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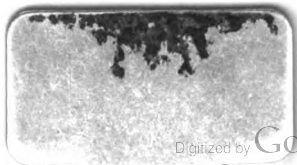
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UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



Hope Collection of
Engravings



(1291)
CRITICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
SITUATION AND DESTRUCTION

BY THE
First Eruptions of Mount VESUVIUS,
OF
Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia;

The late Discovery of their Remains;
The Subterraneous Works carried on in them;

AND THE
Books, Domeftick Utenfils, and other remarkable Greek
and Roman Antiquities thereby happily recovered;
The Form and Connection of the ANCIENT CHARACTERS
being faithfully preferved,

In a L E T T E R,

(Originally in GERMAN)

To Count B R U H L, of SAXONY,

From the Celebrated

Abbé WINCKELMAN, Antiquarian to the Pope,
Who was unfortunately murdered at TRIESTE.

Illustrated with NOTES, taken from the French Translation.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. CARNAN and F. NEWBERRY, jun. at Number
Sixty-five, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCCLXXI.

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P R E F A C E.

THE present century has had the advantage of discovering the ruins of three ancient towns, covered by the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, and of having what they contained laid open to the inspection of the curious, who by these means have obtained a vast field for the gratification of curiosity, and of that inextinguishable thirst of knowledge, which is one of the principal characteristics of rational beings. These towns were Herculanium, Pompeii, and Stabia,

The city of Herculanium, first suffered by an earthquake, which happened on the 5th of February, in the year 63, and continued to waste the neighbouring country during many days. Pompeii was entirely swallowed up, great part of Herculaneum was reduced to ruin, and the rest so shattered that it must have fallen, had it not been repaired after the people had recovered from their fright. Sixteen years after this accident,

dent, on the first of November, 79, in the first year of the Emperor Titus, Herculaneum, was totally overwhelmed by an irruption of Mount Vesuvius. Uncommon heats, and many shocks of an earthquake, had been felt for some days, accompanied with a noise like thunder, not only in the air, but under the ground, and upon the sea. This noise, which seemed to be the groan of Nature, increased in a moment, like a cry extorted by some sudden pang; and there issued from all the apertures of the mountain, a prodigious quantity of stones and ashes, which were thrown to an incredible height. These were followed by a stream of fire which spread like a sheet, and a thick smoke, which totally intercepted the light of Heaven, and produced an unnatural night of tremendous darkness, which the flames of the Volcano in a manner rendered visible. With the fire issued an astonishing quantity of cinders, ashes, and stones, which filled not only the air and the earth, but the sea. Pompeii which had just been rebuilt, was totally destroyed, and was buried with Stabia and Herculaneum, under the lava of Vesuvius.

The dreadful circumstances which attend the destruction of these cities, are worthy of being
prefixed

prefixed to a work which treats of the antiquities they contained, since these melancholly events were attended with a circumstance that will be of advantage to mankind. By their being thus overflowed by the lava of Vesuvius, they were locked up and secured from the ravages of the Goths and Vandals, who destroyed most of the vestiges they found of the arts, and were preserved through a long series of barbarous ages for the improvement of very distant times. By their being thus secluded from public view for near seventeen hundred years, by the hand of Providence, it seems as if they were reserved by the Omnipotent Disposer of all things, for the instruction and improvement of the present century, in which the arts are cultivated throughout all Europe, and are gradually rising to perfection, particularly in this kingdom, where a gracious Prince has taken them under his peculiar protection.

The study of antiquities is one of the most pleasing, and the most instructive of those in which the curiosity of man can be engaged. These are of the greatest consequence in elucidating history, particularly such antiquities as these, which afford a distinct knowledge of the furniture, domestic utensils, sacred vessels, paintings,

ings, statutes, intaglios, seals, &c. found at Herculaneum, many of which are amazingly beautiful, and superior to any antiquities before discovered. By these discoveries we are introduced, as it were, into the age in which the ancient Romans flourished; and enter more minutely into their public and domestic life.

At the time when the above cities were destroyed, the arts flourished, and were carried to the greatest height. The cities of Italy were embellished with the works of the greatest masters of Greece, and contained the most finished and most perfect works in painting, statuary, and engraving of seals; works that will ever be the admiration of mankind, and are worthy of being transmitted as models to be carefully studied by the artists of all future ages, wherever there is a desire of carrying the arts to the utmost perfection. This renders the present work both interesting and highly necessary at the present time, when by the study of nature and her finest models produced by the ancients, our artists are exerting all their abilities to arrive at perfection.

After all, these antiquities afford the most striking moral reflections to the mind of the contemplative ;

P R E F A C E.



templative; when we consider that the objects here exhibited belonged to the mighty empires of Greece and Rome, long since destroyed, and were part of the furniture of the ancient Romans, so celebrated in history, and of their towns; we see the transitory glory of all earthly objects, that Empires, however firmly founded, and that cities, however embellished, are like man, subject to mortality, and liable to dissolution. This thought naturally humbles the mind in the dust, and we learn to know our own insignificance, the vanity of our pretensions, and the futility of all earthly glories.

The Abbé Winckelman, the learned author of this work, acquired a very great reputation, by his various researches into the Grecian and Roman antiquities. Being at Vienna in the Year 1768, he met with a most honourable reception from all persons of distinction, and was particularly loaded with favours by the Empress Queen, who among other presents gave him three valuable gold medals, which had the impression of the late Emperor Francis, of her imperial and royal Majesty, and of the reigning Emperor, which soon after unhappily proved the cause of his death; for arriving at Trieste in order to return
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by sea to Rome, he was murdered in the chamber of the inn where he lodged, by a passenger, who, desiring to see the three medals, while he was opening the box in which they were contained, threw a cord with a running knot round his neck; and the knot stopping at the chin, he gave him seven stabs with a knife. Thus, to the regret of all Europe, died this ingenious and learned gentleman on the 9th of August, 1768, by the hand of a villain, after having been distinguished not only by his learning, but by his candour, his love of liberty, and the most amiable virtues.

This work, was originally written in German, the Author's native language, and the Translator begs leave to observe, that he did not take upon him to translate it, till he had long waited for some indications of its being undertaken by a better pen, though in point of faithfulness he flatters himself that none can exceed him.

A L E T T E R

A

L E T T E R, &c.

S I R,

AS I had the honour to accompany you in the tour, you made from Rome to Naples, during the carnival of the year 1762, I thought it would not be amiss to commit to writing some observations on the curiosities, we saw in the Royal Cabinet of Portici ; as well to help your memory in regard to what appeared to you most worthy of notice, as to direct the eyes of other travellers, whose short stay may not permit them to examine every thing with sufficient attention.

I had, in my first tour to Portici, as good an opportunity as I could wish for, to examine those precious remains of antiquity ; the king having been most graciously pleased to give orders, that I should be shewn every thing it was lawful to shew, and in the most convenient manner. Accordingly, I made the best use I could of so special a favour ; spending, for two months together, whole days in this rich repository. Besides, sir, you know, that, during our

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three weeks stay at Naples, I went almost every day to Portici, where M. Camillo Paderni, the cabinet-keeper, my intimate friend, took a particular pleasure in gratifying my curiosity; so that, had the Cabinet been my own, I could not have more minutely examined every thing it contained.

I make no doubt of your receiving this letter, with that kindness, of which you have given me so many proofs; and, therefore, shall not confine myself to the ordinary bounds of one; a liberty, which, I flatter myself, you will be the readier to excuse, as the particulars I intend to treat of are equally new and interesting; and it is you, the public must thank for my discussing them; since it is on your account alone I have undertaken to do it.

As it is impossible for me to speak of every thing, I shall content myself with speaking of what is most curious. I shall even pass over in silence those subjects, which I have already handled, in that part of my *History of the Arts among the Ancients*,* which relates to the many paintings, and statues found in this Cabinet. I shall sometimes cite a work written by the learned M. Martorelli, professor of Greek in the cathedral seminary of Naples, entitled *De Regiâ Thecâ Calamariâ*. This gentleman obtained leave to write on an antique standish in Bronze, preserved at Portici, but which was found, before the present works for examining the ruins of Herculaneum were undertaken

* This work, which was printing when Mr. Winckleman wrote this letter, has been since published.

taken. This stand-dish is of an octagon form, with a Divinity incrusted, in silver on each of its eight sides. These Divinities, the author has been pleased to take for so many planets; and, loth to lose so favourable an opportunity to display his erudition, has thence launched out into that vast ocean of literary disquisitions, the mythology and astrology of the ancient Heathens. Nothing escapes him, that can be said concerning the pens, and ink, and writings, and books, of the ancients. But, having had the misfortune of injudiciously, and even indecently, criticising the respectable Mazocchi; a man of eighty, and, for polite learning, the ornament of Italy, he was ordered to stop the work, when the last sheet was in the press; and not let any one see it out of his own house. This work, however, I have had the pleasure of perusing; and I shall occasionally mention the observations I have made on it, and the corrections I think it stands in need of. It is a large Quarto, of 734 pages, with an advertisement, some additions, and three very circumstantial tables containing 88 pages.

In this letter I propose to treat,

First, Of the places overwhelmed by the ashes and lava discharged by Mount Vesuvius.

Secondly, Of the catastrophe itself.

Thirdly, Of the casual discoveries of those places, and the methods taken to get at, and disincumber, them.

Fourthly and *lastly*, I shall communicate my observations on the things that have been found in them.

4 DISCOVERIES AT

PART I.

I Am first, therefore, to investigate the position of the several places buried by the eruptions from Mount Vesuvius ; such as Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia. This is the more necessary, as it will give me an opportunity to correct the errors of several authors who have written on the same subject. Such as desire more ample information may obtain it by consulting other works, well known among the learned, in which those matters are more largely handled.

Herculaneum, according to Strabo, stood on a point of land projecting into the sea, and exposed to the African wind (*Sciroco*). The word *ἀνὰ* can no more signify a promontory in the passage, where he gives us this situation of Herculaneum, than in that, where he uses it to express the three points of Sicily. I, therefore flatter myself with having hit upon the true meaning of this word, so much mistaken both by ancient and modern writers, in consequence of their knowing so little of the nature of those places which it was employed to denote. We must, however, except Cluvier, who was too clear-sighted, not to take proper notice of this blunder in the ancient poets, who, speaking of the three Points of Sicily, represent them as so many Promontories. The shore near Reggio, in Calabria, is as low as the opposite part of the Sicilian shore, where Pelorus stood; there being no mountains within some miles of it. The word

word ἄκρα, therefore, signifies, what the Italians call *Capo*. For instance, they call *Capo d'Anzo*, the spot on which the ancient Antium stood, which, certainly, is no Promontory, but a low and level shore. As to the Promontory of Circe, which is situated between the place we have been speaking of and Terracina, being a high rock, it is not called *Capo*, but *Monte-Circello*.

This remark, and the explanation occasioned by it, are extorted from me by a doubt of M. Martorelli's concerning the passage of Strabo. M. Martorelli, it seems, taking the word ἄκρα, according to its usual signification, for a promontory, is for concluding, that the text of Strabo is wrong, since the ancient Herculaneum could not stand on a promontory; and thereupon, without further ceremony, substitutes μακρὰν to ἄκραν. Thus, he translates προὔριον μακρὰν ἔχον, *oppidum in ipsâ littoris longitudine situm*; considering the word as absolute, and a real substantive; a thing without example. Accordingly, he has not been able to support this his correction by any one single passage. He thinks it sufficient to alledge, that this mode of speech is well known to the first smatterers in Greek. Yet I, who hope I may be allowed to consider myself as something better, cannot recollect my having ever met with the word μακρὸς in the sense attributed to it by M. Martorelli.

The shore, on which the ancient Herculaneum was built, extended, like a point of land, into the sea; that is to say, it was a Cape. Such is the opinion of Strabo, who does not, by any means, pretend to speak of a Promontory. This,

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even now, must appear obvious, on a bare view of the spot. For Portici and Refina, both built above the city of Herculaneum, are almost on a level with the sea, whose shore is here flat and sandy. It is not possible, therefore, that the ancient city of Herculaneum should have ever stood on an eminence; considering, especially, how deep it lies under the present surface of the earth in this place. Its theatre is now more than one hundred palms under ground; and accordingly, they have been obliged to cut out one hundred steps, for the conveniency of the workmen employed in it. The beautiful pavement, which constitutes one of the principal ornaments of the Cabinet, in which the curiosities dug out of the ancient Herculaneum are preserved, was discovered at the depth of no less than one hundred Neapolitan palms. This pavement was found in a little open building (such as the Italians call *Loggia*), on a kind of bastion, raised five and twenty palms above the surface of the shore.

Hence it follows, that the sea has risen greatly. This may appear a very odd opinion: but we have here, as well as in Holland, sufficient proofs of it. The sea, on the coasts of Holland, is evidently higher than the adjoining land; which could not have been the case formerly; for as human industry had not then set any bounds to the sea, it would have been impossible to cultivate that province. It will, perhaps, be objected, that the ancient Herculaneum might have sunk in the earthquake. But this objection is destroyed by the still erect position of the build-

buildings which composed it. Besides, history does not tell us, that the eruption, by which this place was overwhelmed, was attended with any earthquake sufficient to account for the swallowing up of a whole city. And, though such an event were not only possible, but the thing had really happened, it must have preceded the eruption, so as to prevent the ashes from covering any thing. On these melancholy occasions the earthquake never follows the eruption.

We see the most evident proofs of this early and great rise of the sea, and its succeeding fall, on the columns placed in the porch of the temple of Esculapius, or, according to some, of Bacchus, at Puozzoli. This building stands, and has stood time out of mind, on a pretty considerable eminence at about fifty paces from the sea, which, in ancient times, must have entirely overflowed it. In fact, not only the columns lying on the ground, but even those still standing, have been honey-combed by an oblong kind of shell-fish, whose shells are still to be found in them : a circumstance the more surprising, as these columns are of the hardest Egyptian granite.* This kind of shell-fish is called *Dactylus*, from *δάκτυλος*, the Greek for finger ; because it resembles the finger, in shape, length, and thickness. We must, therefore, suppose, that these columns lay long enough under water to

* Some persons, who have scrupulously examined these columns, affirm, that they are not of Granite. But, though they should not, the circumstance of their being thus worked into to a certain height, as proving their immersion to that height in sea water, must be very surprising.

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afford the Dactyles an opportunity of working their way into them. This fish, in its tender and naked state, forces itself into some opening in the stone, where it breeds a shell; and with it keeps continually turning about, the water rendering the contiguous sides of the hole smooth and slippery, till it has obtained its full size; when finding no issue, it is obliged to remain where that period of its existence overtakes it. One or another of the five fingers may be introduced into these holes, which are so finely polished, that it would be no easy matter to do it as well with any of the instruments now in use for that purpose. What is still more surprising, the marble pavement before the temple is, in many places, covered with sand left there by the sea. This place being, and having been time out of mind, as I have already observed, at some distance from, and some height above, the sea, it is plain, that the sea must have retired from, and sunk below, it. I leave others to account for this event. The fact is certain. For my part, I mean no more than barely to describe things as I have found them.

The word *φρουριον*, employed by Strabo, in speaking of Herculaneum, and which is now used to signify a Fort, or what the Italians call *Castello*, might induce us to believe, that this was an inconsiderable place; a thing by no means reconcilable with the nature and quantity of the buildings and other things discovered in it. Besides, Diodorus uses the same word in speaking of Catania, well known to have been in his time a large city. Among these discoveries,
nothing

nothing proves better the grandeur of Herculaneum, in point of extent and populousness, than an inscription importing, that it contained no less than nine hundred houses of entertainment, such as we call taverns. I shall give, in the fourth part of this letter, an inscription put up to give notice, that one of these houses was to be let. Now, the city, which contained these nine hundred taverns, and which most of the ancient writers called *Herculanum*, is called by Petronius *Herculis Porticum* c. 106; and hence is derived its modern name *Portici*.

Till the discovery of its ruins, no one had hit upon the position of the ancient Herculaneum. The learned Camillo Pellegrini*, thoroughly versed in the history and geography of this country, placed it on the spot where now stands Torre del Greco; and, consequently, two miles further than it really is, on the road to Salerno and Pompeii. He grounded this conjecture, on a very equivocal tradition of some inscriptions having been found there, which in his opinion could be only referred to Herculaneum; and then concluded, on mere hear-say, that the situation thus laid down by him was not to be called in question.

The name of the town Refina entitles it, likewise, to some remarks. This place, in a manner, joins Portici, for there is nothing between them but the king's country seat: that part of the street which stretches from that seat towards Naples, being called *Portici*, and the rest of it, on the other side, *Refina*. Some imagine, that the latter derives its name *Refina* from the *Villa Retina*

* Dif. della Compan. felic. p. 319

Retina mentioned by Pliny, junior, in the letter, in which he describes the eruption of Vesuvius, and gives an account of his uncle's death. Most writers, however, place this Villa under the Promontory of Misenum; and that because Pliny says, in the same letter, that the Roman fleet, which used to be stationed in the port of Misenum, then happened to be at anchor near the Villa Retina. For my part, I cannot form to myself any idea of a Villa situated under a Promontory. That we are speaking of stood at the foot of mount Vesuvius, as Pliny expressly affirms. Besides, as Misenum lay twelve Italian miles from Vesuvius, the dangers, to which the ships and those on board them were exposed, could never have been so great, as these descriptions make them; for it is no where affirmed, that Naples, Puzozoli, Cumæ, or Baiæ, all situated between Herculaneum and Misenum, suffered on the occasion.

M. Martorelli, who discusses this difficulty, in his work on the *Regia Theca**, not content with deriving Refina from Retina, is, unnecessarily, for correcting the passage. He thinks, that we not only may, but ought to read *Petina*, that is to say, *Villa Petina*; and he places this country seat near Herculaneum. Papirius Pætus, Cicero's friend, had one hereabouts, as appears by two of Cicero's letters†. Papirius Pætus was of Pompey's party; and this was one of the opposite party's motives for seizing his effects, among which, it is probable, they reckoned his Villa. M. Martorelli even pretends, that it was confiscated

* Pag. 368. † Ad Att. L. 14. ep. 16. ep 25.

confiscated by Cesar ; that, under this emperor's successors, it became a fief of the imperial chamber ; and that in process of time, especially at the period we are speaking of, some vessels belonging to the Misenum fleet used to lie at anchor before it. This conjecture is not, perhaps, very far fetched ; but, then, it might have very well been spared.

The ancient area of Pompeii is about twelve miles from Naples, and seven from Portici. Pompeii lies in the road leading to Salerno, which road runs through the Torre dell'Annunciata. M. Reimarus, therefore, in his remarks upon Dion Cassius *, must be greatly mistaken in regard to the position of Pompeii, as he places it between Portici and Torre del Greco ; since the distance between these two places does not exceed two Italian miles. He is again mistaken, when, in the same place, he affirms, that Pompeii stood where we now see Castellamare and Stabia, an error borrowed by him from some other writers † : A good map will be sufficient to give the reader juster notions of the matter. Nothing can be more ridiculous than M. Martorelli's derivation of the word Pompeii. He makes no scruple to derive it from the Hebrew word פִּיז os *faville* ‡. He, likewise, derives the word Herculaneum from חרה קליא *Prægnans igne* ; Stabia from שטף *inundare* ; and Vesuvius from בו שבי *Ubi ignis*, as *Æthna* is called in Hebrew a furnace, which word (אחונה) is often employed by Daniel. Thus, men of letters, for the sake
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* Page 1096, † Holsten. ad Cluver. ‡ p. 566.

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of advancing something new, are often satisfied to renounce common sense.

This town, according to Strabo, was the common Mart of Nola, Nocera, and Acerra; goods being brought to it from the sea by the river Sarno. We cannot, therefore, conclude from this passage, as Pellegrini pretends, that Pompeii lay near the sea, and at the mouth of that very river; and that, if the ruins of that place have been found at a distance from the shore, it is to the throes of mount Vesuvius we must attribute it.

A Capitol has been discovered here. Ryckius*, who collected the names of all those places, which, in imitation of Rome, had erected buildings of this kind, has, however, omitted Pompeii. This capitol, and the vast ruins of an amphitheatre, are so many proofs of the grandeur of Pompeii. The amphitheatre is a large oval structure situated on a rising ground. Its lower circumference on the inside, measures three thousand Neapolitan palms. It had twenty four rows of seats; and could, it has been calculated, hold thirty thousand persons, so that it must be much more spacious than that of Herculanum, as I shall presently demonstrate. Nay, this superiority appears by a bare view of the two buildings. Seneca tells us, that this place was almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake under Nero; and hence some authors have concluded †, that there is an anachronism, in what Dion relates concerning this amphitheatre and that of Herculanum. This historian, who, in speaking

* de Capit. C, 47. † Disc. 2. p. 327.

ing of the first eruption of Vesuvius recorded in history, and which happened under Titus, says, (such at least is the meaning generally attributed to him) that the prodigious quantity of ashes belched out by the mountain buried the two cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and that, whilst the inhabitants of the latter happened to be assembled in their amphitheatre. Pellegrini, who thinks he can discover in the passage so cited, that this accident must have been equally fatal to the amphitheatre, cannot, however, agree to the fact. He cannot conceive, that, in a place already destroyed, so vast an amphitheatre could have been built in so short an interval of time, as that between the reigns of Nero and Titus. Tillemont * mentions the same fact after Dion; and mentions it as grounded on relations of undoubted authority. M. Martorelli, without citing Pellegrini, or taking any notice of his doubts, seems to be of the same opinion; at least, there is reason to conclude it, from the correction he is for making in the relation of Dion. He maintains, that we may read in his passage † ταύτης instead of αὐτῆς; in which case, the amphitheatre of Herculaneum would be the amphitheatre here meant. This opinion of Pellegrini is not altogether improbable. Dion, who wrote under Commodus, and consequently a long time after the event he mentions, might

* Hist. des Emp, dans Tite.

† Dio. p. 1095. l. 39 Edit. Reimar. Καὶ προσέτι (τίφρα ἀμβροθία) καὶ πόλεις δύο ὅλας ἵδ', τὰ Ἡerculάνου καὶ Πομπηίας ἐν θεάτρῳ τῷ ὁμίλῳ αὐτῆς καταμίνε κατέχουσι.

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have been easily mistaken. It is evident, were the thing proved, the correction of Martorelli would be exact, and agreeable to the ordinary rules of speech. But, should it be true, that the amphitheatre of Herculaneum was covered with ashes, at a time it was crowded with spectators, how comes it to pass, considering the spaciousness of it, that there has not been found a single human bone therein, whereas some human skeletons have been found at Stabia, that were very well preserved.

Stabia, formerly called, in the plural, Stabiæ, was situated at a still greater distance from Vesuvius, than Pompeii; but not on the spot where now stands Castellamare, as Cluvier pretends. Castellamare stands on the sea-shore, whereas Stabia, according to Galien, lay at the distance of eight stadia or furlongs from it. It lay on the spot now occupied by Gragnano; which agrees very well with the distance assigned it by Galien. This town was destroyed by Sylla, in the war against the Marfi; and, in the days of Pliny, nothing was to be seen on the spot where it formerly flourished, but some country seats.

Further on, towards Sorrento, and near Prayano*, some subterraneous apartments were discovered, about five years ago, but the works upon them were discontinued, to avoid the necessity of increasing the number of workmen. The opening into them has been, therefore, walled up, and the digging into them postponed to another time.

PART

* This place is called Maiano in the map prefixed to the first vol of the Paintings of Herculaneum.

PART II.

AS to the second article, viz. the Destruction of the places I am speaking to you of, I have not undertaken to present you with the history of them from ancient writers. I shall only endeavour to give you an idea of them from such observations, as I myself have had an opportunity of making upon them.

It was not by the lava, or fiery stream of melted stones, that Herculaneum was first overflowed. It was first covered by the burning ashes belched forth by the mountain, and next by torrents of water, which to the ashes, that first fell on it, added all those that fell on the mountain itself; and left the whole upon this wretched city. The first ashes were so hot, that they set fire to the beams of the buildings, which were, accordingly found burnt to a coal, as likewise the corn and other vegetables. These torrents, it appears, did not direct their course towards Pompeii and Stabia; for, in these two places, every thing, is covered with a light kind of ashes, called *Papamonté*. Besides, it is impossible, that the lava should flow to so great a distance. Accordingly, every thing was found much better preserved in these two places, than in Herculaneum. After this last had been covered with showers of ashes, and deluged with torrents of water, there broke out fiery streams of lava, which, rolling slowly, spread over the former by degrees, and formed a kind of crust over it.

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it. In the terrible eruption of 1631, which had been preceded by a calm of one hundred years, the ashes were likewise followed by a lava.

There is reason to believe, from the small number of dead bodies found in these places, that the inhabitants had time to retire. Not a single skeleton has been yet found at Portici, at Refina, or Pompeii. At Gragnano, or Stabia, indeed, there were found the bodies of three women, one of whom, a servant, no doubt, to the other two, was probably, carrying a little wooden box, which was found lying by her, and which on being touched, fell to dust. The two others had gold bracelets and ear-rings, which are to be seen in the cabinet. Hence we may account for nothing having been found but some gold medals, some engraved stones, and very little rich furniture; for the inhabitants, before they withdrew themselves, took care to send off their most valuable effects. Accordingly, most of the houses appeared almost naked. In one apartment, the workmen met with an iron-box thrown down on the floor; which, at first sight, they hoped might contain something valuable enough to entitle them to a handsome reward for their discovery; but, on opening, it proved empty. The flight of the inhabitants of Pompeii was very precipitate, as may be judged by the great quantity of heavy household furniture dug up at some distance from the houses, and which, in all probability, they thought it best to abandon for their own safety.

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From the searches made into the last of these places it appears, that the eruption of Vesuvius, by which it was entirely destroyed, was the only one it had suffered by, though the ancients had but very slight notions of any such calamity; their suspicions being founded on nothing but the scoria, with which the mountain was covered. They might, however, have easily attained a greater degree of certainty in that respect. Strabo concluded, that Vesuvius was once a vulcano; from its ashy soil, and from its caverns filled with stones, which, besides being of the same colour, looked as if they had been calcined. Diodorus just says, that on it are found marks of an ancient conflagration. As to Pliny, though he lost his life by the eruption of Vesuvius, and speaks in two places of the mountain itself, he makes no mention of its former fires; so that he appears to have been equally ignorant of its nature. The strongest proof in favour of my opinion is, that all the ground, on which the town of Pompeii stands, is burnt, full of scoria; and, in fine, what they now call *Terra di fuoco*. This circumstance alone might have convinced those, who have opened the earth hereabouts for the purpose of building, that Vesuvius, in very remote times, committed great ravages in these places. What is more, the streets, both of Herculaneum and Pompeii, are paved with great lava stones, easily distinguishable from other marbles and hard stones, by being of a particular mixture exhibiting little white spots on a greyish ground, the nature of which seems to have escaped the notice

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of

of the ancients. One only of these stones, two Roman palms and three inches broad, has been drawn out of *Herculaneum*, to be placed in the cabinet of *Portici*. It would not have been beside *Father de la Torr *'s purpose, in his description of *Vesuvius*, to cite the lava pavement found in these subterraneous places. This circumstance, too, might alone have convinced him, that the modern lava is not harder than the ancient. *Father de la Torr * * reasons well; but his premises are sometimes contradicted by experience. The pieces of lava employed in the buildings of *Pompeii* sufficiently prove, that there have been eruptions prior to the reign of *Titus*.

PART III.

HAVING ascertained the situation of the places buried by the eruptions of *Vesuvius*, and shewn in what manner the calamity happened: I shall now proceed to give some account of the discoveries made of these places from time to time, down to the present.

There have appeared, on opening the earth, manifest traces of discoveries, or rather searches, having been made prior to those lately undertaken at *Herculaneum*. These ancient searches are laid down in the map of the subterraneous cities, drawn up by the king's orders, and which I have had an opportunity to examine. They consist of galleries scooped out with much labour, which indicate the object of them so plainly, as not to leave room for the least

* *Storia del Vesuvio*, c. 5. §. 122. p. 98.

H E R C U L A N E U M. 17

least doubt concerning it; but they, at the same time, leave no hopes of the moderns ever being able to discover all, that the mountain has overwhelmed. There is an inscription, which seems to indicate these ancient searches. It has been already printed, but the light it throws on the subject before us will excuse my giving it in this place.

SIGNA TRANSLATA EX ABDITIS

LOCIS AD CELEBRITATEM

THERMARUM SEVERIANARUM

AUDENTIUS SÆMILANUS V. C. CON.

CAMP. CONSTITUIT. DEDICARIQUE PRECEPIT. (sic)

CURANTE T. ANNONIO CRYSIANTIO V. P.

Fabretti, who first published this inscription from a manuscript*, and who explains it in his notes †, owns, that he does not understand the first words of it. Mazocchi || makes the same confession; he pretends, that the baths here mentioned are those begun at Rome by Septimus Severus, and finished by Antonius Caracalla, his son and successor. Hence it is, that these baths, which were formerly, and are still, called *Antoniana*, are likewise more commonly called the baths of *Caracalla*. Nobody could tell where this description had been originally discovered, till M. Martorelli found it at a statuary's at Naples, just time enough to rescue it from the saw. Consequently, it must relate to some events that happened in that city, or

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its

* Inscrip. p. 280. n. 173. † ibid. p. 334.

|| De Theatr. Camp. p. 170.

its neighbourhood. M. Martorelli is, therefore, of opinion, that *Signa translata ex abditis locis* can only be referred to statues dug out of places overwhelmed by some eruption, particularly Herculaneum. As to the baths of Severus, he does not understand it of those of Septimus Severus, but those of Alexander Severus; notwithstanding which he cites Spartian, who can only speak of the first of these princes, since his history does not come down to the reign of the second. He should have consulted Lampridius, who speaks of the *Alexandrian* baths at Rome. M. Martorelli goes still further: "We know," says he, "that Audentius Sæmilanus, a man who had been honoured with the consular dignity, lived in the time of Severus." But he neither tells us, which of the Severuses, nor from what author he has taken this passage. Those Alexandrian baths at Rome were, therefore, those, to which the statues of Herculaneum were carried, and in which they were placed by the architect Chrysanthus. Thus, then, this inscription, and the old subterraneous galleries made at Herculaneum, and lately discovered, mutually explain each other. The remembrance of these hidden treasures was soon after blotted from the memory of man by the barbarism and ignorance, which overspread all Europe.

A well dug for the prince of Elbeuf, at a small distance from his house, was the first thing, that gave occasion to the discovery they are now pursuing. The prince had built this house in order to make his constant residence in it.

It

It lay behind the Franciscan convent, at the extremity of, and upon, a rock of lava near the sea. It afterwards fell into the hands of the house of Falletti of Naples, from whom the present king of Spain purchased it, in order to make a fishing seat of it. The well in question had been sunk near the garden of the barefooted Carmelites. To form it, they were obliged to dig through the lava to the live rock, where the workmen found, under the ashes of mount Vesuvius, three large cloathed female statues. These the Austrian viceroy very justly laid claim to, and, keeping part of them in his hands, ordered them to Rome, where they were repaired. They were then presented to prince Eugene, who placed them in his gardens, at Vienna. On his death, his heirs sold them * to the king of Poland for six thousand crowns or florins; which, I cannot positively say. Seven years after my setting out for Italy, they stood in a pavillon of the great royal garden, without the city of Dresden, along with the statues and busts of the palace of Chigi, for which the late Augustus, king of Poland, had given sixty thousand crowns. This collection was added to some ancient monuments, which cardinal Alexander Albani had ceded to the same prince for ten thousand crowns.

On the discovery of these antiquities, orders were given to the prince of Elbeuf, not to dig any further. Thirty years, however, were suffered

* These statues may be seen in the collection of ancient marbles, belonging to the king of Poland's gallery at Dresden, published by Baron Leplat, in 1733. It is with great concern we hear, that such precious remains of antiquity were destroyed during the last war.

22 DISCOVERIES AT

suffered to elapse, before any more notice was taken of them. At length, the present king of Spain, as soon as by the conquest of Naples he found himself in peaceable possession of it, chose Portici for his spring residence; and, as the well was still in being, ordered the works begun at the bottom of it to be continued, till they reached some buildings. This well still subsists. It runs down perpendicularly through the lava to the middle of the theatre, (the first building discovered,) which receives no light but by it. Here an inscription was found containing the name of Herculaneum, which, by giving room to guess what place they had hit upon, determined his majesty to proceed further.

The direction of this work was given to a Spanish engineer, called Roch Joachim Alcubierre, who had followed his majesty to Naples, and is now colonel, and chief of the body of engineers at Naples. This man, who, (to use the Italian proverb,) knew as much of antiquities, as the moon does of lobsters, has been, through his want of capacity, the occasion of many antiquities being lost. A single fact will be sufficient to prove it. The workmen having discovered a large public inscription, (to what buildings it belonged, I can't say) in letters of brass two palms high; he ordered these letters to be torn from the wall, without first taking a copy of them, and thrown pell mell into a basket; and then presented them, in that condition, to the king. They were afterwards exposed for many years in the cabinet, where every one was at liberty to put them together as he pleased.

Some

Some imagined, they made these two words, IMP. AUG. I shall presently relate how a brazen four-horse chariot was served, by the same engineer's directions.

Don Roch having in time attained a higher rank, the superintendance and conduct of the works in question were committed to a Swiss officer, called Charles Weber, now a major; and it is to his good sense, that we are indebted for all the good steps since taken, to bring to light this treasure of antiquities. The first thing he did was, to make an exact map of all the subterraneous galleries, and the buildings they led to. This map he rendered still more intelligible, by a minute historical account of the whole discovery. The ancient city is to be seen in it as if freed from all the rubbish, with which it is actually incumbered. The inside of the buildings, the most private rooms, and the gardens, as well as the particular spots, where every thing taken out of them was found, appear in this map, just as they would, if they were laid quite bare. But nobody is permitted to see those drawings.

The happy issue of the works undertaken at Herculaneum proved a motive for opening the earth in other places; and the doing this soon enabled them to ascertain the situation of the ancient Stabia, and led them, at Pompeii, to the vast remains of an amphitheatre, built on a hill, part of which, however, had been always visible above ground. The diggings in these places proved far less expensive, than the diggings in Herculaneum, as there was

no lava to dig through. The subterraneous works at Pompeii are those, which promise most; for here they are not only sure of proceeding step by step in a great city, but have found out the principal street of it, which runs in a strait line. But, notwithstanding all this certainty of their being able to find treasures unknown to our ancestors, the works for that purpose are carried on in a very slow and indolent manner; there being but fifty men, including the Algerine and Tunisian slaves, employed in all these subterraneous places. Great a city as Pompeii is known to have been, I, in my last journey, found but eight men at work on the ruins of it.

To compensate this neglect, the method observed in digging is such, that it is impossible the least spot should escape unnoticed. On both sides of one principal trench, carried on in a right line, the workmen alternately hollow out chambers, six palms in length, breadth, and height; removing the rubbish, as they proceed, from every one of these chambers, to the chamber opposite it, that was last hollowed out. This method is taken, not only with a view of lessening the expence, but of supporting the earth over one chamber, with the rubbish taken out of another.

I know, that strangers, particularly travellers, who can take but a cursory view of these works, wish, that all the rubbish was entirely removed, so as to give them an opportunity of seeing, as in the plan of which I have been speaking, the inside of the whole subterraneous city of
Hercu-

Herculaneum. They are apt to impeach the taste of the Court, and of those who direct these works. But this is a mere prejudice, which a rational examination of the nature of the spot, and other circumstances, would soon conquer. I must, however, agree with foreigners in regard to the theatre; for it might have been entirely cleared; and it was, certainly, a thing well worth the expence. I am, therefore, very far from being satisfied with their just disencumbering the seats, the form of which could be so easily gathered from the many other ancient theatres still in being; whereas they have left the stage as they found it, though the most essential part of the whole building, and the only one, of which we have no clear and precise ideas. They have, it is true, done something towards giving this satisfaction to the curious and the learned, having cleared the steps leading from the Arena, or Pit, to the stage, so that we may hope to enjoy, one day or another, though under ground, a sight of the whole theatre of Herculaneum.

As to the whole town, I must beseech those who long for a free view of it, to consider, that, the roofs of the houses having given way under the enormous weight of the superincumbent lava, nothing could be seen in that case but the walls. Besides, as those walls which had paintings on them have been cut out, and carried off, that such inestimable pieces might not suffer by the air or rain, no walls, but those of the poorest and meanest houses, would appear entire. Now, I leave any one to judge, how excessively
expensive

expensive it would be to blow up such a thick and extensive crust of lava, and remove the vast quantity of ashes accumulated under it. And, after all, what would the advantage of it be? That of laying bare a parcel of old ruinous walls, merely to satisfy the ill-judged curiosity of some virtuosi, at the expence of a well built and very populous city. The theatre, indeed, might be entirely laid open at no expence but that of the garden belonging to the barefooted Carmelites, under which it lies.

Those, who have a mind to see the walls of ancient buildings formerly buried in the same manner, may satisfy their curiosity at Pompeii. But few persons, except Englishmen, have resolution enough to go so far on that account. At Pompeii the ground may be dug up, and turned topsy-turvy, without any risk, and at a small expence, the land lying over it being of little value. Formerly, indeed, it used to produce the most delicious wine; but that it now produces is so middling, that the country would suffer very little by the entire destruction of its vineyards. I must add, that this country is more subject than any other to those dangerous exhalations called *Muffeta* by the inhabitants, which burn up all the productions of the earth. This I had an opportunity of observing on a great number of elms, which, six years before, I had seen in a very thriving way. These exhalations generally precede an eruption, and are first felt in places under ground. Accordingly, a few days before the last eruption, some of the inhabitants dropt down dead on entering their cellars.

It

It appears by the indolent manner in which these works are conducted, that a fine field of discovery must remain to posterity. As great treasures might, perhaps, be discovered at the same expence, by digging at Pozzuoli, Baiæ, Cuma, and Misenum, where the Romans had their finest country seats, But the court is so well satisfied with the discoveries now making, that it has forbid the earth to be dug any where else below a certain depth. Certain it is, that, in the districts I have been mentioning, there are ancient buildings, hitherto little, or not at all, noticed, as appears by what I am going to relate. An English Captain, whose ship lay at anchor two years ago in these parts, discovered under Baiæ a spacious and beautiful hall, accessible only by water, in which there still remained very fine ornaments in stucco. It is only since my return from Naples that I heard of this discovery, of which, however, I have seen the drawing. Mr Adams, of Edinburgh in Scotland, gave me a circumstantial account of it. He is a lover of the arts, particularly architecture, and intends to visit Greece, and Asia Minor.

FOURTH PART.

FIRST SECTION.

AS yet, I have spoken of nothing but the discovery of Herculaneum, and the manner, in which the subterraneous works undertaken in consequence of it are carried on. I shall now proceed

proceed to give a circumstantial account of the things, that have been discovered in it. But I must first repeat, that not only I shall not speak of every thing, but propose to omit entirely those things, of which I have taken notice in my other works.

I shall first take a survey of the subterraneous places themselves, and give an idea of the buildings in them, under the general title of *Immoveable Discoveries* *. I shall make the necessary remarks on the stile of architecture in these buildings, without omitting the smallest or meanest of them. Whatever the ashes, the lava, or the earth has overwhelmed, shall be fully displayed. I shall forget nothing I have been able to discover concerning those things, of which the greatest mystery is made. None of the most considerable monuments exposed in the cabinet of Portici, whether paintings, statues, busts, or smaller figures, shall escape me. To these I shall add some inscriptions; and, after speaking of the household utensils, conclude the whole with a circumstantial account of the manuscripts, which have been likewise discovered. But, I must first observe, that the Neapolitan palm, which I generally make use of, is two inches longer than the Roman †.

The theatre of Herculaneum, whether we consider the date of its discovery, or the magnificence of its structure, is, of all the immoveable monuments, the first to challenge our attention.

* The author means such monuments of antiquity, as will not admit being removed.

† The Neapolitan palm makes ten French inches,

It has twenty-four rows of seats, each four Roman palms broad, and one high. These seats are hewn out of the live rock, which is of free-stone, and not formed of hard stones, as Martorelli pretends. Above these seats is a portico, under which there were three more rows of seats. Amongst the lower seats there are seven flights of stairs, of a particular form, for the conveniency of the spectators*. These are what they called *Vomitoria*. The seat next the pit forms a semi-circle of sixty-two Neapolitan palms diameter; from which, and the dimensions and number of the other rows, it has been calculated, that, allowing a palm and a half to every spectator, this theatre could give seats to thirty thousand five hundred persons, exclusive of those in the *Arena* or *Platea*†. This interior space was anciently paved with very thick squares of antique yellow marble, the remains of which are still to be seen in several parts of it. The porticos scooped out in the story under the seats were paved with squares of white marble. The cornish, that runs round the upper portico, and which is still in being, is likewise marble.

This vast building was surmounted by a quadriga, or four-horse chariot, with its charioteer, as big as life; the whole of gilt bronze. The base of white marble, on which it stood, is still to be seen. Some persons affirm, that, instead

* That is to say, in order to give the spectators free egress and regress.

† It is that part which Vitruvius calls the *Orchestra*, and which answers to what we call the *Pit*.

of one four-horse chariot, there were three two-horse chariots ; a disagreement sufficient to prove the little skill and care of those, who first conducted the works. These pieces of statuary were, as we may easily imagine, overturned by the lava ; however, none of them could be wanting. Yet, how were these precious remains treated by those, who then presided over the works ? They were thrown pell-mell into a cart ; brought in that manner to Naples ; and shot down into a corner of the court belonging to the castle. Here they remained for a long time in the character of old iron ; and it was not, till several pieces that had been stolen were missed, that a resolution was taken to make an honourable use of what remained. This honourable use consisted in melting down great part of it into two busts of the king and queen. One may easily guess, what has been the fate of these two pieces, which I could never get a sight of. In fact, they are become invisible. Care was taken to bury them in some hole, as soon as the shameful neglect, of which they were the monuments, came to be taken notice of. The remains of the chariot, the horses, and the driver, were then, at length, sent to Portici, and deposited in the cellars of the castle, where nobody was permitted to see them. A long time after this, the inspector of the cabinet proposed, that one horse, at least, should be made out of the pieces which still remained ; and, his scheme being approved, some founders, sent for from Rome to be employed in works of that kind, were set about it. As several of the pieces re-

quisite

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quisite to compose an entire horse were wanting, there was a necessity for casting others to supply the place of them. By so doing, however, a tolerably fine horse was at last formed. This horse stands in the inner court of the cabinet, on a pedestal bearing the following inscription, in letters of gilt bronze, composed by the famous Mazocchi.

EX. QUADRIGA. AENEA.
 SPLENDIDISSIMA.
 CUM. SUIS. JUGALIBUS.
 COMMUNTA. AC. DISSIPATA.
 SUPERSTES. ECCE. EGO. UNUS.
 RESTO.
 NONNISI. REGIA. CURA.
 REPOSITIS. APTE. SEXCENTIS.
 IN. QUAE. VESUVIUS. ME.
 ABSYRTI. INSTAR.
 DISCERPSE-
 MEMBRIS.

The word SEXCENTIS, used in this inscription to denote an indeterminate number, is liable to some objection, as saying too much; for it is certain there were not so many as one hundred pieces employed to form this horse. The metaphor INSTAR. ABSYRTI. might likewise be censured, not only as superfluous, but as not admitted into the lapidary style. Besides, the inversion of the words from SEXCENTIS to MEMBRIS is too bold and poetical.

This

This horse, thus patched up, appeared, at first, as if formed at a single cast. But, as it is no easy matter to make new-cast metal take well with pieces of metal that have been long broken, the joints have given way, so that, on the falling of a great rain in March, 1759, (I was then on the spot) so much water made its way through the openings, as to give the poor horse the dropsy. No stone was left unturned to hide the disgrace of so wretched a piece of patch-work. The gates of the cabinet were kept shut for three days together, that the workmen spent in tapping the dropfical animal, which was all the relief they could give him, so that he still remains with all his blemishes, in a manner, about him. Such is the history of the famous four-horse chariot, in gilt bronze, which originally crowned the theatre of Herculaneum.

Near the theatre stood a temple, of a round figure, which, it is believed, was dedicated to Hercules. From the inner walls of this temple were taken the largest pieces of painting engraved in the first volume of the antiquities of Herculaneum, published by order* of his Sicilian Majesty. One of the most capital represents Theseus, with the Athenian youth of both sexes crowding about him to kiss his hands, on his return from Crete, where he had killed the monster; and this piece gives exactly the circumference of the wall on which it was painted. The other subjects are, the birth of Telephus, Chiron and Achilles, Pan and Olympus.

* This first volume is that published by orders of the King of Spain, and contains the first part of the paintings of Herculaneum.

The

The theatre, and this temple, made part of the chief square of the city, in which were found equestrian statues of Nonius Balbus the elder, and Nonius Balbus the younger. The last of these statues, happening to be in better preservation than the other, was the first they repaired; and, when repaired, it was placed in the vestibule of the King's palace, in a glass case. The other was placed, opposite to it, in a part of the building, which is not as yet entirely finished. The graving of these two statues in the *Symbolæ Litterariæ* of Gori, though done from memory, gives a tolerable idea of them.

Near this square there stood a *Villa*, with a garden belonging to it, that extended to the sea; and it was in this house they found the manuscripts, of which I shall presently speak; the marble busts placed in the anti-chamber of the late queen; and likewise some fine female statues in bronze. It is proper I should observe, that, in general, the buildings belonging to this country seat, as well as those of several other private houses in this place, and its environs, had but one story. This country-seat contained a spacious piece of water, two hundred and fifty-two Neapolitan palms in length, and twenty-seven in breadth, terminating, at both ends, in the arch of a circle; surrounded with grass and flower-plats; and, at a greater distance, by a row of brick columns, covered with stucco, twenty-two on the longest, and ten on the shortest, sides. These columns, along with the exterior wall, formed an harbour round the basin, by means of beams running from one to
D the

the other. Under these arbours were found small cabinets of different forms, to converse or bathe in; some of a semi-circular, and others of a square area; as likewise the busts and female figures, I have just been mentioning, placed alternately between the columns. A canal of a middling breadth circulated round the wall; and a long alley led to a round summer pavilion, or cabinet, built on the outside of it, open on every side, and about twenty-five Neapolitan palms above the sea. At the end of the long alley next this summer-cabinet, or pavilion, were four steps leading to the latter. Here it was they found the fine pavement of African marble, and antique yellow, of which I have already taken notice, and shall speak again, when I come to describe the second chamber of the cabinet of Portici, where it is now to be seen. It consisted of twenty-two circular rows, one within another, the exterior one four and twenty palms in diameter, with a large rose in the center. When first discovered, it had a border of white marble, a Neapolitan palm and a half broad, and almost half a palm higher than the rest. This work, as I have already taken notice, was covered with the lava discharged from Mount Vesuvius, and that to the height of one hundred and two Neapolitan palms. Near this country seat, and belonging to it, as I am told, there stood a little room, without any windows, about five palms in length and breadth, and twelve in height. From a fine bronze found in this building, and the serpents in the paintings stript from

from the walls of it, we may conjecture, that it was consecrated to the superstitious mysteries of Eleusis. This country-seat is the only private building worth notice, that has been as yet discovered in Herculaneum.

As to the monuments of the same kind found in Pompeii, I shall confine myself to a little temple, or square chapel, which was discovered in the year 1761. This temple belonged to a large *Villa*, or country-seat. The front, richly ornamented with different kinds of foliage, was supported by four stone columns, covered with stucco, a palm and a half in diameter, and seven palms seven inches high; the shafts fluted. One of them is to be seen in the cabinet of Portici. The body of this temple stood five steps above the ground. Two of these steps lay on the outside of the colonnade; and the other three, which were of a circular form, within the middle intercolumniation, which was much longer than the other two; and led to the body of the temple; so that the middle intercolumniation stood the height of the three steps above the other two. These steps were paved with squares of a common kind of marble, called *Cipolino*. Within this little temple there was found a marble Diana, of Etruscan workmanship, on a pedestal, which was likewise of marble. Before it, towards the right hand corner, there stood another round temple; on the other side a wall; and, opposite to the temple, a cistern with four wells, or rather openings, in the angles of it, to facilitate the drawing of the water. The only build-

ing of two stories, found since they began to dig for antiquities, is in this place; and it is now laid quite bare. I happened to be on the spot in the month of February 1762, with the inspector of the cabinet, whilst the labourers were disencumbering a room filled with paintings, and a kind of beaufet covered with marble, in which they found a sun-dial.

At Gragnano, the Stabia of the ancients, they found a *Villa*, or country-seat, somewhat like that of Herculaneum. In the middle of the garden belonging to it, as in that of the Herculaneum *Villa*, there was a pond, divided into four equal parts, by as many little one-arch bridges. On one side of this basin there were ten grass or flower-plats; and, on the other, as many cabinets to converse or bathe in; five of a semi-circular, and five of a square, area, alternately disposed. Both the plats and the cabinets were, each, provided with an arbour, constructed in the same manner with those I have already mentioned, and supported, in front, by columns of the same kind. The garden was surrounded, both within and without the wall inclosing it, with a canal, which served, in all appearance, to preserve the rain-water, the only water, no doubt, used in this country; at least no traces of any aqueducts are to be found in it. This opinion is, besides, confirmed by a large cistern found in the *Atrium* or porch of this country-seat. The enormous reservoir, called *Piscina Mirabilis*, built near Misenum, for the service of the Roman fleet, was supplied with rain-water, which the soldiers
used

used to carry from thence on board the ships, as may be guessed from some pipes in the upper part of it, by which, in all probability, the water was made to pass. This subterraneous reservoir stands upon equidistant pillars forming five arched galleries, each thirteen Roman palms in breadth.

As to the different curiosities preserved in the cabinet of Portici, they may be divided into two classes. In the first, I shall include every thing relating to the arts, and the different kinds of furniture and utensils; and, in the second, the manuscripts. The pictures, big and little, with which I shall begin my observations, may amount to about a thousand. They are all framed and glazed, except those, which, being too large to be kept and shewn in that manner, such as the Theseus, the Telephus, the Chiron, and others, are enclosed in glass presses. Most of them are painted in distemper, as has already been taken notice by the learned men, who have given descriptions of them; and but a few in fresco. But, as it was so generally thought in the beginning, that all the paintings on the walls were executed in the last manner, that is to say, in fresco, they never gave themselves the trouble to examine, if the thing was really so; so that somebody having offered a varnish, which, he said, would infallibly preserve these paintings, they laid it, without farther enquiry, on all those, which had been discovered; thereby rendering it impossible to discover the methods used in executing them by the ancient artists. The finest of these paintings represent dancing

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women, and centaurs, about a span in height, on a black ground; and must have been the work of some great master, for they are as light as thought itself, and as beautiful as if they had been done by the hands of the Graces. The paintings worthy of being placed in the next, or even the same, rank with the dancing women, are two pieces, the figures of which are somewhat larger than those of the preceding *. One of these pieces represents a young satyr attempting to kiss a young nymph; and the other, an old fawn in love with an Hermaphrodite. It is impossible to conceive any thing more voluptuous, or painted with more art. There are, likewise, a great many fruit and flower-pieces, all most exquisite in their kind.

If, in such a town as Herculaneum, and even on the walls of its houses, such fine paintings were to be found, to what a degree of perfection may we not conclude that fine art was carried in the brilliant ages of Greece? We have, indeed, a convincing proof of its having been carried to the highest, in four paintings discovered at Stabia, though not executed there. These pieces were found, leaning, two by two, with the painted sides inside, against a wall, on the floor of a room in the country-seat, of which I have already taken notice; and from these circumstances it may be conjectured, that they were taken from a wall in some other place, perhaps in Greece, to be set into the walls of this room, had not the eruption of Vesuvius prevented it. This important disco-

* Pitt, Ercol. Tom. I. tav. 15, 16.

very

very was made in the year 1761. These four pieces are surrounded with borders of different colours. Unfortunately, two of them are broken, and, of course, somewhat damaged. I have already described them in my *History of the Arts among the Ancients*. The figures in them are about a palm and a half high, and so highly finished, as to excel, in that respect, every thing of the kind hitherto discovered.

I must here take notice, that all the paintings on pieces of wall, which from *Italy* have spread beyond the Alps, into England, France, or Germany, are to be considered as spurious. The Count de Caylus got one of them engraved; and has given it as an antique, in his collection of antiquities, because it had been sold to him for a piece found at Herculaneum *. The Margrave of Bareith was imposed upon in the same manner, during his stay at Rome, where he bought several of these pieces; and I have been since informed, that several other German Princes have been equally duped with these wretched performances; for they were all painted at Rome by Joseph Guerra, a Venetian painter of very slender abilities, who died but last year. It is not, after all, any way surprising, that strangers should have been thus mistaken, since a man of great learning, and a very able antiquary, Father Contucci, a Jesuit, director of studies and the cabinet in the Ro-

* This is a mistake. The Count de Caylus never got any thing like it engraved; and, so far from suffering himself to be imposed on, was the first, perhaps, to speak of Guerra's imposture. See what he says on the occasion, in the fourth Tome of his *Collection of Antiquities*, p. 220.

man college, purchased above forty of these pieces, as so many jewels brought from Sicily, and even Palmyra, Nay, several of these pictures were sent to Naples, and from thence brought back to Rome, to give a greater air of genuineness to them; and some of them were likewise decorated with characters, in nothing resembling those of any known language. Who knows but another Kircher might have started up to explain them, if the imposture had not been timely discovered. Men of taste, acquainted with the arts, and skilled in antiquities, need only examine them with a little attention, to discover the fraud; for Guerra has not shewn in them the least knowledge of the manners and customs of the ancients. It plainly appears by them, that he was an ignorant fellow, who drew every thing from his own imagination, so that allowing the honour of being an antique to a single piece of his would be sufficient to contradict and overturn all our notions of antiquity. Amongst the pieces of his doing, purchased by the Jesuits, there is an Epaminondas, carried off from the field of Mantinea, in which Guerra has represented that Grecian captain, completely armed in steel, as our knights used to be in their tournaments. In another piece, representing a combat of wild beasts exhibited in an amphitheatre, we see a pretor or emperor, who presides at it, with his hand resting on the guard of a naked sword, like those in use during the thirty years war*. This

* He means the thirty years war in Germany, which was concluded by the peace of Westphalia, in 1648. At this time they wore swords with hilts of an enormous length.

forgerer

forgerer made genius consist in representing Priapus of an immoderate size, and beauty in slenderness, so that all his figures look like so many spindles. About two years ago, long after these pieces had been generally acknowledged at Rome for what they really are, an Englishman, who happened to be in that city, was, notwithstanding, fool enough to give six hundred crowns for some of them. So much for the pictures.

I am now to speak of the finest statues, the most remarkable busts, and some small figures. Besides the two equestrian statues in marble, there are two figures of women, as big as life, conspicuous for the beauty of their drapery. They stand in the gallery. In the court of the cabinet there is a mother of Nonius Balbus, as appears by a well preserved inscription on the pedestal. Part of her gown, or mantle, is thrown over her head; and, in order to cover it with the greater grace, is made to rise in a point over the forehead. The same thing is to be seen on the head of the figure of Tragedy, in the basso-relievo of the Apotheosis of Homer preserved in the Colonna Palace at Rome. I should not have taken notice of so trifling a circumstance, had not Cuper * spoken of this pinched fold as something very singular, and thought he could discover in it that kind of cap, called by the Greeks *Ὀγκος*, rising over the forehead in the tragick masks of both sexes. The drawing made for him, of this kind of head-dress, was what led him astray, by representing it much higher than it is in the marble, and formed by a plait,

* Apotheos. Hom. p. 81, and seq.

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or fold, which it is not. There is likewise, amongst the figures, a Pallas as big as life. It is the best of all the marble statues, and, according to appearance, not of Italian workmanship. It looks almost ancient enough to be of the earliest ages of Greece. As a proof of what I advance, I must remark, that the face of this figure wears a certain character of rudeness, and that the folds of its drapery are stiff, and form, as it were, so many parallel tubes. The attribute of Pallas most remarkable in this figure is her ægis hanging from her neck, and thrown over her arm, by way of buckler, perhaps in the battle with the Titans; for she is here represented as running, and raising the right arm to throw a javelin. There has likewise been found at Pompeii, in the little temple of which I have already spoken, a Diana, which is certainly of Etruscan workmanship. I have given a circumstantial account of it in my *History of the Arts amongst the Ancients*. As yet, no Egyptian pieces have been discovered, except a little male figure, in black small-grained granite, with the bushel or *modium* upon his head. This figure, including its antique base, is three palms and three inches high, Roman measure. It rests on a round basis, cut out of the same stone, of two palms and seven inches diameter.

You will here, Sir, be pleased to recollect, that the order from his majesty, by which I had special admittance to the cabinet, was confined to those things, which it was lawful to shew. I did not enquire into the reasons of this restriction, as I could not but know it regarded the antiquities

liquities stored up in the cellars of the castle, particularly an obscene figure, which has been condemned to them. However, having acquired the confidence of the inspector, I had the good fortune to be admitted to see them all, except this obscene one, which was not to be seen without a special licence signed by his majesty, and for which, as it had not been solicited by any one else, I thought it did not become me to be the first to apply. This piece, which is in marble, represents a Satyr, about three Roman palms in height, and a she-goat; and is said to be of most admirable workmanship. As soon as found, it was sent, well wrapped up, to his majesty, then with his court at Caserta, who immediately sent it back with the same precautions, to be put into the hands of Joseph Canart, his sculptor, at Portici, with express orders not to let any one see it. We are not, therefore, to believe some English travellers, who tell us they have been allowed that favour.

The largest statues in brass represent emperors and empresses, all bigger than life; but, then, they are of middling workmanship, and present nothing worth notice, except rings on the right annular fingers of some of the emperors, with augural staffs (*Litui*) on them. The finest statues next to these are six female statues, some as big as life, and some less. They form the ornament of the stair-case leading to the cabinet. Three male statues, as big as life, one representing an old Silenus, the other a young Satyr, and the third a Mercury, stand in the cabinet itself. The female figures are those, which formerly stood

in

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in the garden of the villa at Herculaneum, alternately with the busts of marble, round the great bason. They are cloathed, almost without action, or any attributes, by which one may guess whom they were intended for. In a word, they present no determinate object, though they are all adorned with diadems. One of them seems to be about throwing off a short cloak hung over her shoulders, or fastening it by a button. Another has hold of her hair. A third is tucking up her gown a little, as if going to dance. The Silenus is stretched on a leather bag, covered with a lion's skin. The fingers of his left hand are disposed, as if he wanted to crack them; and such was the position of the fingers in the statue of Sardanapalus. The young Satyr is seated, and asleep, with one arm hanging down by its own weight. But the statue of Mercury, which was the last found, excels them all. This god is likewise seated. The most remarkable thing in this statue is the manner, in which the wings are tied to the feet; the knots formed by the straps lying under the soles in the form of a flattened rose, as if to shew, that the wearer was not made to walk, but to fly.

The busts are partly in marble, and partly in bronze. The first are as big as life, and are suffered to remain in the anti-chamber of the late queen, that the servant who shews them might not lose his little perquisites. The most remarkable amongst them are, one of Archimedes, with a short curled beard. His name had been written upon it in ink, or black paint; and, so late as five years ago, the first five letters, *APXIM*, were still visible,

visible ; but they are now entirely worn out by frequent touching. There was likewise a name on another male bust, but it was with some difficulty the three following letters of it, AΘH, could be distinguished ; and of these not the least trace is now to be seen. Another male bust has the beard turned up, and knotted under the chin ; a singularity observable in one of the busts placed in the galleries of the capitol of Rome. Amongst the female busts there is a fine Agrippina the elder, her hair bound with a crown, seemingly, of oblong pearls.

The brazen busts are of different sizes ; some as big as life, and others less ; some of a middling size, and some even under it ; but, in all these sizes, especially the first, this cabinet has greatly the advantage over all others. Amongst the large heads, there are six extremely remarkable, especially the three first, for the workmanship of the hair, the buckles of which have been soldered on at second hand. One of these heads, and that the most ancient (for it has all the characters of the remotest antiquity) has fifty ring-buckles, which look as if they had been formed with wire of the thickness of a goose-quill. The second has sixty-eight buckles, but flattened, and resembling a narrow strip of paper, rolled up with the fingers, and then drawn out in order to lengthen it. The buckles hanging over the neck are composed of twelve revolutions. These two heads represent two young beardless heroes. The buckles formed by the hair of the third head, which has a long beard, are soldered only on the sides. The workmanship of this third head is
like-

likewise worth our notice, as infinitely superior to that of all our modern artists. It is one of the most perfect pieces in the whole world; and I may take upon me to say, that it is impossible for the art of man to produce any thing, in any branch, superior to it. They have given it to Plato; but I take it to be altogether ideal. The fourth bust is that of Seneca. We have many representations in marble of this philosopher; and one, amongst the rest, in the Medici vineyard at Rome, which, though always considered as the most perfect, is infinitely inferior to this of Herculanum. It may not, perhaps, be too bold to affirm, that the skill displayed in this piece is inimitable. Pliny, however, affirms, that the art of carving in brass was greatly decayed by the reign of Nero. The two other busts are of a very ancient form. They are, each, furnished with two moveable metal handles projecting from the sides, in order to facilitate the moving of them from place to place. One of these busts represents a young hero, and the other a woman. Both appear to be the work of the same master. The first of them carries the artist's name.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΟΥ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΕΓΩΗΣΕ

“ Apollonius, the son of Archias, of Athens,
“ made it.” Both, in my opinion, were
made at the time that the arts flourished most
in Greece; and as to the manner of forming the
word ΕΓΩΗΣΕ, I must beg leave to refer the
reader

Reader to what I have said of it in my *History of the Arts amongst the Ancients*. Martorelli * thinks he can discover an Alcibiades in the head of this hero. And why? Because, forsooth, the artist is an Athenian. M. Bajardi †, a Roman prelate, and Archbishop *in partibus*, has as little reason to take this head for that of a young Roman, and the female one for that of a Roman lady.

Amongst the little busts, there are several, which have nothing to recommend them but the name of those they represent. Such is an Epicure, perfectly resembling that of the Capitol; an Hermachus (EPMAXOC) the immediate successor of Epicurus, and a Zeno, with his name. There are two busts of Demosthenes, worth particular notice. The smallest bears his name. A drawing of it is to be found at the end of this letter. I took the trouble to get it engraved, in order to shew, that the head of a young man without a beard, bearing the same name, and represented on a basso-relievo found in Spain, cannot be that of the Athenian orator, whatever Fulvius Ursinus and some other antiquarians may say of the matter. Demosthenes must have been little known, before he was old enough to have a beard.

Besides these busts, there are in the magazines of the cabinet a great number of small ones in basso-relievo, fixed upon round fields, like those of a buckler, and furnished with hooks to hang them up by. These are the busts, which, on account of their shape, the ancients called *Clu-*

* *Thec. Calamar*, p. 426.

† *Catal. des Monnum, d'Hercul*, p. 169, 178.

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peus †. Some of these *Clupei* exhibit the heads of emperors and empresses. There are, amongst many others, two particularly remarkable for being in marble, and as big as life, in the Altieri vineyard ; and one in the capitol of Rome.

I might say as many things of the little figures as of the statues, especially in regard to the customs of the ancients, the shape of their dress, and their ornaments. But, as a discussion of these matters would require more time than it is in the power of most travellers to bestow upon them, I must refer the reader to the fourth chapter of my *History of the Arts amongst the Ancients*; which I have already so often cited, and confine myself to some figures which are particularly striking. The finest, as well as largest, of these figures, and one of those which has been latest discovered, is an Alexander on horseback. The man wants an arm, and the horse two legs. These defects may be easily supplied. The man and horse are, together, about two palms and a half high. This piece yields to no other of the monuments, either in design or execution. The eyes, both of the rider and his horse, are incrusted in silver, and the bridle is of the same metal. The pedestal on which the horse stood is still to the fore. Another horse, of the same size, but without the rider, which is lost, forms the companion of the first, to which it is no way inferior. The horses, in both these pieces, move in a diagonal line, and have clipped manes. Amongst the figures, of which strangers are made to take particular notice, there is a little Pallas, and a little Venus, each a palm, or thereabouts,

† See Winckelmann's *Descr. des Pier. Gr. du Cab. de Stoch.* p. 387.
high.

high. The first has a patera in the right hand, and a lance in the left: Her finger and toe-nails, the buckles of her helmet, and a border on the edge of her drapery, are very beautifully incrusted with silver. The arms and legs of the Venus are adorned with bracelets of gold wire. She stands upright, raising one of her legs, in order to tie on, or put off, her shoe. We are likewise to take notice of a burlesque representation, or, if you please, parody, of Æneas carrying Anchises on his shoulders, and holding the little Ascanius by the hand. These three figures have asses heads; and, near the group formed by them, is an ass, not an inch high, standing erect on his fore feet, and covered with a little silver mantle. There is, amongst these little figures, a Priapus, taken particular notice of by the connoisseurs and lovers of the arts and antiquity. Though but a finger in length, it is executed with so much art and accuracy, that Michael Angelo himself, with all his skill in anatomy, never could boast a more learned production. The drawings of this great man, preserved in the cabinet of my Lord Cardinal Albani, are alone sufficient to shew, how deeply he was versed in that part of his profession. This Priapus seems to be making a kind of sign very common amongst the Italians, but entirely unknown to the Germans. I am, therefore, in some manner at a loss how to give them an idea of it. He is represented as pulling down the lower eyelid with the first finger of the right hand, supported by the cheek-bone, whilst the head hangs on the same side. This gesture must have been in use amongst the pantomimes of the ancients, and have had several significant

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mean-

meanings. The person making it said nothing, but seemed to say, "Beware of him; he's a cunning fellow; he's too many for you:" or else, "He thinks to take me in, but he has caught a tartar:" Or, in fine, "You have hit the mark! you have chosen your man well." The same figure makes with the left hand what the Italians call *Far la fica*, an obscene gesture, which consists in placing the thumb between the first and middle fingers, so as to represent the tongue issuing from between the two lips. This disposition of the fingers is likewise called *Far castagne*, in allusion to the slit made in the shell of chestnuts, to prepare them for the fire. There is, in the same cabinet, a viril member, or Priapus, in bronze, soldered to a little hand making the same sign. Hands of this kind are common in cabinets, and it is well known that the ancients used them as amulets; or, which is the same thing, wore them as preservatives against spells, evil looks, and enchantments. Ridiculous as this superstitious practice must appear, it still prevails amongst the poorer sort of people in the kingdom of Naples. I have been shewn several of these Priapuses, which some of them were simple enough to carry on their arms, or in their bosoms. It is still more common with them to fasten to their arms a little silver crescent, which they call *Luna pezzura*, that is, a pointed moon, by way of preservative against the epilepsy. But then, this moon must have been made with alms of the wearer's own gathering, and then blest by a priest. This abuse, though known, is tolerated notwithstanding. Perhaps, the silver half-moons, of which such numbers are preserved in the

the cabinet of Portici, were consecrated to the same superstitious purpose. The Athenians used to wear them fastened to the sole of their shoes, between it and the instep.

Some of these Priapuses have wings, and little bells suspended by interwoven chains; and very often their hinder parts terminate in the rump of a lion scratching himself with his left paw, just as pigeons do, when they scratch themselves under the wing, in order, it is said, to increase their passion. The bells are of metal, set in silver. It is probable, that the intention of them was to drive away evil spirits, just as that of the little bells* worn by the ancients, under their bucklers, was to strike terror. These little bells made likewise part of the dress of those† initiated in the mysteries of Bacchus.

I must not omit taking notice, that most of the works in bronze, preserved in the cabinet of Portici, have been repaired; and that the doing of it has robbed them of their antique and venerable rust, that green pellicle, or scale, which the Italians call *Patina*. It is true, means have been found to give them an artificial green, instead of the natural one; but it not only falls short, in all, of the genuine antique *Patina*, but has a very bad effect upon some of the heads; witness that of the fine Mercury, which was found, they say, broken in a thousand pieces, that is, greatly shattered. In cases like this, the slightest soldering brings off from the ancient bronze a thin scale, which is succeeded by a scabby crust; so that all their endeavours to re-

* *Aeschyl. Sept. cont. Theb. vers. 391.*

† *V. Descr. des Pier. gr. du Cab. de Stofsch, p. 22, 23.*

store the colour and complexion * of the *Antique*, serves only to produce a very ugly ruggedness. The incrustations with silver have required the same reparations.

I am now come to the inscriptions, which I promised to give. I shall take particular notice of two. The first has not as yet been published; the second is cited by Martorelli, in the work of his which I have so often mentioned, but which none, even the Neapolitans themselves, are allowed to consult. The first was fixed on the wall of a house, from whence it was taken in one piece, and removed to the cabinet of ancient pictures. This inscription is an advertisement of some baths and taverns to be let, and is the only one of the kind that has reached us.

IN PRAEDIS IULIAE SP. F. FELICIS
LOCANTVR
BALNEVM VENERIVM ET NONGENTVM TABERNAB
PERGVLAE
CAENACVLA EX IDIBVS AVG. PRIMIS. IN. IDVS. AVG. SEXTAS.
ANNOS CONTINUOS QUINQUE
S. Q. D. L. E. N. C.
A. SVETTIVM VERVM AED.

It is easy to see, that there had been another inscription, before this, on the same wall, but in black characters. This first inscription was, probably, the advertisement of something to be let, and had been rubbed out to make way for that in red characters, which still subsists. I have not been able to give the exact form of some of the

* The author means that surface, which, in bronzes, resembles that of the natural skin.

letters,

letters, as I was obliged to transcribe them by stealth, for no one is allowed to take a copy of them. No doubt, the letters separated by points, in the seventh line, were a formula well known at that time. They might, perhaps, stand for

*Si Quis Dominam Loci Eius Non Cognoverit
Adeat Suettium Verum Aedilem.*

That is to say, "Such persons as may not be acquainted with the owner of these concerns, may apply to the Edile, *Suettius Verus*." Her name was *Julia*, and her father's *Spurius Felix*. Leases, amongst the Romans, were generally made, as amongst us, for a certain number of years. This was for five. Some laws in the Digest inform us of this circumstance. By the word *Pergula* was generally meant what we call a green arbour, or a bower made with verdure. These arbours or bowers are generally constructed, in the finest climates of Italy, with great elegance, and formed with reeds tied across each other. And here I must observe, that the reeds of Italy are much longer and stronger than those of Germany and other countries beyond the Alps, not only because the soil of Italy is fitter for them, but, likewise, because they are planted on purpose, and greater care is usually taken of them in other respects, particularly by stirring the earth about them. Accordingly, a field of reeds is considered as an essential part of every farm. In Rome, and the country about it, they use reeds to tie and support their vines. As to the other significations of the word *Pergula*, not akin to that I have given it, the reader may find them

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them elsewhere*. *Cænacula*: This word should signify those rooms in houses of public entertainment, in which those who frequented them eat and drank. On this occasion, I shall quote an inscription, of which, indeed, Gruter has given us a copy in his collection, but without mentioning the place where the original is to be met with.

HVIVS. MONVMENTI. SI. QVA. MACERIA.
CLVSVM. EST. CVM. TABERNA. ET. CENACVLO.
HEREDES. NON. SEQVETVR.
NEQVE. INTRA. MACERIAM. HVMARI.
QVEMQVAM. LICET.

This inscription is to be found on the wall of a tower at the passage of the river *Garigliano*, the *Liris* of the ancients.

I shall add some other inscriptions in the same cabinet, most of which require no explanation. Those that do, I must leave to others.

IVLIA. GER.
AGRIPPINAE. TI. CLA.
PONT. MAX. . . .
L. MAM. . .

DIVAE. AVGVSTAE.
L. MAMMIVS. MAXIMVS. P. S.

ANTONIAE. AVGVSTAE. MATRI. CLAVDI
CAESARIS. AVGVSTI. GERMANICI. PONTIF. MAX.
L. MAMMIVS. MAXIMVS. P. S.

* *Salmas. Not. in Spartian.* p. 155, F. p. 458. Edit. Paris. *Voff.*
Etymol. V. Pergula.

On

On a brazen table there is,

MAMMIO. MAXIMO.
AVGVSTALI.
MVNICIPES. ET. INCOLAE.
AERE. CONLATO.

BALBI. L. EVTYC-HO
LOCVM. SEPVLTVR.
D. D.

Q. LOLLIVS. SCYLAX. ET.
CALIDIA. ANTIOCHVS. MATER.
M. CALIDIVS. NASTA. IOVI,
V. S. L. M.

THERMAE.

M. CRASSI. FRVGI.
AQVA. MARINA. ET: BALN.
AQVA. DVLCI. IANVARIVS. L.

The following inscription written on the base of a statue, probably of Venus, was not found at Herculaneum, but near Bajæ. It is placed in the court of the cabinet.

VENERI. PROBAE. SANCTISS. SACR.
TI. CLAVDIVS. MARCION.

SALVE. MILLE. ANIMARVM. INLVSTRI. CENARE. OPVS. SALVE.
PVLCHRI. ONERIS. PORTATRIX. IN. EXVPERABILE. DONVM.
RERV. HVMANARVM. DIVINARVMQVE. MAGISTRA.
MATRIX. SERVATRIX. AMATRIX. SACRIFICATRIX.
SBLVE. MILLE. ANIMARVM. INLVSTRI. CENARE. OPVS. SALVE.

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I will

I will not venture to affirm, that this inscription is of the earliest ages. Nevertheless, the measure of the syllables is very irregular, and in the taste of that used in other inscriptions of the greatest antiquity. The third line is very obscure. Martorelli reads it, p. 373, in the following order: *Salve Venus, Opus est nos cenare cum illustri mille animarum, salve*; and he explains it thus, *Juvat nos commisceri (μίσγεται) cum innumera gente illustri elegantique forma prædita*. He grounds his interpretation on Suetonius's using the word *cænare* in the same sense, in his passage concerning the supper of Augustus (*Aug. c. 73.*) named *δωδεκάτοσ*, in which that emperor appeared in the dress of Apollo, and his guests in that of the rest of the twelve great deities. The Latin author expresses it thus:

Dum nova Divorum cænat adulteria.

Martorelli supports this conjecture of his with the authority of Martial, by whom, he says, this word is often used in an obscene sense. But, for my part, I have not been able to discover any such thing in the works of that poet.

There are on an agate, in characters taken from the white field of it,

ΑΕΤΟΥCIN: *They speak*

ΑΘΕΑΟΥCIN: *What they please*

ΑΕΤΕΤΩCAN: *Let them speak*

So,

ΤΙΜΕΔΙCΟΙ (*): *What is it to me?*

Of several kinds of seals or engravings in bronze, I shall give but one, and that only on account of the interweaving of its letters:

* It must be *τιμήναι μὲν*, *What is it to me?* or else *τιμήναι σοὶ*, *What is it to you?*

That

MÆLIPLRONS

That is to say,

M. STATILII. PHILERONIS.

I am now got to the end of the first section of the fourth part of this letter, in which I promised to speak of the works of art, but in the strictest sense. I shall first speak of the household furniture, under two heads; the first comprehending things of absolute necessity; the second, those introduced by opulence and luxury.

Bread shall be the first object of my enquiry, as I hope I may be permitted to place it under the first head. There are two whole loaves to be seen, both of the same form and size, that is, a palm and two inches in diameter, and five inches in thickness. Both have eight dents in the upper crust; that is to say, they were first divided by cross lines into four parts, and then subdivided into eight, by four other cross lines. There appears a division of the same kind on two loaves, in one of the pictures found at *Herculaneum* *. We have a copper-plate engraving of the first that was found, in the memoirs relating to *Herculaneum*, written by an anonymous author, and published by Gori †. It is thus the loaves of the Greeks used to be marked in the earliest ages, whence they were called by Hesiod *ὀκτάβλωμοι*, that is, according to some commentators, eight-dented. But sometimes the loaves were divided

* *Pitt. Erc.* Tome II. p. 141.

† *Notiz. Sopra l'Ercol.* in the *Symb. litter.* Vol. I. p. 138.

only

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only crossways, as I have elsewhere observed † ; and it is hence, likewise, such loaves used to be called by the Romans *Quadræ* § :

Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra ;

and by the Greeks τετραπυφῶ, so as to give rise to the phrase, *alienâ vivere quadrâ*, to live at another man's expence.

To the loaves of the ancients preserved in the cabinet of Portici, I shall add their wine-vessels. Of these they had two kinds. The largest they called *Dolia*, and the other *Amphoræ* ; and both were made of baked earth. The ancients, however, were no strangers to the art of making casks, or vessels of staves bound together with hoops. There is in the cabinet of the Roman College an earthen lamp, on which are represented two men carrying such a vessel suspended to a pole. We may discover vessels of the same construction on several engraved stones, as I have shewn in another place *. In short, we may meet with them on the Trajan and Antonine columns ; though I am of opinion they were seldom used but in the field. Instead of vessels like our modern casks, the ancients made use of vessels called *Dolia*, in form of a pumpion, generally containing eighteen *Amphoræ*, which measure is, accordingly, written on a *Dolium* preserved in the Albani vineyard. This was the form of the vessel, of which the philosopher Diogenes made a house, and which he used to roll from place to place during

† Descr. des Pier. grav. du Cab. de Stofsch. p. 72, 73.

§ Scalig. Not. in Moret. in Catalect. Virg. p. 429, Edit. Lugd.

1573 8.

* Descr. &c. p. 260. c.

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the siege of Corinth. The mouth of these vessels is about a palm in diameter. In a vaulted cellar discovered at Herculaneum, there were found several such casks of earth disposed round it, and fixed by brick-work into the wall; whence we may guess, that the ancients did not make their wine as we do ours. For, in this cellar, it was impossible for the wine to run directly from the press-tub into the cask, as it is usual in some places, and there take its own time to work and ferment, by means of a sufficient vacancy left in the vessel for that purpose. The ancients were obliged to pour their new wine with buckets into these vessels, which it was impossible to stir or move out of their places, and in which, besides, they being so small, there could not be room enough afforded to favour the fermentation of the liquor. This is enough to account for the ancients being obliged to allow their wines so many years to ripen. Accordingly, if we may believe Pliny, the wine of Albano, near Rome, could not be drank in less than twelve years. Hence we might infer, that the wines of the ancients did not grow fine till they were very old; and, consequently, account for their straining what they drank, before they lay down to table, or whilst they were at it. The instrument used by them for this purpose they called *ῥῆμας*, *Colum Vinarium*. There are two of them, of white metal and elegant workmanship, in the cabinet of Herculaneum. They are made in the fashion of round and deep plates, half a palm in diameter, with flat handles; one plate fitting into the other, and the handles withal matching, so exactly, that

that when put together they seem to make but one vessel. The upper vessel is bored in a particular manner. It was into this they poured the wine which was to be received by the under vessel, from whence they drew it to fill their drinking cups.

Most of their smaller wine-vessels, called *Amphoræ*, are of a cylindrick form, have two handles to the upper part, and terminate at bottom in a point. Several of them have been found at Herculaneum and at Pompeii, with inscriptions in paint. I remember the following,

HERCVLANENSES.
NONIO. . . .

By this it appears, that the inhabitants of Herculaneum used to put on their vessels the name of *Nonius* their pretor, just as the Romans did the names of their consuls. It was, till lately, the custom in this country to bury earthen vessels filled with wine, at the birth of every child, not to be taken up till its marriage. The vessels used for this purpose terminated at bottom in a point, in order to stand the firmer in the earth. Some of them have been found at Pompeii, still fixed in the holes of a flat arch making part of a vaulted cellar. This cellar, eight Roman palms in breadth, was divided by the flat arch, or, which is the same, by an horizontal wall, into two stories. The arch covering the upper story resembled those commonly built for that purpose; and both stories were, each, of the height of a man. The wine found in one of these vessels was, as it were, petrified, and of a deep brown, from whence it
has

has been conjectured, that the cellars built in this manner were used, according to the custom of the ancients, to smoke the wine in order to make it fine down, and ripen the sooner. But the circumstance of this cellar's having a lower story seems to me sufficient to overturn this opinion. They shew in the cabinet the wine I have been speaking of, turned to a solid body.

We are to reckon amongst the necessary household furniture of the ancients, their trevets ; not, indeed, those of the same form with what I am going to speak of, but such as they were in the most early times, that is to say, trestles with three feet ; such as the table of Philemon and Baucis is described in the fable, on which Jupiter condescended to eat.

... *Mensam succincta tremensque*
Ponit anus, mensæ sed erat pes tertius impar ;
Testa parem facit. OVID. METAM.

for, amongst the Greeks, they called trevets not only the trevets which they put over the fire, but likewise their tables ; and they continued to call them so in the ages of luxury, as appears by the account which Atheneus has left us of the magnificent entertainments of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, and of King Antiochus Epiphanes at Antioch. These were called ἀΰριοι *, and the others ἐμΰριβήται and λοετροχόοι †.

Of the trevets used by the ancients in their sacrifices, there are two in the cabinet worthy of

* *Causab. in Athen. Deipn. L. 10. c. 4, p. 447, l. 50.*

† *Hadr. Jun. animadv. l. 2. c. 3. p. 64.*

being

being ranked amongst the finest discoveries. They are close upon four palms in height. One of them was found at Herculaneum. Three Priapuses, each terminating at bottom in a goat's leg, form the feet of it. Their tails, issuing from above the *Os sacrum*, extend horizontally to a ring in the middle of the trevet, and by twining about it, unite and secure the whole, just as the cross-piece in our common tables. The other trevet was found at Pompeii, some time after that I have been describing. It is of admirable workmanship. On that part of each leg where it takes a bend to appear with the greater grace, there sits a sphinx, whose hair, instead of falling directly over the cheeks, first passes under a diadem. This head-dress may be considered as allegorical, especially in a tripod of Apollo, and allude to the obscure and enigmatical answers of the oracle. The large brims of the chafingdish are ornamented with ram's heads flead and bound together by garlands of flowers, and other excellent carvings. In the sacred tripods, the chafingdish on which they placed the coal-pan, was made of baked earth, That found at Pompeii had still the ashes in it. In the year 1761, they found in a temple of Herculaneum, the discovery of which has not as yet been finished, though for what reasons I cannot say, a large square chafingdish, in bronze, such as they commonly use in Italy to warm their large apartments, about the size of a middling table. It stood upon lion's paws. The brims were curiously incrustated with a foliage composed of copper, brass, and silver. The bottom consisted of a very substantial iron grate, lined with brick-work,

work, as well above as below, so that the coals could neither touch the upper part of the grate, nor fall down through the lower. But this curious piece was found all in pieces.

I must likewise reckon, amongst the necessary household furniture, the lamps, in which the ancients were so industrious to display their elegance, and even magnificence ; mould or dipt candles not having been in general use among them. There are lamps of every kind in the cabinet of Herculaneum, both in baked earth and in bronze, especially the latter ; and, as the ornaments employed by the ancients have generally a relation to some particular object, we often find some singular subjects on them. Most of those in baked earth represent a bark, with seven prows or rostrums at each side, to hold as many wicks. The vessel used to pour oil into these lamps resembles a little round close decked bark, with a sharp rostrum at one end, and at the other end a little concave plate, having a hole in the middle of it, to pour in the oil, which was afterwards to supply the lamp. One of the largest in bronze terminates, behind, in a bat with expanded wings, which may be considered as an emblem of night. The delicate tissue, for which the wings of this bird are remarkable, the tendons, the veins, and the skin which covers them, are all of admirable workmanship. On another of these lamps there is a mouse, which seems to be watching an opportunity to get at the oil ; and, in a third, a rabbit browsing the grass. But nothing displays better the magnificence aimed at by the ancients, than a square pedestal or base, in bronze, on
which

which there stands a naked boy, two palms in height, with a lamp hanging by three chains, four times interwoven, in one hand, and in the other the hook used to trim the wick, suspended by a chain like the first. Near him there is a column adorned with a spiral fluting, and, instead of a capital, terminating in a mask, which likewise answered the purpose of a lamp, the wick issuing at the mouth; and there being a hole in the crown of the head, with a little hinged door or valve, to fill it by.

The ancients used their candelabres to carry lamps. These candelabres resembled our stands and were as curiously wrought as the lamps themselves. The stem of the candelabre, curiously moulded, rested on a foot usually supported by three lions paws. This foot, as likewise the upper part, or plate of the candelabre, were turned, and adorned with pretty eggs on the edges, and foliages on the surfaces. The foot of the largest candelabre is a palm and an inch, Roman measure, in diameter. I believe there are near an hundred of them in the cabinet, the highest seven palms and a half high, whereas all Rome cannot produce a single one in bronze. The form of these candelabres may serve to explain a passage in Vitruvius, in which he censures the bad taste of the age he lived in, for introducing into architecture columns so slight and slender, as to be out of all proportion, and look like the shafts of a candelabre.

Scales for weighing are likewise to be considered as a part of useful household furniture. Amongst those hitherto discovered, there is not a single one with

with two basons, such as we see upon some medals. They all resemble those we call Roman steelyards; that is to say; they are formed by a lever, on which the weight increases in power, the farther it is removed from the point by which the lever is suspended. The weight, in those found at Herculaneum, is generally the bust of some Divinity. One of those preserved in the cabinet is that of Africa, such as we find it on medals. On the lever are the following words: TI. CLAUD. EXACT. CVRA. AEDIL. All these steelyards are provided with basons instead of the hooks made use of in the modern ones; and their basons hang by three or four neat and well-wrought chains passing through a hole in a round plate, by means of which they may be easily tightened or slackened. There are a great number of weights in the cabinet, of all kinds. I shall take notice of two only. These are flat, angular, and oblong, such as the fishmongers of the country still use, with the word EME, in relieve, on one side; and the word HABEBIS, in relieve likewise, on the other.

These basons put me in mind of the fragments of a chariot preserved in the court of the cabinet, consisting of the shoeing of a wheel, in one piece, six Roman palms in diameter, not quite two inches in breadth, and an inch thick. The wood still adhering to the iron is petrified. There likewise still remains that part of the nave, through which the axle-tree went, armed all round with iron; the iron covered with a plate of bronze fastened on by flat-headed nails of the same metal. In the same cabinet there is the head

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of

of a lion projecting from a brazen plate; and, as the mouth is not pierced, and, consequently, it could not have been used for the purpose of discharging water into a fountain, or bath, I imagine it made part of a boxing screwed on the end of an axle-tree, in order to keep the wheel in its place, and secure it from flying off. For this purpose the ancients used iron pins in their ordinary carriages, as we do. The Italians call these pins *Aciarini*; the Greeks called them *παραξόνια*, *ἐμβολοὶ* and *ἐνήλατα*. The square and hollow piece usually fixed to the end of axle-trees, to keep the dust from them, was known in the days of Homer, who calls it *ὑπερτερρα* *. We can discover the end of an axle-tree armed with one of these cases, adorned with a lion's head in relievo, on some of the ancient monuments, particularly on the triumphal carr of Marcus Aurelius, in a basso-relievo preserved in the capitol at Rome. Consequently, the screw-cases, or caps of steel of this kind, which have made their appearance in our days, especially in travelling carriages, are no new invention. The only difference between them and the ancient ones is, that the latter were of bronze. The extremity of the pole in the ancient chariots used likewise to be adorned with a lion's head, in carved work; for which reason I cannot help thinking, that the Count de Caylus must be mistaken, when he says, that the chariots of the ancients had no poles †. I hope, in due time, to be able to demonstrate the

* Odyss. ζ. v. 70.

† Observ. sur le Costume jointes aux tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, &c. p. lxxx.

contrary

Contrary by monuments. For the present, I shall content myself with referring him to a passage in Pindar *. The *Electra* of Sophocles, and the *Hyppolitus* of Euripides, will likewise furnish him with several proofs of what I advance.

I did not think to speak, in this place, of the contrivance used by the ancients for the motion of their doors. I intended to keep it, and my remarks upon it, for the second edition of my observations upon architecture. But I cannot, I find, resist the temptation to say a word or two on the subject. In the first place, then, it is to be observed, that the doors of the ancients did not turn upon hinges, but upon pieces, one fixed into the upper, and the other into the lower, part of the door-case, such as we call the *pivots of the door*; though, after all, the expression does not convey a clear idea of the thing, for which no modern language I know has a just and precise term. The upright of the moveable door next the wall had, at each extremity, a brass case sunk into it, with a projecting point on the inside, to take the better hold of the wood work. This case was generally of a cylindric form; for there have been found some square ones, from which there sprang on each side iron straps, serving to bind together and strengthen the boards with which the door was constructed. And here I must remark, that these doors, which were exceedingly thick, were likewise hollow.

I shall conclude this article with a kind of rope-work shoe sole, of which several sizes have

* *Nem. 7, v. 137. et seq.*

been found, some fit for children, and others for grown-up persons. They resemble those which the *Licanians* still make use of.

I shall begin my description of the furniture of the second kind, by that of some vessels of a singular form, the most considerable and precious of which are those consecrated to sacred uses. The most elegant of them, in point of workmanship, seems to have been a bucket, of that kind which they used in their sacrifices, and called *Præfericula*, about two palms and two inches in height. It has a moveable handle, which, when turned down, lies exactly over the brim of the vessel, and is, like the vessel itself, ornamented with festoons, and other carved work. It has, besides, two large and two small ears. The large ones exhibit, at their juncture with the body of the bucket, the bust of a woman borne by a swan with expanded wings; the whole in relief. The small ears, which lie under the large ones, terminate at bottom in a swan's neck. This vessel was found almost entirely covered with melted iron, the fragments of which still retain the impression made by the body of it. In the same place were found a great quantity of iron nails, which had never been used; and two ink-stands full of ink. It appears that there was an haberdasher's shop hereabouts. It was here, too, they found the gold medal of Augustus, engraved at the end of the advertisement prefixed to the second volume of the paintings of Herculaneum.

At the inferior origin of the ear of a vessel of the same kind and form with the preceding, but
somewhat

somewhat smaller, there is a Cupid with a cup (*Cantharus*) in one hand, and, in the other, one of those horns used at table; the whole in basso-relievo. The cup, the horn, and the wings of the Cupid, are all of silver. They have likewise found moulds of baked earth, to cast the ears of vessels in. I remember an oval vessel in the shape of a little bucket. It is of silver, and has a handle. The story of Hylas carried off by the nymphs, when sent by Hercules to draw water, was, if I mistake not, represented, in relievo, upon it.

They have likewise found sacred vessels of another kind, namely the cups (*Pateræ*) with which the ancients used to make libations at their sacrifices. There are a great number of them, mostly in white metal, and turned, both within and without, with the greatest exactness. In the middle of some of them there is a kind of medallion, cut in relievo, representing, to the best of my memory, a victory seated on a quadriga. The handles to them are generally round, fluted from end to end, and terminating in a ram's head. Some others terminate in the head and neck of a swan. One of the largest and finest of those pateras stands near the fine tripod of Pompeii. The handle of it is formed by a swan, fixed by its extended feet to the body of the vessel. It was once universally thought, that the ancients never used any vessels of this form except in their sacrifices. But now it plainly appears, by the discoveries made at Herculaneum, that they used them in their baths; a bundle of currying instruments (*Strigiles*) having been found, a-

long with a large-handled patera, fastened to a flat metal ring, such as we use to carry keys on. These vessels were, no doubt, used to pour water on the body. There are other large-handled cups, but deeper, which belonged to the kitchen, and greatly resemble the lids of our stew-pans.

It is evident, from a great number of discoveries made at Herculaneum, that the moderns make very few things of a new shape, and not known to the ancients. There have been found here silver cups, with their saucers, of the same shape and size with those we use for our tea. These cups are very neat, and are carved in relief. The ancients used them for the same purpose that we do ours; namely, to drink warm water. The Romans had their houses for drinking warm water, just as we have our coffee-houses for drinking tea, &c. There are three pair of these warm water vessels in the cabinet.

These cups put me in mind of a silver vessel, in the form of a mortar, and weighing about three marcs, on the body of which Homer is represented, in basso-relievo, soaring on an eagle, with his right hand supporting his chin, the elevation of his head expressing the sublimity of his meditations; and his left holding a roll, which is, no doubt, his poem. Swans, surrounded with garlands of flowers hanging down in festoons, skim the air over him. The Comte de Caylus has given us a drawing of this piece, in the second volume of his collection of antiquities*, after another done by memory. But he has not given us the opposite side, on which, near the bottom, there

* Pl. XLI.

ap-

appear two female figures, seated under the foliage of an oak. That on the right carries a buckler and a lance, with a short sword under her arm; and represents the Iliad. That on the left wears a conical hat, without brims, such as is given to Ulysses, and has one leg thrown over the other, with her right hand to her forehead as if absorbed in thought. This is the Odyssæy.

M. Martorelli took these figures for men †, and then corrected himself in his Supplement ‡: But there is no excusing M. Bajardi, who was well paid for describing these treasures, and had a better opportunity than any body else to see and examine them, for having made Homer a Julius Cæsar §. For, supposing he might not know the features of that prince, he should, at least, have known, that he wore no beard. He places, on one side of Cæsar, a Rome in tears; this is the figure of the Iliad. Of the Odyssæy he can make nothing but a soldier. In another place he represents Hercules destroying the Stymphalic birds, as a simple sportsman pursuing water-fowl. He more than once takes men for women, and women for men.

There is on a little oval silver plate a satyr, in relievo, playing on the lyre. At the first sight of him, I could not help thinking of the player on the flute, *Aspendas*, which C. Verres had amongst his statues, and who shewed plainly, that he played only for himself, without caring whether he was listened to, or not. In fact, this figure

† *De Reg. Thec. Calam.* p. 266.

‡ *In Additam.* p. xix.

§ *Catal. de Monum. d'Ercol. Vasi.* n. 5.

appears quite absorbed, and seems to think of nothing, but the musick afforded him by his own instrument.

Amongst the vessels invented by the ancients for the purpose of luxury, we are likewise to reckon those, in which they used to feed and fatten a kind of field-mouse found in chesnut-woods. These vessels were of baked earth, about three palms and a half in height, and two and a half in diameter, with a pretty large mouth. Within, they contained stories of little semicircular basons sunk into the sides, to contain the food of these animals. Vessels of this kind were called *Glireria*, from the Latin word *Glis*, which has passed into the German, and several other languages, with the same signification that it has in the Latin. As these animals, by what I have observed, are not known beyond the Alps, some foreign writers have taken it into their heads, that the Romans fattened rats, and eat them as a great delicacy. Not only Sloane advances this opinion, in the advertisement prefixed to his description of Jamaica, in English; but Lister, in his remarks upon the cookery of Apicius, appears no better informed. The Italians call this animal *Ghiro*, from *Glis*, and still eat it. But it is too scarce to appear at any but great tables. I am informed that the house of Colonna makes presents of them. It never appears in winter, which, they say, it passes in a lethargic state, without taking any nourishment. It is for this reason that the moderns have adopted it for the symbol of sleep; and Algardi has represented one of them near his statue of sleep, or Morpheus, in black marble, which is to be seen in the Borghese vineyard. It

It is likewise in this class that we are to place whatever concerns the plays and amusements, that were in use amongst the ancients. Their flutes, in particular, deserve some remarks. They were made of bone, ivory, and even metal, and consisted, like ours, of several pieces, with this difference, that these pieces were not grooved one into another, but fixed together on a single piece, which was generally of wood, and nicely turned, as appears by two pieces of a metal flute, within which the wood is still discoverable, but in a petrified state. In the cabinet of the academy of Cortona, there is an ivory flute fixed on a silver pipe.

From a little ivory tablet, with the Greek word ΑΙΧΥΛΟΥ upon it, we may guess what were anciently the usual entertainments in this part of Italy. This tablet is a *tessera*, or ticket, bearing the name of the famous tragick writer Eschylus; and proves that his tragedies used to be represented in the place where it was found. But what that place is, I cannot say. It is well known, that these *Tesseræ* used to be distributed by the person, at whose expence the piece was acted, just as play-house or opera tickets are sometimes distributed gratis amongst the moderns. It is the only *Tessera*, with the name of a dramatick Greek poet on it, that has reached us. There are some ivory ones in the cabinet of the Roman college, but without any thing except cyphers upon them.

Another piece, the only one of its kind, is a metal Discus or Quoit, eight inches in diameter, with an oval hole in the center, to receive one of the fingers, and thereby give the player a better

ter command of it. This manner of managing the quoit has not been known till now. There were likewise other quoits, without holes in the center, in use amongst the antients. Of this kind is the quoit lying flat against the thigh of a statue, which stood in the house of Verospi, at Rome, and has been lately disposed of. Of this kind likewise is the quoit, hollowed like a dish, of a palm six inches and a half in diameter, which is to be seen in the Albani vineyard, and of which I have taken notice in another place *. As to the rest, to speak conformably to our modern customs, it was a play used only by knights. Amongst the heroes of Greece, it appears that Diomedes was particularly fond of it †. It is still used in England.

To the utensils of this kind I shall add a tragic mask, in marble, with the hair combed up a considerable height above the forehead. The holes about it shew, that it was of the kind, which the ancients used to fix on the faces of their dead, agreeable to the maxim of Petronius, *Omnis mundus agit histrionem*. There is in the Roman college a pretty small mask, of baked earth, made for the same purpose. It was formerly the fashion, in France, to wear masks in the night time, by way of preserving the skin from the thick foggy air, with which close rooms are apt to be infected. It is to be hoped, that this fashion will come up again ‡.

* Descrip. des Pierres gr. du Cab. de Stosch, p. 458.

† Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* v. 199.

‡ This is a mistake. It was merely to keep off the sun, that the women in France formerly used these masks.

The

The children of quality amongst the ancients wore golden bulls, till a certain age, through vanity, and to shew that they were of noble birth. This cabinet has two of them. The use of them, however, was not confined to children. The triumphing emperors and generals wore them at their necks. In my eclairsissements of the Mythology, History, Manners, and Customs of the Ancients, written in Italian, I have proved, on the authority of a rare monument, that the women, likewise, wore them. The seats called *Cellæ Curules* were, also, a mark of distinction exclusively belonging to certain ranks of the Roman magistracy. There are two of them in the cabinet. At *Rome*, these seats were generally of ivory. Here they are of bronze, a palm and seven inches in height, and two palms seven inches in breadth. The arms and feet are composed of pieces crossing each other, in the form of the letter X, with the parts below their junction turned into a spiral. It must be added, that the feet of these seats terminate* in the head of some imaginary animal, whose lengthened bill, or snout, bears on the ground.

I shall not stop here to speak of the vast quantities of heads of lions, and other animals, in bronze, through which the water flowed into their baths and houses. I shall, likewise, omit the instruments of surgery, and several other kinds of utensils, as well those peculiar to the ancients, as those common to them and us, as it would be very difficult to describe them without

* These seats cannot be better compared to any thing than the French folding stools.

cuts,

cuts, which, after all, sometimes give but a very imperfect idea of such things.

But I must, before I conclude, take some notice of some trinkets peculiar to the sex, such as looking-glasses, bodkins, bracelets, and ear-rings. There are in the cabinet two looking-glasses, one circular, and the other an oblong square. The first may be about eight inches over. Both are of metal, well polished. M. Bajardi * tells us, that he found in the cabinet two looking-glasses with long handles to them; but, though I searched every where, I could never find them. The looking-glasses of the ancients were generally of the first form. On an engraved stone, in the cabinet of Stosch, there is a Venus holding such a looking-glass by the lid. Those in the cabinet of Portici are not unlike some of our travelling glasses. Seneca † makes mention of some glasses large enough for a man to see himself in them from head to foot.

Among the silver bodkins used to roll up the hair, and keep it to the back of the head, there are four of uncommon size and workmanship; for this was one of the ornaments which most deserved the attention of the sex. The eunuch priests of Cybele made use of bodkins with heads for the same purpose. The largest of those above-mentioned is eight inches in length, and terminates in a Corinthian capital, instead of a round knob, with a Venus, on it, holding her hair with both hands; and, near her, a Cupid presenting her

* *Catal. de M. num. d'Ercol.* p. 271. n. 768.

† *Cat. des Pierres Gravées de Stosch.* p. 116.

‡ *Nat. Quæst. L. 1. C. 17.*

with

with a circular looking-glass. It was customary with the Roman ladies to consecrate looking-glasses to the statues of their Divinities on their feast-days *. The silver bodkins, still in use amongst the country women about Naples, are of the same length. On another of these needles, or bodkins, terminating, likewise, in a Corinthian capital, there is a Cupid and a Psyche mutually embracing each other. Another has at its extremity two busts. On the smallest of the bodkins in the cabinet, there is a Venus leaning upon a Cippus, with a Priapus upon it. The goddess is represented raising her right leg, in order, as it were, to take hold of the foot of it with her left hand.

In the same apartment are to be seen some gold, and some brazen, bracelets, all in the form of a serpent, and of the smallest kind, being such as used to be worn on the wrists. I do not remember to have met with any of the ornaments of this kind, which used to be worn near the upper part of the arm. The gold ear-rings resemble the head of an acorn, adorned with little projecting buckles, their openings turned towards the ear. The women in the neighbourhood of Naples still wear them of the same form.

The *Pateræ*, which I reckon, as I have already observed, in the class of household utensils, are of an artificial white metal, which, at first sight, one would be apt to take for silver, and has this quality in common with silver, that it breeds a kind of verdigrease. Who knows, but it may be one of the famous metals of Corinth, or Syracuse? Some connoisseurs, I am aware, take the

* *Lips. Elect. L. 2. C. 18. p. 503. ed. Plant. in 4to.*

metal

metal, which looks like gold, in some of the medals of the largest size, for that of Corinth. But this opinion is as uncertain, as the history of the production of the metal itself, during the pillage of that place, is ridiculous.

What deserves our attention most, in the utensils of the ancients, particularly their vessels, is the elegant form of them; a circumstance, in which all our modern artists must yield to the ancient. All those beautiful forms are founded on the principles of good taste, and may be compared with those of a handsome young man, whose attitudes abound with natural graces. It may be said, that this gracefulness extends even to the handles and ears of their vessels. Would our artists but endeavour to imitate them, their works would soon put on another face. They would put on such a face, as, by removing us from art, would bring us back to nature, by which art might afterwards be improved. The chief beauty of these vessels consists in the softness and smoothness of their contours, little differing from those, which, in the bodies of well-made youths, have a certain elegance not to be met with, in equal perfection, in those of grown up persons. Our eyes do not love to be bounded by compleat semicircles, or stoppt by saillant points, or angles. The secret sensation our eyes experience, when we look at pure and simple forms, is like that produced by the touching of a tender and delicate skin. Our ideas become easy and distinct, like those communicated by the sight of an object simple in its unity. Now, as what is easy must please merely by its clearness, so, what is outré, must displease, for the contrary reason.

reason. It is thus we are shocked at any hyperbolical panegyrick of another person's merit, which we despair of being ever able to equal. It looks, as if nature intended to pave the way for us, and even defray us; for, in general, it costs more to deviate from her, than to follow her. It looks, I say, as if our own feelings and reflections should alone be sufficient to bring us back to the beautiful simplicity of the ancients. They scrupulously adhered to what was once acknowledged to be beautiful. They knew that the beautiful is always one; and, therefore, never attempted to alter it, even in their dress. We, on the contrary, cannot, or will not, keep steady to any thing in this, as well as in many other respects, but blindly give ourselves up to an ill understood imitation; and, like children, are continually pulling down what we had, but the moment before, raised with the greatest anxiety.

FOURTH PART.

SECOND SECTION.

THE second section of the fourth part of this letter, in which I propose to treat of the manuscripts of Herculaneum, deserves all the reader's attention, inasmuch as I am the first to treat of them. I shall begin, by telling how they were discovered; and then proceed to describe the matter, form, and actual state, of them. In the third place, I shall endeavour to give an adequate idea of the kind of writing they exhibit; and,

and, lastly, explain the method taken to unroll them.

When first discovered, they seemed to be nothing less than what they have since proved to be; so that the workmen, at the first sight of them, could not help crying out, like the two bald-heads who had found a comb;

. . . *Sed fato invidio*
Carbonem, ut ajunt, pro thesauro accepimus.

Phædr. L. 5. Fab. 6.

In fact, they could see nothing in these manuscripts, but so many bits of burnt wood, or charcoal. Accordingly, several of them were broken to pieces, and thrown amongst the rubbish; just as the diamonds, first found in Brasil, were treated like common pebbles, because the value of them was not known. The order, in which these seemingly useless bits of charcoal were afterwards observed to lie, being piled one upon another, was the only circumstance to attract the notice of the workmen, and convince them, that they were something more than mere charcoal. Soon after, the characters on them were discovered.

They were found in the *Villa* of Herculaneum, already described; and in a room so small, that two men, with extended arms, might touch the sides of it. Against the walls stood presses, as in our modern paper offices, between five and six foot high; and in the middle, another by itself, with walking room round it, so as to admit the manuscripts being put into it at both sides. The wood of these presses was burnt to a coal, so that I need not say they fell to pieces at the first touch.

touch. Some of these manuscripts in rolls were bound together by a coarser paper, of the kind called *emporetica* by the ancients. In all probability, the rolls thus bundled together made one book. These manuscripts, on their appearing to be what they really are, were collected with great care, to the amount of a thousand, most of which are preserved in a glass press, and under lock and key, in the cabinet of Portici; for, it is said, there are many more still remaining in the vaults of the castle, mixed pell-mell with the fragments of statues, and other monuments of antiquity.

These manuscripts are written on the *Papyrus*, or Egyptian reed, which was likewise called *Del-tos* (Δέλτος) from the country, where it grew in greatest plenty. It appears that this word has been adopted in the Holy Scriptures to signify *writings*, for in Jeremiah (דלתות) δέλτοι signifies a *book*, to the best of my memory. At present, this plant is called *Berd* *, by the natives of the country. It was peculiar to Egypt. But, according to Strabo, an attempt was made to raise it in Italy, where, however, none of it now remains. Targioni, a Florentine physician, still living, is greatly mistaken in thinking, that the rush used to make mats and cover flasks with, might have supplied the materials of the paper used by the ancients.

Of the many travellers into Egypt, Alpinus is the only one who has given us an exact description of this plant. Pococke, and others, have entirely omitted it. It grows on the banks of the

* *De Plant. Egypt. c. 36.*

Nile, and in marshy lands. The stalk rises two ells (*Cubits* *) above the water, according to Pliny, who takes his account from Theophrastus; but, according to Alpinus, it rises to the height of six, and even seven ells. This stalk is triangular, and terminates in a crown of small filaments, resembling hair, which the ancients used to compare to a Thyrsus. This reed, commonly called the Egyptian reed, was of the greatest use to the inhabitants of the country where it grew, the pith contained in the stalk serving them for food, and the woody part, to build vessels with; which vessels are to be seen on the engraven stones, and other monuments of Egyptian antiquity. For this purpose they made it up, like rushes, into bundles; and, by tying these bundles together, gave their vessels the necessary shape and solidity. But the most useful part of this plant was its delicate rind or bark, which they used to write upon. Unhappily, the accounts left us of this matter, by ancient authors, are too obscure to give any just idea of it. Hence it is, that some of the moderns, Vossius † for instance, have conjectured, that the paper used to write on was taken from the leaves of the plant. Others, like Vessling ‡, have hazarded an opinion still more groundless; they pretend, that the paper used to be made with the roots of the plant, though it is notorious

* Pliny says, in express terms, that the stalk of the Papyrus grew to the height of ten cubits, reckoning the two cubits of it which remained under water; and this is, to a trifle, the height assigned it by Prosper Alpinus.

† *In Etymol. v. Papyrus.*

‡ *De Plant. Egypt. Obs. ad Prosp. Alpin. Patav. 1638. 4.*

that

that the roots of all vegetables, without exception, are composed of little ligneous fibres, which will not bear being rolled up into thin leaves. Accordingly, the last of these authors was of opinion, that the root used to be boiled, and reduced to a liquid pap, capable of being taken up in sheets, in the same manner that paper is made of old rags by the moderns. Salmasius * and Guilandini, who have likewise written on this subject, have come a little nearer the truth, in saying, that the leaves of the Papyrus were drawn from the stalk, which may be easily separated into thin layers; and that those next the pith gave the finest paper; and those next the outside, the coarsest. This opinion is confirmed by the inspection of the manuscripts of Herculaneum. They are composed of leaves four fingers in breadth, which, to the best of my judgment, shews the circumference of the stalk. I am, therefore, inclined to think, that the text of Pliny has been altered in that passage, in which he says, that the price of this paper was in proportion to its breadth. The best, says he, is thirteen inches broad; that called *Hieratica*, eleven; the *Fanniana*, ten; that of *Sais*, less; and the commonest of all, but six. I am for substituting the word *length*, to that of *breadth*, as I cannot conceive, how the stalk of the plant could vary enough in thickness, for the circumference of it to be thirteen inches in some, and but six inches in others. The breadth of the paper must have been equal to the circumference of the stalk; and, as

* *Plin. Exercit. p. 1003. ed. Paris.*

to the length, it must have been in proportion to that of the stalk, which was never limited.

But, as I am not for substituting conjectures to clear notions, neither am I for discussing every thing advanced by Pliny on this subject*. I subscribe to what he says of some writings, of two, and even three, leaves, pasted one upon another, since Guilandini assures us he has seen such manuscripts on the Egyptian Papyrus. Those of Herculaneum are but a single leaf thick. I must leave to those, who desire to know more of the matter than the bare inspection of these manuscripts can tell us, the task of rendering the relations of the ancients more intelligible. Yet, what I am going to say on the subject may be of some use to them.

Amongst the manuscripts on Egyptian paper, which I have had an opportunity to examine, exclusive of those of Herculaneum, I may cite various diplomas preserved in the Vatican Library, and a leaf of the works of a father of the church, in Greek characters, in the Theatine Library of the Holy Apostles of Naples. Don Mabillon makes mention of the discourses of St. Augustine, on vellum leaves intermixed, in several places, with leaves of Egyptian paper. These discourses were in the library of the President Petau; and, perhaps, make part of the manuscripts of queen Christina, preserved in the Vatican. But, as I

* The Comte de Caylus has given us an ample discussion of this matter, in a dissertation published by him in 1758, which may be seen in the 29th volume of the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres*. He there proves, that Pliny has very well described the paper-manufacture of the ancients, and that his text requires no alteration.

am not at Rome, I cannot speak of them with any precision.

As to the form and present condition of the manuscripts found at Herculaneum, it is to be observed, that most of them are a palm in height, some two, and others three ; and, when rolled up, reach as far as four inches in diameter, or thickness. Some, indeed, are half a palm. Most of them are parched up, and as full of wrinkles as a ram's horn, owing to the great heat, which has reduced them, in a manner, to a coal ; for they are either black, or of a very dark grey. On being taken from amongst the ruins, they lost somewhat of their cylindrick form, as well as exterior smoothness, so that, to judge of them merely by their outside, one would take them for so many pieces of petrified wood ; notwithstanding which, one may easily distinguish, at each end of the rolls, the paper composing them. As to books of a square form, they have not found any.

This Egyptian paper is very thin, and more delicate than a poppy-leaf. It is no longer of the same form it was originally, the fire having dried it up, and thereby made it take a new one. In unrolling it, the least breath of air is sufficient to do mischief. That this paper was always extremely delicate, appears plainly on examining several manuscripts, which, though less wrinkled and dried up, were, notwithstanding, rolled up as tight as they now appear to be ; for, as they could not be reduced by the heat into a less volume, than that they originally occupied ; and, as they have not lessened in any sense, they remain free from wrinkles and compression.

G 2

These

These rolls are composed of several thin strips, of a hand's breadth, pasted, a finger's breadth, one over the other, and in so durable a manner, that nothing has been able to part them. The ancients had a kind of workmen, called *Glutinatores**, who followed no other business, and are not to be confounded with their common tradesmen; the Athenians having erected a statue to one Philtattius, for teaching them the art of pasting manuscripts; or, as I think it more probable, for inventing a particular kind of paste for that purpose.

The bandages of paper, thus composed of several strips pasted together, were often rolled about themselves; and sometimes, according to the scholiast of Horace, about wooden or bone tubes of different diameters. This it was, no doubt, which the ancients called the navel (*umbilicum*) of their books; for not only these tubes, in the center of their books, occupied the same place, which the navel does in the belly; but what appeared outwardly of it, did not look unlike that part of the human body. This observation may serve to give the meaning of a passage in Martial, in which he speaks of a book that was not thicker than the *umbilicus*.

*Quid prodest mihi tam macer libellus,
Nullo crassior ut sit umbilico,
Si totus tibi triduo legatur?*

L. 2. ep. 6, v. 10.

I don't think this passage has been heretofore rightly understood. The comparison would not hold, did the poet mean the navel of the human

* Cic. *ad Att. L. 4. ep. 4.*

body

body. Neither must what he says be understood of the ornament placed on the covers of books. No doubt, he had in view the little roller in the center of them. His words, therefore, mean, that the book was neither thicker nor better than the little tube or stick, about which it was rolled. It was for this reason the ancients used to say, *ad umbilicum adducere**, to denote a book's being ready to be rolled up; and *ad umbilicum pervenire*†, to express the reading of the book till the roller appeared.

Consequently, we are to take it for granted, that the interior roller, from about which the book was to be unrolled, required another, exterior, one to take up the book; and that these tubes were fastened; one, to one end of the bandage composing the book; and the other, to the other. Thus, by the time the book was gone through, the tubes changed places; that, which at first was at the outside end, being now at the inside; and that, which at first was at the inside end, being now at the outside; till, by unrolling and rolling in a contrary direction, things were brought back to their primitive state.

The manuscripts found at Herculaneum have but one tube. It is highly probable, that the exterior leaves of them, to which the exterior tube was fastened, have perished. This is, at least, the case with all the rolls which have been as yet examined. Neither are these exterior tubes to be seen on the rolls represented on some of the paintings of Herculaneum‡, though the interior ones are

* Hor. *loc. cit.* † Martial, L. 4 ep. 9. v. 2.

‡ They are very visible in the roll or book held by the Muse Clio, in a picture representing this muse and her attributes, which was found
amongst

very visible. It is, however, true, that the ancients mention, in the plural *, the tubes of this kind appropriated to the use of manuscripts; which seems sufficient to give some weight to my conjecture. I must further remark, that, in some of our manuscripts, there appears something within the tube, like a little stick, upon which the tube probably turned, as the manuscript unrolled. When the tube did not exceed the manuscript in length, the stick, which did, served to turn the tube. This stick, in all appearance, terminated in a painted turned knob, from whence a poet took occasion to say, *Pictis luxurioris umbilicis*. It was to this stick, in all appearance, when there happened to be one, that they tied a ticket or label, like that visible in one of the paintings of Herculaneum, which, when hung to a manuscript, probably contained the title of it. This word *umbilicus*, used to signify the tube of which I have been speaking, might, in process of time, have been extended to the ornament fixed to the middle of the cover of square books, as M. Martorelli presumes from a passage in Lucian's treatise *contra indoctos* †. This ornament was either a plate of copper or brass, such as may be seen on our very old books; or a simple stamp, such as is used to this day on parchment covers.

amongst the ruins of Herculaneum, and is to be seen in the second plate of the paintings of Herculaneum. It is surprising how it came to escape the author's notice.

* Mart. *L. ep. 2. v. 9. L. 4. ep. 91. v. 2. L. 8. ep. 61. v. 4. Stat. L. 4. Sylv. 9.*

† Διφθέρας περιβάλλεις καὶ ἀμφαλὰς ἐν τῷ ἡς.

Some

Some of these manuscripts have been treated in the same manner, that we are told an ancient treated the obscure poem of Licophron, to see if he could understand the inside of it better than the outside ; and, as it is pretended, St. Jerom dealt by the Satires of Persius ; that is, some of the largest rolls have been cut in two, the better to discover the interior construction of them, and exhibit it to strangers. In some of them the writing is as beautiful, and the characters as large, as in the fine Pindar at Oxford.

The more like charcoal these volumes look, and the more evenly black they are, the better preservation they are found to be in, and the easier to unroll. The reason of this is evident from the nature of charcoal. Charred wood, in consequence of its being thereby freed from all humidity, and all heterogenous substances, instead of being any longer subject to alteration, acquires such a permanent consistence, that with it one may form limits, which no time shall be able to obliterate. It is the same thing with these manuscripts. The more suddenly and equally they were penetrated by the heat of the burning matter of Vesuvius, which divested them of all their humidity, the more the paper of them has been exalted to an uniform equality ; and, of course, the more it is become like the simple and solid seeds of invariable and incorruptible things. Accordingly, those manuscripts, on which the burning matter has not acted, are not of an even colour ; and, as they were not freed from their humidity as suddenly as the first, they have been exposed to the variations of the air, and injured by the exterior humidity endeavouring

vouring to unite with that natural humidity, which still remained in them. By this means the circumambient earth and ashes have so penetrated and effaced them, that they are much harder to unroll, than those of the first kind.

From the form of these manuscripts M. Martorelli has taken occasion to advance such strange opinions, or, rather, such paradoxes, as cannot but convince the public of the blindness of prejudice and self-love. This learned man maintains, against the clearest evidence, that the manuscripts of Herculaneum, which he has had an opportunity of seeing and examining, as often as he pleased, are not learned dissertations or books, but simple documents, deeds of gift, contracts, judgments, and the like ; and that, consequently, the place in which they were found is to be considered as the registry of Herculaneum. He sets out by assuring us, that the Greeks did not roll their manuscripts ; he will allow them nothing but square books * ; for it would, says he, be absurd to think, that, sagacious as the ancients were, they should chuse for their books so inconvenient a form, as he affects to think that of rolls, whereas a square book is much easier to use †. His chief reason for being of this way of thinking is, that the Greeks, in their best times, had no word answerable to that of *volumen*, which signifies a rolled writing ; and did not employ *εἰλεμα* till a long time after, to supply the place of it ; so that, if the Greeks had rolled their writings, we should find in their tongue the names of the particular

* *Reg. Thec. Calam. p. 233.* † *Ibid. p. 234.*

pieces mentioned by Latin authors, which is not the case. He rejects the word ἀτραλίσκος signifying a little tube, about which writings used to be rolled, and attributes it to the barbarous ages. He concludes by saying, that, since the Greeks, in their most flourishing times, and when their language was richest, had no word to signify *volumen*, it was impossible they should have had rolled writings*. He then considers this supposition of his as incontestably proved, and leaves no stone unturned to make the ancient authors speak conformably to his ideas. He boldly corrects, as vitiated, the passages which clash with his opinion. He substitutes the word *open* (ἀνειλιγμενον) to the word *rolled* (ἀνεωργμενον) in the fourth letter of Eschines, in which that author speaks of a statue holding a writing, which the Athenians had erected to Pindar. He affects to make nothing of Diogenes Laertius, who specifies 'the writings of Epicurus, by the express word *cylinder* (κυλίνδρος) †. M. Martorelli considers this word as an interpolation of some Roman, because he cannot find it employed in the same sense by any other writer. And, as he finds it but once in Diogenes himself, he endeavours to confirm this his charge of interpolation by some decisions of Menage, who says, in his remarks upon that author ‡, that the text is full of additions, and vulgar expressions, as Saumaïse had already observed §. But, allowing, says he, that the word *cylinder* is not an addition, it proves nothing against me, or against

* *Ibid.* p. 234.† *Ibid.* p. 235.‡ *In Annotat.* p. 253.§ *De ling. Hellenist.* p. 107.

the

the ancient times of Greece, since Diogenes lived under Constantine, when rolled books might be very well in use amongst the Greeks. He refers to several square books represented in the paintings of Herculaneum ; and, when he meets with any rolled books in these paintings, he gives them the meaning his fancy suggests *. He says that Spon lies *, when he tells us in the account of his travels, that he had seen at Corinth a roll containing the liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

To establish, however, the existence of this custom, and at the same time refute M. Martorelli's strange notion concerning it, I have given, at the head of this letter, a fine ancient monument, in basso-relievo, which I got copied from an excellent drawing, by some disciple of Raphael's, presented in the cabinet of his excellency Cardinal Alexander Albani ; for the original is no longer to be met with at Rome. It represents the educating and instructing of young children. The eldest son of the mother of the family, who is seated on the left, holds a square book, to which the master, likewise, has one of his hands. This circumstance is in favour of M. Martorelli. The youngest of the children, still in the hands of an old gouvernante, seems to be for climbing up to a terrestrial or celestial globe, which two muses are shewing with their hands. One of these muses is Urania ; and the other, probably, Clio, the muse of history, with a roll in her hand. This makes against M. Martorelli. The third is Melpomene, the muse of tragedy. This piece puts me

* *Reg. Thec. Cal.* p. 264. • *ibid.* p. 234.

in mind of the three muses, whom a philosopher had placed in his parlour*. The engraved stone, with which I have adorned the frontispiece of this letter, is likewise to my purpose. Love is there represented consulting a rolled paper, which cannot be either a contract or a sentence. A muse, in quality of preceptor, has in her hands a square book †. Above both, in the field of the stone, there is a sphere. The meaning of the beetle, which is placed in a kind of exergue, may be guessed by those engraved stones of the ancients, upon one side of which we see a beetle in relievo, and which, from thence, have obtained amongst the moderns the name of *beetle-stones*. Perhaps, it may allude to the arms of the owner ‡. There is, in the cabinet of the Roman college, a little bronze, half a palm in height, representing a philosopher with a beard, seated on a magistral seat. In his hand there is a rolled writing, half unrolled; and, at his feet, a box containing other writings made up in the same manner. This figure cannot be that of a Roman magistrate. Beards were out of fashion amongst the Romans

* A testimony like this does not appear to me of any importance. It proves nothing. The author must, therefore, be supposed to have had some private motive for giving it, with which he has not thought proper to acquaint us.

† Allowing the drawing to be exact, the muse on this engraved stone does not hold a square book, but is rather writing on a fillet, or bandage, which is to be rolled on the cylinder, when the work she is upon is finished.

‡ I believe it will be no easy matter to prove, that the ancients made use of arms. I think it more natural to say, that the beetle, the spider, or whatever other insects might have been represented on this stone, is a particular symbol, or rather a riddle, which every one may interpret as he pleases.

when

when this monument was made. For this reason it must be, as I said before, a philosopher ; whence it follows, that the writings which accompany it cannot be judicial sentences, or other pieces of that kind. The seat, too, is not exactly of the same form with those used by the Roman magistrates.

M. Martorelli goes still further. He is not afraid to contradict all those who translate the words *teretes libros*, in the law of *Ulpian* 52. D. de leg. 3. rolled writings, and the word *codices*, square books *. The writers he refutes are *Salmasius* †, *Schulting* ‡, *Trotz* §, *Heinneccius* ||, and *Mazocchi* *. As to *Schulting* and *Heinneccius*, he omits their names in his additions †. What enormous volumes, says he, must the works of *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Seneca*, and *Pliny*, have formerly made, had they been written but on one side of the paper, and that paper made up in rolls ‡. He endeavours to prove, that the word *codex* was never used but to signify a public act § ; and that, if there are some statues of emperors, and figures of them upon medals, with rolls in their hands, these rolls cannot be supposed to be any thing but diplomas ; and, by no means, works of literature or history *. It must, therefore, continues he, have been an unpardonable blunder in the statuary and other artists of antiquity, to put rolls into the hands of their poets and philosophers †.

* *Reg. Thec. Cal.* p. 254.

† *In. Paul.* p. 337.

|| *In Antiq. Rom. proæm.* n. 16.

† *Thec. Cal. addit.* p. XIV.

† *De Mod. usur.* p. 401.

§ *In. Hugon.* p. 604.

* *In Diptych. Quirin.* p. 5.

† p. XIV. § p. 257. || p. 259.

* p. 261.

Even

Even Apollonius of Priene, the Greek artist, who executed, in basso-relievo, the apotheosis of Homer preserved in the palace of Colonna, blundered greatly in putting a roll into the hands of the prince of poets.

M. Martorelli, the better to prove the solidity of his opinion, and show, that he did not advance it without due reflection, repeats, in his additions, that he has seen, and very carefully examined, the signature of the first that was unrolled of the writings found in Herculaneum: Φιλοδήμου *περὶ Μουσικῆς*, "Of Philodemus upon musick." Nevertheless, he insists (will the reader believe it!) that this writing is a public act concerning a law-suit. Perhaps, he has taken it into his head, that it contains the pieces belonging to a law-suit concerning the musick of their temples, or that made use of at their marriages, between the corporation and the town musicians. And how does he endeavour to establish his opinion? Why, forsooth, by saying, that in this roll he could not discover any title, but only the subscription at the end of it; and that, as every one knows, it is usual to sign law-papers at the end; whereas the title and the inscription of learned dissertations stand at the head of them. However, as M. Martorelli is intimately acquainted with the person who has unrolled these manuscripts, he should have known, that the beginning or exterior coil of all the writings hitherto unrolled is wanting, as I have already observed.

He seizes this opportunity to advance, that the ancient Greeks did not write upon tablets; and, thereupon, examines two verses of Homer, in
which

which the poet says, that Bellerophon had been sent by his father to the king of Lycia, with one of these engraved tablets, by way of letter, the contents of which were a sentence of death against the bearer.

Πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίνδε, πόρεν δ' ὄγε σήμαλα λυγρὰ,
Γράψας ἐν πίνακι πλυκτῶ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.

Sed misit ipsum in Lyciam, deditque is litteras perniciosas, scriptis in Tabellâ complicatâ animæ exitalibus multis. Il. ζ. v. 168.

He would fain persuade us, that the second verse is an interpolation, especially as the meaning of the poet will not suffer by striking it out; for λυγρὰ and θυμοφθόρα πολλά, says he, signify the same thing, and are a tautology; and πίναξ πλυκτός conveys a wrong idea of a tablet of wood, which it is impossible to fold. He builds on the authority of Burmann, who, infers from some manuscripts of Virgil, that some of the verses we now meet in him are not really his. He passes the same judgment on several other passages of Homer. That, in which it is said of Paris, that he deserved to be stoned *, is one of them, because *Dion Chrysostom, Orat. XI. περὶ τοῦ Ἡλίου μὴ ἀλῆναι*, in quoting this discourse of Hector against Paris, suppresses the two verses in question. He is for striking, without mercy, out of the book λ' of the Odyssey, twelve entire verses, from 310 to 320, because they don't appear to him worthy of Homer. In the next book, μ', he suspects the verses following the 68th, which con-

* Il. γ. 57, 58.

tains a description of the ship Argos, because Hesiod makes no mention of that vessel; and he even hence concludes, that this fable is more modern than these two poets. There are, likewise, two verses in the last book of the Iliad, namely, the 29th and the 30th, describing the judgment of Paris, which he cannot subscribe to.

He then, in his notes *, returns to the passage of Homer, which he had first criticised; and proves, by several other verses, that he never uses the words *γράφειν*, *ἐπιγράφειν*, to signify to write, but only to incrust, engrave, wound. Hence he concludes, that Bellerophon's tablet was not written, but only contained marks cut into it, which were a secret for the bearer, but well understood by the two kings, as friends. It was not, therefore, customary with the ancient Greeks to write upon tablets, as he ventures to support, but only with the Persians; and he corrects †, with pretty good success it must be owned, a passage of Ælian ‡, in which that author speaks of the employment of the kings of Persia, during their travels. This passage, in the manner in which it has been hitherto read and understood, does these princes very little honour. Ælian says, that the only employment of these princes, when travelling, was to engrave, with a little knife, upon tablets of wood, by way of amusing themselves; and that, in general, they read nothing that was serious, and thought of nothing becoming their exalted station. I must own, that, as we are but too apt to hurry over the authors of antiquity, and but superficially examine even such things

* P. 55. † P. 63. ‡ *Var. Hist. L. 14. c. 12.*

as shock us, especially when not intent upon any particular object, this passage, in which I did not suspect any fault in the text, had given me the more pain, as we cannot help entertaining a very different idea of several kings of Persia, whose history has been transmitted to us. M. Martorelli, by a very small alteration in the last words of this passage, and the addition of a single word, gives it a quite different, and far more suitable, meaning. He reads, ἡ εἰγεναῖον τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον βουλευῆται γράψῃ; that is to say, that the kings of Persia took no books with them, but amused themselves in their carriages with preparing their own tablets, that they might have something serious, the fruit of their own reflections, to read (to others I suppose) which was as often as they had an opportunity of attending to any thing useful or curious.

He, however, allows, in his additions, that waxed tablets, for the purpose of writing upon, were in use amongst the Romans and Greeks, during the last imperial ages; because he has found a passage relating to them in the acts of the second council of Nice *; and which, it must be owned, cannot, otherwise, be decisive. He had already observed, even in the body of his work, that this way of writing was peculiar to the Romans, and that they made use of it in the earliest periods; witness what he says, that the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the inhabitants of Albani, in the time of the Horatii and the Curiatii, was written on waxed tablets.

Most of M. Martorelli's mistakes, especially those in regard to the prince of the poets, are ow-

* *Act. 4. Conc. Nic. 11, tom. 8. p. 854. lit. C. edit. Venet.*

ing

ing to an itch to say something new and extraordinary. It is thus, that other writers venture into roads equally devious for want of matter, which is scarce in some countries and in certain kinds of erudition; and finding it difficult to resist the *rabies scribendi* (a disease those beyond the Alps, and the Germans in particular, are subject to, even more than the Italians) they often, through mere despair, give themselves up to idle speculations and dreams, in hopes, like Erostratus, to immortalize themselves at the expence of the monuments of antiquity. Such was the learned Ruhnken, who has signalized himself by the corrections of Callimachus, and other ancient poets. But, perhaps, this digression may be thought too long, even for a letter; and, therefore, I return to my subject.

One of the most useful tasks undertaken, with regard to the manuscripts of Herculaneum, is that of examining the nature of them, and the kind of writing used in them. I shall, therefore, consider the form, and examine the matter, of them, in a few words.

I must first take notice, that, though M. Martorelli had, by being on the spot, a better opportunity than any body else to know every thing relating to them, he is, notwithstanding, egregiously mistaken, when he says, that, exclusive of the Greek and Roman manuscripts, others have been found in unknown, perhaps, as he says in his table of contents, Sabine characters. The fact is false. Those that have been unrolled, and others, which, tho' not unrolled, I have likewise examined, are all Greek. The learned Mazocchi himself thought he could discover Osck writing in one of these rolls, up-

on which they had tried a ridiculous experiment, of which I shall speak in the last part. People are but too apt to believe what they wish to be true. M. Martorelli had no sooner contrived his system of etymologies for words derived from the Pelagian language, than he was for persuading the world, that every thing he could not explain was in the Oscan ; that is to say, the language spoken by the most ancient people of the Campania.

I must not omit acquainting the reader, that all the manuscripts of Herculaneum are written on one side only. Not one of them is *ὑποστροφῶς*, written on both sides. Perhaps the ancients never did it on single paper, like this. The writing is on the inner side of the coils ; and, for this reason, it is hard to know of what kind the writing is, without unrolling the manuscript a little. The manuscripts written on both sides must, therefore, have been written on double paper, or paper composed of two leaves, pasted one over the other.

All these works are written in columns, four fingers broad at least ; that is, as broad, as an hexameter Greek verse is long. In some of the manuscripts, every column contains forty lines ; and, in others, forty-four. There is a blank, of about a finger's breadth, between the columns ; and it appears, that these columns were inclosed by red lines, as the columns and pages of the first printed books used to be. These lines, or frames, are now whitish, owing, no doubt, to the effect of the fire on the minium or cinnabar. There is no discovering here, as on parchment, the least trace of any lines used to make the writing run strait. As this single paper was very delicate, and seems to have been transparent,

transparent, they, no doubt, made use of another paper ruled, and placed under it, for that purpose.

No more than four rolls have been as yet entirely unfolded; and these, too, all happen to be the works of the same author, Philodemus, a native of Gadara in Syria, and an epicurean. Cicero, in whose time he lived, and Horace, likewise, make mention of this philosopher. We know, that the first of these manuscripts is a dissertation, in which the author endeavours to prove, that musick has a dangerous influence on the morals of mankind, and the existence of states. The second manuscript is the second book of a treatise of rhetorick; and I have heard from some, who had an opportunity of examining it, as fast as it was unrolled, that the principal object of Philodemus, in it, is to shew, what influence eloquence has in the administration of a state. I have been, likewise, told, that mention is made in it of the politicks of Epicurus and Hermachus. The third manuscript contains the first book of the rhetorick in question; and the fourth, a treatise upon virtues and vices.

The first manuscript contains forty columns, and is thirteen palms long. The second manuscript contains sixty-six columns. The third may be about twelve palms in length; and the fourth, thirty. I shall not answer for the exactness of these dimensions, it being no easy matter to get a sight of these unrolled manuscripts. The first of them, is the only, which has as yet been exposed to public view. It is to be seen in one of the presses of the cabinet, divided into five

parts, each containing eight columns, and pasted on separate papers, and framed.

I have already observed, that the outside coil of every roll has been lost. Perhaps it is the same with some of the following coils, so that the title of the work must be wanting. It is, therefore, a fortunate circumstance, that the title has been repeated at the end of every manuscript; otherwise we should be entirely at a loss for the author's name, and the title given by himself to his work. But both one and the other are repeated at the end of every manuscript; and that which treats of virtues and vices, presents twice these two titles, in small and great characters. At the end of the first manuscript, we meet with the following words :

ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

At the end of the second book of rhetoric :

ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ

B

The B signifies the second book. At the end of the fourth manuscript there is :

ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙΚΑΚΙΩΝΚΑΙΤΩΝ
ΔΝΔΚΕΛΕΝΩΝΑΡΕΤΩΝ

About five years ago, just as they were beginning to work upon the third manuscript, I found in it a writing of Metrodorus, on characters, with the following title :

ΜΕΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΕΝΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΡΑΙΜΑΤΩΝ

All the words, without exception, are written in uncial letters; and are not separated by full stops
or

or commas. There is nothing to indicate the division of those words, which happen to be divided between two lines. There is no sign of interrogation, or any thing else, to assist the pronunciation, or indicate such places as require an elevation of the voice. The use of stops became frequent, in proportion as the knowledge of the Greek declined. But there are, however, on some words, other unknown signs, of which I shall speak hereafter. As to the size of the letters, I may compare those of the manuscripts I have mentioned, to the letters of the scarce editions of some Greek authors, by Lascaris. Such as have an opportunity to examine the famous ancient manuscript of the Septuagint, in the Vatican library, may thence form a still clearer idea of the form and size of these letters, which are somewhat longer in the manuscript on virtues and vices. I must, however, observe, that the Italian character was in use before the destruction of Herculaneum, as appears by a verse of Euripides, of which I shall presently speak.

The form of these letters is very different from that, we are apt to attribute to the writings of these ancient times; for the characters with projecting legs, as in Δ , have been attributed to the better ages by those, who think they have taken most pains to examine the writing of the ancient Greeks. Baudelot * says boldly, and without exception, that the Greek letters of that form must be referred to the latter ages; that is, according to the idea annexed to that expression, the times of the last Roman emperors. All the tables hi-

* *Utilité des Voyages*, T. 2. p. 127.

therto published, in which the Greek characters are exhibited according to their respective ages, are erroneous. This may be proved, especially by medals. For example, the omega, written ω , when in company with uncial letters, is attributed by Father Montfaucon to the reign of Domitian, whereas it is to be found two ages earlier on the medals of the kings of Syria; and, in the same Italick form, in the inscription on the brim of the great brazen vase preserved in the capitol, which Mithridates Eupator, the last famous prince of his line amongst the kings of Pontus, made a present of to the Gymnasium he had founded: It is, therefore, plain, that this branch of chronology is liable to error, and apt to make us conceive very wrong notions of things. For example; suppose a person desirous to determine the antiquity of that famous fragment of a statue of Hercules placed in the Belvedere Gardens, and called the Torse of Michael Angelo; and that, for this purpose, he should chuse to have recourse to the inscription upon it, in which the name of the artist stands in the following characters $\text{ΑΓ}^{\circ} \text{ΑΛ}\omega\text{ΝΙ}^{\circ}\Sigma$; must he, because some antiquarians insist, that the omega thus formed did not come into use till very late, place the carver of this admirable statue in an age, in which there was no carver to be found equal to so fine a piece? And, what would then become of the ideas, we are to entertain of the progress and state of the fine arts amongst the ancients*?

* There is no denying, that the reign of Alexander was, likewise, the reign of sculpture in Greece; and that the arts declined, in proportion as the Roman empire lost its splendor. It is, however, true, that they blazed forth, with new lustre, under Hadrian; and that nothing can compare, for the finess of its touches, with the statue of the beautiful Antinous, which was then executed.

The characters remarkable for their peculiar form are those which follow ; Δ, ∇, Ε, Ε, Λ, ω, Ρ, Υ. All the sigmas are round. These letters occur oftener in the Greek inscriptions of the second imperial age, and the following ages, than in those of the preceding ages ; and sometimes one of the legs is produced the contrary way, as may be seen on an earthen lamp, cited by Passeri *.
 Δ ΙΟΚ Λ ΗΤ.

In the Greek manuscripts of Herculaneum, as well as in all others in capital letters, we meet with no abbreviation ; and with very few, or none at all, in the most ancient parchment manuscripts in Italick letters. Frequent abbreviations are a mark of the latter ages ; and are, especially in some Greek manuscripts, of a very perplexing form. There are, however, some abbreviations, which greatly contribute to the beauty of the Italick Greek writing ; and give it an extraordinary degree of roundness, freedom, and connexion.

There have been found, on some of the letters, those full stops and commas, which we call accents. There are, likewise, in the second book of the treatise on rhetorick, some interlineary words in a smaller character. In the two following lines, copied from this manuscript, page 10, there are the following instances of both these particularities :

ΣΙΔΤΟΥΤΙΣ

ΗΘΕΙΔΠΟΛΛΗCOYKOYΝΛΗΠΟ----

-- ΤΕΤΗΤΕΡΤΟΡΙΚΗΚΔΙΔΥΝΔΜΕΙ

As to the three points over the word ΚΑΙ, I cannot find in them any thing to ground the least

* *Passeri Lucern. T. 1. Tab. 24.*

con-

conjecture on. The word OYKOYN, it is plain, has its accent. The most ancient of the accented Greek inscriptions is, perhaps, of a later date. It is well known, however, that accents were used in earlier times, since even the Samnites employed them to distinguish certain syllables. Amongst the Greeks, the invention of them was attributed to one Aristophanes, of Byzantium, who lived about two hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. The verse of Euripides is as follows † :

Ως ἐν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικά.

This verse was found on the wall of a corner house, in one of the streets of Herculaneum, which house led to the theatre; and was accented, as I give it ‡. The Romans, in their best times, made use of a kind of accent; and it is by such accents that the inscriptions, from Augustus to Nero, are to be distinguished §. I cannot, for this reason, help considering the following dateless inscription, found lately at Rome, as of that period.

CELER. PRIMI. AVG. LIB. LIBERTVS.
ET. GEMINIAE. SYNTYCHE. CON
IVGI. ET. FLAVIO. CELEREONI. ET. HE
LENE. CELERINAE. FILIIS. POSTERIS.
QVE. SVIS. FECIT.

Mr. Basnage, therefore, must have seen very few ancient inscriptions, to say that they are all

* *Fabret. Inscr. p. 288, n. 216.* † *Pitt. Ercol. T. 2. p. 34.*

‡ There have been persons hard enough of belief to call this discovery into question. § *Fabret. Inscr. p. 168, 170. 235.*

with-

without accents. The interlineary word between the two lines I have quoted is very remarkable, as being in a character different from the rest. I shall not undertake to explain it. It is, evidently, however, an alteration or correction at second hand; and thus it was that the letter H came to be put over the word PTOPIKHI, to supply an omission of the copier. Some are for inferring from these corrections, that this second book of rhetoric is an original in the hand-writing of Philodemus himself; and I see nothing very forced in this opinion. May it not, likewise, be probable, that the country-seat, in which these writings were found, belonged to the philosopher whose work they are. It is pretty odd, at least, that the four manuscripts, which happened to be first unrolled, should turn out, by mere chance, the works of one and the same author. Are we, then, to expect the works of no other?

Having, I think, said enough concerning the form of the writing in these manuscripts, I shall now speak of the matter; that is to say, the ink and pens, with which they were written. The ink of the ancients was not as fluid as ours. They used no vitriol in it. This we may infer from the colour of the letters, which are blacker than the substance upon which they are written. This extraordinary blackness greatly facilitates the reading of them; for, had they been written with vitriolick ink, they would have lost their colour, especially by the heat, to which they were exposed; and would have turned to a yellow, like the ink in all the old parchment manuscripts. Besides,

? Baigne Pref. de l'Hist. des Juifs, p 38.

an ink of this kind would have corroded the delicate leaves of the papyrus, as it has done the skins of other manuscripts; for in the most ancient manuscripts of Virgil and Terence, in the Vatican library, the letters are sunk into the parchment, and some have eaten quite through it, in consequence of the corrosive acid of the vitriolic ink, with which they were written.

Another proof that the ink, with which the manuscripts of Herculaneum were written, was not fluid, is the relieve visible in the letters, when you hold a leaf to the light, in an horizontal direction. They then all appear above the paper. This ink, therefore, is more like the Chinese ink, than ours; and is no better than a thick paint. This serves to explain a passage of Demosthenes *, in which that orator reproaches Eschines, with his having been so poor in his younger days, that, to gain a livelihood, he used to sweep the schools, wipe the benches with a sponge, and grind the ink; (*τὸ μέλαν τριβων*;) which shews, that the ink of the Greeks required the same preparation with the colours used by painters, and that it was not fluid. This appears, likewise, by the substance found in an ink-stand, discovered at Herculaneum; for it looks like a thick oil, with which one might still make a shift to write.

A learned Neapolitan has advanced, that the ancients might have used, as ink, the black juice of the cuttle-fish, called in Latin *Sepia*; and which the modern Italians, for that reason, call *Calamaro*. The Greeks called this liquor ὄλος, which, according to the commentary of Hesychius, was

* *Orat. πρὸς εὐφ.* fol. 42. a. lin. 4. edit. Ald. 1554.

no other than the μέλαν τῆς σπηπίας, *the black of the Sepia*. I need not observe, that the cuttle-fish makes use of this liquor as a preservative against other large fish when pursued by them; for he pours it from its reservoir; and by that means tinges the water about him to such a degree, as to become invisible to his enemies. It is thus that the fox, when closely pursued, spoils the scent of the dogs, by the rankness of his urine. After all, it does not appear, by any passage in their writings, that the ancients made use of this juice of the cuttle-fish.

The writing instrument of the ancients was a kind of pen, made of wood, or reed, cut like our modern pens, all to its nib being longer, and without any slit. There is one of these pens in the cabinet. It appears to have been formerly of box; for it is now, in a manner, petrified. There is another represented in a picture †; it stands against an ink-stand; and the knots, which appear on it, shew it to be of reed. The figure of a woman, in baked earth, with a pen in her hand, published by Ficoroni, as likewise an engraved stone in the cabinet of Stosch, prove, that the ancients held the pen as we do. The nib of their pens must have been pretty sharp, for the strokes of their letters are very fine; indeed, rather too fine and weak; for, as their pens had no slit, it was impossible they should give their letters as great a body as the moderns.

What I am going to say of their *Palimpsestes*, or waxed tablets, may serve as a supplement to what I have said concerning their paper manu-

† *Pin. Ercol. T. 2. p. 55.*

scripts. The ancients used them to write their first thoughts upon, as the wax admitted their being easily rubbed out. This they did with an edged instrument, rounded off at one end. There is one of these instruments in the cabinet; and another represented in one of the paintings belonging to it. There are, amongst the antiquities of the cabinet of Dresden, several of these waxed tablets. They are pretty large; bound together with leather thongs; and still contain some ancient characters. Where they were found, or how they came to have a place in this cabinet, I know not. But, even before I set out for Italy, I took them to be, what they really are, a gross imposition; and I may, I think, pass the same sentence on those, which, if I remember right, are preserved in the library of the college of Thorn, in Polish Prussia. If I mistake not, I once read something about them in Heuman's *Conspēctus Reipubl. Litter*. This is not the case with those I saw at Herculaneum. These are real tablets of the kind I have undertaken to describe. They have on the edges a thick rim of silver; but the wood of them is burnt to a coal. Last winter they were still in the magazine of the cabinet. It is only since M. Martorelli printed his work, that these monuments have been found; otherwise they might have prevented his insisting, as he does in the notes to it, that waxed tablets were not in use till the latter days of the Greeks and Romans. But, considering his eagerness to appear a downright skeptick, and even outdo the ancient philosophers of that sect, the clearest evidence seems to be lost upon him.

Nothing

Nothing now remains, but that I should describe the method of unrolling these manuscripts. Many methods were unsuccessfully tried, before they hit upon that now used. One of these, suggested by M. Mazzocchi as much more expeditious, was as follows. A large manuscript roll was put under a glass bell, in hopes that the heat of the sun would dissipate the moisture it might still contain, and that it would then unroll of itself. But the heat of the sun, at the same time that it exhaled the moisture, loosened the ink, so that the writing was, in part, disordered; and, in part, rendered totally indecipherable. It is the characters reduced to this state that have been taken for Osck writing.

At length, an inhabitant of Rome proposed a method to the court, which was, on trial, found much surer. The inventor was, thereupon, sent for to Portici, and employed at a salary of thirty Neapolitan ducats a month, besides board and lodging. This ingenious and indefatigable man is father Anthony Piaggi, a Genoese, of the order of Pious Schools, heretofore Latin copyist, and director of the miniature paintings, in the Vatican Library, at the usual salary of copyists, that is sixteen Roman crowns a month. The reason for conferring upon him at Rome the inspection of the miniature paintings, was his great talent for such drawing, as that branch of painting particularly requires. I never saw any one copy so well all manner of writings. There is, in the library of the Vatican, a leaf full of his writing, containing different characters, in every language; and, likewise, the first page of a little Turkish prayer-book,

book, which it is no easy matter to distinguish from the original, though the writing of the latter is uncommonly beautiful, and the letters of it inconceivably small. There is, likewise, a leaf of his writing, of the same kind with that above-mentioned, in the queen's apartment in the castle of Portici. Father Piaggi has a clerk to assist him in this his delicate, but painful, work. This clerk they allow six ducats a month. Each of them works on a different manuscript.

The frame of wood used for this purpose looks, at first sight, and at a certain distance, like the frame, on which the book-binders place a book with its straps, in order to stitch it. This frame is supported by a screw foot, by means of which the book may be turned about as the operator thinks proper. On the frame is placed a pretty long, moveable, board, from each end of which there rise two wooden upright screws, by means of which another board above it may be placed at any height. In the middle of the lower board are placed, according to the length of the manuscripts, that is, at near a palm distance from each other, two little vertical steel screws, about a palm each, in height, and carrying, each, a moveable steel plate, in the form of a crescent, in the hollow of which, first bedded with cotton for greater precaution, the manuscript roll is placed. As to the wooden uprights, they may be turned under the lower board, and thereby raised or lowered at pleasure, as I have already observed. Add, that the manuscript roll is borne by two ribbands, of about a little finger's breadth, hanging from the upper board, in which there is a row of holes
 extending

extending in length, by means of which these ribbands are fastened, above, to two pegs, like those of a fiddle, and may be thus easily wound or unwound, so as to afford the operator an opportunity of gently turning the manuscript suspended to them, which ever way he thinks proper; and that, without putting his hands to it. There are other smaller pegs, on rods fixed in the openings of this upper board, for the purpose of moving some silk threads, the use of which I shall now describe.

When they have slung the manuscript to be unrolled, in the manner above described, they look for the end of it; and, when they have found the end, lay on a corner of it, with a very soft hair pencil, about a pea's bigness of a certain very curious kind of paste, which has the singular property of, first, softening; then, loosening; and, afterwards, fastening. Next, they immediately, apply to the part so prepared (which the manuscripts will admit, being, as I have already observed, written but on one side, and that the inside) a bit of thin bladder, no bigger than the part covered by the paste. By repeating this operation, the exterior leaf is, at length, loosened, from end to end, from that next under it. It is sheep, or hog's bladder, they employ for this purpose, such as the gold-beaters use*. Thin and delicate as these bladders are in themselves, they split them for this purpose. In this manner they continue to apply, alternately, the paste and the bladder, to about a little finger's breadth, till they have done

* It is not bladder the gold-beaters put between the leaves of gold they hammer, but a pellicle found in ox guts.

it from one end of the roll to the other; when they fix on different parts of what they have thus lined, and with the same kind of paste, the silk threads already taken notice of, which, unrolling from their pegs, extend gently one after another; Thus, by means of the pieces of bladder pasted on the outside of the leaf, and the threads of silk pasted on the outside of the pieces of bladder, they detach the part of the leaf so treated, and keep it suspended in a vertical position, till, having loosened too much of it to be trusted to the silk threads alone, they roll both, little by little, as the work advances, on a cylinder placed on layers of cotton, above that part of the machine which I have already described; so that, by the time the manuscript has been entirely unrolled, this cylinder is covered with it. The silk threads, however, are still necessary, as they hinder the part lined with the bladder, from sticking to that part of the roll which lies immediately over it. When the whole manuscript has been unrolled in this manner, they take it, with great care, from off the cylinder; spread it out; and copy it. Four or five hours are scarce enough to detach a finger's breadth; nor less than a month, for a palm's breadth. Such is, nearly, the method taken with these manuscripts, as far as I can pretend to describe it, without care to represent the apparatus contrived for that purpose, and the manner of using such apparatus.

To give a still clearer notion of this operation, I shall endeavour to point out the difficulties with which it is attended. They consist less in the primi-

primitive nature of the paper, than the actual state of it. Some of them, when placed between the eye and the light, look, here and there, like a tattered rag ; owing to the torrents of water which overspread the town, after it had been overwhelmed with ashes ; for, this water, coming to penetrate them, macerated and rotted, in process of time, such parts as it continued in. This misfortune cannot, however, be discovered, till the leaves have been unrolled ; otherwise they might chuse such manuscripts to work on, as have suffered least. Besides, it is much harder, if not altogether impossible, to unroll such decayed manuscripts to any purpose. The leaves of the Papyrus, in all, are so thin, that, when there happens to be a hole in any of the coils, the next coil makes but one body with it, and, in a manner, fills up the hole ; in consequence of which, when they lay the paste on the part where the hole is, (a thing hard to avoid, as these holes are seldom visible,) they carry off, from the coil under it, that part which filled up the hole ; and thus make blanks, where there should not be any.

The operation is equally critical in those places, where the leaves of the Papyrus were laid one over another, for the sake of pasting them together ; for, the stuff laid on to loosen such seam, may happen to penetrate through it to the next coil, so as to make both adhere wherever they touch. It appears by this sketch, how hard it is to proceed, with any expedition, in this work ; which, besides, has not, as yet, produced any thing very flattering ; for,

what great pleasure or profit can be expected from the manuscripts that have been found, even supposing them entire, and no way defaced, if they are all like those which have been already unrolled? Have we not already several treatises of rhetorick by the ancients; and is not that of Aristotle, alone, more than sufficient for our purpose? Neither do we want moral treatises on virtues and vices. The works of the same Aristotle, on that subject, leaves us no room to long for others.

But it were to be wished, we could recover the works that are missing of the ancient historians; for instance, those of Diodorus, of Theopompus, of Ephorus, and others; likewise Aristotle's survey of the dramatick poets; the missing pieces of Sophocles, Euripides, Menander, and Alexis; the rules of symmetry composed by Pamphylius, for the use of painters. What are we the better for an idle and mutilated invective against musick? It were, therefore, to be wished, that, instead of going on with the works they happen to light upon, they would, as soon as they could, examine the subject; and, if they found it uninteresting, take in hand some other, till they met with something really curious and useful. Such they might, then, entirely unroll; and let the others alone, till they had nothing better to mind.

These writings have been, for a long time past, a very just object of the hopes and fears of the learned. Father Piaggi, to satisfy them, made a proposal to engrave and publish, one after another, the writings he unrolled, that those well
versed

versed in the languages of antiquity might immediately set about explaining them. He even etched, with his own hands, a column of the first manuscript he had unrolled; and presented it, by way of specimen, to his superiors; but they did not think proper to accept his proposal. The members of the Royal Academy, thinking themselves equal to the task, have, rather than let a stranger run away with the honour of it, reserved it to themselves. Yet, as far as I can learn, these gentlemen no longer think of publishing any thing. Father Piaggi, however, continues, though unacquainted with the Greek, to copy what he has unrolled; and it is from this his first copy, that a fairer one is afterwards made.

I shall conclude with a short account of the manner, in which the cabinet of Herculaneum at Portici is laid out. For want of room, such is the number and variety of the monuments already discovered and removed; they have been obliged to place the paintings in private apartments, which have no communication with what is properly called the cabinet. This cabinet takes up the first story of a wing added to the palace, so as to form a new quadrangle. The rooms of this story are, all, arched. At first, they exhibited these monuments but in four of these rooms, and used two others by way of magazine. But, at present, all the rooms of the first story of this new building, to the amount of seventeen, have no other use.

The great gate of the cabinet faces the east, and is provided with a guard-house, where a party of soldiers do constant duty. On the left, as you

I 3

enter,

enter, there is an apartment occupied by the king's porter, who opens a large iron grate, and thereby gives you a view of several works in bronze. The first object, that strikes you on entering the inner court, is the brazen horse, with his head turned to the west, on which side, and on the right and left, are statues of marble, intermixed with altars, columns, the cornices of private and other buildings, the borders of ancient wells, and all kinds of work in baked earth, such as the Glireria, of which I have already spoken. On the left, as, likewise, above the entrance, there are ancient inscriptions sunk into the wall. There are, also, in this court, two marble columns, that belonged to the sepulchre of Herodes Atticus, and Reiglla, with the well known inscription, which has been brought from the Farnesian palace, at Rome. But, as a proper spot has not yet been found to erect them on, they are still permitted to lye on the ground.

Above the principal door into the building, of which the cabinet makes part, are the two following verses.

HERCVLAE EXVVIAS VRBIS TRAXISSE VESEVI EX
FAVCIBVS VNA VIDEN REGIA VIS POTVIT.

It has been observed of these verses, by a wag at Naples, that the author, in all probability, composed them on his close-stool ; and, in composing them, worked and writhed as much, as a woman in hard labour ; with a face, such as the Romans, according to Suetonius, maliciously gave the emperor Vespasian ; that of a man straining hard to get rid of a disagreeable burthen. It must, indeed,

deed, be allowed, that these verses are enough to give one the cholic. There is no getting the *ex*, preceded as it is by an elision, from between ones teeth. The word *viden* smells of the rod. The poet, however, may plead, in excuse for his manner of using the *ex*, two verses of Homer, which end in an *ēg*. This inscription was, notwithstanding all its faults, approved by one, who did not love to be contradicted, even in things she did not understand. But, when they were produced to the Marquis Tannucci, secretary of state, with the irrevocable decree passed in favour of them, he shrugged up his shoulders, and composed, extempore, and with the same vivacity that he dictates a letter, the following distich :

*Herculeæ Monumenta urbis quo reddita fatis
Esse Tito credas, reddita sunt Carolo.*

At no great distance from this entrance, over which M. Mazocchi's inscription is placed, there is a winding flight of stairs not very suitable to the building; and, at the foot of it, another inscription, by M. Mazocchi, which is somewhat more tolerable,

CAROLVS REX VTRIVSQUE SICILIAE PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS
STVDIO ANTIQVITATVM INCENSVS QVIDQVID VETERIS CAZAE
EX EFFOSIONIBVS HERCVLANENSIVS POMPEIANIS STABIENSIVS
CONTRAHERE TOT ANNIS IMPENDIO MAXIMO POTVIT
IN HANC MVSARVM SEDEM ILLATVM SVISQVE APTE PINACOTHECIS
DISPOSITVM
VETVSTATIS AMATORIVS EXPOSVIT ANNO CLC LCLVIII

The six female statues in bronze, of which I have spoken, stand on this stair-case.

I 4

The

The first room is filled, chiefly, with vessels used at sacrifices. In the middle of it are two round marble tables; and, on them, the two fine tripods, and a *focolare* (hearth) in bronze, in which they used to burn charcoal to warm a their rooms, or the like. In the same room are the portraits of the Apollo and the Muses, engraved in the second volume of the paintings of Herculaneum. The second room contains a great variety of vases used for different purposes; and is decorated with the fine pavement found at Herculaneum, of which I have already taken notice*. In the third and fourth rooms are the rest of the smaller utensils. It is in the last of these rooms that Father Piaggi, and his clerk, work on the manuscripts. The fifth room contains the busts in bronze, and the manuscripts; the former placed, round it, by themselves, in low presses. This room is, likewise, paved with an ancient piece of Mosaick work, thirty Roman palms long, and sixteen broad; and fitting the floor as exactly, as if it had been made for it. In the sixth room, are the large antique candelabres; and, in a gallery belonging to it, built on purpose to resemble a kitchen, the ancient kitchen utensils. In the seventh room, are the monuments of marble; and, amongst the rest, three vases, square on the outside, and round within, the borders of which are of very delicate workmanship. These vases served to keep the lustral water used in their temples. In the same place, is an Etruscan Diana. In the eighth room, are the three finest statues, in bronze, of the whole collection; namely,

* See p. 28.

the

the Silenus, the young sleeping Satyr, and the Mercury ; with the four finest paintings found at Stabia, which are sunk into the wall. The ninth room is filled with large basso-relievos, in stucco ; and several admirable pieces of Mosaick work, in exceeding good preservation. Amongst the basso-relievos there is one, which represents a hero in the center of an oval kind of buckler, with a hook to hang it by, fixed to the outer rim ; a thing, I don't remember to have met with in any other. In this room there is, likewise, an ancient niche, entire as it was found, and covered with coarse mosaick work. The opening of this niche measures six palms and five inches.

The other rooms of this cabinet have not as yet been appropriated to any particular use. In the tenth, however, are to be seen some fine marble basso-relievos. One of them represents a Satyr riding on an ass, with a little bell to his neck ; and a rock bearing the terminus of Priapus, with a horn of abundance. The ass, who is braying, seems to challenge, in point of vigour, the God of Gardens. Another of the basso-relievos, found at Herculaneum surrounded with mouldings resembling a frame, presents a female figure, half naked, seated on a chair without a back, and fondling with the right hand a pigeon, which she holds in the other. Opposite to this figure, there is another female one, clothed ; her right hand supported by an Hermes, and her left supporting her chin. Behind the first, there is, on a circular basis, a bearded Indian Bacchus, holding a cup, in form of a shell, like that, into which a female figure, in

the picture of a marriage, generally called the *Aldrobantine Marriage*, pours a perfumed liquor. The most remarkable of these basso-relievos is one, in which Socrates, seated on a cube, and covered with a lion's skin, holds in his right hand the cup of hemlock juice; a knotted stick lying across his arm. This piece is one palm and nine inches high; and a little more, in breadth.

At one side of the first apartment, there are two magazines, a cabinet of medals, and a collection of books at the disposal of the director. The four first rooms have a prospect over the Garden of the Castle, and a very grand one over the sea, which is at no great distance; for it takes in the point of Paesilippis, the island Caprea, Sorrento, and the whole gulph of Naples. The other rooms, which are over the great gate-way, look into the high road.

They have begun to mould in plaister, or rather take mouldings from, the finest statues and busts, to send them to Spain. They propose, as soon as every thing can be finally distributed, to decorate the gallery, (which occupies, in one of the four sides of the castle of Portici, that part of it forming the principal facade,) with the large statues in bronze, and some of those in marble. They have reserved for this gallery, likewise, some magnificent columns of antique yellow marble, all of a single block; four of them, from the Farnesian palace at Rome; the rest collected in other parts of the same city.

The present king of Spain has founded an academy to explain and describe all these discoveries. About five years ago, it consisted of fifteen members. The canon Mazocchi is one of the chief; and, certainly, the most learned. These academicians

cians assemble, once a week, at the palace of the Marquis Bernard Tanucci, the present secretary of state, who has a great share, and greatly interests himself, in the labours of this body, as this learned minister himself told me. Accordingly, when they presented him with the explanations for the first tome, he found them so diffuse, and so overburthened with erudition, that he took, himself, the trouble to prune it. But, in spite of all his pains, a great many superfluities still remain.

I hope, Sir, some day or another, to add to this letter, written in the country, from *Castel Gandolfo*, one of the most magnificent houses of my master, and, I may say, my friend, his eminence Cardinal Albani; and, consequently, without the assistance of any books; for, I flatter myself with the hopes of being able to review, from time to time, these literary treasures; and shall, perhaps, attempt it, next autumn.

If this letter should ever appear in another tongue, and be happy enough to reach the hands of the gentlemen, who write the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, I hope it will not meet with the same censure they were pleased to bestow on my Description of the engraved stones in the cabinet of the Baron de Stosch †. This censure relates to the books I have cited ‡, with which they hap-

† *Mém. de Trevoux* 1760. mois de Sept. pag. 2119.

‡ The author either did not read, or did not understand, what these gentlemen have said of his description of the engraved stones, in the cabinet of Baron Stosch. They, by no means, reproach him with the choice of the books cited by him in that work, nor with having been too sparing of his citations. All they say, is, that it were to be wished his work had been illustrated with plates, as they would render it more useful and interesting. This the author himself must own; and, likewise, that it is not very polite or decent, to make use of haughty and contemptuous language, even in defence of the best cause.

pen not to be acquainted ; for which reason I might not have the good fortune to avoid their censure in this work, even were I at Rome, with all my books about me. It is impossible for some men, especially in the country where they live, to judge properly of any works concerning antiquities ; more particularly, works composed on the spot, where the antiquities themselves are preserved. In works of mere fancy, such as *my thoughts*, it is needless to cite books ; but there is no avoiding it in those, which treat of monuments published elsewhere, and well or ill explained by others. These gentlemen should rather have observed, that, so far from being profuse, either of citations or erudition, I have been very sparing in the use of both. I might easily have found matter enough for a thick folio, had I not made it a law, never to use two words where one would do. It is not my fault, if these gentlemen do not possess, or are not acquainted with, the books, which it is the duty of every antiquary to study ; and, by owning it, have betrayed the shallowness of their erudition. They, moreover, reproach me with having Germanized the French stile, though I had obviated that charge, by a publick confession, in my preface, of my little practice in that language. There was a necessity for publishing the work in some living tongue, and I thought the French the best, as the most universally understood. I did all in my power to render my stile correct. I submitted it to a person better versed in that language than I could pretend to be. I revised it again after him ; and, therefore, am not ashamed of having succeeded so ill. I don't blush

to own, [that I am not perfect master even of my mother-tongue; and that I have but too much experienced, in this letter, the want of a great many technical terms*, with which, no doubt, the Italian would have better supplied me.

If this letter should reach you, Sir, while on your travels, accept, with it, of my most ardent wishes, that Providence may every where direct your steps, and bring you back, with your zealous conductor, in good health, and rich in useful knowledge, to our dear country; for, it is become mine by the stay I made, and the favours I received, in it. May you find peace restored to it! May I, one day, find a retreat in it! Be that as it will, I presume to hope, that I shall ever preserve that share in your affections, with which you have condescended to honour me.

* This must evidently appear by the translation, which, notwithstanding all the pains taken to study and find the true meaning of the original, will, it is to be feared, appear obscure, if not contradictory, in some places. It is, indeed, no easy matter to describe, in any language, things never known to the people who use it.

The E N D.



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