrous uses; endeavouring

vouring rather, to suppress the memory thereof, and make succeeding generations sollicitous therein; then, in that infancy of Divine worship, to illustrate the magnificence of the Heathens, for building such notable structures to their false Gods. In somuch, I find very little, or no mention at all thereof in the *British Stories*, except by *Geffrey Monmouth*, with some who follow him, and by such Authors only, as our most judicious Writers hold in many things, either meerly fabulous, or overladen with malicious, or accidental untruths. Such relations neverthelesse, as they make thereof, I shall endeavour to deliver in their own words, reduceable into two conjectures, viz. either that *Stoneheng* was erected by *A. Ambrosius* (in ancient times King of the *Britans*) in memory of the *British Nobility* perfidiously slain at a treaty by *Hengist* the *Saxon*: or else, set up by the *Britans* themselves in honour of Him their said King.

*Giraldus Cambrensis*, curiously diligent in his relations of the miracles in *Ireland*, amongst other strange things in those parts, reckons up this Antiquity *Stoneheng*. *Fuit antiquis temporibus in Hibernia, lapidum congeries admiranda, (saith he) quæ & Choreia Gigantum dicta fuit, quia Gigantes eam ab ultimis Africæ partibus in Hiberniam attulerunt &c.* There was in *Ireland* in ancient times, a pile of stones worthy admiration, called the *Giants Dance*, because *Giants*, from the remotest parts of *Africa*, brought them into *Ireland*, and in the plains of *Kildare*, not farre from the *Castle of the Naase*, as well by force of *Art*, as strength, miraculously set them up. These stones (according to the *British story*) *Aurelius Ambrosius*, King of the *Britans*, procured *Merlin* by supernaturall means to bring from *Ireland*, into *Britain*. And, that he might leave some famous monument of so great a treason to after ages, in the same order, and art, as they stood formerly, set them up, where the flower of the *British Nation* fell by the cut-throat practice of the *Saxons*, and where under the pretence of peace, the ill secured youth of the *Kingdom*, by murderous designs were slain.

*Gir. Camb.  
de adm. Hib.  
Cap. 18.*

*Rainulph Monk of Chester*, speaking of *Aurelius*, alias *Aurelianus Ambrosius* (by others called *Ambrosius Aurelianus*) saith

*Polychr. li. 5.*

(as Sir *John Trevisa* the Priest in old English laid it down) His brother *Uter Pendragon* by help of *Merlin* the Prophet brought *Choream Gigantum*, that is *Stonehenges* out of *Ireland*. *Stonehenge* is now in the plain of *Salisbury*: of that bringing of *Stonehenge* out of *Ireland*, speaketh the *British* story, if it should lawfully be ytrowed.

It appears, *Rainulph* of *Chester*, as easie credit as he gave to strange stories, had not much confidence in this: and if, according to *Geffrey Monmouth*, or *Matthew Westminster*, I should set it down, I presume you would be of his mind: But, I affect not such conceits, they are neither fitting my discourse, nor your perusal. Neverthelesse, seeing none of them tell us, by what ways, or Arts, Giants (as they will have it) brought them from the remotest parts of *Africk* into *Ireland* (for it seems they could not hanfomly find a *Merlin* to help them therein also) I shall take so much leave, following *Geffrey Monmouths* steps, as to give you, at least, some part of the story, and relate (according to their opinions) how they came from *Ireland* hither. After *Geffrey Monmouths* discourse of *Uter Pendragons* victory over the *Irish*, who with *Merlin* forsooth and a great Army, were sent by *A. Ambrosius* to fetch the Giants dance, *Lapidum structuram adepti* (saith he) *gavisi sunt & admirati; circumstantibus itaque cunctis, accessit Merlinus & ait, utimini viribus vestris juvenes, ut in deponendo lapides istos, sciatis utrum ingenium virtuti, aut virtus ingenio cedat, &c.* i.e. Having found the structure, from joy they fell into admiration, and standing all of them at gaze round about it, *Merlin* draws near, and thus bespeaks them: Use now your utmost strength young men, that in taking away these stones, you may discover, whether Art to strength, or strength gives place to Art. At his command therefore, they bring severall sorts of engines, and addresse themselves to pulling it down. Some ropes, some cables, some had made ladders ready, that what they so much desired, might be effected, but in no wise able to atcheive their purpose. *Deficientibus cunctis, solutus est Merlinus in risum* (saith *Geffrey*) *& suas machinationes confecit. Denique cum quæque necessaria apposuisset; levius quàm credi potest*

*potest lapides deposuit: depositis autem, fecit deferri ad naves, & introponi: & sic cum gaudio in Britanniam reverti coeperunt.* All of them tired, Merlin breaks out into laughter, and provides his engines. Lastly, when he had set all things in a readinesse, hardly to be believ'd it is, with what facility he took them down: being taken down, he caused them to be carried to the Ships, and imbarqued; and so with joy they began their return towards Britain. Leaving it for us to suppose, with as small labour they were imbarqued, dis-imbarqued, and brought from their landing place to Salisbury plain: all (it seems) done by Merlins spels. But of this too much.

Nevertheless, as I contemne fables, so doe I imbrace, and take pleasure in the truth of History: and therefore, that which concerns the slaughter of the *British* Nobility by treason of *Hengist* commander of the *Saxons*, as of greater moment, and truth, I shall more fully relate. And *Geffrey Monmouth's* Authority in this treacherous slaughter of the *Britans*, though I respect not so much, as *Ninnius, Malmsbury, Sigebert*, and others that affirm the same; yet, because he was the first, after so many, and so ancient Authors, that father'd *Stoneheng* their monument, and *A. Ambrosius* founder thereof, and therefore must trace him, and his followers therein; I will give you the history likewise from him, and thus it was: *Hengist*, upon his return with new supplies into *Britain*, finding *Vortigern* beyond expectation restored to the Crown, and withall greatly alienated in his affections towards him, prepared for his defence, with force of arms. But, whether he thought himself too weak; or, that he rather sought to be especially revenged on the *British* Nobility, who had wholly unriveted his designs, or both; he thought it no difficult matter to delude him by a Treaty, whom formerly he had so easily beguiled with his Neece *Rowena*. To which purpose, he makes an overture, to compose the enmities betwixt them at a Parley; and the King accepting it, appoints *Ambresbury* Town their meeting place, *Nec mora, statuta die instante convenerunt omnes intra nominatam urbem* (saith *Geffrey*) *& de pace habenda colloquium incepterunt. Ut igitur horam proditioni suæ idoneam inspexisset Hengistus, vociferatus*

G. Mon. li. 6.

ratus est, **Memet oure saxas** : & ilico Vortigernum accepit, & per pallium detinuit. Audito ocyus signo, abstraxerunt (i.e. eduxerunt) Saxones cultros suos, & astantes principes invaserunt, ipsosque nihil tale præmeditantes jugula verunt circiter quadringentos sexaginta inter Barones & Consules. The prefixed day being come, they all, without delay, met in the aforesaid Town, and began their Treaty for Peace; when therefore Hengist saw fit time for execution of his intended Treason, he cried out, giving the word, **Memet oure saxas** (**Mem eowr scaxes** (saith Verstegan) that is, Take your **scaxes**; a kind of crooked knives, which each of the Saxons then carried closely in his pocket) and forthwith seized upon Vortigern, and held him by his robe. The Saxons quickly bearing it, drew forth their knives, and fell upon the Britans standing by, of whom, part Noblemen, part officers of State, expecting no such design, they slew four hundred and sixty. Quorum corpora beatus Eldadus postmodum sepelivit, atque Christiano more humavit, haud longè à **Kæc-caradane**, quæ nunc Salesberia dicitur, in cœmeterio, quod est juxta cœnobiũ Ambrii. Whose corpses holy Eldad, according to custome, after Christian manner interred, not far from **Kæc-caradane**, now called Salisbury, in the Church-yard adjoining to the monastery of Ambresbury.

Verstegan  
Ch. 5.

Ma. west.  
fo. 84.

Hollinsb. l. 5.  
Speed lib. 7.  
Stow fo. 53.  
4<sup>o</sup>.

G. Monm.  
lib. 5.

With this relation of the Saxons treachery, Mathew Westminster (in his *Flores historiarum*) seems to agree. And it wholly destroys the opinion commonly received, That the said Treaty with the Saxons, the massacre of the Britans, and likewise their interment, were at Stoneheng; and that in memory, those matters so transacted there, *A. Ambrosius* in the same place erected this Antiquity. Wherefore, I much wonder, our modern historians should cite the aforesaid Authors in confirmation thereof, especially, when they affirm directly, the treaty was held in *Ambresbury Town*, and that the *British Nobility* fell by Treason there. *Jussit Vortigernus & cives & Saxones Maiis Kalendis, quæ jam instare incipiebant, juxta Ambrii cœnobiũ convenire* (saith *G. Monmouth*) Vortigern commanded both his own people, and the Saxons, upon the Calends of May then approaching, to appear near to the *Monastery of Ambresbury*. *In Pago Ambri convenire, to meet*

in

in the *Town it self of Ambresbury* (saith *Mathew Westminster*) In order to which summons, (that I may proceed with *Geffrey Mommouths* story explaining himself positively concerning the place) *statuta die instante convenerunt omnes intra nominatam urbem, &c.* the appointed day being come, all of them met together within the forenamed *Town*, and there treated. The issue whereof was, that upon the word given (as before related) *The Saxons drew their knives, and falling upon the Britans standing by, slew them.* And, lest posterity should doubt those sacrificed for their Countreys cause neglected in their funerals, he leaves not there, but gives us the direct place, and manner of their buriall, affirming plainly they were buried by a *Metropolitane* of those times, even in a *Church-yard*, as *Christians* should. *In cœmeterio, quod est juxta cœnobium,* In the *Church-yard, close by the Monastery.* (saith he) There is not one word mentioned (I pray observe) of *Salisbury plain*, where this *Antiquity Stoneheng* remains, throughout all their Story.

But, it's objected, although they were buried at the *Monastery*, the monument for their memory might be set up elsewhere, in a place more proper, and more conspicuous; even, as in the most properly conspicuous places where great actions happened *Trophies* were erected by the *Romans*, whose customs *A. Ambrosius* living long time amongst them, knew very well. I answer, *A. Ambrosius*, is suppos'd by *Bede*, and the best Authors, descended from the *Romans*; who, living many years under their subjection, in forrain parts, had fully inform'd his judgement, no doubt, with whatever customs, civill or martiall, then in use amongst them. For, though the *Romans* in those times, had utterly lost all knowledge of Arts, questionlesse civill, and martiall customs in some sort continued with them. Neverthelesse, if *A. Ambrosius* did erect any monument for the *British Nobility*, he rather, doubtlesse endeavoured to observe the rules of his own Religion, being a *Christian*, then the *Heathenish* customs of his Ancestors. However, in erecting it, at the place of their interment, he pursued both. As for the *Christians* honouring to posterity their famous men after death, it being  
so

so well known, I need not relate it. And, as concerning the ancient *Romans* manner in burying their Emperours, and those that had triumphed, or otherwise deserved well of the Common-wealth, though they burned their bodies abroad, the place for sepulture of their *Ashes*, was within the City, monuments to their memory being erected, upon the same place where buried; so was *Publicola* honoured, so the *Fabritii*, the *Cesars*, and others. And, after the same fashion it seems, was the monument for the *British* Nobility (if any) set up where they were interred; as in the place of all others most proper for it, all the considerable circumstances touching their deaths, happening there in like manner.

It's true the *Romans* set up *Trophies* for great Victories, in the most eminent places where those victories were obtained by them; as the *Trophy* for *Caius Marius* his vanquishing the *Cimbrians*, in the most notable place where that memorable field was fought. Also, the *Trophy* dedicated to the memory of *Augustus Caesar* that by his happy conduct, all the *Alpine* Nations, were reduced to *Roman* obedience, was erected in the most conspicuous place of the *Alps*. Now, this martiall custome considered, the *British* Nobility being (as the aforesaid Historians maintain) slaughtered in the Town, and buried at the Monastery adjoyning. Some one of those high hills, on either side *Ambresbury*, had certainly for site been more eminent, and the monument it self more exposed to the daily view of travellers, then about two miles from the Town, in a place remote, where this *Antiquity* stands. Which, though indeed eminent of it self, and overlooking the plains adjoyning; yet, at a large distance, especially on that side towards *Ambresbury*, and *Salisburyward*, is so surrounded with hills; as it appears with an Aspect of Religious horror, rather then as carrying any form of whatever sepulture.

This, though sufficient to refute the preceding objection (the former reasons being grounded upon customs only) I shall yet, from the histories of those times, further answer thereunto; *Mathew Westminster* tels us, *A. Ambrosius* having

com-

Thomas.  
Procaccio  
fo.46.

Math. West.  
fo.92.

completed his victories over *Hengist*, and subdued his sons at *York*; *Deinde porrexisse ad monasterium Ambri, ubi principes defuncti jacebant, quos Hengistus prodiderat*; from thence came to the Monastery at *Ambresbury*, where the deceased Nobles, whom *Hengist* betrayed; lay buried. And *Geffrey Monmouth*, prosecuting the same story, affirms also, that *A. Ambrosius* being come to the Monastery, *ut locum quo defuncti jacebant circumspexit, pietate motus in lachrymas solutus est, dignum namque memoria censebat cespitem, qui tot nobiles pro patria defunctos protegabat.* So soon as he cast his eyes upon the place where the slaughtered Princes lay interred, deplored them; esteeming that very ground which covered so many Nobles, dying for their Countreys cause, worthy eternall memory. Upon this consideration, *Præcepit Merlino* (saith the same Author) *lapides circa sepulturam erigere, quos ex Hibernia asportaverat.* *A. Ambrosius* commanded *Merlin*, that the stones brought out of *Ireland* (for he still troubles himself and readers therewith) should be erected about the place of their buriall. Whereby it clearly appears their Sepulchre was set up about the same place where they were buried, and not elsewhere. Also, as fully that their buriall place (as both the said Historians have told us) was at the Monastery of *Ambresbury*, or Churchyard adjoyning to it. All which former circumstances duly weighed, 'tis not possible *Stoneheng* should be supposed their Monument; except *Geffrey Monmouth*, having made so formall a tale of their easie transportation from *Ireland*, would compell us also to imagine, posterity might as easily be induced to assent, they were in like manner removed from the Churchyard at *Ambresbury* to *Salisbury* plain, the one being equally as ridiculous as the other, and no manner of credit to be given to either.

Wherefore, laying all the aforesaid Authorities together. First, that *Giraldus Cambrensis* formerly cited, tells us, (in that part of his story which carries most likelihood of truth) a Monument was set up by *A. Ambrosius*, in memory of the Britans, slain at a Treaty by the Saxons, upon the very same place where slain; and in order thereunto the aforesaid British

*tish* Historians unanimously affirming the place at which that treaty was held, and where those *Britans* were slain, was the Town it self of *Ambresbury*, not where this *Antiquity* *Stoneheng* remains: again, if suspect *Cambrensis* authority, and allow rather what our Historiographer of *Monmouth* saith, That the Monument was erected by *A. Ambrosius*, upon that plat of ground, where the slaughtered *Britans* lay buried; he telling us also, their *buriall* place was in the Churchyard of the Monastery at *Ambresbury* (at the Monastery it self, saith *Matthew Westminster*) certainly then their Monument (whatsoever it was) being set up at the place, where they were both slain and buried, and (according to the aforesaid Authors) they being nor slain nor buried at *Stoneheng*, it must necessarily follow, this *Antiquity* was not erected in Honour of those *Britans*. Unlesse any man will undertake to prove (which most certain it is none can) *Stoneheng* stands now, where *Ambresbury* stood of old: or that the Monastery and Churchyard thereof were not at *Ambresbury*, but at *Stoneheng*.

*Cam.fo.254.* That the Monastery of three hundred Monks, stood there, (to wit at *Ambresbury*) *Camden*, out of the Book called *Eulogium*, affirms. And, that the Churchyard was close adjoining to it, there's no question to be made. First, because in all times since Monasteries erected, it was always in use, to lay out places for Churchyards belonging to them, near to the Monasteries themselves. Secondly, because divers Sepulchres, upon severall occasions, broken up at *Ambresbury* Monastery, manifest the same. Thirdly, because *Gesfrey Monmouth* plainly tels us, they were buried in *cæmeterio, quod est juxta cænobium; in the Churchyard which is close by the Monastery*. Lastly, it is further confirmed by these his formerly recited words, *A. Ambrosius* being come unto the Monastery, cast his eyes upon the place where the slaughtered Princes lay interred: Which is not possible he should have done, if the Churchyard had been at *Stoneheng*; it being very well known *Stoneheng* cannot be discerned, even from the highest hills, upon those parts especially, that next surround *Ambresbury*, much lesse

lesse from the Monastery it self, sited in the bottome of a deep vale by the river *Avons* side.

Among other Sepulchres found at the said Monastery, it's worthy memory, that about the beginning of this Century, one of them hewn out of a firm stone, and placed in the middle of a wall, was opened, having upon its coverture in rude letters of massie gold,

R. G. A. C. 600.

The original Inscription I could not procure; such relation thereof nevertheless as came to my hands, I have, upon credit of those persons of quality from whom received, inserted it here.

The bones within which Sepulchre were all firm, fair yellow coloured hair about the scull, a supposed peece of the liver, near upon the bignesse of a walnut, very dry and hard, and together therewith, were found severall royall habiliments, as jewels, veils, scarfs, and the like, retaining even till then, their proper colours. All which were afterwards, very choicely kept, in the collection of the Right honourable *Edward*, then Earl of *Hertford*: and of the aforesaid gold divers rings were made and worn by his Lordships principall Officers. Concerning which Tomb (though I list not dispute) why might it not be the Sepulchre of *Queen Guinever*, wife of *King Arthur*; especially the Letters *R G.* as much to say, *Regina Guinevera*, declaring her title and name; and the date *An. Chr. 600.* (if truly copied) agreeing (possibly well enough) with the time of her death? Besides, *Leyland* affirms, severall Writers make mention, she took upon her a *Nuns* veil at *Ambresbury*, died, and was buried there. To which he gives so much credit, that (what ever *Giraldus Cambrensis* delivers to the contrary) he will by no means allow, either her body to be afterwards translated from *Ambresbury*, or, at any time, buried by her husband *King Arthur* at *Glastonbury*. Unto *Leylands* reasons for her interment at *Ambresbury*, *Camden* (it seems) inclines also, because wholly silent of her Sepulchre, discovered any where else: though he at large sets down all the circumstances of her Husbands body, its being found at *Glastenbury*. For, had *Camden* apprehended any thing inducing him to beleve,

*Leyl. de asert. Arth.*

her body had been together with his there found, he would never, certainly, have concealed it from posterity.

Whether the aforesaid Tomb so found, were her monument, yea or no, enough concerning the slaughter and sepultures of the afore mentioned *Britans*; as also, that *Stoneheng* was not erected in memory of them. Let us come now to *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and see whether *Polydore Virgill's* story in relation to *Stoneheng* agrees with what other Authors have delivered of *Aurelius*. For from *Polydore's* authority, our modern Writers raise their second, and quite contrary opinion: namely, that the *Britans* erected this Antiquity for *A. Ambrosius* his Sepulchre.

*Speed lib. 7.  
Stow fo. 53.*

*Polyd. Virg.  
lib. 3.*

*Polydore Virgill* treating of the actions of those times betwixt the *Britans* and *Saxons*; *Britanni, Duci suo Ambrosio de republica bene merito magnificum* (saith he) *posuerunt sepulchrum &c.* The *Britans* in memory of his great atchievements for the Commonwealth, erected a magnificent Sepulchre to their Chieftain *Ambrosius*, made of great square stones in form of a Crown, even in that place, where fighting, he was slain, that the prowess of so great a Commander, should neither be forgotten amongst themselves, who then lived, or left unremembered to posterity. Which Monument remains even to this day, in the Diocese of *Salisbury*, near unto the village called *Amisbery*.

This opinion of *Polydore* is grounded (as I conceive) upon no great likelihood. For, should the *British Nobles*, far inferiour to *A. Ambrosius*, in honour, and dignity, be buried in the Churchyard of a Monastery, and a Sepulchre assigned for *Ambrosius* himself in the open fields? Should that *Christian King*, who had accomplished so many great atchievements victoriously against the *Pagans*, enemies to *Christ*? Caused Churches to be repaired, which the *Barbarism* of the *Saxons* had destroyed? pulled down and demolished idolatrous places of the *Heathen*, and (as is more probable) rather, then erected by him, whilst living, to others, or by others, to his memory after dead, the very first that began to deface this *Heathenish* sacred structure, (for, though

though a Roman, yet a Christian, and zeal to true Religion, might, no doubt, cause him dispense with ruining idolatrous Temples though formerly built, and consecrated to false Gods by his seduced Ancestors) should he, I say, be buried Pagan-like, in unsanctified, unhallowed ground, and others far lesse eminent, lesse conspicuous, in more noble, and sacred places? It could never be. Neither reason of State, nor fervor of piety, in those more scrupulous times, could ever admit thereof.

Had Polydore, or any other, told us some Pagan-Saxon-Commander lay there intombed, 'twould have carried a shew of much more credit, and the ancient custome of that Peoples burying their dead might have been produced, at least as a probable argument, to confirm the same. For the Saxons a Pagan Nation, if any of their Princes or Nobility died, in their houses at home of sicknesse, were buried in pleasant, and delightfull gardens; if from home, and in the wars, not far from their camps, in heaps of earth cast up in the fields, which heaps they called Burrows: and the promiscuous common people in meadows and open fields. Saxones Nobiles gens Christi ignara, in hortis amœnis, si domi forte ægroti moriebantur: si foris & bello occisi, in egestis per campos terræ tumulis quos Burgos appellabant, juxta castra sepulti sunt: vulgus autem promiscuum etiam in pratis & apertis campis. As Leyland, who laid a good ground-work towards the discovery of British Antiquities, delivers.

Leyl. de  
assert. Art.

Polydore neverthelesse, had great reason to imagine A. Ambrosius famed the restorer of his Countrey (and Bulwark of War, as Camden calls him) worthy an everlasting Monument, Extat etiam nunc id monimentum in diœcesi Sarisberiensis prope pagum quam Amisberiam vocant, Which monument is yet extant in the diœcese of Salisbury (saith he) not far from Ambresbury Town: and so was the Churchyard of the Monastery too. He also tels us, Factum fuisse ad formam coronæ, it was made in form of a Crown. An elegant expression (I confesse) of a no lesse elegant work, if he meant Stoneheng; yet no argument thereby to prove A. Ambrosius or buried, or slain there. For, as touching A. Ambrosius his death, severall Authors, of as good cred-

G. Monm.  
M. Westm.  
Polychron.  
Caxton.  
Leyland.

Knolls in  
vit. Ba.

Ped. Mexia  
in vit. Con.

Plutarch in  
vit. Pyrr.

dit as *Polydore* (his integrity neverthelesse I question not, others have been busie enough therein) affirm, that *Pascentius Vortigerns* son, with many rewards corrupted a certain Saxon called *Eopas* (*Clappa*, saith *Caxton*) who, taking upon him the habit of a Monk, under pretence of Physick (*A. Ambrosius* being then sick) gave him poyson, whereof he died at *Winchester*. And no wonder he was so poysoned, many examples of the like kinde being recorded in History. As in later times, the *Turkish* Emperour *Bajazet* the second, under pretence of Physick poysoned by a Jew: also *Conrad* third of that name Emperour of *Germany*, by an *Italian*: and, in times of old, under the same pretence, *Pyrrbus* that famous *Epirot* had been poysoned by his own Physitian, if *C. Fabricius* the Roman Consul would have enclined to such ignoble resolutions, as *Pascentius* after put in act against *A. Ambrosius* in our story.

Ma. West.  
fo 94.

Amongst other, who relate this disaster of *A. Ambrosius*, *Matthew Westminster* tels us, The said pretended Monk, tandem ad Regis presentiam perductum, venenum ei porrexisset, &c. being at last admitted to the Kings presence, administred poyson unto him, which having drunk, the wicked Traytor advised him to sleep, and in so doing suddenly should recover health! *Nec mora, illabente per poros corporis & venas veneno, mortem pariter subsecutam esse.* But, ere long, the poyson being dispersed through the pores and veins of his body, death seized upon him.

G. Monm.  
lib. 8.

Concerning the buriall of *A. Ambrosius*, if give credit to *Geffrey Monmouths* affirming *A. Ambrosius* on his death-bed gave command, and was accordingly buried, in the Sepulchre by him (whilst living) prepared in the Churchyard adjoining to the Monastery at *Ambresbury*, then was *A. Ambrosius* nor buried at *Stoneheng*, nor consequently this Antiquity erected to his memory. *Geffrey Monmouth* tels us; His death being known, the Bishops, Abbats, and all the Clergy of that province, assembled together in the City of *Winchester*. *Et quia vivens adhuc præceperat, ut in cœmeterio prope cœnobium Ambrii, quod ipse paraverat sepeliretur, tulerunt corpus ejus, eodem atque cum regalibus exequiis, humaverunt.* And with respect to his command,

whilest

whilest living, that in the Churchyard adjoining to the Monastery at Ambresbury, prepared by him, he would be buried, they took his body, and with royall solemnities enterred him there.

Furthermore, at Ambresbury, that is, Ambrose his Town, Cam.fo.254. (Camden tells us) certain ancient Kings, by report of the British story, lay interred. Whether *A. Ambrosius* was one of them, or no, I argue not; yet the same Author saith, *Ambrose Aurelianus* gave name unto the place. And why not, he being buried there, as well, as upon the translation of the body of *Edmund* that most Christian King, the Town of *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk* was so called?

It manifestly hence appears, *Stoneheng* no Sepulchre, either erected by *A. Ambrosius*, or by the *British* Nobility, or to any of their memories. Some Monument there was, perhaps, anciently set up in honour of them, at the Monastery of *Ambresbury*. Which, the fury of the *Saxons* when victorious, or violence of time, which destroyeth all things, utterly consuming, might happily be the reason, *Historians* in succeeding Ages, finding so notable an *Antiquity* as *Stoneheng*, not far from thence, and not apprehending for what use it was first built, suppos'd no other thing worthy *A. Ambrosius*, or those *Britans*, then such an extraordinary structure. Whereas, the Monuments in those ancient times, made for great Princes here in *Britain*, were onely two *Pyramids* between which interred, of no extraordinary bignesse erected to their memory in what e're Religious places those Princes lay buried. Moreover, if seriously take notice of the severall sorts of Sepulchres used by divers Nations, none are found bearing like *Aspect* with this work *Stoneheng*, but of other kinde of *Architecture*, far different in *Form*, *Manner*, and *Composure*. Some, made of one *Column* onely; or, if otherwise, only a vase erected on the place of buriall, as amongst the *Athenians*: Some, had a *Column* whereon the shields used in War by the deceased, whilst living, were fixt, as in those medals of silver, which the *Roman* Senate dedicated to *Vespasian*: Some, a *Column* with a *Statue* thereon; so the famous *Column* of *Trajan* had a *Colossus* on the  
top

top thereof, as by his medals also appears. Again, the *Gauls* on the tops of Mountains, erected *Pyramid's* or *Columnes*, as Monuments to their Princes. The *Saxons* were buried (as said before) in huge heaps of earth, to this day visible among us. The *Keep* of the now *Castell S. Angelo* at *Rome* was the Sepulchre of the Emperour *Adrian*. (such mighty moles were the Monuments of the *Romans*) The *Greeks* erected *Altars*, and instituted Sacrifices to the memory of their *Chieftains*, as the *Spartans* to *Lysander*: The renowned *Carian* Queen made the *Mausoleum* for her husband, a massie bulk of building, 140 foot high: The huge *Pyramid's* in *Ægypt* causing such wonder in the world, were Sepulchres of *Ægyptian* Kings. In a word, amongst all Nations, Sepulchres whether little or great, were always reall and solid piles; not airy, with frequent openings, and void spaces of ground within, exposed to Sun and wind, neither uncovered like this *Antiquity*; or in any manner so built, as may enforce the least presumption, that this our *Stoneheng* was ever a Sepulchre.

I have given you a full relation what concerning *Stoneheng* hath been delivered by Writers, in respect of us though ancient, yet in regard of the great antiquity of this *Work*, indeed but modern, *Geffrey Monmouth* living not full five hundred years ago, and *Polydore Virgill* long after him, in King *Henry* the eighths reign: Who, as they are the principall Authors that write any thing of *Stoneheng*; so, upon what authority deliver the same, they make not appear. Insomuch, *Camden* gives no more credit to their relations in this very particular, then unto common sayings, (so he calls them) as if grounded upon *Fame* only, or invented by themselves. And it may the rather be so presumed, because, as they lived not in ancient times, and consequently could not themselves bear testimony of any such things; so, neither the *Britans* nor *Saxons* for a long time after their first arrivall here, had any Records or Writings to convey whatever actions, either of their own; or others to posterity. *Nimius* a *British* Historian, living about one thousand years ago, telling us,

Bri-

Britannos doctores nullam peritiam habuisse, &c. The great Masters and Doctors of Britain had no skill, nor left memoriall of any thing in writing: confessing, that himself gathered whatsoever he wrote, out of the Annals and Chronicles of the holy Fathers. Nec Saxones amusi quicquam penè de rebus inter ipsos, & Britannos eo tempore gestis scriptum posteritati reliquerint, &c. Neither did the Saxons being unlearned (saith Leyland) leave almost any thing in writing to posterity, of the actions performed in those times betwixt themselves and Britans: whatsoever, remembered after Christ taught in this Island, of the first victories of the Saxons, being both taken up upon trust from the mouth of the common people, and committed to writing from vulgar reports only. Neither the Britans, utterly worn out with so many wars, had (as the same Author hath it) or desire, or opportunity, had they desired it, to bestow their pains in compiling any whatever history, that might commend their actions to succeeding Ages.

Leyland.  
de assert.  
Art. fol. 25.

But, it may be objected: If Polydore Virgill, and Geffrey Monmouth could neither be eye-witnesses themselves, nor have authority from other more ancient Authors for what related by them concerning Stoneheng: and that from whatever writings ancient or modern, not any thing of certainty can be found out concerning the same; from whence then appear, for what use, or by whom Stoneheng erected? I answer, though not appear from Histories written either by the Britans or Saxons; yet, as Gildas professing he wrote his History (for the former reasons) by relations from beyond Sea: and, as Nîminus his out of the Annals and Chronicles of the holy Fathers as aforesaid: so, severall other ways a possibility of truth may be gathered, namely, from the authority of other Nations; from the concurrence of time for such undertakings; from the customs of forepassed Ages in like works; from the manner and form of building proper to severall Countries; from the use to which such buildings applied, and the like. Upon which, as occasion serves, intending hereafter more largely to insist, I shall in the mean while set down the judgement our late Writers give of this Antiquity.

*Cam. fo. 251.* Camden, a diligent searcher after Antiquities of our Nation, having, in his *Chorography of Wiltshire*, collected all the aforesaid opinions, together with his own, gives a summary description of Stoneheng, in words as follow. Towards the North, about six miles from Salisbury, in the plain, is to be seen a huge and monstrous peece of work, such as Cicero termeth *insanam substructionem*. For, within the circuit of a ditch, there are erected in manner of a Crown, in three ranks or courses one within another, certain mighty and unwrought stones, whereof some are twenty eight foot high, & seven foot broad, upon the heads of which others, like overthwart peeces, do bear and rest cross-wise, with a small tenon and mortaise, so as the whole frame seemeth to hang; whereof we call it Stoneheng, like as our old Historians termed it for the greatnes the Giants dance. Our Countrymen reckon this for one of our wonders, and miracles. And much they marvell, from whence such huge stones were brought, considering that in all those quarters bordering thereupon, there is hardly to be found any common stone at all for building: as also, by what means they were set up. For mine own part about these points I am not curiously to argue and dispute, but rather to lament with much grief, that the Authors of so notable a Monument are thus buried in oblivion. Yet some there are, that think them to be no naturall stones hewn out of the rock, but artificially made of pure sand, and by some gley and unctuous matter knit and incorporate together, like as those ancient trophies or monuments of victory which I have seen in Yorkshire. And what marvell? Read we not I pray you in Pliny, that the sand or dust of Puteoli, being covered over with water, becometh forthwith a very stone, that the cisterns in Rome of sand, digged out of the ground, and the strongest kind of lime wrought together grow so hard, that they seem stones indeed? and that statues and images of marble scalings, and small grit grow together so compact and firm, that they were deemed entire and solid marble? The common saying is, that Ambrosius Aurelianus, or his brother Uther did rear them up, by the art of Merlin, &c Thus far Camden, it being needlesse to repeat more from him, having already delivered the story from the Authors themselves. Yet here neverthelesse, as necessarily induced thereunto, I shall take leave to observe something more remarkable to our purpose in hand, upon his words.

In

In the first place then, *Stoneheng* is by him called a *huge and monstrous peece of work*, terming it from *Cicero*, *insanam substructionem*. To which I say, had *Camden* as well attained other abilities of an *Architect*, as he was skilfull in *Antiquities*: or been as conversant in *Antiquities* abroad, as learned in those of his own Nation, he would have given a far different judgement hereof. For, whosoever is acquainted with the ancient ruines yet remaining in and about *Italy*, may easily perceive this no such huge building, either for the circuit of the work, or bignesse of the stones, they being as manageable to the *Roman Architects*, as amongst us to raise a *May-pole*, or mast of a *Ship*. And, if this styled *huge and monstrous*, what may be said of *Diocletians* baths? the great *Cirque*? *Marcellus* his *Theater*? *Vespasians* *Temple of Peace*? and other prodigious works of the *Romans*? the very remainders whereof now lying in the dust, breed amazement and wonder (not without just reason too) in whosoever beholds them with attentivenesse and judgement. Nay, whereas he styles it *insanam substructionem*, it's demonstrable, that betwixt this *Island of great Britain*, and *Rome* it self, there's no one structure to be seen, wherein more clearly shines those harmoniacall proportions, of which only the best times could vaunt, then in this of *Stoneheng*.

Moreover, *Our Countrey men* marvell (saith he) from whence such huge stones were brought, considering that in all those quarters bordering thereupon, there is hardly to be found any common stone for building. Upon what trust *Camden* (his extraordinary judgement otherwise considered) took this relation, I know not. For, there is not onely common stone thereabouts, for ordinary uses, but stone of extraordinary proportions likewise, even for greater works (if occasion were) then *Stoneheng*: the Quarries of *Hasselborough* and *Chilmark*, both of them not far from the borders of the plain, having of a long time furnished all the adjacent parts with common stone for building. And (to come nearer the matter) it is manifest, that in divers places about the Plain, the same kinde of Stone

whereof this *Antiquity* consists may be found, especially about *Aibury* in North-*Wiltshire*, not many miles distant from it, where not onely are Quarries of the like stone, but also stones of far greater dimensions then any at *Stoneheng*, may be had.

They wonder also (saith he) by what means they (that, is such huge stones) were set up. What may be effected by that *Mechanicall Art*, which *Dee* in his *Mathematicall Preface to Euclide*, calls *Menadry*, or *Art of ordering Engines for raising weights*; those (it seems) of whom *Camden* speaks took little notice of, when *Archimedes* during the siege of *Syracuse*, raised out of the Sea, and turned in the air at pleasure, the Ships and Gallies of the *Romans*, full fraught as they were with Soldiers, Mariners, and their ordinary lading: and if King *Hieron* could have assigned him, a fit place to firm his engines on, he would have undertaken to remove, even the terrestriall *Globe* out of the worlds center, so high, perfection in this *Art* transported him. What should I say of the *Obelisk* in Ages so far past, brought from the Mountains of *Armenia*, and erected in *Babylon* by *Semiramis*, one hundred & fifty foot high, and at the base twenty four foot square of one entire stone? *Est in fano Latonæ* (saith *Herodotus* of his own knowledge) *delubrum ex uno factum lapide, cujus parietes equali celsitudine ad longitudinem quadragemum cubito.um. cujus lacunari, pro tecto impositus est alius lapis quatuor cubitorum per oras crassitudine. In the Temple of Latona* (in *Ægypt*) is a *Chappell* framed of one stone, whose walls being of equall height, are in length forty cubits, covered in like manner with one sole stone four cubits thick. Those, which made this wonder would have much more admired, if they could have seen the *Obelisk* raised in times of old by King *Ramesis* at *Helicopolis*, in that part of *Ægypt* anciently called *Thebais*, in height one hundred twenty one Geometrical feet (which of our measure makes one hundred thirty six feet) of one entire stone: and so little wonder made they of raising it, that the Architect undertook and did effect it, the Kings own son being at the same time bound to the top thereof. Amongst the *Romans*;

*Plut. in  
Marcel.*

*Herod.lib.2.*

*Ptol.lib.4.*

*Plin. lib.36.*

mans, *Augustus Cæsar* erected in the great Cirque at Rome, an *Obelisk* of one stone, one hundred and twenty foot, nine inches long : another also, was set up in *Mars* field, nine foot higher then it, by the said Emperour. And it seems also, neither they, nor *Camdens* self had ever seen that *Obelisk*, which even in these our days, in the year one thousand five hundred eighty six, *Sixtus Quintus* caused to be erected in the *Piazza* of *S. Peter* at Rome, one hundred and eight Roman palms high, and at the base twelve palms square, (according to our *Assise*, fourscore and one foot high, and nine foot square) of one entire stone also : *Dominico Fontana* being *Architect*. But, there are more strange things (as *Sir Walter Raleigh* hath it) in the world, then betwixt *London* and *Stanes*. It is want of knowledge in *Arts* makes such admirers, and *Art* it self have so many *Enemies*. Had I not been thought worthy (by him who then commanded) to have been sole *Architect* thereof, I would have made some mention of the great stones used in the work, and *Portico* at the West end of *S Pauls Church London*, but I forbear ; though in greatness they were equall to most in this *Antiquity*, and raised to a far greater height then any there. What manner of Engines the *Ancients* used for raising ; and what secure ways they had, for carriage and transportation of their huge weights, is more proper for another subject.

*Dom. Font.  
lib. 1.*

Some there are (saith *Camden*) that think them to be no naturall stones, hewn out of the rock, but artificially made of pure sand, and by some gley and unctuous matter, knit and incorporate together, like those ancient trophies, or monuments of victory, which I have seen in *Yorkshire*. As for these Monuments (for my part) I have not seen, otherwise I would give my sense upon them, and happily they may be found as far from being artificiall, as those at *Stoneheng*. And what marvell? (saith he) read we not, I pray you, in *Pliny*, that the sand or dust of *Puteoli*, being covered over with water, becometh forthwith a very stone &c. He might as well have told us the *Rocks* in *Portland* are artificiall. But it's true, this sand of *Puteoli*, was much used by the *Ancients*, and it is such a kind of earth, as is very famous for its admirable effects

*Vir. lib. 2.  
cap. 6.*

fects in building, being tempered with the cement of *Cuma*: For, it not onely yeelds strength to all other buildings, but thereby also, all works made in the Sea under water, are most firmly consolidated. Yet, doe I not find, that ever the *Ancients* made any artificiall stones thereof, or that *Vitruvius* hath any thing to that purpose, to him the credit given to *Pliny*, and others, concerning the Earth of *Puteoli*, being only due; posterity being in the first place beholding unto him for finding out the nature of that earth, he giving us not only the effects thereof, but the cause also from whence those effects proceed. *Hoc autem fieri hac ratione videtur, quòd sub his montibus* (i.e. in regionibus *Baianis*, & in agris, quæ sunt circa *Vesuvium montem*) & terra ferventes sunt, & fontes crebri, qui non essent, si non in imo haberent, aut de sulphure, aut alumine, aut bitumine ardentés maximos ignes. Which is (saith he) by reason in those mountains (to wit, in the regions of *Baiæ*, and fields about mount *Vesuvius*) the grounds are hot, and full of springs, which heat could not be, but that from the bottome, are nourished mighty great fires, arising from sulphur, alumine, or brimstone there. Indeed, according to *Pliny*, the sand upon the side of the hill of *Puteoli*, being opposed to the Sea, and continually drenched, and drowned with the water thereof, doth (by the restrigent quality, no doubt, of the salt water) become a stone so compact, and united together, that scorning all the violence of the surging billows, it hardeneth every day more and more.

Nevertheless, whosoever could find out any kind of earth in this Island, naturally apt, to make artificiall stones of such greatnesse as these; and, like them so obdurate also, that hardly any tool enter them: or, that our Aunces-tors in times of old, did make use of such a cement, and in what manner composed by them. The benefit thereof doubtlesse, would amount so ample to this Nation, that Records could not but render him deservedly famous to all posterity. In the mean while, as it is most certain those stones at *Stoneheng* are naturall; so, am I as clearly of opinion, the very Quarries from whence hewn, were about *Ai-*

*bury*

*bury* beforementioned: where, no small quantities of the same kind, are even at this day to be had; vast scantlings, not only appearing about the Town it self, but throughout the plain and fields adjoining, the Quarries lying bare, numbers also numberlesse of stones, are generally seen. (being no small prejudice to the bordering inhabitants) As also, not far from the edge of *Wiltshire*, in the ascent from *Lamborn* to *Whitehorse hill*, the like stones are daily discovered. To mention, more places in particular is needlesse, the Quarries at and about *Aibury* (without relating to *Lamborn*, or what ever other) distant but fifteen miles or thereabouts from *Stoneheng*, being of themselves sufficient to clear the doubt. These, having through long time, got the very same crustation upon them, are in like manner coloured, grained, bedded, weighty, and of like difficulty in working, as those at *Stoneheng*. Some of which, being of a whitish colour, are intermixt and veined here and there with red: some, of a lightish blew, glister, as if minerall amongst them: some, for the most part white, perplexed (as it were) with a ruddy colour: some, dark gray and russet, differing in kinds as those stones at *Aibury* do. Some of them again, of a grayish colour, are speckled or intermixt with dark green, and white, together with yellow amongst it, resembling after a sort, that kind of marble which the *Italians* (from the valley where the Quarries are found) call *Pozzevera*; nothing, notwithstanding, so beautifull, though naturally much harder, and being weathered by time, as in this work; diddain the touch even of the best tempered tool. Insomuch, that if nothing else, the more then ordinary hardnesse of them is such, as will in part convince any indifferent judgement in the nature and quality of stones; those, in this *Antiquity*, are not (as *Camden* would have them) artificiall, but naturall.

Whatsoever, worthy admiration concerning *Stoneheng*, either in relation to the greatnesse of the work in generall, the extraordinary proportion of the stones in particular, the wonder the people make, from whence brought, by what Arts

Arts or Engines raised, and in such order placed, *Camden* delivers: certainly, in his judgement he was wholly opposite to the opinions of the aforesaid *British* Historians. He would never else, with so much regret have complained, *The Authors of so notable a Monument lay buried in oblivion*, had he given any the least credit, this *Antiquity* had been built, either by *A. Ambrosius*, or the *British Nobility*, or to eternize either of their names, or actions to succeeding generations. Let *Geffrey Monmouth* and his followers, say what they please, *Henry Huntingdon* (his Contemporary, if not more Ancient) is mine Author, *Nec potest aliquis excogitare, qua arte tanti lapides adeo in altum elevati sunt, vel quare ibi constructi sunt. No man knows* (saith *Huntingdon*) *for what cause Stoneheng erected, or (which is fully answered already) by what Art such huge stones were raised to so great a height.* Take with you also *Draytons* judgement in his *Poly-olbion* couched under the fiction of old *Wansdikes* depraving *Stoneheng*. (*Wansdike* being a huge Ditch in *Wiltshire* so called, anciently, as *Camden* opines, dividing the two Kingdomes of the *Mertians* and *West Saxons* asunder)

*H. Hunting.*  
*lib. 1.*

*Cam. fo. 241.*

*Poly-olbion*  
*Cant. 3.*

*Whom for a paltry ditch, when Stonendge pleas'd t'upbraid,  
The old man taking heart, thus to that Trophy said;  
Dull heap, that thus thy head above the rest dost reare,  
Precisely yet not know'st who first did place thee there;  
But Traytor basely turn'd to Merlins skill dost flie,  
And with his Magicks dost thy Makers truth belie.*

For, as for that ridiculous Fable, of *Merlins* transporting the stones out of *Ireland* by Magick, it's an idle conceit. As also, that old wives tale, that for the greatnesse it was in elder times called the *Giants dance*. The name of the *dance of Giants* by which it is styled in *Monmouth*, hath nothing allusive, no not so much as to the tale he tels us, saith a modern Writer in the life of *Nero Caesar*.

*Speed lib. 7.*  
*Stow fo. 58.*  
*in 4°.*

Furthermore, our modern Historians *Stow* and *Speed*, tell us, in severall parts of the Plain adjoining, have been by dig-

digging found, peeces of ancient fashioned armour, and the bones of men, insinuating this as an argument, for upholding the opinions of the *British* Writers. To which, if they would have those to be the bones of the slaughtered *Britans*, how came those Armours to be found with them, they coming to the Treaty unarmed, and without weapons? Howsoever, what is done in the Plains abroad, concerns not *Stoneheng*, Neither can any man think it strange, that in a place, where *Fame* hath rendred, so many memorable and fierce battels, fought in times of old, rusty armour, and mens bones should be digged up. It is usuall throughout the world in all such places, and (if I mistake not) *Sands* in his Travels, relates, that even in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, such like bones and Armour, have lately been discovered: and Sir *Henry Blunt* in that notable relation of his voyage into the *Levant*, speaks with much judgement of those *Pharsalian* fields. Likewise, the aforesaid Writers, might well have remembred, some of themselves deliver, that at *Kambulan*, or *Cambula* in *Cornwall*, such habiliments of War have been digged up, in tillage of the ground, witnessing either the fatall field, sometimes there fought, where *Mordred* was slain by *Arthur*, and *Arthur* himself received his deaths wound: or else, the reliques of that battel betwixt the *Britans* and *Saxons*, in the year eight hundred and twenty. 'Tis true, the relation conduces much towards confirming, that ancient custome of the *Saxons*, formerly recited out of *Leyland*; considering especially, not far from this *Antiquity*, lie certain hillocks, at this day commonly called the *seven Burrows*, where it may be presumed, some *Princes*, or *Nobles* of the *Saxon* Nation lie interred. But, that *Stoneheng* should therefore be a place of buriall, the aforesaid relation to maintain the same is nothing worth.

*Cam.fo.194.*  
*Speed lib.7.*

They adde moreover, the stones yet remaining are not to be numbred, according as our Noble *Sydney* in his Sonnet of the wonders of *England*.

Near

Near Wilton sweet, huge heaps of stone are found,  
 But so confus'd, that neither any eye  
 Can count them just, nor reason reason try,  
 What force brought them to so unlikely ground.

This, though it scarcely merits an answer, yet, to satisfy those which in this point may be curious, let them but observe the orders of the Circles, as they now appear, and not passe from one to another confusedly (noting nevertheless where they begin) and they'll find the just number easie to be taken.

Now, though whether in order to the Place it self where this *Antiquity* stands, or *Persons*, by whom *Stoneheng* pretended to be built, enough said, to wave the reports upon fancy, or common Fame, formerly delivered: to the state of *Time* nevertheless, wherein the *British* Histories would have it erected, because nothing by me hath yet been spoken, I will therefore adde, 'tis not probable such a work as *Stoneheng* could be then built. For, although our *Britans*, in ancient time possessed, together with the *Roman* civility, all good *Arts*, it is evident during the reign of *A. Ambrosius* (about the first coming in of the *Saxons* here, and towards the later end of the fifth Century, as *Historians* and *Chronologists* compute it) in the last declining of the *Roman* Empire, the *Arts* of *Design*, of which *Architecture* chief, were utterly lost even in *Rome* it self, much more in *Britain*, being then but a *Tempest-beaten Province*, and utterly abandoned by the *Romans*. *Britain*, therefore, being over-run with enemies, and the knowledge of *Arts* then lost amongst them: none, questionlesse, can reasonably apprehend so notable a work as *Stoneheng* could in such times be built.

That, amongst the *Romans* and *Britans* both, *A. Ambrosius* governing here, all *Sciences* were utterly perished, is evidently manifest. For, the *Goths* had then invaded *Italy*; and that vast Empire drooping with extreme Age, by the fatall irruption of strange Nations, was not only torn in peeces,  
 but

but *Barbarisme* having trod learning under foot, and the sword bearing more sway then letters, or learned men, all Sciences were neglected; and particularly that of *Building* fell into such decay, that till of late about the year one thousand five hundred and ten, it lay swallowed up, and (as I may so say) buried in oblivion. When one *Bramante* of the Dutchy of *Urbin*, attaining admirable perfection in *Ar-* *Serl. lib. 3.*  
*chitecture*, restored to the world again, the true rules of building, according to those Orders, by the ancient *Romans* in their most flourishing times observed. Furthermore, not onely liberall Sciences and *Architecture*, but *Art* military also, about the time of *A. Ambrosius*, was so far lost amongst the *Romans*, that they were ignorant, yea, in the very rudiments of *War*. Infomuch, (as *Procopius* in his second Book of the *Gothick Wars* relate) *Barbarism* had bereft them of the skill, even in what manner to sound a retreat.

With us here also, the *Saxons* domineer'd over all, and *A. Ambrosius* with the *Britans* had enough to do, in endeavouring the recovery of their lost Countrey from a mighty prevailing Enemy, that in few years afterwards (maugre all the ways which force or policy could invent) conquered the whole Nation. Among other calamities attending that miserable Age, *Camden* (from *William* of *Malsbury*) directly to the purpose in hand tels us. *Cum Tyranni nullum in agris præter semibarbaros, nullum in urbibus præter ventri deditos reliquissent: Britannia omni patrociniò juvenilis vigoris viduata, omni Artium exercitio exinanita, conterminarum gentium rabiatiòni diu obnoxia fuit.* When the Tyrants (to wit, the *Romans*) had left none in the Countrey but half Barbarians, none in the Cities and Towns, but such as wholly gave themselves to belly-cheer; Britain, destitute of all protection, by her vigorous young men, bereaved of all exercise, and practice of good Arts, became exposed for a long time to the greedy, and gaping jaws of Nations confining upon her.

*W. Malmesf.*  
*fol. 8.*  
*Camden*  
*fo. 87.*

Here you have it from an Author, more ancient then *G. Monmouth* a little, though both lived in one age, the times about *A. Ambrosius* government, whether before, during his reign, or after, were so full of miseries, that he complains,

Gildas.

none then employed, or exercised in any whatever works belonging to *Art*. They had something else (as appears by divers Writers) to think upon, all their abilities being insufficient to defend their Countrey from forein servitude, their Cities and Towns from ruine, and destruction, and their habitations from rage of cruell and insolent enemies, robbing, spoiling, burning, wasting, all before them: to which, plague, pestilence, and famine being joyned, the inland part of the *Island*, even to the *Western Ocean* was well-near totally contumed.

Besides, the Countrey was so oppress'd, what with outward hostile miseries, what with intestine tumults and troubles: that, had they not lost the *practice of all Arts* (as the former Historian saith they had) so far were they from erecting any work of this kind, that they were compelled to abandon their Towns, and houses, built in times foregoing by their Auncestors, and betake themselves to mountains, caves, and woods for shelter. Now, if the calamities of those times hung over the *Britans* heads, in so generall manner, that not one amongst them had leisure to put pen to paper, (as from *Leyland* before remembred) much lesse able were they, without all peradventure, to undertake so great a work as *Stoneheng*, wherein, as all rationally men must grant, numbers of men employed, and many years taken up, before brought to its absolute perfection.

But, nothing can better expresse the ignorance of that Age, then the barbarous manner of inscription upon the Tomb of the *British Hector King Arthur*, nephew to *A. Ambrosius*, found long since in the Churchyard of the Abbey at *Glastenbury*, the letters whereof, being exactly represented to our view by *Camden*, do, as by demonstration, fully discover to us the Barbarism of those times. As, barbarous in those characters, so were they ignorant in, and had lost the use of all other *Arts*. *Nor exercise nor practice of good Arts, was then amongst them*, saith the Historiographer of *Malmshury*. And well he might so deliver himself, notwithstanding

ing *Matthew Westminster* tells us, *Ambrosius* repaired Churches, which the rage of Saxons, enemies to Christian Religion, spoiled. For, besides, the vast difference betwixt such works as Stoneheng, where Art overmasters the common skill of man, and making up the decays of ruined buildings, is apprehensive even to the meanest capacities: *Gildas* and *Bede* (whose Antiquity and learning the greater it is, the more is their authority acceptable) affirm, the Britans in those times knew not in what manner to bring up bare wals of stone. When, the Roman Legion sent to aid the Britans by *Valentinian* the third, under the conduct of *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, was remanded hence, for defence of France; before departing, they exhorted the Britans to make a wall overthwart the Island, to secure themselves from the Barbarians, *Picts*, and *Scots*: which wall, *Bede* tells us, was made not so much with stone, as turffes, considering they had no workmen to bring up such works of stone; and so, (saith the venerable Historian) they did set up one, good for nothing. 'Twas made by the rude, and unskilfull common multitude, not so much of stone, as turffes (saith *Gildas* also) none being found able to give direction for building works of stone. This was about thirty six years preceding *Ambrosius* government. In which time, the Romans abandoning Britain, *Vortigern* usurped; call'd in the Saxons to his aid; was deposed by his Nobility; and *Vortimer* his son set up. Whom *Rowena* having made away; *Vortigern* was re-enthronis'd. Him *Ambrosius* invades, and having burnt him, together with *Rowena* in *Wales*, assumes the Crown as his; holding continuall war with the Saxons, untill poysoned by *Pascentius* as aforesaid.

It being thus, that nothing but universall confusion, and destructive broyls of war, appeared then in all parts; more ancient, and far more propitious times, must be sought out for designing a structure, so exquisite in the composure as this: even such a flourishing Age, as when Architecture in rare perfection, and such People lookt upon, as by continuall success, attaining unto the sole power over Arts, as well as Empires, commanded all. I say, such Times, and Persons, be-

cause those things, which accord not with the course of time, which by a genetall consent of Authors agree not; which by the approved customes of ancient Ages, and votes of learned men, are not received and allowed, and consequently no ways probable; I easily admit not of.

Another fiction there is concerning *Stoneheng*, not to be past over; and though the cause upon which it's grounded, be far more ancient then the government of *Ambrosius*, or aforefaid slaughter of the *Britans*: neverthelesse, in respect it is a new conceit, not thirty years being past since hatch't, I suppose this the most proper place to discourse thereof, having ended with *Geffrey Monmouth*, *Polydore Virgill*, and their followers.

The Author thereof is *Anonymus*, unlesse known in being Translator of *Lucius Florus*. His opinion, (in his *Nero Caesar*) *Stoneheng* the Tomb of *Boadicia* (formerly remembred) Queen of the *Iceni*. His reasons, first, because that memorable battell betwixt her, and *Suetonius Paulinus* fought upon a Plain. Secondly, in respect the *Britans* buried her magnificently. For confirming this, he tels us, *Had the pretious volumes of the Cornelian Annals, and Dio Cassius, and John Xiphiline been within the spheare of Geffrey Monmouths studies, not Aurelius Ambrosius, nor those four hundred and sixty Noblemen of Britain, murdered in Vortigerns reign, should have carried away with him the fame of this materiall wonder, but magnanimous Boadicia*. It seems, he would not be behinde-hand with *Monmouth*; for, as the one finding no story more famous then of *A. Ambrosius* and the slaughtered *Britans*, fathered *Stoneheng* upon them: so, to make the inventive faculty, as apparently predominant in himself; this other, respecting *Boadicia's* heroicall actions, would as willingly make the world beleve this *Antiquity* her Monument.

His principall argument I delivered before; to wit, the battell betwixt Her and the *Romans*, wherein *Boadicia* utterly overthrown too, being fought upon a Plain. Was there in old time (did he think) no Plain in *Britain* to fight a battell on but *Salisbury Plain*? How came *Boadicia* and her Army thi-

thither? I find indeed, *Boadicia* leading one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men out of the *Icenian* Countries, and like a terrible tempest, falling upon *Camalodunum*, that famous Roman Colony of old, (where the first fury of the War was felt) she surpris'd it and razed it to the ground; *Suetonius Paulinus* then in *Anglesey*: Intercepting *Petilius Cerealis*, who advanced with the ninth legion to relieve that Colony, she cut all his Infantry in peeces: Putting to the sword all those, which imbecillity of sex, tediousness of age, or pleasure of the place detained from following *Suetonius* in his march from *London*: And taking *Verulamium*, sackt and burnt it down to ashes. But, how she marcht from thence to *Salisbury* Plain is neither apparent nor probable; not the least inkling being left in the world, what hostile acts she committed, which way she moved, or what done by her, after the ruine of *Verulam*, till utterly overthrown.

Can it be imagined, she that destroyed so great a Colony, together with a free-borough of the *Romans*, slain seventy or eighty thousand persons in such horrid manner as scarce credible; reserving not one Prisoner alive, but killing, hanging, crucifying, and burning whatsoever *Romane*, or to that party inclined: that was yet victorious, and her Army encreasing daily; can it be imagined, I say, she marcht to *Salisbury* Plain with so huge an Army invisibly? or stole from *Verulam* thither by night, lest notice should be taken of her proceedings? *Anonymus* self cannot think so unworthily of his *Boadicia*, yet certainly after such manner she went, if ever went thither at all: Otherwise, *Boadicia* marching in the height of glory, and bearing down all before her till rancountred by *Suetonius*. Those faithfull Historians *Tacitus*, and *Dion*, (both so sedulous in delivering her Fame to posterity) would never have omitted so notable a march, through such a large tract of enemies Countrey, as of necessity she was to make from *Verulam*, to *Salisbury* Plain; but would have prosecuted her War, by recording the spoils, rapines, burnings, and devastations made therein; as particularly, as from the first fomenting the rebellion, till her

Tacit. Ann.  
lib. 14.

Dion. Caf.  
lib. 62.

her advance to *Verulam*, they have done. Upon which Town, and the aforementioned places only, the aforesaid Historians directly tell us the whole burden of the War fell. *Ad Septuaginta millia civium & sociorum iis quæ memoravi locis occidisse constitit*, saith Tacitus. It was manifest, there were slain in the places, I have remembered, the number of seventy thousand Citizens and Allies. *Bunduica duas urbes (saith Xiphilines Dion alto) populi Romani expugnavit atque diripuit, in iisque eadem infinitam, ut supradixi, fecit.* Bunduica took and razed to the ground two Towns of the Romans, and in them made that infinite slaughter, I have mentioned before, of fourscore thousand persons. At *Verulam* then, it fully appears, the course of her Victories stopt, the inhumane butchery of the Romans, and their confederates, ended with the massacre in that Town; which could not possibly have hapned, if with such a firm resolution to extirpate the Roman name in Britain, and such a numerous Army to effect it, she had gone on victoriously unfought with, so far as where this Antiquity stands. And therefore the Plain of *Salisbury* could not be the place of battell, as *Anonymus* would fain enforce it. Who having so largely, and with so good advice, discoursed the motions, and actions of this rebellion, with all the circumstances thereof, from the first rise, tili she destroyed *Verulam*, should either have found some warrantable authority for *Boadicia's* so great an undertaking afterwards, else never engaged her so far within the Roman Province; otherwise, some may imagine, he framed it, only out of ambition for a meer pretence, rather, then stated it, from a reall endeavour, to make discovery for what cause *Stoneheng* at first erected.

Furthermore, *Suetonius Paulinus* was too well skilled in the discipline of war, to make the seat thereof in a Countrey so absolutely Roman, as betwixt the British Ocean and the River *Thames*. He had it's true (being return'd from *Anglesey*) abandoned *London*, no colony. But upon what result? finding his accessse of strength disproportionable to the War in hand, and therefore determined with the losse of one Town to preserve the rest whole, (whether *London* or *Camalodunum* is not to  
the

Tacit. Ann.  
lib. 14.

the purpose) and, by attending the motions of the enemy, wait all fair occasions to give *Boadicia* battell, being unwilling to try his fortune too suddenly, multitude and successe making the Britans outrageously daring. In the interim neverthelesse, raising what forces, the exigency of so important affairs would permit.

*Dion. Cass.  
lib. 62.*

Which way *Suetonius* marched from *London* is altogether omitted, yet it lawfull to conjecture, why not? to draw off the Forces of *Catus Decianus* Procurator, (not long before fled into *Gaul*, for fear of this War) together with the remains of *Petilius Cerealis* troops; quartered, as *Anonymus* confesseth, in those very camps yet appearing about *Gildsbrough* and *Daintry* in *Northamptonshire*, then, confining the *Iceman* Dominion to the Westward. Which Troops therefore, lay doubtlesse, in very great danger if not timely relieved; especially in case *Boadicia* should conduct her Army that way; as, ere long afterwards she did so far as *Verulam*; this course being taken by her, not improbably, in pursuit of *Suetonius*. Neither was it very dangerous for the Roman Generall to lead his Forces that way, the Enemies main strength lying about *Camalodunum*. Howsoever, whether he marched up to them or no, concluded it is, he made his retreat towards *Pœnius Posthumus* encamped with the second Legion in the borders of the *Silures*, (now *Herefordshire*, *Radnorshire* &c.) for which Legion, *Suetonius* sending to have it brought up to his Rendezvouz, his commands being slighted, that strength failed him. The way which *Suetonius* took, after his departure, was in mine opinion (saith *Anonymus*) towards *Severn*, where *Pœnius Posthumus* encamped with the second Legion among the *Silures*. So also *Spencer* our famous English Poet finds it. Whereby it appears, *Suetonius* retreat was not Westward to *Salisbury Plains*, but Northerly towards that second Legion. In this retreat, I may not omit, *Anonymus* conducts him over the *Thames* at *London*; which if granted, and, that he kept the river upon his right hand still, untill engaging *Boadicia*, as *Anonymus* saith he did: then was *Suetonius* march far away indeed from *Salisbury Plains*. The course

*Ner. Caf.  
fo. 105.*

*Ner. Caf.  
fo. 154.*

*Ner. Caf.  
fo. 155.*

*Ner. Caf.*  
*fo. 166.*

course of that River winding, as we all know, through *Barkshire* out of *Oxfordshire*, where *Tame* from the County *Buckingham*, and *Isis* from the edge of *Glocester* Province, make their conjunction a little beneath *Dorchester*. And, if keeping this course still by the Rivers side, *Suetonius* marche alongst the banks of *Cherwell* also, then must *Anonymus*, whether he will or no, bring him up close to *Gildsbrough* and *Daintry*, as aforesaid; and thereby (for it is admitted *Cerealis* horse-troops were at the fight) reconciling all opinions, upon his direct way towards the *second Legion*.

How far on, nevertheless, toward *Panius Posthumus* Camp *Suetonius* advanced is uncertain; but, that the battell might be fought in some Plain about *Verulam*, or upon that rode, is not altogether improbable. (Especially considering part of *Suetonius* strength consisted of *Londoners*, who, as *Auxiliaries* followed him in this War, and would not stay behind) For, the *Roman* Generall when marshalling his Army for fight, had with him (saith *Tacitus*) *the aids of the places adjoining*. What places were these? the last place named by him was *Verulam*, the next place before it *London*; and, if the Historian intends either of these two, by the *places adjoining* to the field, where the battell fought: then, may *Anonymus* prove the desarts in *Africa*, as soon as the Plains of *Salisbury*, to be the place of Battell.

*Cant. 10.*

*Spencer* saith, the battell was fought near *Severn*:

*Which seeing stout Bunduca up arose,  
And taking arms, the Britons to her drew;  
With whom she marched straight against her foes,  
And them unwares besides the Seuerne did enclose.*

*Tacit. Ann.*  
*lib. 14.*

*Suetonius*, when resolving for fight, *deligit locum artis faucibus, & à tergo silvâ clausum, satis cognito, nihil hostium nisi in fronte, & apertam planitiem esse sine metu insidiarum*. Choosed a place with a narrow entrance, enclosed behind with a wood, being well assured, he had no enemies but before him, and the Plain being open was without fear of Ambush. Thus *Tacitus* describes the field, the

*Roman*

Roman Army consisting of scarce ten thousand armed men. In what part of Britain soever this Plain lay, it was, for certain, of no great extent, being hardly able to contain the vast multitudes of *Boadicia's* Army; computed two hundred and thirty thousand fighting men, by *Dion*, and therefore could not possibly be *Salisbury* Plain. For, the *Britans* placing their carts and wagons *supra extremum ambitum campi*, in the utmost borders of the field, had so environed their Army therewith, that upon the rout given, they could hardly flee away, *quia circumjecta vehicula sepeserant abitus*, by reason the carts (saith *Tacitus*) hedged in the passages on every side, and (to use *Anonymus* own words) were like a wall against evasion. Now, if the *Britans* had so surrounded the utmost borders of *Salisbury* Plain, and in such manner barricado'd up all the passages thereof, their numbers should rather have been millions than thousands, as every man knowing those Plains must needs confesse. Besides, *Anonymus* self tels us, after the *Britans* in the head of their battel began to shrink and turn, that alone was a blow to all behind, who being many score of thousands, remain'd untoucht, during the fight, because they could never come up to handy-strokes, for want of room in the narrowings of the field. He told us even now there was scope enough. Whereabout in these parts of Britain, (saith he) that very place was, unlesse it were upon *Salisbury* Plain, where there is a black heath, and scope enough, is not for me to imagine. Now, on the contrary, when coming to the issue, he tels us the Plain was narrow, and they wanted room. Did the *Britans* want room in the field, and were on *Salisbury* Plain? Surely, in the heat of his describing the Battel *Anonymus* forgot his own invention; the fury of the *Romans*, in beating down the *British* squadrons, therewith dasht the main force of his conceit to peeces. Suspicious and jealous men had need of good memories. Upon the aforesaid situation he might rather have observed, the great experience of the *Romane* Generall in martiall affairs, then from thence suggested, the *Britans* in point of honour erected *Stoneheng* to the memory of *Boadicia*; *Suetonius* not onely choosing to make good a straight enclosed behinde with a wood, for secu-

*Ner. Cas.*  
fo. 179.

*Ner. Cas.*  
fo. 178.

*Ner. Cas.*  
fo. 161.

ring his own small Troops, but such a straight also, where the Plain. or field before it, was not of sufficient extent for *Boadicia* to marshall her great Army in. Furthermore, *Anonymus* determining (it seems) to parcell out his ground proportionable to the numbers, undertakes to give posterity an exact survey of this Plain, telling us, it was a Plain of five or six miles over: This makes it more apparent 'twas not *Salisbury* Plain, which far and wide so exspatiates it self through the middle of *Wiltshire*, that it is not onely five or six miles, but (as I may say) five times six miles over. This famous battell then, being struck upon a Plain hardly capable of *Boadicia's* Army, was not fought upon *Salisbury* Plain; but, on some other, which *Suetonius Paulinus* found best for his own advantage, and therefore *Stoneheng* (as *Anonymus* would fain have it) could not be the Sepulchre of *Boadicia*.

Concerning *Boadicia's* magnificent obsequies; a mighty Prince may be buried with great solemnity, yet no materiall Monument dedicated to his memory. Examples of this kinde are so frequent, there needs no mention of them. *Humaverunt magnificè*, (they are *Dions* words) the *Britans* laid her into the earth magnificently, with as much pomp, happily, and honour, attending her to the grave, as their barbarous customs for their glorious Chieftain would admit; but, that they raised any Monument, or erected whatsoever kinde of Sepulchre for her, much lesse so notable a structure as *Stoneheng*, he no where tels us. Which had the *Britans* done, the Historian could not avoid, taking more knowledge thereof, then of her bare enterment, and would undoubtedly have recorded it. Again, grant *Salisbury* Plain the place of Battell, yet, *Dion* saith not, they buried her magnificently where the battell fought, only, *Humaverunt magnificè*: adding withall, those, that escaped the field, prepared to re-enforce themselves for a new triall, in the mean while a disease seizing on *Bunduica*, she died. Now then, after so terrible an overthrow, wherein 'tis reported she lost fourscore thousand *Britans*; *Boadicia*, in all likelihood, endeavoured to recover the *Icenian* Countreys, her principall strength; having  
in

*Dion. Cass.  
lib. 62.*

in her speech before the Battell insinuated the fenny parts thereof, as a refuge if the worst should happen. In what Countreys else could they recruit? where falling sick she died, (whether by violent or naturall death is not materiall) and as ever observed among all Nations, was, no doubt, buried in her own territories, among the graves of her renowned Ancestors.

That the *Britons*, untill *Julius Agricolas* time, had learned nothing (as *Anonymus* takes speciall notice) but to fight, and were no handicraftsmen, whereby they might be capable of erecting such works as *Stoneheng*, being already fully proved from *Tacitus*, I will adde, the ringleaders or heads of commotions against Empires and Commonwealths were anciently, (in many Countreys at this day) not only themselves punishable by the Laws with death, but their whole families and kindred though guiltlesse, suffered in like manner; their very houses also, being razed to the ground, lest any knowledge of such pernicious undertakings should remain visible to posterity: and a capitall crime it was, in whomsoever that restor'd them. How comes it then, *Boadicia* the principall promoter, and Head of an insurrection so farall, as accounted by *Suetonius Tranquillus*, among the infortunate losses of the *Roman Empire*, and the more ignominious by a womans conduct, should be permitted by the conquering *Romans*, a monument to eternize her fame to succeeding Ages? *Boadicia*, that ript up the bellies of the *Roman Legionaries*, and cutting out their bowels impal'd their bodies upon burning stakes; that hanged up the most noble and honourable *Roman Dames* naked, and slicing off their paps, sowed them to their mouths, as in act of eating them; that in scalding water boiled the *Roman infants*, and young children to death; their Parents, Husbands, and Commanders unable to relieve them, but enforced to give way, and happy in so saving themselves from the cruell inhumanities of the *Conqueresse*. *We fought for to live*, saith *Tacitus*. Yet, when ere long afterwards, victoriously recovering *Britain* to *Cæsar*, by so memorable a battell as compared to

*Ner. Cæs.*  
fo. 117.

*Sueton. in*  
*Ner.*

*Dion. Cæs.*  
lib. 62.

their victories of old, should the *Romans* suffer the enthralled *Britans* to erect a Trophy to her memory, whose purpose was absolutely to root out all that was *Roman* here? what greater infamy to the *Roman* name, except the permission of it? They, who rased and broke in peeces whatever titles and inscriptions, bearing the names of their *Cæsars*; pulled down and demolished the royall *Ensigns*, *Trophies*, *Statues*, *Temples*, or whatever else sacred, to their own Emperors, when actively administering to the prejudice of the *Romane* State; would they permit any publick monuments be erected to the memory of a conquered Prince, of an Enemy so barbarously cruell as *Boadicia*? That she lives in History, they could not prevent; so live their worst of Emperors. Moreover, publick Monuments were in all ages set up in honour of the Vanquishers, not vanquished; respecting which, *Anonymus* should also, either have made *Boadicia* Victresse, or never supposed *Stoneheng* her Sepulchre.

*Ner. Caf.*  
fo. 182.

The time assigned by *Anonymus*, for erecting these orderly irregular, and formlesse uniform heaps of massive marble, (as he calls them) to the everlasting remembrance of *Boadicia*, is much above fifteen hundred years since: *Petronius Turpilianus* succeeding *Suetonius Paulinus* in the Leivtenancy of *Britain*; who by his idle and lazy life, making the world beleeve there was peace here: *Anonymus* will have it a proper time, for permitting such an office to the *Britans*, in *Boadicia's* honour. Times of peace, 'tis confest, when *Arts* flourish under nobly minded Governours, are chiefly proper for erecting magnificent buildings. The Government under *Petronius* was guilty of none of these. As for the State of *Britain* in generall, *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* tells us, *Petronius* had composed the former troubles; but in what sort, the fourteenth book of his *Annals* declares; *non irritato hoste, neque laceßitus, neither the Enemy, incensed him; nor he, provoked the Enemy*: otherwise *Petronius* durst not do. And, if peace settled, why doth the Historian call them Enemies? Concerning his own person in particular, *Petronius* gave himself over to an unprofitable life, disguising it under the honourable name  
of

of peace. *Honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit*, saith *Tacitus*. And, the *Britans* (as said before) were not then civilized, nor friends to such Arts as either nourish or are nourished by peace, therefore such a work of wonder as this *Antiquity* famed, not to be expected from them. For, as through the malignities of the Age, wherein *Aurelius Ambrosius* lived, the *Britans* had utterly lost the practice of all those *Sciences*, in times foregoing, learned by their Aunces-tors from the *Romans*: so, through the neglect of civil policy in the preceding *Roman* Governours, in this Leivtenancy of *Petronius*, the *Britans* had not attained the knowledge of any those *Arts*, not many years afterwards, taught their posterity by the *Romans*. Whose imperiall Eagles took not wing in *Britain* with such lofty speed, as over other Countreys; *The Britans being a fierce Nation, slowly giving ear to any peace*, the *Romans* had work enough in subduing them. *Julius Cæsar* rather shewed the Island to his successors, then left them possession of it: *Augustus* and *Tiberius* held it policy to neglect it: *Caligula* intending to invade *Britain*, was diverted by his Wars in *Germany*: *Claudius* first prosecuting the conquest with effect, established the colony at *Camalodunum*, and his Leivtenants *Aulus Plautius*, *Flavius Vespasianus*, *Ostorius Scapula*, and *Didius Gallus* by little and little, after much contest, and various successse, subdued certain Countries; and reducing the nearest part of the Island to the form of a Province, built also, or rather cast up some few fortifications further within the land: *Nero's* Generals had much to do in keeping, what their predecessors gained; *Suetonius Paulinus* (under him) struck that fortunate battell with *Boadicia*, else the *Romans* beaten out of all. So that, in the time of *Petronius*, the *Romans* having obtained no such assured dominion over the *Britans*, as might make them, themselves confident to undertake great and stately build-ings here, for their own either publick, or private accom-modations; (the ruine of *Camalodunum* being too fresh in memory) occasion was not offered, nor the time yet come, to let the *Britans* know by what *Arts* all civill Nations of  
the

*Tacit. Ann.*  
*lib. 14.*

the world, did erect their excessive, rather than not magnificent structures, for eternizing their names to succeeding generations. And therefore, the Leivtenancy of *Petronius Turpilianus*, not proper for building this *stony marvell*, as *Anonymus* suspects. For, beside what's delivered, whensoever *Stoneheng* built, the preparation only of materials for the work, and bringing them to the place, what *Engines* or *Arts* soever used, necessarily, spent more time, then *Petronius* consumed in the whole continuance of his government here. What tumults succeeded him, let others declare.

Furthermore, *if those times* of *Petronius* would not, yet (saith *Anonymus*) *other ensuing seasons* might permit such an office to the Britans, her name for ever glorious among them. The hainousnesse of her Rebellion, horridnesse of her cruelties, and inveterate hatred *Boadicia* bore to the *Romans*, whereby her name for ever infamous among them, clearly manifest all other *ensuing seasons*, equally improper for those ancient inhabitants of this Island, to erect *Stoneheng*. If the *Britans*, once attaining the *Romane* manner of *Architecture*, in any succeeding times had expelled the *Romans*, and been triumphant; some probable reason, at least, *Anonymus* might have alledged, towards advancing his opinion. But *Boadicia* and her *Complices* overthrown, the *Roman* Power in this Island encreasing dayly, and the liberty of the *Britans* as fast declining, no following *season* could be opportunely favourable, for undertaking such a work by them; the erecting whereof, yea the sole endeavouring to commemorate by such publick means, so mortall an enemy to the *Romans* as *Boadicia*: nothing but the dearest lives of the bold attempters, could, certainly, expiate. The *Temple* upon *Mount Caelius* at *Rome*, begun to *Claudius* sacred memory by *Agrippina*, was destroyed to the very foundations by *Nero*. If then, insulting *Agrippina* might not erect a memorable structure, to the glory of her deceased *Cesar*; whom the *Senate* and *People* of *Rome*, in all solemne manner deified: What oppressed *Britan*, durst undertake the raising a publick Monument to the honour of vanquished *Boadicia*, whom the State (in all reason)

Suet. in Vespas.

reason) for ever declared enemy to the Roman Empire? And though, after a long succession of years, the Romans abandoned this Island, yet, when departed, the Britans were left in such deplorable condition, (at large declared before) that, albeit *her name* never so glorious among them, they had much more to do, in saving their own miserable lives from plague, famine, and the sword, then any opportunity, or ability to erect whatever Monument to the glory of *Boadicia*. But, of this enough; the invalidity of *Anonymus* opinion especially respected. The discovering the originall foundation of an *Antiquity* so famous, being not to be enforced by jealous suspicions, raised upon bare and groundlesse conjectures.

THIS *Antiquity* (call'd by *Henry Huntingdon*, *The second*: by *Poly-olbion*

—*First wonder of the land*)

because the *Architraves* are set upon the heads of the upright stones, and hang (as it were) in the air, is generally known by the name of *Stone-heng*. It is sited upon the Plain in the County of *Wiltshire* in *England*, not far from *Ambresbury* (the foundations of whose ancient buildings, frequently digged up, render it to have been in times past a *Town* of no small fame) six miles at least from new *Salisbury* northwards.

The whole work, in generall, being of a circular form, is one hundred and ten foot diameter, double winged about without a roof, anciently environed with a deep Trench, still appearing about thirty foot broad. So that, betwixt it, and the work it self, a large and void space of ground being left, it had, from the Plain, three open entrances, the most conspicuous thereof lying North-east. At each of which, was raised, on the outside of the Trench aforesaid, two huge stones gate-wise, parallel whereunto, on the inside two others of lesse proportion. The inner part of the work, consisting of an *Exagonall* figure, was raised, by due symmetry, upon the bases of four equilaterall triangles, (which formed the whole structure) this inner part likewise was double,

double, having, within it also, another *Exagon* raised, and all that part within the Trench sited upon a commanding ground, eminent, and higher by much, then any of the Plain lying without, and, in the midst thereof, upon a foundation of hard chalk, the work it self was placed. Inso-much, from what part soever they came unto it, they rose by an easie ascending hill.

Which, that it may be the more clearly demonstrated, (being by me, with no little pains, and charge measured, and the foundations thereof diligently searched) I have reduced into *Design*, not onely as the ruine thereof now appears, but as (in my judgement) it was in its pristine perfection. And that the groundplot, with the uprights, and profyle of the whole work may the more distinctly be understood, I have purposely countersigned each *Design* of them with *Numbers*, and the particular parts thereof with *Letters*.

Nu. I

Signifies the Plant of the whole work in generall, with the Trench round about it, drawn by a small scale, that it may be seen all at one view.

A

The Trench.

B

The Intervall betwixt the Trench and Work.

C

The Work it self; in the inmost part whereof, there is a stone appearing not much above the surface of the earth, (and lying towards the East) four foot broad, and sixteen foot in length. Which, whether it might be an *Altar* or no, I leave to the judgement of others, because so overwhelmed with the ruines of the Work, that I could make no search after it, but even with much difficulty, took the aforesaid proportion thereof. Yet for my part, I can apprehend no valid reason to the contrary, except that the whole con-  
structure

structure being circular in form, the Altar should rather have been placed upon the center of the Circle, then enclining to the circumference. Nevertheless it cannot be denied, but being so sited, the *Cell* (as I may call it) was thereby left more free, for the due performance of those severall superstitious rites, which their Idolatry led them to. Besides, though the *Altare* amongst the *Ancients* was exalted and raised somewhat high above the earth; yet, their *Ara* was made quadrangular, not very high, and as some will have it close to the ground, being consecrated as well to the supernall as infernall Deities: and therefore in respect of the form, it may hold well enough it was anciently an Altar. Rosin.lib.2.

D

The supposed Altar.

E

The great stones which made the entrances from the outside of the Trench, seven foot broad, three foot thick, and twenty foot high.

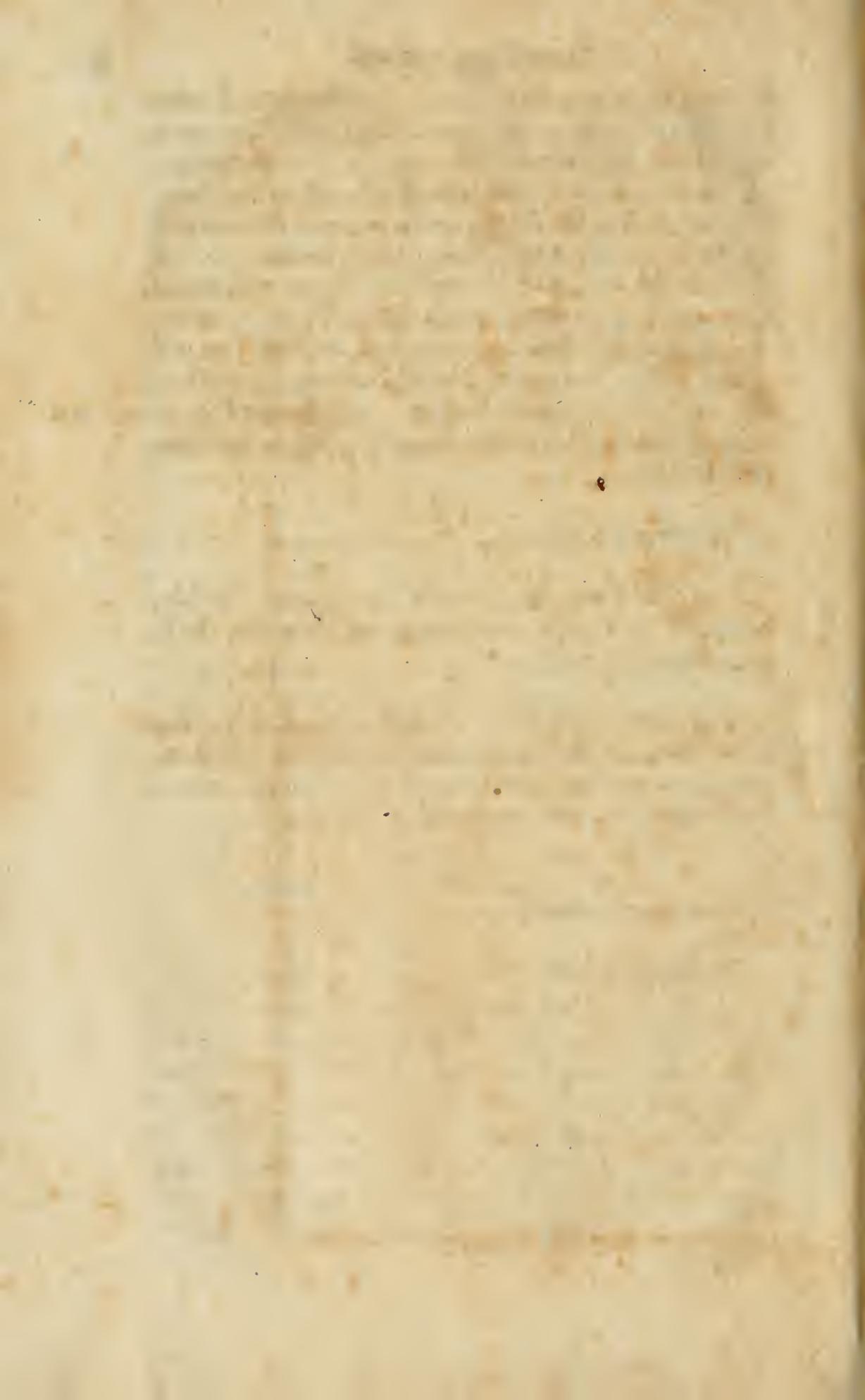
F

The parallel stones, on the inside of the Trench, four foot broad, and three foot thick; but they lie so broken, and ruined by time, that their proportion in height cannot be distinguished, much lesse exactly measured.

G

The scale of fifty foot.

The *Design* follows.



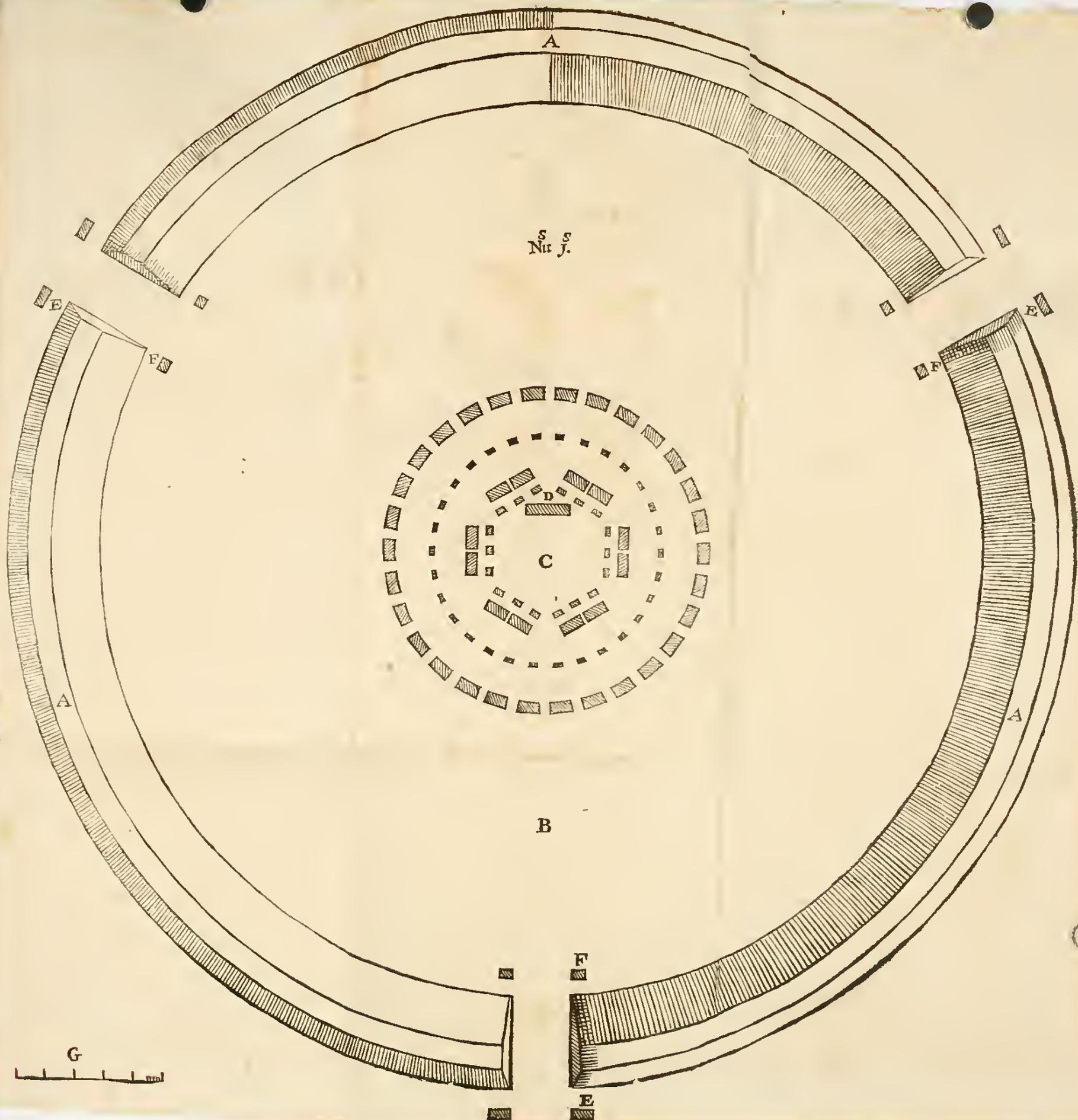
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## Nu. 2

The Groundplot of the work, as when first built, in a greater form, with the foure equilaterall triangles making the *Scheame*, by which the whole work was composed.

## H

The six principall entrances, three whereof directly opposite to those of the Trench.

## I

The stones which made the outward Circle, seven foot in breadth; three foot and an half thick, and fifteen foot and an half high: each stone having two tenons mortaised into the *Architrave*, continuing upon them, throughout the whole circumference. For, these *Architraves*, being joynted directly in the middle of each of the perpendicular stones that their weight might have an equall bearing, and upon each side of the joynt a tenon wrought, (as remains yet to be seen) it may positively be concluded thereby, the *Architrave* continued round about this outward circle.

## K

The smaller stones of the inner circle, one foot and an half in bredth, one foot thick, and six foot high. These had no *Architraves* upon them, but were raised perpendicular, of a pyramidall form. That, there was no *Architrave* upon these, may be hence concluded, the stones being too small to carry such a weight, the spaces being also too wide, to admit of an *Architrave* upon them without danger of breaking, and being but six foot high, there could not, possibly, be a convenient head-height remaining for a passage underneath, especially, considering fully the greatnesse of the whole work.

## L

The stones of the greater *Hexagon*, seven foot and an half in breadth, three foot nine inches thick, and twenty foot high, each stone having one tenon in the middle.

## M

The stones of the *Hexagon* within, two foot six inches in breadth, one foot and an half thick, and eight foot high, in form pyramidall, like those of the inner circle.

The Scale which hath this mark, X, is of thirty foot, by which likewise all the ensuing *Designs* are drawn.

The *Design* follows.

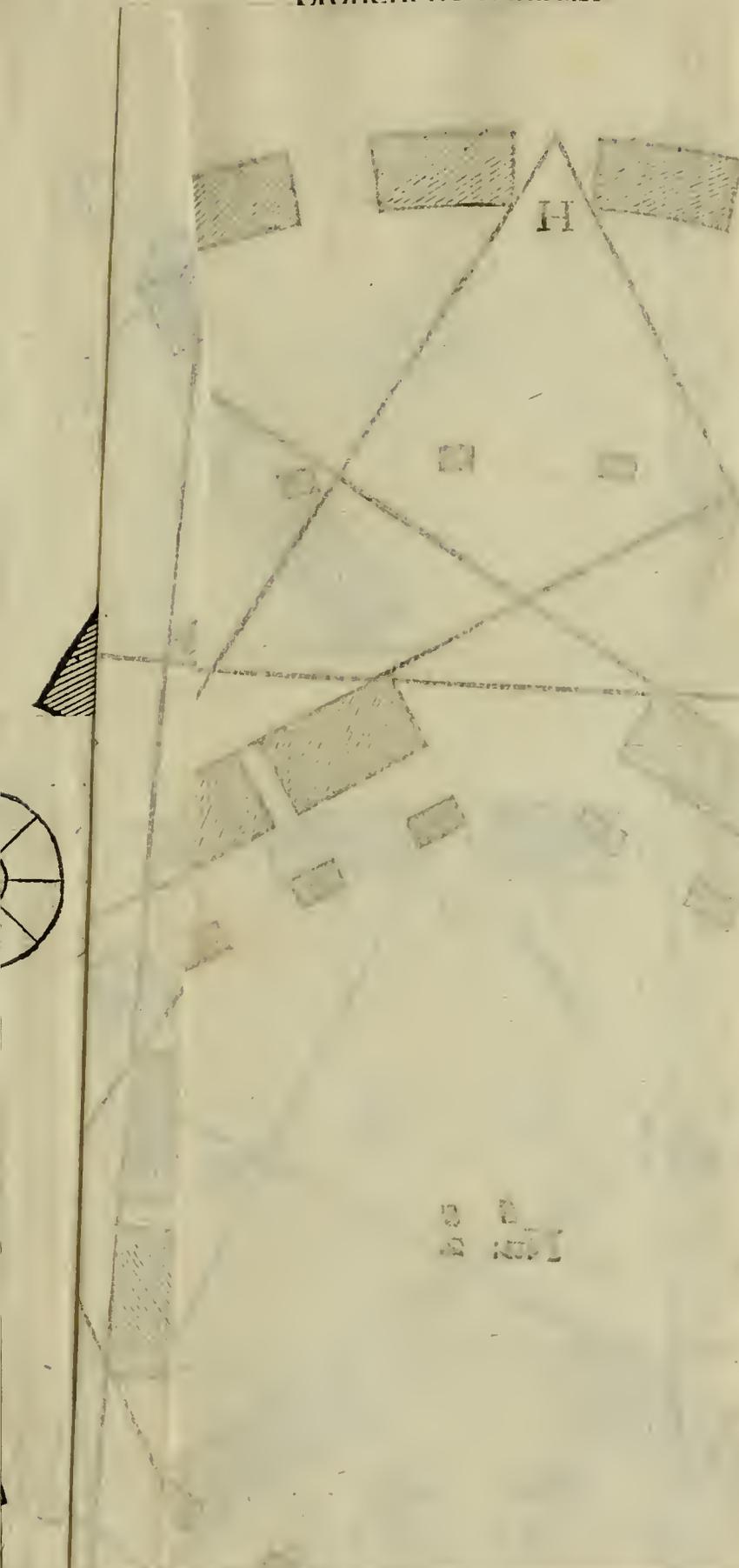
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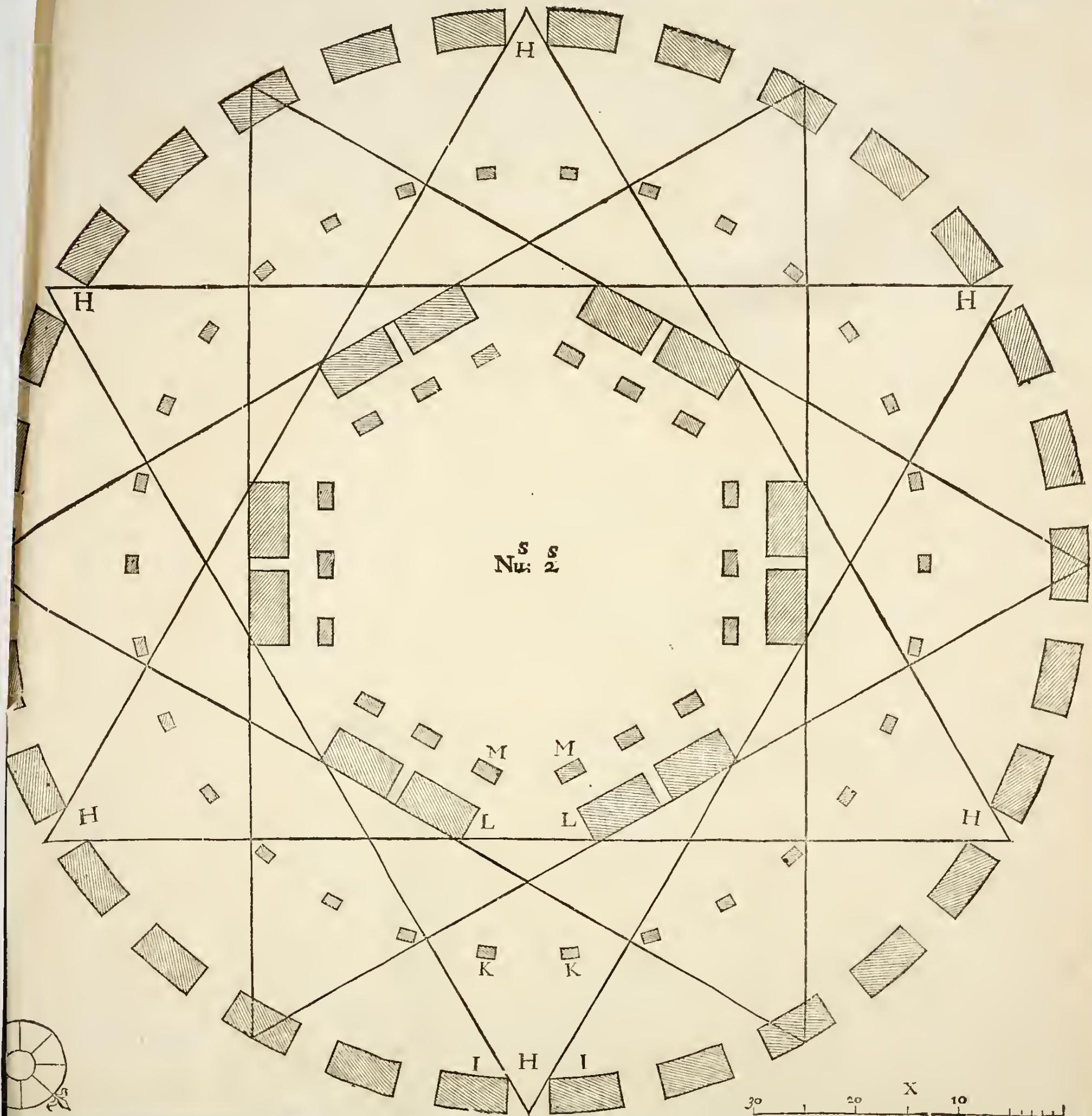
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Nu. 5





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## Nu. 3

The upright of the work, as when entire, in which the perpendicular stones of the outward circle, are countersigned with the Letter *I*, as in the groundplot.

## N

The *Architrave* lying round about upon them, being mortaised into them, and joynted in the middle of each of the perpendicular stones. This *Architrave* is three foot and an half broad, and two foot and an half high.

## O

The *Architrave* lying on the top of the great stones of the *Hexagon*, and mortaised also into them, sixteen foot long, three foot nine inches broad, and three foot four inches high. This *Architrave* continuing onely from stone to stone, left betwixt every two and two, a void space free to the Air uncovered. For, if they had been continued throughout the whole *Hexagon*, then necessarily there must have been two tenons upon each of the said stones, as those of the outward circle had, but being disposed as aforesaid, that one, which was in the middle, and yet remains apparent, was sufficient for the thing intended.

## Nu. 4

The Profyle, or cut, through the middle of the work, as entire, countersigned with the Letters of the Groundplot.

The *Designs* follow.

## Nu. 5

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The second part of the ...

The third part of the ...

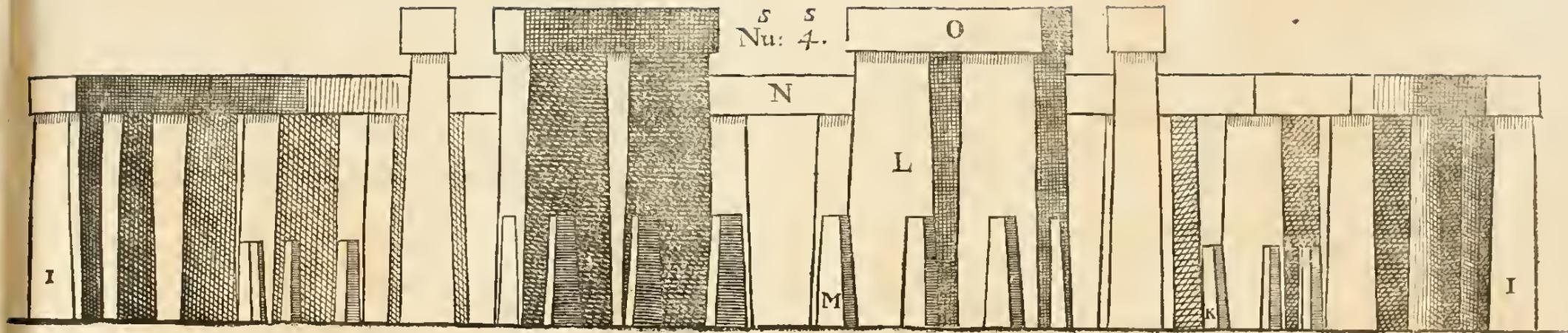
The fourth part of the ...

The fifth part of the ...

No.	Name	Age	Sex	Profession
1	John Smith	35	M	Farmer
2	Mary Jones	28	F	Homemaker
3	Robert Brown	42	M	Teacher
4	Elizabeth White	30	F	Nurse







## Nu. 5

The whole work in *Prospective*, as when entire, whereby the generall compofure of the particular parts of the uprights, are together all feen : and, by which alfo, the ftately Afpect, and magnificent greatneffe thereof, are fully, and more apparently conspicuous.

## Nu. 6

The Groundplot of the work, as it now ftands, counter-figned with the fame Letters by which the Plant marked *Nu. 2* is described. The ftones of the greater *Hexagon*, and outward circle, after fo long conteft with the violence of time, and injury of weather, are for the moft part ftanding at this day ; which, though not all at their full height, as when firft fet up, yet the Footfteps nevertheleffe, of fo many of them as expreff in the *Design*, are ftill remaining in their proper places. Thofe of the inner circle, and leffer *Hexagon*, not only expofed to the fury of all devouring Age, but to the rage of men likewise, have been more fubject to ruine. For, being of no extraordinary proportions, they might eafily be beaten down, or digged up, and at pleafure, made ufe of for other occafions. Which, I am the rather enduced to beleve, becaufe, fince my firft meafuring the work, not one fragment of fome then ftanding, are now to be found.

## Nu. 7

The Ruine yet remaining drawn in *Prospective*.

## P

The manner of the tenons, of a round form, mortaised into the *Architrave* of the outward Circle.

Q

The tenons of like form in the middle of the stones of the greater *Hexagon*.

R

The English foot (by which the work it self was measured) divided into twelve inches, and each inch subdivided into four parts.

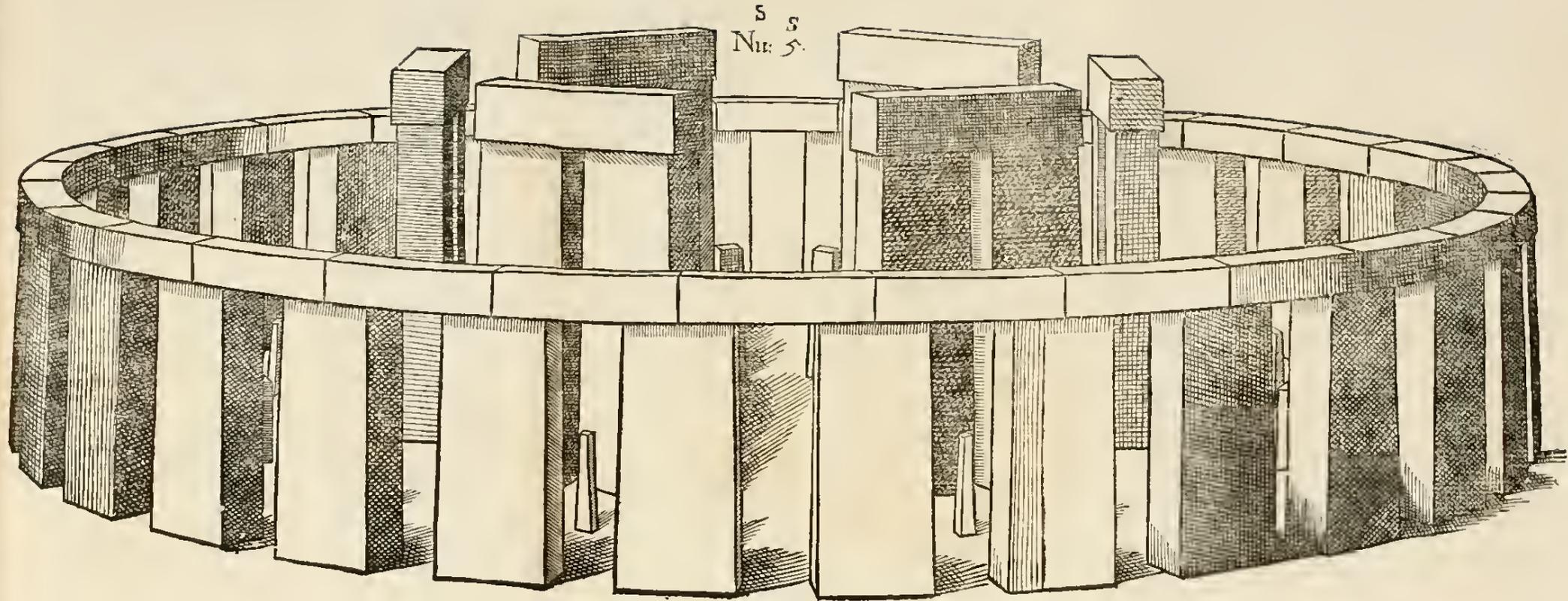
The *Designs* follow.

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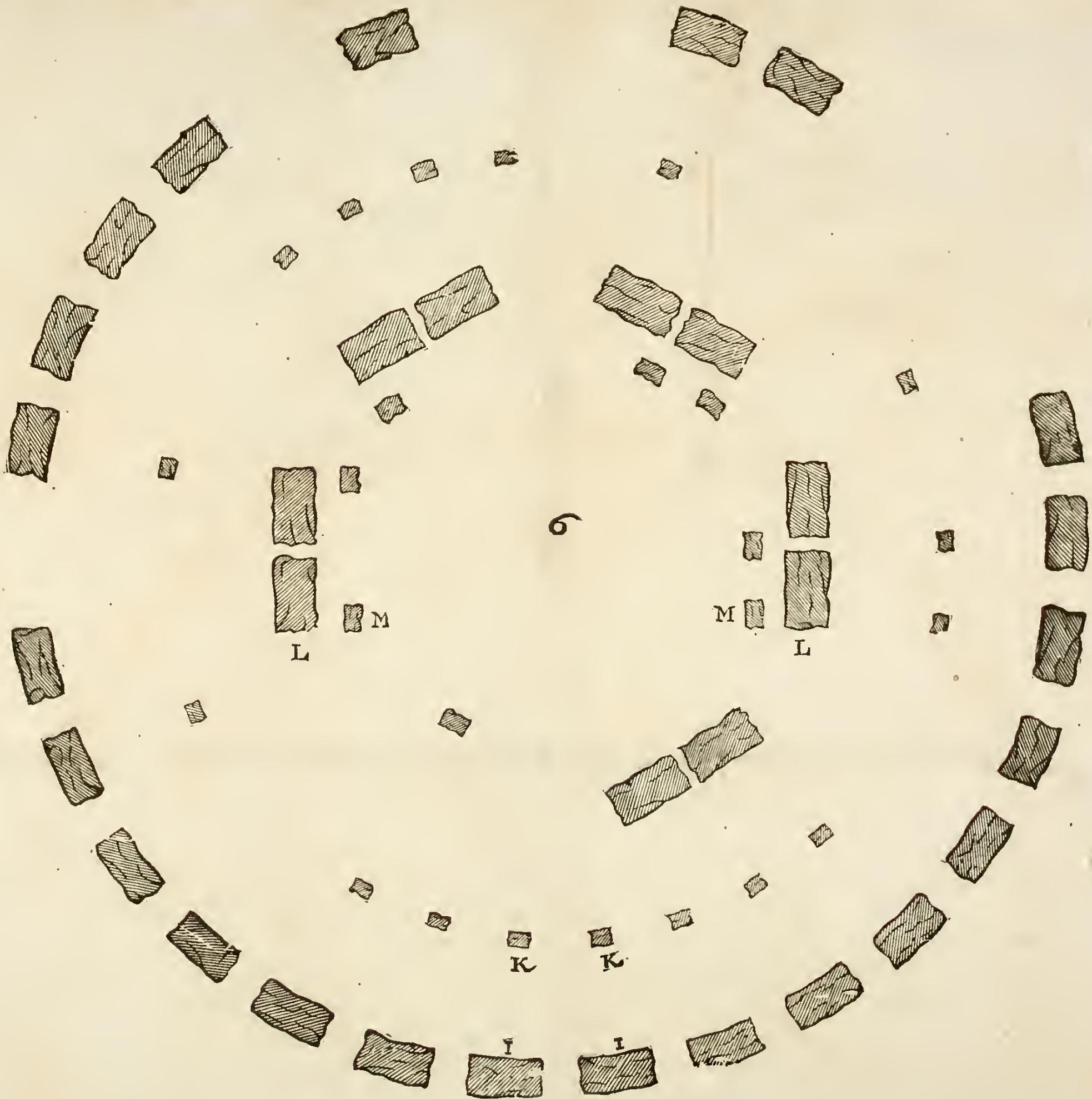
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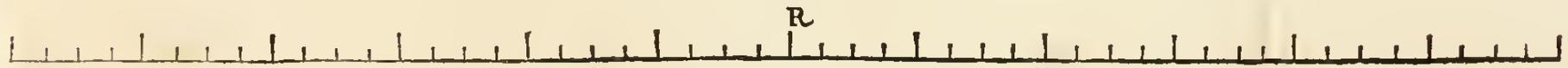
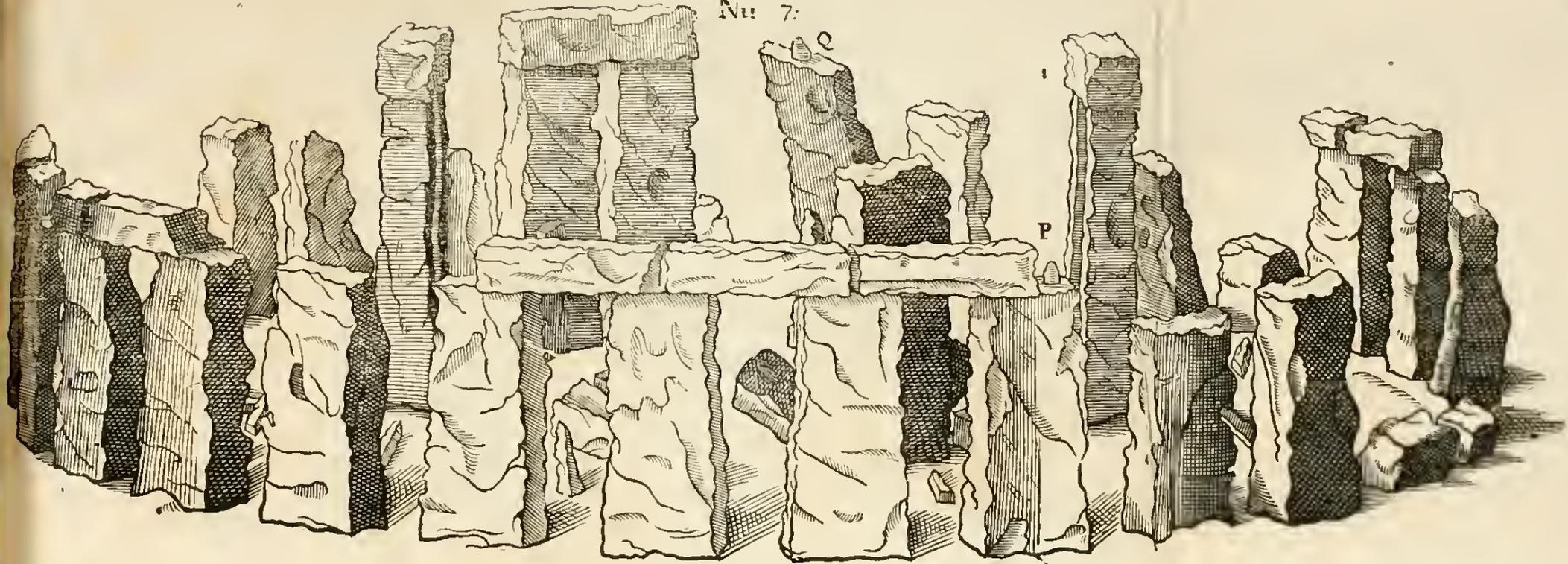
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Hitherto, upon what occasion *Stoneheng* built (you may easily perceive) is very doubtfull, the true History of those times, when first erected, and by which the memory of things especially made over to succeeding Ages, being either not written, or if written, utterly lost. Likewise, as for what use set up, not yet known; so, by whom also founded, is equally uncertain.

You cannot but remember, in what manner the ancient Inhabitants of this Island lived, before reduced to civility by the *Romans* I have formerly delivered: also, how they were first instructed by them, in severall *Arts* and *Sciences*, whereof the *Britans* wholly ignorant, before the *Romans* arrivall here, and teaching them. I have given you in like manner, a full description of this *Antiquity*, whereby doubtlesse it appears to you, as in truth it is, a work built with much *Art*, *Order* and *Proportion*. That the ancient *Britans*, before the discovery of this Island by the *Romans*, could not be the *Founders* thereof, by the former reasons, I suppose, is clearly manifested. For, where *Art* is not, nothing can be performed by *Art*. As, for that which concerns the *British* Nobility, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, or *Boadicia*, enough already.

It rests now, to endeavor the discovering by whom *Stoneheng* built; in what time, and, for what use anciently erected. But, it is not expected (I hope) any absolute resolution should be given by me, in so doubtfull a matter; for, as it hath been always lawfull for every man in such like matters (saith *Camden*) both to think what he will, and relate what others have thought: So pardon me, if I take upon me, what others have done before me, and interpose mine own opinion also, grounded neverthelesse upon such Authorities, customs, and concurrence of time, as very probably may satisfie judicious and impartiall Readers.

Touching the *Founders* of *Stoneheng*. Among the *Aegyptian* *Antiquities*, or those *Eastern* Nations from whom the *Gracians* deduced their learning, I find not any such compasure ever used: or with the *Greeks* themselves, mention made of

*Pausan. fo.*  
392.

any work conformable to this, in point of Order. (as the most conversant in those Histories cannot contradict) I read neverthelesse, in *Pausanias*, of a Temple amongst the *Eleans* erected without walls: *novam quandam in Eleorum foro templi formam vidi. I saw* (saith he) *in the market place of the Eleans, a Temple of a new form. Modica est ædes altitudinis, sine parietibus, tectum è quercu dolatis fulcientibus tibicinibus. A low thing, without walls, having the roof supported with props of oaken timber* (instead, it seems, of Columns) neatly wrought.

*Idem fo. 75:*

He remembers a Temple also in *Attica* sacred to *Jove* without a roof. The *Thracians* (as I read likewise) used to build Temples dedicated to *Sol*, of a round form, open in the middle, and also without a roof: by the form, or roundnesse thereof, they signified the Suns figure; by making them open, and rooflesse, they expressed his surmounting, and dilating light equally to all things. *Thracis soli rotunda templa faciebant* (saith *Daniel Barbaro*) *in medio sub divo, & aperta erant: hac forma Solis figuram innuebant: quòd autem aperta essent, & sine tecto, innuebant Solem supra omnia esse, & lumen suum diffundere.*

*In Vitruv.*  
*lib. 4.*

Howsoever, considering what magnificence the *Romans* in prosperous times anciently used in all works, both publick, and private: their knowledge and experience in all *Arts* and *Sciences*: their powerfull means for effecting great works: together with their *Order* in building, and manner of workmanship accustomed amongst them: *Stoneheng* in my judgement was a work, built by the *Romans*, and they the sole *Founders* thereof. For, if look upon this *Antiquity*, as an admired and magnificent building, who more magnificent then the *Romans*? *Essi soli fra i populi dell' universo, con ogni termine di magnificenza edificarono tutti i generi d'edifici.* They only amongst all the *Nations* of the *Universe*, erecting all sorts of buildings, with all kinds of magnificence, saith *Scamozzo* in the first Book of his *Architecture*. If consider the *Art*, and elegant disposition thereof, all *Arts* and *Sciences* (we must know) were in full perfection with them, and *Architecture*, which amongst the *Greeks* was youthfull only, and vigorous

*Scamoz.*  
*lib. 1. fo. 9.*

rous; under the Romans their Empire grown to the full height became manly and perfect, not in inventions, and elegance of forms alone, but also in exquisitenesse of Art, and excellency of materials. *Salito al colmo l'imperio Romano, ella pure divenne virile e perfetta: non solo nelle inventioni, e nella elleganza delle forme, mà parimente nell'esquisitezza dell'artificio, e nella singolarità della materia.* As the same Author hath it. If take notice of their power and ways by which they effected such goodly structures, their means were not ordinary according to the common custome of other People; and why? because, besides particular Artisans practised in severall Arts, they employed in those their works whole bodies of their own Armies, and whatever Nations subdued by them.

The Romans were wont to exercise therein (saith Camden) their Souldiers, and the common multitude, upon great policy doing the same, lest being idle they should grow factious, and affect alteration in the State. The Britans complained (saith Tacitus likewise) *corpora & manus contrivisse, that their bodies and hands were worn out, and consumed by the Romans, in bringing to effect their great and admired undertakings: in that kind employing their slaves and prisoners also, as holding it, rather then by violent deaths to cut them off; more profitable for the Commonwealth, more exemplary for others, and far greater punishment for their Prisoners, to enjoyn them continuall labour.* *Camden fo. 64.*

If observe their Order in building; the only Order of Architecture, which Italy may truly glory in the invention of, is the Tuscan Order, so called, because first found out by the Tuscans, that in a more then ordinary manner they might reverence their Deities in Temples composed thereof. (Janus their first King, according to the common opinion of divers ancient Historians, being the first of all others, that built Temples to the Gods) Which Order, though first used by the Tuscans, certain it is, the Romans took from them, and brought it in use with other Arts, in severall parts of the world, as their conquests led them on. Now of this Tuscan Order, a plain, grave, and humble manner of Building, very solid and strong Stoneheng principally consists. So that, ob-

*Choul. fo. 5.*

serving the *Order* whereof *Stoneheng* built, there being no such Elements known in this *Island* as distinct *Orders* of *Architecture*, untill the *Romans* introduced them, the very work it self, of so great *Antiquity*, declares the *Romans Founders* thereof. Who, that hath right judgement in *Architecture*, knows not the difference, and by the manner of their works how to distinguish *Egyptian*, *Greek*, and *Roman* structures of old, also *Italian*, *French* and *Dutch* buildings in these modern times? Is not our Shipping by the mould thereof, known throughout the world *English* built? Who did not by the very *Order* of the work, assure himself, the body of the Church of *S. Paul London*, from its *Tower* to the *West end* anciently built by the *Saxons*: as the *Quire* thereof, from the said *Tower* to the *East end* by the *Normans*, it being *Gothick* work? yet that there might be a *Roman Temple* in old time standing in that place, I will not deny, the numbers of *Oxe-heads* digged up and anciently sacrificed there, setting all other reasons aside, so probably manifesting the same. And in all likelihood, the *Romans* for so notable a structure as *Stoneheng*, made choice of the *Tuscane* rather than any other *Order*, not only as best agreeing with the rude, plain, simple nature of those they intended to instruct, and use for which erected; but also, because presuming to challenge a certain kind of propriety therein, they might take occasion thereby, to magnifie to those then living the virtue of their *Ancestors* for so noble an invention, and make themselves the more renowned to posterity, for erecting thereof, so well ordred a building.

*Vitr. lib. 5.* Besides, the *Order* is not only *Roman*, but the *Scheam* also (consisting of four equilaterall triangles, inscribed within the circumference of a Circle) by which this work *Stoneheng* formed, was an *Architectonicall Scheam* used by the *Romans*. Whereof, I shall have more occasion to speak, when I come to set down, for what use this *Antiquity* at first erected.

Again, the *Portico* at *Stoneheng*, is made double, as in structures of great magnificence the ancient *Romans* used: so at the

the foot of the *Capitol* the *Temple to Jove the Thunderer*, built by *Augustus Caesar*; so the *Pantheon* at *Athens*, royally adorned with one hundred and twenty vast columnes of rich *Phrygian* marble, by the *Emperour Adrian*. But, some may alledge, the *Romans* made the *Pillars* of their double *Portico's*, of one and the same *symmetry*, or very little different, which in this *Antiquity* otherwise appearing, cannot be a *Roman* work. To as much purpose it may be alledged the *Temple of Diana* at *Magnesia*, was no *Greek* work, because the *Pillars* of the inner *Portico* were wholly left out. Yet it's true, the *Romans* usually made them as is objected, and the reason was, because of the weight the inner *Pillars* carried: now, in this work, no roof being to be sustained, nor any manner of weight born up, though the judgement of the *Architect*, thereby to save labour and expence, ordered the stones making the *Portico* within, of a far lesse proportion then those of the outward circle, it retains nevertheless the proper *Aspect* (principally aim'd at by the ancient *Architects*) in use amongst the *Romans*, and consequently for ought alledged to the contrary by them built.

In this *Antiquity*, there is a *Portico* also (as I may rightly term it) within the *Cell*, or greater *Hexagon*, reduced likewise into the same figure. Now, that the *Romans* used to make *Portico's* on the inside of their buildings, as well sacred as secular, by the ruins of their *Basilicaes* or Courts of *Judicature*; by that *Temple* without a roof anciently dedicated to *Jove* in Mount *Quirinalis*, now the *Horse Mount* in *Rome*; by the *Temple of Bacchus* there of a round form, at this day consecrate to *S. Agnes* without the gate *Viminalis*, manifestly appears. But in what ever structures else the *Romans* used them, certain it is, within their most stately *Temples* which lay uncovered, and had no roofs, they always made such *Portico's*; and though in other *Temples* they sometimes dispos'd them, yet from *Vitruvius* it may be gathered, they properly belonged to the *Aspect Hypathros*, which was uncovered and rooflesse as this *Antiquity Stoneheng*, he peremptorily assigning *Portico's* to be made on the inside of no kind of

*Temples;*

*Vir. lib. 3.  
cap. 1.*

Temples, but those; His words are, *Hypæthros in interiore parte habet columnas, remotas à parietibus ad circuitionem (ut porticus) peristyliorum.* Temples open to the air, and without roofs, have columns on the inside, distant from the walls, as Courts Portico's about them. Even, after the same decorum as at Stoneheng.

Furthermore, if cast an eye upon their artifice and manner of workmanship, Stoneheng appears built directly agreeable to those rules, which the Romans observed in great works. For, the Roman Architects, in distinguishing the manner of their Temples, always observed (as Vitruvius in his third book teacheth us) the greater the Columns were, the closer they set them together; so in this Antiquity, the stones being great, the spaces betwixt them are likewise narrow.

*Leo Bap. Alber. lib. 3.*

The Architraves also, in this work were all of them set without mortar, and fixed upon the upright stones by tenons (as formerly described) in the very same manner, as in great structures, where the stones solid, and of more than ordinary greatnesse, the Romans were wont to doe. They laid them without any unctuous incorporating matter, *nullo sulca glutino*, saith Leo Baptista Albertus. And divers examples of this kind might be brought, I my self amongst other Antiquities have seen the ruines of an Aquæduct, built by the Romans in Provynce, running through a deep valley, and raised in height equall to the adjacent Mountains, upon huge Arches fifty eight foot wide; the stones whereof, being of extraordinary scantlings, were laid without any cement or mortar, to incorporate them with the rest of the work. And, where occasion guided their judgements to the observance of this rule, they united and compacted the stones together, by certain ligatures or holdfasts, (the Italians call them *Perni*, pegs or tops, for such they resemble, and we, from the verb *tenere* to hold, not improperly calling them *tenons*) *quæ inferiores, & unâ superiores in lapides infixæ, cavata fuere, ne quid fortè protrusi ordines alteri ab alteris distrahantur.* Which (saith Albertus) being formed in the inferiour stones, were hollowed or mortaised into those above, lest by any chance they should start one from another, and break the order of the work. Here the Florentine Architect gives

*Leo Bap. Alber. lib. 3.*

us the self same manner of banding stones, when the *Romans* laid them without mortar, as if he had seen this very *Antiquity Stoneheng*.

Moreover, what ever footsteps of the *Romans* found in other places of this Island, it's not inconsiderately to be past over, that in *Wiltshire*, the County (as is said before) where our *Stoneheng* remains, *Roman Antiquities* are most perspicuous, not only, by the apparent testimonies of the coyns of their Emperors in divers places digged up, but by severall their encamping places yet to be seen, as *Leckham*, in times of yore a seat of the *Romans*: the place also where old *Salisbury* now sheweth it self, within six miles of *Stoneheng*: and within three miles thereof *Yanesbury Castle*, supposed a work of *Vespasians* when he conquered, and after kept in subjection the *Belgæ*, ancient inhabitants of that tract. Likewise the ruins nearer yet to *Stoneheng*, of a fortresse our Historians hold anciently a garrison of the *Romans*, and in many other forts of that Shire (both by their form and manner of making well known to have been *Roman*) the tract of their footing is yet left.

But it is objected, If *Stoneheng* a *Roman* work, how comes it, no *Roman* Author makes mention of it? I answer, their Historians used not to commit to writing every particular work, or action the *Romans* performed: if so, how vast would their volumes have been? *Stoneheng* 'tis granted, is much admired by us, yet, how far more admirable works were the *Romans* Founders of, not mentioned in any of their ancient stories? That notable bridge invented and built by *Cæsar*, for passing his Army over the *Rhine*, himself at large describes, remembering little or nothing neverthelesse concerning divers other as great works in *Gaul* and *Batavia*, supposed to be performed by him also. *Dion*, *Herodian*, *Eutropius* and other their Historians tell us, the *Romans* built the so famed wall, commonly by us called the *Picts wall*, extending crosse over our Island from the *Irish Sea* to the *German Ocean*, above fourscore *Italian* miles in length, with many towers and fortresses erected upon it; when works of as

great

great admiration in *Britain* they have past in silence: those wonderfull causeys made throughout the land, by dreining and drying up Fens, levelling hills, raising valleys, and paving them with stones of such breadth, that Wains might without danger passe one by another, not any ancient Roman Author (for ought appears) directly mentioning. Yet, who doubts them Roman works? I dare confidently avouch, the Romans by little and little founded and raised them up, saith Camden. And why? mark I pray, because, whilst *Agricola* governed *Britain*, *Tacitus* tels us, severall ways were enjoyned. If then, because *Tacitus* affirms in generall terms only, severall ways enjoyned, Camden confidently concludes them Roman works, no Roman History otherwise remembring them; Why may it not, the same *Tacitus* telling us in like manner, *Agricola* exhorted the Britains in private, and helpt them in common, to build Temples, Houses, and Places of publick resort, as peremptorily be infer'd, Stoneheng was a work built by the Romans, though not particularly remembred by them in their stories? In a word, Temples and places of publick resort, the Romans built here, and were the first that did so, leaving it to after ages to find out by their Manner of building, Order in building, and Power and Means for building, such lofty ruines, as appears in this Antiquity, could be remains of none but Roman building.

Cam.fo.64.

Tacitus.  
Beda.Camden  
fo.63.

The next thing to be enquired after, is, in what time Stoneheng built. Happily, about those times, when the Romans having setled the Country here under their own Empire, and, together with bringing over Colonies reduced the naturall inhabitants of this Island unto the society of civill life, by training them up in the liberall Sciences. For, then also (saith Camden) did they furnish the Britains, with goodly houses, and stately buildings, in such sort, that the reliques and rubbish of their ruines, cause the beholders now, exceedingly to admire the same, and the common sort of People plainly say, those Roman works were made by Giants, of such exceeding great admiration, and sumptuous magnificence they are.

This

This relation of *Camdens*, reflects chiefly upon the time of *Agricola*; neverthelesse, that *Stoneheng* (though fabled Giants work) was then built, I dare not affirm: the great works of the *Romans*, brought to perfection in this Island, being not the work of a day. It hath been the invention of wise *Romans* of old, affecting civility, to raise goodly buildings here: but the precise times when, in things so far from all knowledge, cannot be with any certainty avouched. For my part, I should choose to assign those times for building thereof, when the *Romans* in their chief prosperity most flourished here, and refer the first erection to the time betwixt *Agricolas* government formerly mentioned, and the reign of *Constantine* the Great: in order to which, the times rather somewhat after *Agricola*, if not during his own Lieutenancy, then next preceding *Constantine*. For, long before *Constantine* acquired the Sovereignty (which was not till the year of our Lord three hundred and ten) the magnificent splendor of that mighty *Empire* began sensibly to wane, and the ambition of the great Captains of *Rome*, (some few excepted) tended rather to make parties for obtaining the *Purple Robe*, then (after the manner of their ancestors) to eternise their names by great and admirable works, or patronizing good *Arts*, for want whereof they began likewise to decay apace; Serly in his third Book speaking of those times, telling us, that *id temporis Architecti, si cum superioribus conferantur, rudiores & ineptiores extitisse videntur. In those days although there were many Architects, yet, compared with such as lived in the preceding Ages, they were very rude and unskillfull.* Besides, the condition wherein this Island was, divers years preceding *Constantine*, would not admit such undertakings. For, by the civil discord of the *Romans*, the *Britans* taking occasion to make frequent revolts, in hope to recover their lost liberty, the *Romans* were put upon other manner of Councils then to think of building; namely to reduce the *Britans* to their wonted obedience, and keep the Province in some reasonable quiet, by expelling the *Scots* and *Picts* (savage and perfidious People even from times

of old) making daily inroads and incursions there-  
unto:

Now, as for these reasons, it's not likely *Stoneheng* could be built in the times next before *Constantine*, so, by what follows, it will manifestly appear, it was not erected after his Reign. For, after his transplanting the seat of the Empire into the East, and the government of the then known world, under the *Romans*, distinguished by *East* and *Western* Emperours, a deluge of barbarous Nations (like so many Locusts) swarmed over all. Who, as with their vast multitudes they oft had formerly attempted it, so, thence forward, till bringing that mighty Empire unto its finall and fatall period; and thereby utterly destroying in like manner all *Arts* and *Sciences*, together with *Architecture*, (not restored again, even in *Italy* it self, untill, as formerly remembred) they never desisted. Moreover, in the times after *Constantine*, no *Temples* to *Heathen Deities* (such as I shall make appear this *Antiquity Stoneheng* was) were erected here, they being times of defacing, rather then erecting idolatrous places. For, most of the succeeding Emperors becoming *Christians*, the tempestuous storms of persecution were over, and the thick clouds of superstition beginning to be dissolved by the bright beams of the Gospel, and true light of *CHRIST*, every where *Temples* were shut up against false Gods, and set open to the true *GOD*. According to that of *Gildas*, *No sooner was the blustering tempest, and storm of persecution blown over, but the faithfull Christians, who in the time of trouble and danger had hidden themselves in woods, deserts, and secret caves, being come abroad in open sight, renovant Ecclesias ad solum usque destructas, basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt &c. Churches ruinate to the very ground they reedifie, Temples of holy Martyrs they found, build, and finish &c.* So that, in stead of idolatrous *Temples*, built in the Ages preceding *Constantine*, during his reign and after, whilst the *Romans* continued in any prosperous state here, by erecting *Christian Churches*, they began generally to neglect, and suffer fall to decay, rather then new build *Temples* to their *Pagan Gods*.

*Gildas.*

These

These pressing occurrences therefore, to wit, civill broyls amongst the *Romans* themselves, frequent insurrections of the *Britans*, daily inrodes by the *Picts* and *Scots*, together with the downfall of *Paganism*, decay of *Arts*, and fatall ruine of the whole *Empire*, making the times both long before and after *Constantine* incompatible for undertaking such works as this *Antiquity*, it may safely enough be concluded, if *Stoneheng* not founded by *Agricola*, yet erected it might be about fifteen hundred and fifty years ago, in the times somewhat after his government, the Province being formerly left by him in good and peaceable state, the *Britans* reduced from *Barbarity* to order and civill conversation, and the *Romans* flourishing in all manner of *Arts* and *Sciences*. *Tacit. in Vit. Agr.*

Now, concerning the use for which *Stoneheng* at first erected, I am clearly of opinion, it was originally a *Temple*, it being built with all accommodations properly belonging to a sacred structure. For, it had an intervall or spacious Court lying round about it, wherein the *Victimes* for oblation were slain, into which it was unlawfull for any profane person to enter: It was separated from the circum-adjacent Plain, with a large Trench in stead of a wall, as a boundary about the *Temple*, most conformable to the main work, wholly exposed to open view: Without this Trench, the promiscuous common multitude, with zeal too much, attended the ceremonies of their solemn though superstitious Sacrifices, and might see the oblations, but not come within them: It had likewise its peculiar Cell, with *Portico's* round about, into which Cell, as into their *Sanctum sanctorum* (pardon the expression) none but the *Priests* entred to offer Sacrifice, and make atonement for the *People*: Within the Cell an *Ara* or *Altar* was placed, having its proper position towards the *East*, as the *Romans* used. *Ara spectent ad Orientem*, saith *Vitruvius*. And, that there hath been the heads of Bulls, or Oxen, of Harts, and other such beasts digged up, or in, or near this *Antiquity* (as divers now living can testifie) is not to be omitted; for who can imagine, but these were the heads of such, as anciently there offered in Sacrifice? together

ther with which also, were heaped up great quantities of Charcole, happily used about the performance of their superstitious ceremonies. That the ancient Romans had Charcole in use amongst them, *Pliny* affirms. And when I caused the foundations of the stones to be searched, my self found, and yet have by me to shew the cover of a *Thuribulum*, or some such like vase (I suppose) wherein *Choul* in his discourse of their Religion, reports the ancient Romans used to carry Incense, wine or holy water, for service in their Sacrifices, lying about three foot within the ground, near one of the stones of the greater *Hexagon*.

The Order whereof this Temple consists, according to the rules of *Art* observed by the ancient Romans in works of this kinde, is mingled of *Greek* and *Tuscane* work. For, as the plainesse and solidnesse of the *Tuscane* Order, appears eminently throughout the whole *Antiquity*: so the narrownesse of the spaces betwixt the stones, visibly discovers therein, the delicacy of the *Corinthian* Order. Which commixture amongst the *Roman Architects* was very usuall, in regard *Vitruvius* (in his fourth Book and seventh Chapter) treating somewhat largely (his method otherwise considered) of severall sorts of the like composed Temples, mixt of the *Greek* and *Tuscane* manners tels us: that, *Nomnulli de Tuscanicis generibus sumentes columnarum dispositiones, transferunt in Corinthiorum & Ionicorum operum ordinationes*. Some taking the qualities of the columns of the *Tuscane* Order, transfer them into the symmetry of the *Corinthian* and *Ionick* works. Whereby (to please themselves it seems in their own inventions) efficiunt *Tuscanicorum & Græcorum operum communem ratiocinationem*. They make of the *Tuscane* and *Greek* works one common composition. As the same Author likewise remembers.

The Aspect of this Temple; by which we understand that first shew which Temples make to those that draw near unto them, is *Dipteros Hypæthros*, which is double winged about uncovered. *Dipteros circa ædem duplices habet columnarum ordines* (saith *Vitruvius*) *Dipteros* hath double orders of columnes about the Temple. *Hypæthros sub divo est, sine tectō*, (as the same

*Plin. lib. 16.  
Tom. 1. lib.  
33. Tom. 2.*

*Rosin. lib. 3.  
Choul fol.  
217, 229.*

*Vitr. lib. 4.  
cap. 7.*

*Vitr. lib. 3.  
cap. 1.*

same Author) *Hypæthros* is open to the air, without a roof.

The Manner of this Temple is *Pycnostylos*, or narrow spaces. *Pycnostylos* is that kinde of Temples, which hath the columnes set thick, and close together *crebris columnis*, as *Vitruvius* also hath it. *Vitr. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

But it may be objected, though it appears from very good Authorities, the Artifice, and workmanship of this Antiquity, together with the *Scheam* which formed it, were Roman: and the Order of which consisting, invented in *Italy*, and so consequently Roman in like manner: as also, by the severall peculiar accommodations, the probable reliques of *Heathenish* Sacrifices, and determinate rules of *Architecture*, it was anciently a Temple: Neverthelesse it appears not, the Romans ever used any whatever profane structure like this, much lesse any manner of Temples of this kinde of invention, Where the Temple lies open without walls, surrounded only with pillars. For, that the upright stones which make this work *Stoneheng*, are in stead of them, may well enough be granted.

To this I answer, the learned in Antiquities very well know, those things which oblivion hath so long removed out of mind, are hardly to be discovered. Yet, as to the first part of the objection, that the Romans never used any whatever profane structure like this, *Varro de re rustica* (as I find him cited by *Philander*) tels us, that they had in use amongst them a round building without any wals, having a double Order of columns round about, this he calls by the name of *Tholus*, *ædificium rotundum, columnatum duplici columnarum ordine*. A round edifice (saith he) environed about with a double order of columns. Which double Order of Columns *Pyrrho Ligorio* a famous *Neapolitane Architect*, and great discoverer of Antiquities, in his description thereof designs without a roof also. *Phil. in Vitr. lib. 4.*

But to come to their sacred works, which in regard of this Antiquity, are (it's true) of most concernment, I find the Romans used (as *Vitruvius* witnesseth) such manner of Temples. For (in his fourth Book, and seventh Chapter) he deli- *Vitr. lib. 4. cap. 7.*

*Ædes sacræ  
Templa di-  
etæ fuerunt,  
quod essent  
quasi ædes  
Deorum.  
Rosin. lib. 2.  
cap. 2.*

*Dan. Bar-  
bar.*

delivers, there were amongst others two forms of round *Temples*, commonly in use amongst them, the one called *Monopteros*; the other *Peripteros*. This, had the *Cell* enclosed about with a continued wall, and at a proportionate distance from it, the columns placed which made a *Portico* round about it, clean different from *Stoneheng*: the other made open, and in stead of a wall encompassed with a row of pillars only, having no enclosed *Cell* within it at all, as much conducing to our purpose in hand. His words are these, *Fiunt autem ædes rotundæ, è quibus aliæ sine cella columnatæ constituuntur.* They make also (saith he) round *Temples*, of which some are built without a *Cell*, environed with *Pillars* only. These were without any wals, (as his Commenter hath it) lying open to the Air. And truly (as I may presume to say) from this very manner the invention of *Stoneheng* was principally taken, in ordering whereof, the *Architect* disdainng usuall and common forms, of both the aforesaid forms composed one. For, taking the outward circle from the *Monopteros*, he made it open also as in that, but in stead of the continued wall circularly enclosing the *Cell* of the *Peripteros*, at *Stoneheng* he made only an *Hexagon* about the *Cell*, leaving the same open in like manner. And, as *Hermogenes* (whom I shall have occasion to remember again) to illustrate his work, leaving out the inner row of *Pillars*, made a single *Portico* about the *Temple* at *Magnesia*, whereby it came to be a new invention, for which he is famous to posterity: so the subtile *Architect*, whosoever he was, to ennoble this his work, adding the said *Hexagon* here, made a double *Portico* round about this *Temple*, and thereby a new invention likewise, no lesse famous to succeeding Ages. Our *Antiquity Stoneheng* had otherwise been of the self same *Aspect* without a *Cell*, as *Vitruvius* hath before delivered. That *Temple Monopteros*, was environed with a row of pillars; this *Temple Stoneheng*, in stead of them, supplied with a rank of *pillasters* (as they may well be called) continuing round about it. That, lay open to the air without any walls: so doth this at *Stoneheng*. That, had over the pillars an *Architrave*, *Freeze*, and  
Cornice,

*Cornice*, the *Order* being delicate: this at *Stoneheng*, over the pillasters an *Architrave* only, as most conformable to the solidnesse of the *Order* and plainnesse of the work.

Thus it fully appears, the ancient *Romans* used to erect *Temples*, which lay open without walls, surrounded only with pillars; in invention like this at *Stoneheng*. But, let us see whether the form *Monopteros*, had any roof over it. That the *Romans* had *Temples* uncovered, and without roofs, like *Stoneheng*, is in part already, and shall more manifestly be hereafter proved: and searching curiously into their *Antiquities*, it will be found the greatest, most splendid, and most magnificent work of all others, which the *Ancients* made for service of their *Deities*, were those kinde of *Temples* of the *Aspect Hypæthros*. Whether the *Monopteros* was one of that kind, appears not yet, and *Vitruvius* is very obscure therein; neverthelesse, that it was built without a roof, I shall illustrate by these reasons.

First, *Vitruvius* tels us not it had a roof; for, in his precepts of all severall kinds of *Temples*, after he hath delivered the *Aspect*, *Form*, and *Manner* of them with much exactnesse, he omits not throughout his fourth Book to demonstrate aswell the contignation, as proportion of timbers of the roofs, belonging to all those *Temples*, which had any, and when vaulted he gives us likewise the form thereof, if the *Temples* so covered: but, in the description of the form *Monopteros*, there is no manner of timber work, nor form of vault, nor the least word mentioned of any roof at all, in what place soever throughout his whole work speaking thereof. In which respect, considering all *Temples* having roofs, those roofs are described by *Vitruvius*, and that he describes no roof belonging to this, it must necessarily follow, the *Temples* in form *Monopteros* had no roofs over them.

Again, after giving the proportion of the *Architrave* over the columnes of the *Monopteros*, he saith, *Zophorus & reliqua que insuper imponuntur, ita uti in tertio volumine de Symmetriis scripsit. The Freeze and other ornaments laid upon them, are as in*  
his

his third Book of Symmetries made mention of. Now, in his third Book, he only treats of proportions, and not one word is so much as mentioned by him of any manner of roofs at all, only in the close of the said Book, he gives the proportion of frontispices belonging to quadrangular Temples: the same referment in like manner he makes for the ornaments of the Peripteros, and withall proceeds to a full description, in what manner the roof of its Cell was made, which questionlesse, he would likewise have done in the other form, if it had been covered. For, he saith, whatever is to be laid above the Freeze of the Monopteros, is, as set down in his third Book: but, in his third Book, there is not one word mentioned of any roofs; the conclusion then follows the Monopteros was without a roof.

Bern. Baldo.

Lastly, he positively tels us it was *sine Cella, without a Cell*: now the Cell (and which for distinction sake I have so called in describing this Antiquity, because it was applied to the same use, to perform their sacred rites in) was indeed properly, the inner, or chief part of the Temple, *quam nos corpus Templi vulgò dicimus, we commonly call it the body of the Church*, which enclosed with wals, was covered with a roof, as *Vitruvius* declares in the form Peripteros, *tecti ratio ita habeatur &c.* The manner of a roof (saith he) was thus &c. But, the Monopteros was without a Cell, and consequently without a roof also, as having no walls to bear it. For, in regard of the manner of the Architecture, the pillars standing in Island (as we say) the work could not securely bear a roof, if made of any great capacity: either therefore, they made Temples of this form very little (in which respect only, *Palladio* supposeth it might be vaulted) inconsistent with the Roman greatnesse, or else, like Stoneheng they were wholly uncovered and rooflesse. Howsoever, it is manifest, the Aspect was just the same. And if I should say, the ruines of one after the same form also, remains yet in Oxfordshire, which the common people usually call *Rolle-rich-stones*, take it but as my conjecture only, as likewise one or two built after the like manner in Scotland,

no man unlesse *Hector Boetius* knowing by what Kings.

Moreover, the proportions appearing in this *Antiquity Stoneheng*, are much conformable to those, assigned by *Vitruvius* to the parts of the *Monopteros*: He tels us, *Tribunal habent & ascensum ex sua diametri tertia parte*: they had the *Tribunal*, (by which is understood that levell upon which the Temple placed) and the ascent, consisting of one third part of the Diameter. So at *Stoneheng*, the work it self is one third part of the Diameter of the circumvallation: And, according to the proportion allowed by him to the *Ascent*, it seems those Temples were sited more stately then others, (by consequence great also) and certain it is, whosoever views this *Antiquity* attentively with judgement, upon the place where remaining (for the *Folio* being too little I could not expresse it in Design) and doth allow a proportionate depth to the Trench surrounding it; considering also, together therewith, the levell of the plain lying without, he will then finde it standing upon such a rising ground, that the *Ascent* unto it, was not much lesse magnificent, then what *Vitruvius* hath declared.

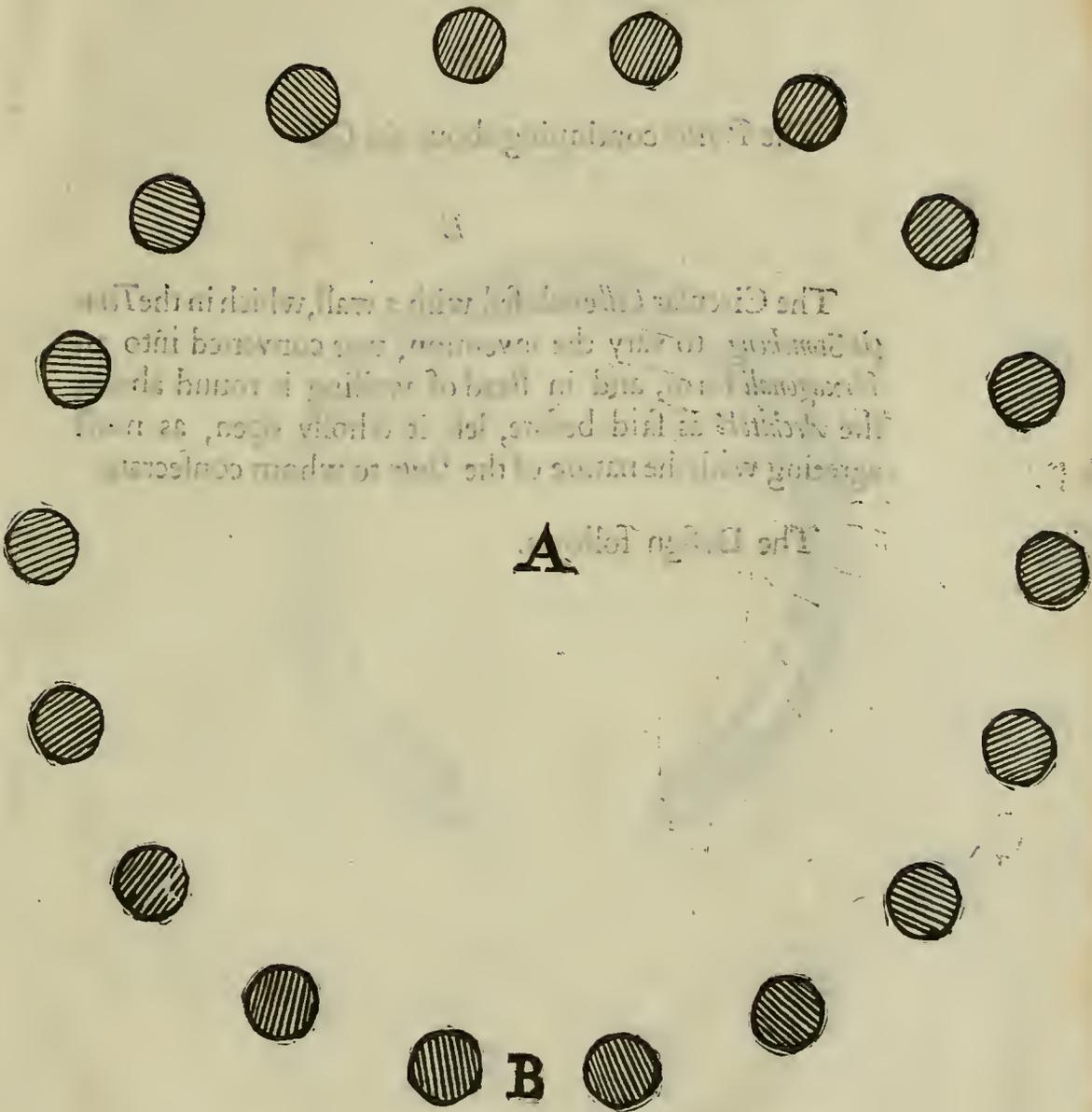
Furthermore, besides the aforementioned round Temples; *Vitruvius* in the same Chapter tels us, that, *generibus aliis constituuntur aedes, ex iisdem symmetriis ordinate, & alio genere dispositiones habentes*. The Romans built them after other manner of inventions, following the same proportions, and having their dispositions after another kinde. Of which, if vouchsafed to posterity the descriptions, some of them might have been found; not only agreeable in *Aspect*, but happily of the very self same form also, as this Temple *Stoneheng* doth appear.

Now considering this discourse may happen into the hands of those, who cannot by words so easily apprehend things of this *Art*, I have for their satisfaction brought into Design, the plants of both the aforesaid Temples mentioned by *Vitruvius*, whereby their conformity with *Stoneheng*, and the invention thereof taken from them, is more clearly manifested.

*A*The Plant of the *Monopteros.**B*

The *Order of Pillars* which continued round about it, to which the outward circle (of Pillasters) in this *Antiquity Stoneheng*, directly corresponds, as will appear in the second Figure thereof, formerly described by the Letter *I.*

The *Design* follows.



C

The Plant of the *Peripteros*.

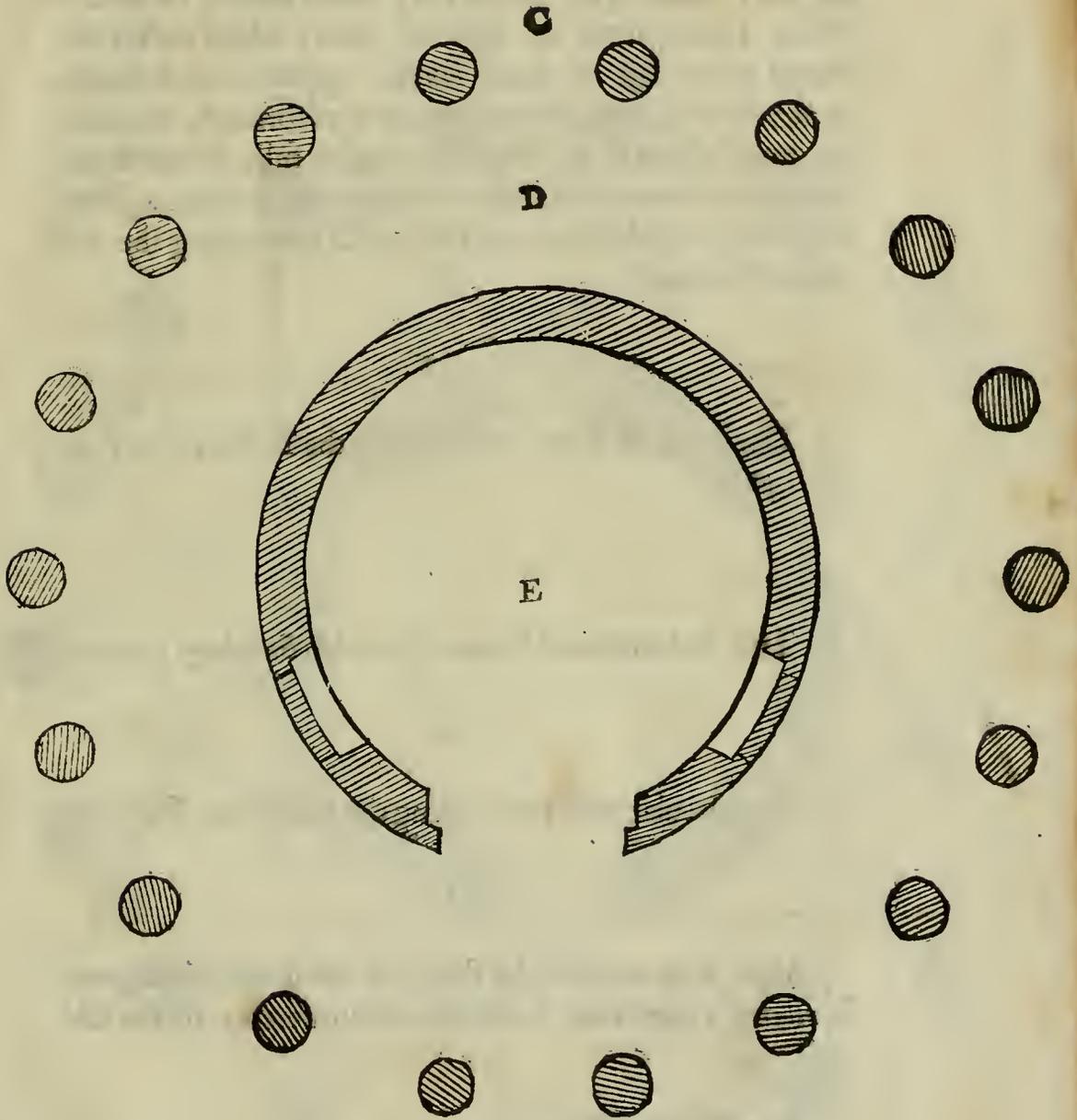
D

The *Portico* continuing about the *Cell*.

E

The Circular *Cell* enclosed with a wall, which in the *Temple Stoneheng*, to vary the invention, was converted into an *Hexagonall* form, and in stead of walling it round about, the *Architeēt* as said before, left it wholly open, as most agreeing with the nature of the *Deity* to whom consecrate.

The Design follows.



By the Plants of which said *Roman Temples*, although it is plainly manifest, from whence the invention of *Stoneheng* was taken: yet, that it may more clearly be understood, I have, unto the *Order* of pillars which makes the *Portico* of the last of those *Temples*, applied the *Architectonicall Schem* by which our *Antiquity* was formed; whereby the intersection of the severall triangles fully demonstrates after what manner the greater *Hexagon* made open at *Stoneheng*, was raised from the solid wall environing the *Cell* of the *Peripteros*.

F

The Rank of *Pillars* which made the *Portico* of the *Peripteros*.

G

The *Architectonicall Schem* by which *Stoneheng* formed.

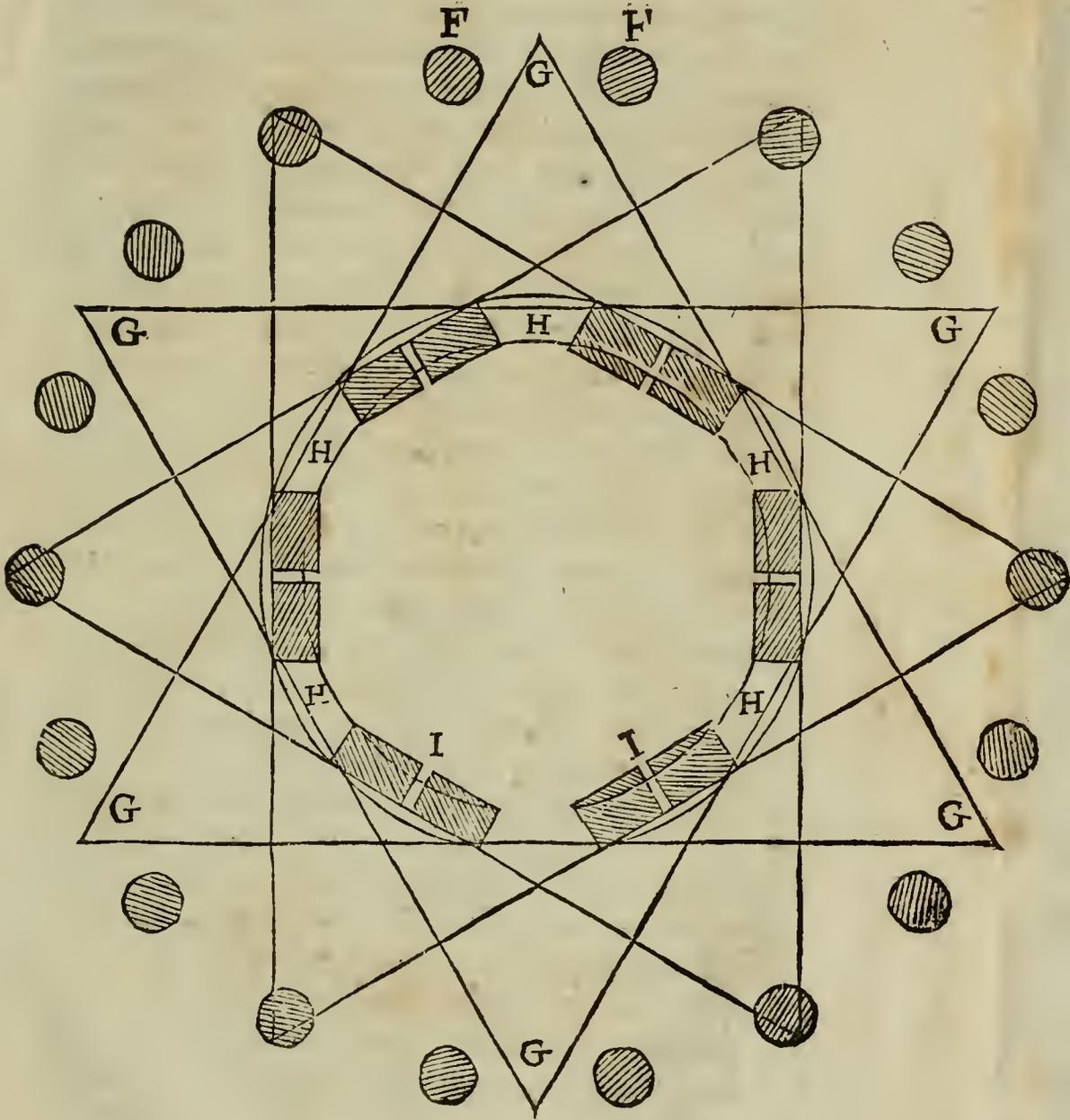
H

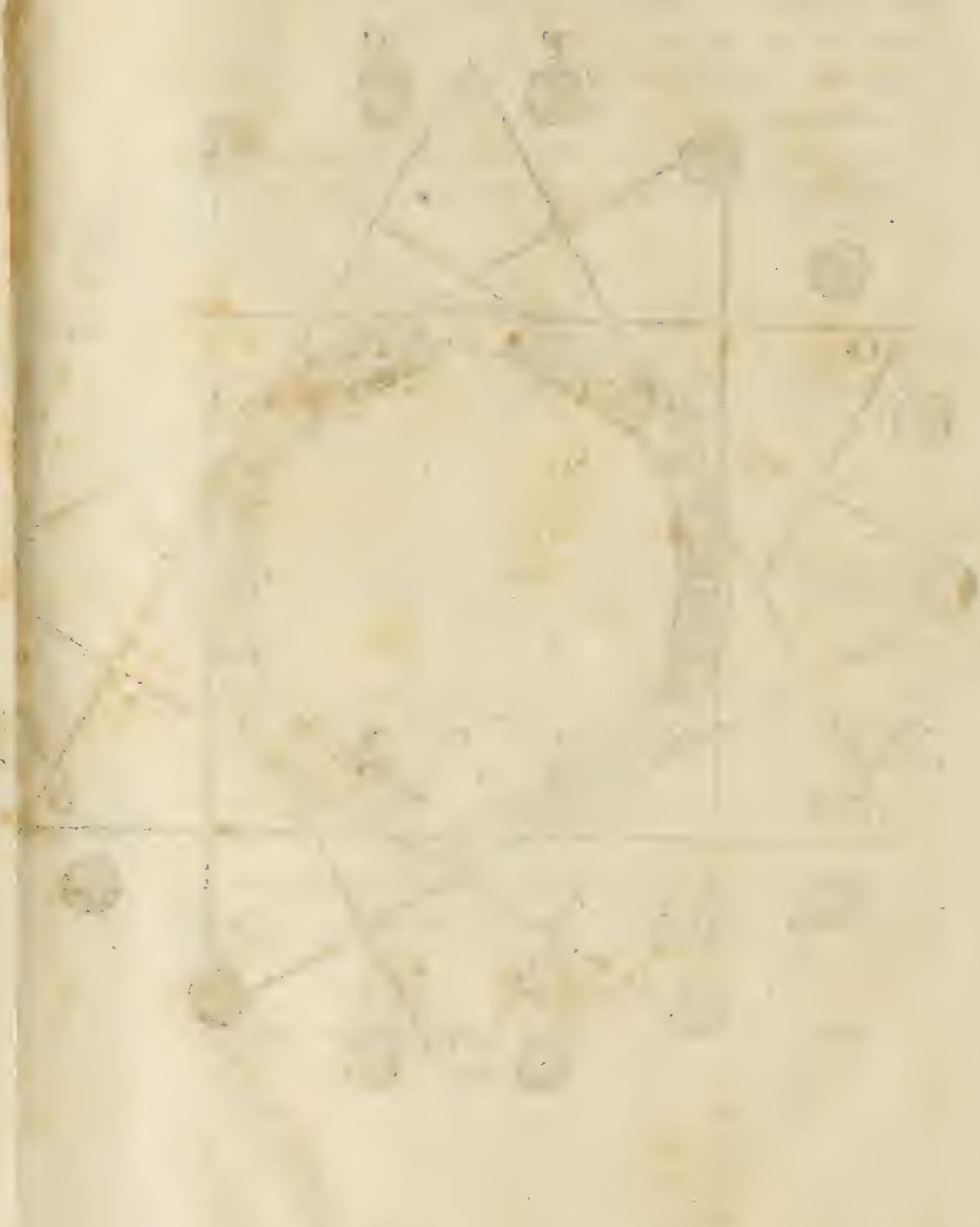
The circular wall environing the *Cell* of the *Peripteros*.

I

After what manner the stones of the greater *Hexagon* at *Stoneheng*, were raised from the circumference of the said wall.

The Design follows.





But, before deliver my judgment, unto which of their *Deities* this *Temple Stoneheng* was anciently dedicated by the *Romans*, I shall give you some customs in force amongst the *Ancients*, relating the *Decorum* used by them, in building their particular *Temples*: whereby, those several opinions seemingly conclusive to whom *Stoneheng* sacred, may more evidently appear invalid, and my own more apparently probable. Those therefore that endeavour the searching out *Antiquities* of *Architecture*, must amongst others, especially prescribe to themselves five things to be guided by. *viz.* *The Situation, Aspect, Manner, Form, and Order* of the work as in use amongst the *Ancients*. For, inventing the severall ornaments of *Architecture*, at first for honour and distinction onely of their *Deities*, they appropriated to each of them particular *situations*, precise *forms*, peculiar *Orders*, according to the severall qualities, in regard whereof adored by them.

The *situation* of the *Temples* to *Venus, Mars, Vulcan*, they ordained to be chosen without their *Cities*, as those which moved mens minds to lasciviousnesse, wars, and devastations. Within their *Cities* they placed the *Temples* of the *Patrons* of *Chastity, Peace, good Arts*: and of such *Gods* also, to whom the *Protection* of their *Cities* committed. To *Pallas, Mercury, and Isis* the chief *Presidents* of *Artificers, and Merchants*, they built *Temples* near the *Market places*, or upon the *Market places* themselves. To *Apollo* and *Bacchus* near the *Theater*. To *Hercules* near the *Cirque* or *Amphitheater*. Unto *Æsculapius* and *Salus*, in places most of all others healthfull, and near to pure *stre:ms, and waters*; because the infirm people, coming out of a pestilent and contagious *Aire*, to that which was good and healthfull, by drinking those waters might the sooner, and with lesse difficulty be recovered, whereby zeal to those supposed *Deities* encreased.

The *Aspect Hypathros*, mentioned before, of which *Stoneheng* appears built, was proper only to some of their *Gods*, as shall be remembred in due time: the other *five* (needlesse here to name) were indifferently disposed, sometime

to one, and sometime to another *Deity*, as the magnificence of the *Temples* to be built required, and, as to be made with *Portico's* or without.

The *Manner*, which *Vitruvius* distinguishes into five kinds; according as the intercolumnnes are of five severall proportions, was only so far forth peculiarly appropriated to their *Deities*, as it was agreeable to the proper *Order*, otherwise they followed the greatnesse of the Work.

But, to each of them appropriating particular forms of *Temples*; to some of their Gods, they made them of a round form, to others quadrangular, to others of many angles: some of them having their *Temples* covered, with roofs over them; others again built uncovered, without any manner of roofs at all: As, our *Antiquity Stoneheng*.

Lastly, the *Order* of which they built them, was so diligently observed, according to the peculiar qualities of their *Deities*, that seldom or never they varied: as in fit place I shall remember. These aforesaid rules also were so firmly observed by the *Ancients*, that even at first sight the *Roman Architects* of old were able to judge, to what *Deity*, this, or that *Temple* sacred: and the modern *Italian Architects*, by the ruines of them at this day, give such notable testimonies towards the discovery of them, as are very hardly to be contradicted. Whosoever desires more of this, may read *Vitruvius*, *Leo Baptista Albertus*, and other Authors writing of *Architecture*. That then we may arrive to a degree of certainty unto whom our *Stoneheng* anciently dedicated; some such *Deitie* of the *Romans* is to be found out, in whose honour they built *Temples*, not only in such *situations* as this at *Stoneheng*; but with whose nature or quality the *Form* and *Aspect* thereof may be agreeable also; and the *Order* proper. For, whosoever goes about to enforce other reasons, do as I conceive but beat the air, neither can they reduce this *Antiquity* to any probable Originall.

To which of the *Roman Deities* *Stoneheng* consecrated, are, as I said before, severall opinions. Some presume it sacred to *Diana*, but upon what ground their conjecture is raised, confi-

considering both the *Aspect* and *Manner* of this *Temple* utterly different from those the *Ancients* used to dedicate to *Her*, I cannot conceive; for, the *Manner* of the *Temples* erected to *Diana*, was *Diastylos*, i.e. *columnis amplius patentibus*, made with large and void spaces: the *Aspect* of that at *Ephesus* was *Dipteros*; that at *Magnesia* *Pseudodipteros*: which *Manner* *Hermogenes* inventing to save expence and labour, though he left out the *Order* of pillars within, and thereby the *Portico* came to be more large, yet the *Aspect* continued still the same. And, as in the *Aspect* and *Manner*, so likewise in the *Order* and *Form* it's different: that, at *Ephesus* aforesaid being of the *Ionick Order*, the *Order* peculiarly appropriated to *Diana*, and quadrangular: of the same *Form* also, was that at *Magnesia* aforesaid, and so likewise the *Romans* built them, as by the now Church of *S. John Evangelist* at the *Latian*, or *Latine Port*, anciently the *Temple* of *Diana*; and that in *Mount Aventine* also, the chief of her *Temples* in *Rome*, fully appears. The *situation* of the *Temples* dedicated to her, was in groves, whence *Vitruvius* calls her grovy *Diana*.

*Vitr. lib. 3.  
cap. 1 & 2.*

*Fab. Cal.*

*Vitr. lib. 4.  
cap. 7.*

*Ecce suburbane templum nemorale Dianæ, saith Ovid.  
See where Diana's grovy Temple stands.*

In which sort *Virgil*, *Pliny*, and other *Authors* also tell us her *Temples* were always sited. The *Architecture* therefore of the *Temples* to *Diana*, and this at *Stoneheng* being so far different, there is no probable reason *Stoneheng* should be suppos'd dedicated to her.

Moreover, whether or no this opinion may be consistent with any of those qualities, the *Ancients* endowed this *Goddess* with, let us examine further the *Nature* of the *Deity* it self. Is *Stoneheng* consecrated to *Diana* because she presided over ways? what publick roads then, or common high-ways are to be read of, which anciently led over the *Downs* near this *Antiquity*? The most ancient ways we meet with, and which the *Romans* first made in this *Island*, as *Camden* sets them down, are four, *Watling-street*,

*Nat. Com.  
lib. 3. cap. 18.*

*Camden  
fo. 64.*

*Ikemild-street, Ermin-street, and the Fosse. Watling-street* led through *Verolanium* directly as it were by a streight line to the West side of *Leicestershire*, and from thence through the Northerly Counties into *Wales*. *Ikemild-street* began in the Countrey of the *Iceni*, tending Eastward. *Ermin-street* in the same quarter, running through *Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire*, and so on towards *Lincolnshire* led the right way into the Northern Countreys on that side: (this street-way, happily, may be that which among the inhabitants passeth now by the name of *High Dike*.) The *Fosse* passing through *Warwickshire*, came down to *Stow* on the *Would*, thence to *Cirnchester*, from *Cirnchester* continuing on towards *Bath* and beyond it to *Somerton* into the Western Provinces: the ridge whereof is yet to be seen in divers places of that tract. All of them lying so far from *Stoneheng*, that none of them are remembered to come nearer then *Cirnchester* to any part of the Plains whereon it stands, and therefore in this respect there can be no cause to imagine this *Antiquity* should be dedicated to her. Or, is *Stoneheng* sacred to *Diana*, because she was the Patronesse of Gates? for which reason the Ancients built her Temples, either near to them within their Cities, or not far from them in the pleasant suburbs. But what Cities, or places having any such Gates, were ever found anciently so near *Stoneheng*, as might cause the dedication of so great a work to her? surely none. Or, is *Stoneheng* hallowed to *Diana* because she had the tutelage of Mountains? if so, then where are those Mountains to be found near this *Antiquity* on *Salisbury Plains*? which Plains, North, South, East and Westward through the midst of *Wiltshire* are so open, that they terminate the Horizon. If any such Mountains there, why do all Historians call them Plains? But admit Mountains sometimes on *Salisbury Plain*, what then became of them? were they removed by Earthquakes, swallowed into the ground by an *Hiatus* of the earth, or levell'd by inundations? then let it be made apparent when such like accidents fell out. Or is *Stoneheng* dedicated to *Diana*, because she delighted to bath her self in fountains and fresh

Camden fo.

517.

Ibid. fo. 366.

fresh Springs? where are those fountains and fresh Springs to be found? haply, in the utmost borders they may be had, none certainly in the body of the Plains, or any thing near *Stoneheng*: Spring veins being not there to be found, unlesse by sinking wells or pits very deep, which the inhabitants are enforced to make in severall places for watering their Sheep, and as glad they are there, as the Patriarchs of old in the deserts of *Canaan* to come by them. Or is *Stoneheng* sacred to *Diana*, because reputed Goddesse of hunting? then, who ever desirous of a Temple for her, may finde it in *Daphne*, the anciently famous suburbs of *Antiochia*, where was not onely a Temple dedicated to her, but an *Asylum* Strab. li. 16. also, as *Strabo* witnesseth: such places only being held proper for her mysteries, where interven'd variety of pleasures, goodly shadowy groves, delicate walks, and pleasant Springs of most cool and fresh waters. In the midst of these delights the Ancients sited her Temples, not in wilde Downs, or vast Plains, so wide and open that hardly see from one side of them to another, affording neither shelter for travellers against canicular heats, nor succour for cattell against the boisterous blasts of blustering *Boreas*. Lastly, is *Stoneheng* dedicated to *Diana*, because the supposed guardian of woods? then remains it to be made apparent by them, those Plains in ancient times bore another countenance then at present. That they were full of Forrests, woods and groves, with variety of lawns, replenished and stored with such sorts of game, and wilde beasts in chase whereof *Diana* and her companions are said to recreate themselves: from whence some are of opinion she was called *Diana*, as much to say *Deviana*, quoniam venantes per devia & silvas deviare solent, Rosin. lib. 2. cap. 7. captantes feras. Because of huntsmens deviating, or wandring out of the way, through uncouth paths and woods in pursuit of their game. That those Plains afforded as much pleasure and delights as the *Thessalian Temple*, the *Syrian Daphne*, or what place else as famous where her Temples anciently stood: and, in what unknown age they were disafforrested and hid wast. Which, if ever so, certainly some signs thereof would remain,

main, or at least be found there, as well as in other parts of the Island, in times past overgrown with woods. As in *Anglesey* formerly mentioned; in *Cheshire*, where, in digging their marlepits are often found huge trees, demonstrating to posterity the forrests there anciendly growing; in the Isle of *Axholm* in *Lincolnshire*, where the inhabitants have hardly any fewell, but what such trees afford so digged out of the earth; in *Somersetshire*, where I my self have seen trunks of trees lying under ground, and expressing the places in times past overgrown with trees, very few or none being in those places now standing. Besides, some remembrance of the aforesaid forrests and woods History questionlesse would yeeld; now what occasion soever Historians take for mentioning this tract, not one word is delivered by them to that purpose, all unanimously consenting 'twas never other then at present an open and champion Countrey. A Theater on which *Bellona* often displayed her bloody ensigns, and acted severall tragedies in times of old: A field of *Mars*, where *Romans*, *Saxons*, and after *Danes* for obtaining the dominion of this Island decided their ambitious controversies. Of which actions we have visible testimony unto this day, witnesse those burrows, and places where they cast the bodies of their slain, over all quarters of the plain dispersed, which in long time are so shrowded by nature with ever growing grasse, that their memory will remain by their sepulchres to all posterity; that which consumes all works of Art, making them still more fresh and flourishing: witnesse spoils of war there frequently digged up, as formerly remembred: severall encamping places of those severall Nations in all parts of the plain even yet appearing, no place in the whole Island, respecting the circuit, having more remains of them: Also that huge Trench, mentioned before by the name of *Wansdike*, running through the very bowels of them, such manner of trenches appearing no where in any part of *England* beside, saving where the like plains interveen; so at *Newmarket Heath* the like trench vulgarly called *Devils Dike*, as if made by Devils not by men, is

to be seen ; though in ancient times it was the limits of the Kingdome of the East *Angles*, and it took end, as *Camden* Camden fo. 490. very well observes, *where the passages by reason of woods grew cumbersome* : Which, if the like be granted for *Wansdike* (as is very probable, it ending also with the Plains) then without controversie there were no more woods in times of old on *Salisbury* Plains then at this day; it running overthwart them, as in a direct line from East to West. And who knows not, that other manner of fortifications then running trenches upon direct lines are to be cast up for defence of woody situations ? But why urge more Authorities, when the Inhabitants of the Countrey tell us, the soil or ground being hot, dry, and chalky is altogether improper for the growth of trees. Thus then the situation of the place, so antipathizing in all respects with the nature and qualities anciently attributed to *Diana*, and the Manner, Form, and Order of this Antiquity, so contrary to the custome used by the Ancients in erecting her Temples, no reason wherefore this Temple Stoneheng should be conceiv'd as erected for celebration of the superstitious ceremonies anciently ascribed unto her Worship.

Some, again, would have Stoneheng consecrated to *Pan*; because *Pan* a Greek word signifying the Universe, under him the whole frame of Nature was adored. And therefore, the Ancients made his statues with horns, saith *Servius*, expressing thereby the beams of the Sun, and horns of the Moon; those issuing from his forehead, and turning upwards towards Heaven, as *Boccace* will have it, signified the Celestiall bodies : feigning also, as the world moves with extraordinary swiftnesse, he excelled likewise in speed of running. By the purple, ruddy, and enflamed face, attributed to *Pan*, that pure fire, above all other Elements holding his place in the confines of the Celestiall Sphæars was demonstrated : by his large long beard descending down upon his breast, the two superiour Elements *Aire* and *Fire* of a masculine nature, sending down their impressions upon the other two naturally feminine was shewed : by the spotted skin cover-

ring

ring his breast and Shoulders, the eighth Sphear wholly embellished with glorious stars; inveloping in like manner all appertaining to the nature of sublunary creatures was represented: by the Sheep-hook which he held in one hand, Natures dominion over all things (according to *Boccace*) was signified: and as *Servius* saith, because this staffe, or rod was crooked, the year revolving into it self, was thereby expressed: in the other hand holding a Pipe, consisting of seven reeds, whereby, the Celestiall harmony conceived by some to have seven sounds, and seven different tunes, according to the number of the *Planets*, and their *Sphears* which are seven, was so set forth.

After this manner *Mythologists* discourse of *Pan*, with various opinions, according to the subtile niceties of their severall fancies: and in these respects as having relation to the *Heavens*, this *Antiquity Stoneheng* is imagined sacred to *Him*. 'Tis true, if *Mythologie*, and not demonstrative reasons were to be fixt upon in matters of *Architecture*, the former conceptions might be some ground to frame conjectures *Stoneheng* sacred to *Pan*. But, *Architecture* depending upon demonstration, not fancy, the fictions of *Mythologists* are no further to be embraced, then as not impertinently conducing to prove reall truths. Wherefore, the aforesaid ancient rules for building *Temples* considered, and comparing the *Order*, *Form*, *Aspect* and *Situation* of the *Temples* to *Pan*, with the like in this *Antiquity*, so much contrariety is found betwixt them, as may convince any reasonable judgement *Stoneheng* not dedicated to *Him*.

*Nat. Com.*  
*lib. 5.*

*Pan pastorum, venatorum, & universæ vitæ rusticæ præsidem crediderunt Antiqui*, saith *Natalis Comes*. *Pan* was the reputed God amongst the *Ancients*, of *Shepherds*, *Huntsmen*, and all those that led an agrestick life. The same Author also calling him *Piscatorum Deum*, the God of *Fishermen* as well as *Shepherds*. *Arcadibus Deorum antiquissimus & honoratissimus est Pan*, saith *Dionysius*. *Pan* is the most ancient, and most honoured Deity of the *Arcadians*. And in *Arcadia* it self where he was principally adored, they built his *Temples* for the most part in *Towns*

*Dion. Hal.*  
*lib. 1.*  
*Rosin. lib. 2.*

of

of the same Form and Order as to Juno: In the Town of *Heræa*, *habet Pan templum suum* (saith *Pausanias* in his description of *Arcadia*) *quod olim Junoni dicatum fuit*, Pan had his Temple which anciently was dedicated to Juno. Now, the Order appropriated to Juno by the Romans, was the Ionick, as is manifest from *Vitruvius*, who tels us, To Juno, Diana, and Bacchus, and to the other Deities of the same quality, they built Temples of the Ionick Order. The Form in like manner of her sacred Structures was quadrangular, as in Mount *Aventine*, in *foro Olitorio* (or the herb Market) in Mount *Quirinal*, and elsewhere amongst the Romans the ruines of her Temples do evidently witness: as also, her Temples anciently at *Argos*, and amongst the *Elians* in *Greece*, built of the like Form, and of the *Dorick* Order. But this Antiquity is of the severe *Tuscane* work, and of a round figure. The Temples to Pan had a Portico onely in front, at Stoneheng it continues round about the Cell. The Temples to Pan were not exposed to the open Aire, and built uncovered as Stoneheng was, but had roofs upon them. For, *Ignis ei perpetuus ardebat*, therein they kept perpetuall fire, as at *Aca-cesium* a Town also of *Arcadians*; all Temples wherein they kept such fires being covered, as the Temple to *Apollo* at *Delphos* amongst the *Greeks*, and to *Vesta* at *Rome* amongst the *Romans*. But, if at any time they did erect them distant from a Town, reserving always the Form and Order, they chose such situations as wholly environed with trees; for example, the Temple to Pan in Mount *Lycaeus*, was compassed in with a thick wood, *condenso circumseptum luco*, as *Pausanias* hath it: so likewise, that Temple sacred to *Him* in the *Parthenian* Forrest, according to the said Author. Now, this Temple Stoneheng is sited in an open champion Countrey, where scarce a bush or tree, much lesse thick woods, or forests to be seen throughout the whole Plain; nor was there ever any in times of old as History remembers, and the nature of the soil, as I am informed, is no wise prosperous for their growing there, as is sufficiently before declared.

But Pan (say they) being the God of *Shepherds*, why might not Stoneheng to gratifie them be erected, and consequently

O

by

*Pausan. fo.*  
496.

*Vitr. lib. 1.*  
cap. 2.

*Alexan.*  
*Don.*  
*Pomp. Totti.*

*Pausan. fo.*  
114. & 317.

*Ibid. fo. 516.*

by the *Romans* dedicated to their God *Pan*? no place in the whole Island more abounding with sheep, then the circumadjacent Plains; the almost innumerable flocks whereof, not only most plentifully satisfying the bordering inhabitants for food; but, from their delicate fleeces, a great part of the known universe are clad also. I answer, amongst the *Romans* (declared at large before to be *Founders* of *Stoneheng*) I do not finde any one *Temple*, *Holy House*, *Sanctuary*, *Grove*, *Altar*, or any such like sacred structure consecrated to *Pan* in their own Country; much lesse any *Temple* dedicated unto Him by them in *Britain*: and therefore, utterly improbable this *Temple Stoneheng* should be erected by the *Romans* unto *Pan*.

*Dion. Hal.*  
*lib. 2.*  
*Rosin. lib. 2.*  
*cap. 20.*

*Iustin. lib.*  
*43.*

*Plutarch. in*  
*Rom.*  
*Rosin. lib. 3.*  
*cap. 2.*

*Plut. in Rom.*

*Dion. lib. 1.*

There was a *Temple* indeed, built to *Pan Lycaeus* on *Mount Palatine*, by those *Arcadians* which accompanied *Evander* into *Italy*; in which, though the *Romans* in succeeding times performed the same rites, as the *Arcadians* anciently had instituted; yet, He passed with the *Romans* under the name of *Lupercus*, and in honour of Him, as some Authors of opinion, certain festivals or games called *Lupercalia*, at *Rome* onely, not in *Provinces* conquered by them, were solemnized by the *Romans*; Noblemens sons running in those games, according to the primitive institution setting forth and beginning their course at *Mount Palatine*, and so round about the *City* to the same place again. I may not omit, neverthelesse, that severall Authors deliver the *Lupercalia* were instituted in thankfulnessse to *Lupa*, or the wolf that gave *Romulus* suck, and the course of those games beginning at *Mount Palatine* (not so much in remembrance it seems of *Pans* *Temple* there, as) from the *Lupercal* or the very place they say where *Romulus* was cast out.

*Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* tels us the *Arcadians* built the aforesaid *Temple* to *Pan*, idoneo invento loco &c. when they had found out a convenient place for it adjoining to their habitations: the condition or nature of which place is not unworthy your observation; for by his description thereof

we shall easily perceive what manner of situation was by the *Arcadian* Shepherds held proper for performing the ceremonies of their God *Pan*. His words are, *Erat tum, ut fertur, spelunca sub tumulo magna, denso querceto contexta, & sub petris profundi fonticuli, solúmque rupibus contiguum nemorosum, & frequentibus ac proceris opacum arboribus: ibi ara deo extructa, more patrio sacra fecerunt.* Under the Hill (to wit, Mount *Palatine*) was anciently, as report goes (saith he) a great cave or den, covered over by a thick grove, deep wells or riverets running amongst the stones of the cave, and round about it a wood, by the many and tall trees growing therein very dark and obscure: there the *Altar* of the God was placed, and his *Sacrifices* after their *Cowitry* manner performed. Now is *Stoneheng* thus sited, or was there ever any such like place near this *Antiquity*? of all the places in *England* that I know, none comes nearer that cave, then *Ochy-hole* in *Somersetshire*: And if the *Ancients* held such dismall situations only proper for *Pans* Temples, then without peradventure *Stoneheng* was never erected in honour of him, they being no innovators in their superstitions.

A further observation may be made to our purpose, upon the aforesaid description, *Erat tum antrum magnum, it was anciently* (saith *Dionysius*) a great cave. But in his own time, *Dion.lib.1.* which was under *Augustus*, the *Romans* had so choked up the place with building, that the manner how *Pans* Temple in old time stood, was hardly to be discovered: *nunc quidem ædificiis* (saith he) *fanum circumquaque sepientibus, difficilis conjectura est qualis olim loci natura fuerit.* At this present, verily, the Temple being every way environed with buildings, it is hardly to be conjectured in what manner of place it anciently stood. This was the cause which enforced him to deliver to posterity the former description meerly upon report. Certainly then, the *Romans* employing the place to profaner uses, *Pans* Deity was little esteemed by them; otherwise, they would never have polluted it, by setting up private houses upon the place consecrated to him. Now the *Romans* slighting him after this manner at home, little reason appears so magnificent a structure as *Stoneheng*, should be

erected by them for adoration of Pan in other Countreys.

Furthermore, the Sacrifices in times of old offered to Pan were milk and honey, offered up in simple Shepherds crocks or earthen pitchers: *quare non ritè sacrificabant, qui tauros illi immolabant, aut qui in aureis poculis lac aut vinum offerebant &c.* Wherefore, they sacrificed not aright, saith Natalis Comes, who immolated Bulls or Oxen unto him, or out of golden cups poured forth milk or wine upon his Altars; for goblets of that metall were proper onely for the supernall and celestiaall Deities, not to terrestriall, and such as had care of Heardsmen or Shepherd Swains. To which purpose also, the same Author out of Apollonius Smyrnaeus remembers Pan, thus speaking of himself.

Nat. Com.  
lib. 5.

*Sum Deus agrestis, cur his sunt aurea sacris  
Pocula? quo vinum funditis Italicum?  
Ad petram cur stat taurus cervice ligatus?  
Parcite: non hæc est victima grata mihi.  
Pan montanus ego sum, ligneus, ipsaque vestis  
Pellicea est: mustum è fætilibusque bibo.*

In English thus:

*Arurall God am I, in golden cup  
The Falern wine, why then d'ye offer up?  
Why at mine Altar, stands the stern Bull bound,  
Or Oxe that's fat, with laurell girland crown'd?  
Spare ye such cost: no gratefull victimes these  
Are unto me, others lesse costly please.  
A Mountaineer, a wood-man clad in skin  
Am I: your wine in earthen vessels bring.*

But the Sacrifices anciently offered at Stoneheng (already remembered) were Bulls or Oxen, and severall sorts of beasts, as appears by the heads of divers kinds of them, not many years since there digged up.

As for that of the Pantheon, it is very well known the Ancients so called it, not in any relation to Pan, but because it was sacred to Jove the Revenger, and according to others to Cibeles,

*Cibele*, and all Gods. For which reason, *Boniface* the fourth obtained licence from the Emperour *Phocas*, to consecrate it to the *Virgin Mary*, and all Saints. And who knows not the *Architecture* thereof wholly different from this of *Stoneheng*? The *Pantheon* hath its *Cell* enclosed with a continued solid wall, and the *Portico* only in front, of the delicate *Corinthian Order*; of which *Order* the inner part consisted likewise, being vaulted in most admirable and magnificent manner: From whence *Dion Cassius* delivers his opinion, *inde id nominis habere, quod forma convexa fastigiatum, cæli similitudinem ostenderet*, it to be called the *Pantheon*, because by the form of that vault wherewith covered, it represented the concave of *Heaven*, or (as others will) the figure of the world; for the world being mans house, the firmament is as the vaulted roof thereof. At the crown of the vault it had an opening, by which only it received light and air. But, this *Antiquity Stoneheng* built of a grave and humble *Order* (as is said before) had a double *Portico* continuing round about it, the *Cell* thereof free and open, and every way exposed to the air, received light from all parts.

*Platin. in Bon.*

*Dion. lib. 53.*

Wherefore leaving these, *Stoneheng* was dedicated, as I conceive, to the God *Cælus*, by some Authors called *Cælum*, by others *Uranus*, from whom the Ancients imagined all things took their beginning. My reasons are, first, in respect of the situation thereof; for it stands in a Plain, remote from any *Town* or *Village*, in a free and open air, without any groves or woods about it.

Secondly, in regard of the *Aspect*; for *Stoneheng* was never covered, but built without a roof. Which *Decorum* the *Romans* ever observed, both in the *Situation* and *Aspect* of the *Temples* dedicated to this their God, and to *Jove* the *Lightner*, the *Sun*, and the *Moon*. *Jovi fulguratori, & Cælo, & Soli, & Luna,*

*Vitr. li. 1. cap. 2.*

*ædificia sub divo Hypæthraque constituuntur.* To *Jove* the *Lightner*, and to *Cælus*, and to the *Sun*, and to the *Moon*, they erected buildings in the open air and uncovered, saith *Vitruvius* in the second Chapter of his first Book. Take with you also his reason. *Horum enim Deorum & species & effectus in aperto mundo atque lucenti*

*præ-*

Godw. An-  
tiq. l. 1. cap.  
20.

*praesentes videmus, because both the forms and effects of these Deities, we behold present before our eyes, in a clear and open view. Another reason I find also why they built their Temples to Cælus, and those other Deities uncovered as Stoneheng: because they counted it an hainous matter to see those Gods confined under a roof, whose doing good consisted in being abroad.*

Pier. Valer. 7.  
Hier. lib. 39.

Thirdly, in regard of the Form of Stoneheng, which is circular. This figure was proper to the Temples of Cælus and Tellus, whom the Ancients called *Vesta*, as *Valerianus* (in his *Hieroglyphicks*) affirms. *Non solamente la palla, ma una semplice piegatura di ruota, appresso gli Egizziani dimostrava il Cielo. Not only (saith he) the circular form, but the meer segment of a circle amongst the Egyptians was an Hieroglyphick of Cælus. And to this purpose also, Leo Baptista Albertus useth these words: Ædem Vestæ, quam esse terram putarent, rotundam ad pilæ similitudinem, faciebant. Unto Vesta, whom they reputed to be the Earth, they built Temples of a round form globelike. Besides, observe what Philander commenting on Vitruvius tels us. Templorum quanquam alia fiant quadrata, alia multorum angulorum, Cæli naturam imitati veteres, imprimis rotundis sunt delectati: Although (saith he) the Ancients made some Temples square, some of six sides, others of many angles, they were especially delighted with making of them round, as representing thereby the Form or Figure of Cælum, Heaven.*

Leo Bapt.  
Alb. lib. 7.

Philand. in  
4. lib. Vitruv.  
cap. 7.

An. Pal. li. 1.

Fourthly, in respect of the Order whereof Stoneheng built. The severity of this *Tuscan* work, retaining in it a shew (as it were) of that first face of *Antiquity* (as *A. Palladio* terms it) being most agreeable to the nature of this their God, reputed the ancientest of all their *Deities*, and Father of *Saturn*. For, it was the custome of the Ancients (as in part I remembered before) to appropriate the severall Orders of *Architecture*, according to the particular qualifications of those they deified. *Minervæ, & Marti, & Herculi, ædes Doricæ fient: his enim diis propter virtutem, sine deliciis ædificia constitui decet. To Minerva, and Mars, and Hercules, Temples of the Dorick Order were made; for, to these Deities in respect of their valiant actions, it*

Vitr. lib. 2.  
cap. 2.]

was requisite to build without delicacy. *Veneri, Floræ, Proserpine, Fontium Nymphis, Corinthio genere constitutæ, aptas videbuntur habere proprietates, quod his diis propter teneritatem, graciliora & florida, foliisque & volutis ornata opera facta augere videbuntur justum decorem.* To *Venus, Flora, Proserpina, the Fountain Nymphs, the Corinthian Order* was thought most proper: because unto these in regard of their tender natures, the work seemed to advance a just decorum, when made delicate and flourishing, and adorned with leaves and volutes. *Junoni, Dianæ, Libero Patri cæterisque diis qui eadem sunt similitudine, si ædes Ionice construerentur, habita erat ratio mediocritatis, quod & ab severo more Doricorum, & à teneritate Corinthiorum, temperabitur earum institutio proprietatis.* To *Juno, Diana, Bacchus, and to the other Deities of the same quality, building Temples of the Ionick Order, they had regard unto the mean, that from the severe manner of the Dorick, and delicacy of the Corinthian, the condition of their indowments might be duly moderated, saith Vitruvius.* To *Jupiter, Sol, and Luna, though they made Temples sub divo open to the air and without roofs like this Antiquity; yet were they not built of severe and humble but most delicate Orders, and accordingly were adorned with costly ornaments, and beautified with various enrichments in severall sorts of sculpture, as by the ruines of them in divers parts of Italy remaining to this day, evidently appears.* Respecting therefore, this *Decorum* used by the *Ancients* in building their *Temples*, and that this work *Stoneheng* is principally composed of a most grave *Tuscane* manner, by just proportions of an agreeable form; it is in mine opinion, as I said before, most agreeable to the quality and condition of that ancient *Cælus*, whom *Antiquity* reputed the very stem whence all those *Deities* in the succeeding *Ages* proceeded. *Cælus ex eadem conjuge (scilicet Tellure) procreavit Oceanum, Cælum, Hyperionem &c. & novissimum omnium Saturnum suscepit. Cælus, by the same wife (to wit Tellus) had Oceanus, Cælum, Hyperion &c. and last of all begat Saturn.* To which purpose also *Lactantius, I finde Uranius by his wife Vesta had Saturn and Ops: Saturn attaining the government, called his father Uranius, Cælus, and his mother Terra; that by this change of names,*

*Apollod.  
lib. 1.*

he might the more magnifie the splendor of his originall &c. Further, I conceive it will not be impertinent to our purpose in hand, to deliver what the Ancients have reported of *Cælus*; and wherefore they ascribed divine Honours unto Him.

According to the Poets, *Cælus* was not that huge machine adorned with stars, which *Orpheus* saith was composed for habitation of the Planets, and other Deities, and which we behold moving with continuall revolution: but a certain man so called, son to *Æther* and *Dies*, that, is della virtù ardente, & della luce famosa, of transcendent influence and resplendent brightness, as *Boccace* hath it.

*Boccace*  
lib.3.

*Diodor.*  
lib.4.

By Historians, especially *Diodorus Siculus*, it's thus delivered. *Scribunt primum regnasse apud Atlantides Cælum: Hominésque antea per agros dispersos, ad cætum, condendâsque urbes exhortatum, à fera eos agrestique vita ad mitiorem cultum extitisse &c.* They write, he which first reigned over the Atlantides was *Cælus*, and that he invited men living dispersedly before throughout the fields, to convene, and dwell in companies together, exhorting them to build Towns, and reducing them from wild and savage to the conversation of civill life: Taught them also to sow corn and seeds, and divers other things belonging to the common use of mankind; Ruled likewise over a great part of the world from East to West; Was a diligent observer of the stars, and foretold men divers things to come: The year (before confus'd) bringing into Order, according to the course of the Sun, reducing it also into moneths after the Moons course, and appointing likewise the severall seasons of the year. Whereby many ignorant of the perpetuall course of the stars, and amazed at his future predictions, did verily believe he participated of Divine Nature, and therefore after his death, as well for benefits received from him, as great knowledge of the stars, they conferred on him immortall honours, and adored him as a God. And, as appears, called *Cælus* in regard of his skill in the celestiaall bodies, as also, for divers other causes. eternall King of all the world. Thus *Diodorus*. It being an ordinary custome among the Heathens to deifie, and esteem for Gods, such excellent personages, as either had well ruled, or governed them, or done any notable thing among them

them to their especiall benefit, or good liking. Such, were they men, or women, remained with the name, reputation, and reverence of *Gods* or *Goddeses* after their deaths.

Furthermore, according to the *Philosophers*; *Men* (they knew not how) by nature soon wanting, and by instinct as soon seeking some *God* (in stead of apprehending better) deified the *best* to sense. Whereupon, out of all *Entities* as most glorious to the eye, they first made choice of *Heaven*, and *Heavenly* bodies; considering again, as the most beneficiall objects, those living creatures, and fruits which the *Earth* beneath brought forth, to make compleat generations, they coupled *Cælus* to *Tellus*, adoring *Heaven* as *Father*, and *Earth* as *Mother* to these; the pouring down of showers from *Heaven* seeming in stead of naturall seeds, and the *Earth* as a *Mother* to conceive, and bring forth the same.

*Plut. Phil.  
opin. lib. i.*

Fifthly, the *Sacrifices* in times of old offered to *Cælus* were *Bulls* or *Oxen*, their great *God Jupiter* himself, as I find in *Rosinus*, offering such *Victimes* unto him. *Ante pugnam, quæ cum Gigantibus in Creta habita est, Jovem sacrificasse dicunt Soli, Cælo, ac Terræ bovem.* Before the battell struck with the *Giants* in *Crete*, they say *Jupiter* sacrificed an *Oxe* to *Sol*, *Cælus*, and *Terra*. Now that there hath oftentimes been digged out of the ground at *Stoneheng*, the heads of such beasts, in all probability anciently in that place sacrificed; I need not again remember, being it is so well known.

*Rosin. lib. 2.  
cap. 5.*

Sixthly, all the upright stones in this *Antiquity* are *Pyramidall* like flames, in imitation of those *Ætheriall* fires, wherewith the *Heaven* is adorned. Now, that *Fire* hath the form of a *Pyramis* is evident, perciocche, essendo largo da basso, into.no alla materia & esca, da che si pasce, finisce in acuta fiamma che riguarda al Cielo. Because, being large at the bottome, in respect of the matter and fuel, by which it is fed, it finishes in an acute flame tending upwards towards *Heaven*. And, that the *Heavens* are adorned with fires, *Natalis Comes* in his *Mythology*, out of *Orpheus*, makes apparent. *Nihil aliud esse Cælum existimans, nisi*

*Pier. Valer.  
Hier. lib. 60.*

*hunc aethera qui constat ex altissimis illis ignibus. Supposing the Heaven to be no other thing, but this Air which consisteth of those transcendent Fires.*

Lastly, that Stoneheng was anciently dedicated to *Caelus* I collect from the Conformation of the work. For the conformation of the Cell and Porticus in the Plant, was designed with four equilaterall Triangles, inscribed in a Circle, such as the *Astrologers* use in describing the twelve *celestiall* signs in muscally proportions. According to that of *Vitruvius*; *In ea conformatione quatuor scribantur trigona paribus lateribus & intervallis, quae extremam lineam circinationis tangant; In the conformation thereof, let four triangles be inscribed of equall sides and intervals, which may touch the extreme part of the circumference: quibus etiam in duodecim signorum caelestium descriptione, Astrologi ex musica convenientia astrorum ratiocinantur; by which figures also, Astrologers from the muscally harmony of the stars ground their reasonings, as concerning the description of the twelve celestiall signs.* Besides the Cell it self in the formation thereof, is cast into an *Exagon*, one of the three figures, likewise used by *Astrologers* in their aforesaid arguments of the sympathy of the stars. *Figuris tribus (saith Philander) utuntur Astrologi, Trigono, Tetragono & Hexagono. The Astrologers make use of three sorts of figures; the Triangle, Tetragon, and Hexagon.* Furthermore, the three entrances leading into the Temple from the Plain, were comparted by an equilaterall triangle; which was the figure whereby the Ancients expressed what appertained to Heaven, and divine mysteries also. *Aggiungono i Magi (saith Pierius Valerianus) che un triangolo semplice di lati uguali, è indizio di divinità, ovvero effigie di cose celesti. The Magi adde that a triangle of equall sides is a symboll of Divinity, or sign of celestiall matters.* Now this Antiquity consisting of severall stones, orderly disposed into one entire work, in imitation, as it were, of those severall stars which appearing to us in the Heavens in form of a circle, are called the *celestiall Crown*; and wholly designed by those *Scheams* wherewith *Astrologers* use to describe *celestiall* bodies; which figures, usually applied by them to particular accidents onely, being all joyntly made

*Pier. Valer.  
Hier. lib. 39.*

made use of by the *Architect* for conformation of this sacred structure, it is not improbable *Stoneheng* was so composed, because dedicated to *Cælum*. Yea further, (if lawfull to compare an idolatrous place with so divine a work) was not the *Temple* at *Hierusalem* adorned with the figures of *Cherubims*, that thereby the Nations of the Earth might know it was the habitation of the living God? and, why not in like manner this *Temple* composed by *Astrologicall* figures, that after Ages might apprehend, it was anciently consecrated to *Cælus* or *Cælum* Heaven?

But in this conjuncture; concerning such kinde of *Temples* as this at *Stoneheng*, what saith the learned *Patriarch* of *Aquileia*? *Io credo, che quel Tempio senza parete significava alcune cose del Cielo, gli effetti delle quali sono nello scoperto. I beleve that Temple without walls* (speaking of the *Monopteros* aforesaid) *had a relation to Cælum* (Heaven) *because the effects thereof are openly displaied to the full view of all men.*

*Dan. Barba.*  
*in lib. 4.*  
*Vitr. cap. 7.*  
*in Ven. 1584.*

*Camden* tels us he had heard, that in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, a table of metall was found, not far from this *Antiquity*, engraven with divers strange characters, which being not legible, was neglected and lost: had, indeed, that *Table* been found within the work it self it might happily have brought to light somwhat in relation to *Stoneheng*. And by all likelihood, in time some inscriptions may therein be found, it being the custome as well of *Greeks* as *Romans*, in times of greatest *Antiquity*, to lay inscriptions (usually) under the first stones set in what works soever; especially, those of any great magnificence. Wherefore, I advise mine honoured Friend *Laurence Washington* Esquire in whose demesnes this *Antiquity* stands, to whom I am much obliged, for his friendly notice of what things have been there of late years digged up, that he would be solicitous upon any search made there, to enquire after them, and if any found not to neglect, or curiously conceal them, but preserve and willingly produce the same.

I suppose, I have now proved from *Authentick* Authors, and the rules of *Art*, *Stoneheng* anciently a *Temple*, dedicated

to *Cælus*, built by the *Romans*; either in, or not long after those times (by all likelihood) when the *Roman Eagles* spreading their commanding wings over this *Island*, the more to civilize the *Natives*, introduc'd the *Art of Building* amongst them, discovering their ambitious desire, by stupendious and prodigious works, to eternize the memory of their high minds to succeeding Ages. For, the magnificence of that stately *Empire*, is at this day clearly visible in nothing more, then in the ruins of their *Temples*, *Palaces*, *Arch's Triumphals*, *Aqueducts*, *Therma*, *Theaters*, *Amphitheaters*, *Cirques*, and other secular, and sacred structures.

History affords only *Contemplation*, whereby their great Actions are made conceivable alone to reasoning: but the ruins of their buildings *Demonstration*, which obvious to sense, are even yet as so many eye-witnesses of their admir'd achievements.

*Roma quanta fuit, ipsa ruina docet,*

*How great Rome was, her ruines yet declare.*

*Camd. fo. 8.*

Opinions fancied to the contrary, I have rendred improbable, the Authors of them in respect of this *Antiquity* being not only modern; but also, what said by them *Romance-like* hatched out of their own brains, even as other fables invented by them, touching the *Britains* of old. Men possess nevertheless, with a former conceit of things, endure not by any means new opinions, having not commonly patience to search long after the truth thereof. To them, ever the more generally received, the truer things seem, accounting all of their own time despicable; insomuch, as some are so far in love with vulgarly receiv'd reports, that it must be taken for truth, whatsoever related by them, though nor head, nor tail, nor foot, nor footstep in it oftentimes of reason or common sense. They that beleve *Geffrey Monmouths ipse dixit*, may make themselves merry therewith; in pleasing their own fancy, they displease not mine. As I have delivered my own judgement freely, all reason they should

should enjoy theirs. But such as sail in the vast Ocean of time, amongst the craggy rocks of *Antiquity*, steering their course, betwixt anciently approved customs, and convincing arguments, guided by good Authority, and sound judgement, arrive much safer, and with better repute, in the secure Haven of undoubted *Truth*. For mine own part, I had rather erre happily with venerable *Antiquity*, then so much as trouble my thoughts with modern conceits. Whether, in this adventure, I have wasted my Barque into the wished *Port* of *Truths* discovery concerning *Stoneheng*, I leave to the judgement of skilfull *Pilots*. I have endeavoured, at least, to give life to the attempt, trending perhaps, to such a degree, as either may invite others to undertake the Voyage anew, or prosecute the same in more ample manner, in which, I wish them their desired successe, and that with prosperous gales they may make a more full and certain discovery.

F I N I S.

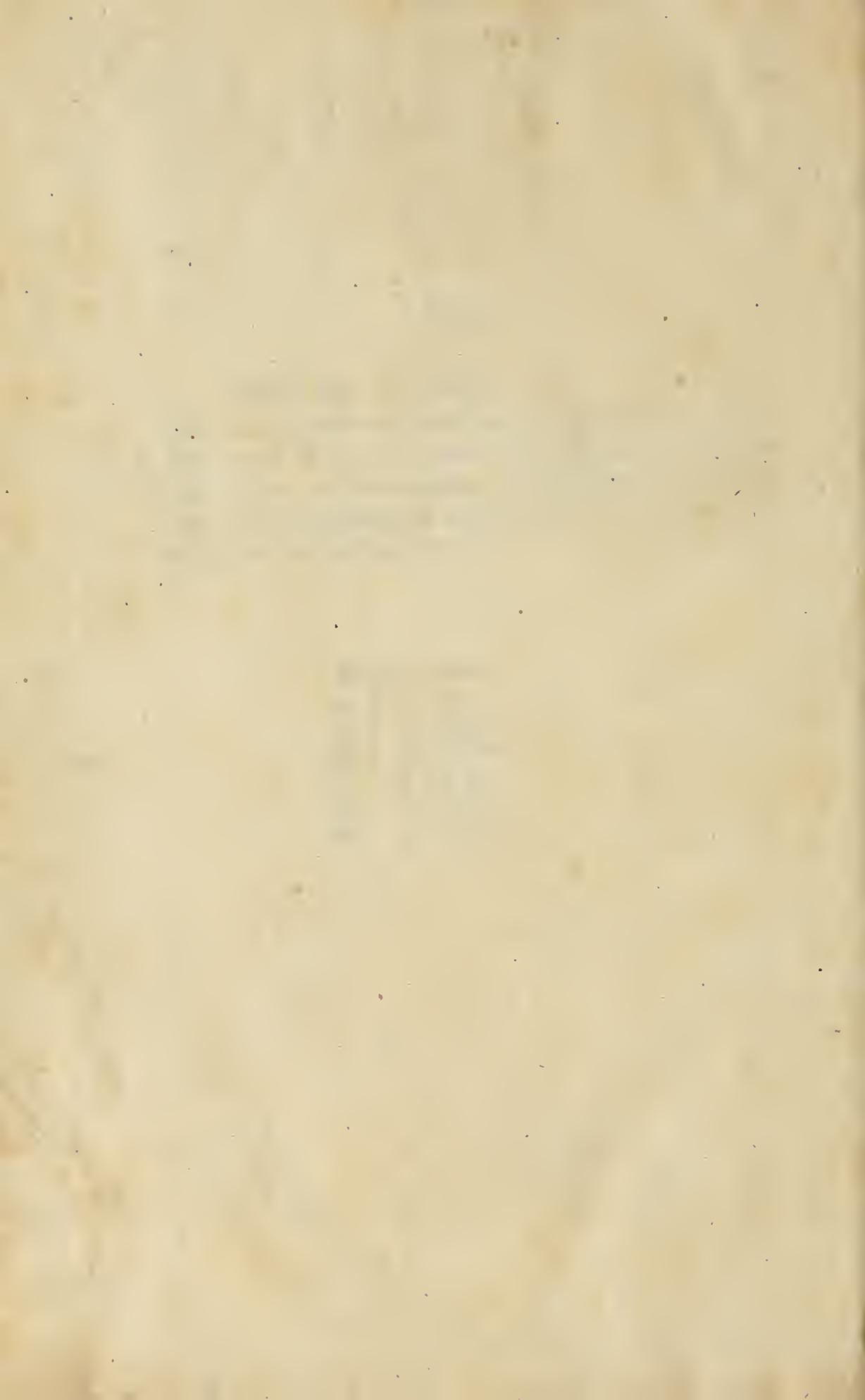
## Errata.

Folio 10. line 6. These words,

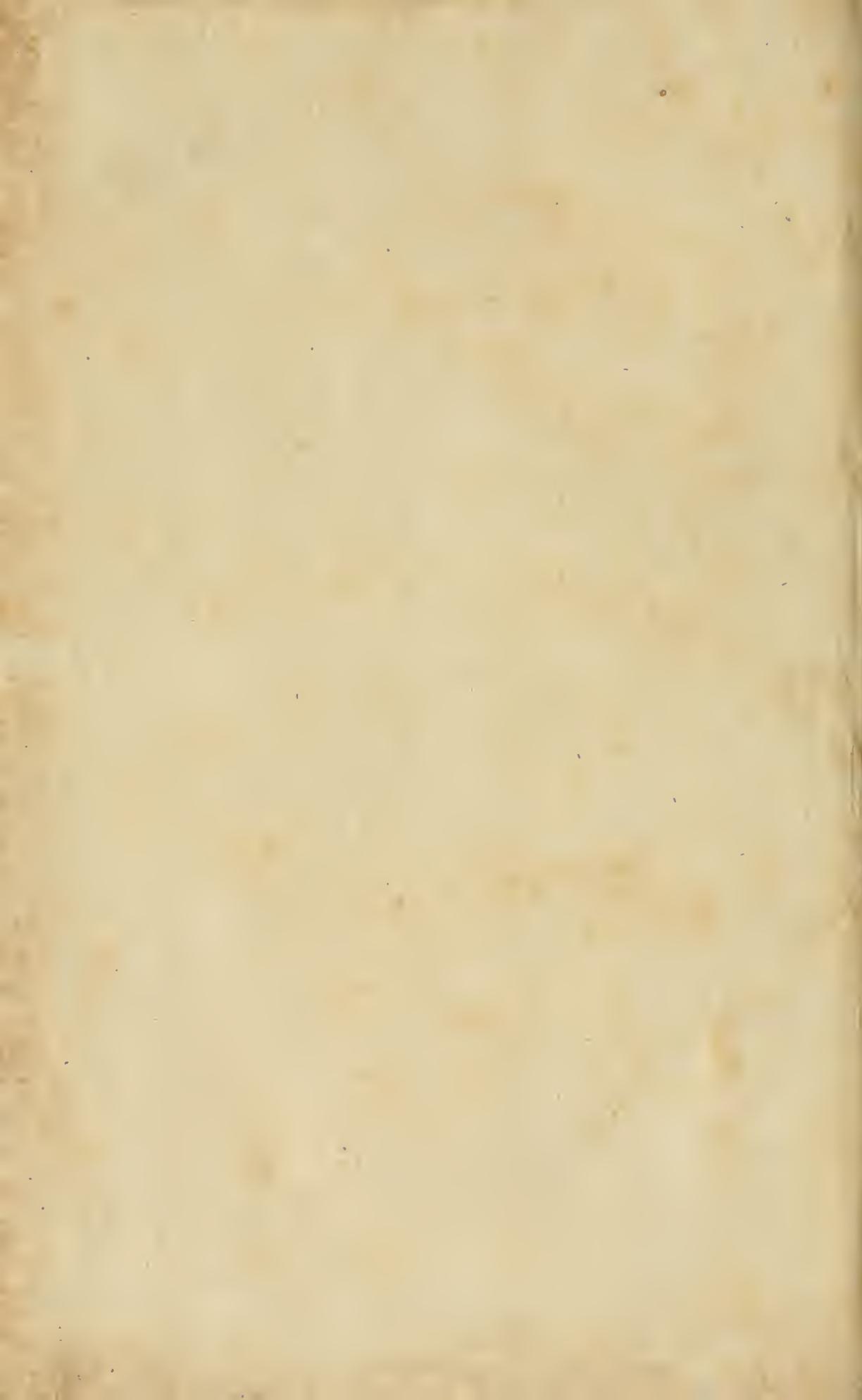
*[The Romans overthrew not the Temples, or razed to the Foundations, any of the sacred structures of the Druid's and Britans made of stone, or other materials, which he might as readily have done, if they had used any such: but positively,]* should have been printed in the ordinary letter.

Fo.	Line	Read
18	22	was
28	4	<i>Cappa</i>
38	19	<i>Mercians</i>
49	37	streit
50	1	streit
80	23	the roofe









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