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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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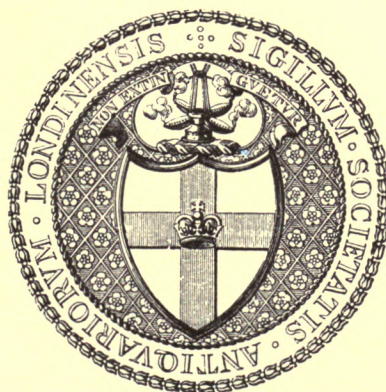
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

I.—*Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum.* Communicated by ARTHUR JOHN
EVANS, ESQ., F.S.A.

Read Nov. 30 and Dec. 7, 1882.

I.—EPITAURUM, CANALI, AND RISINIUM.

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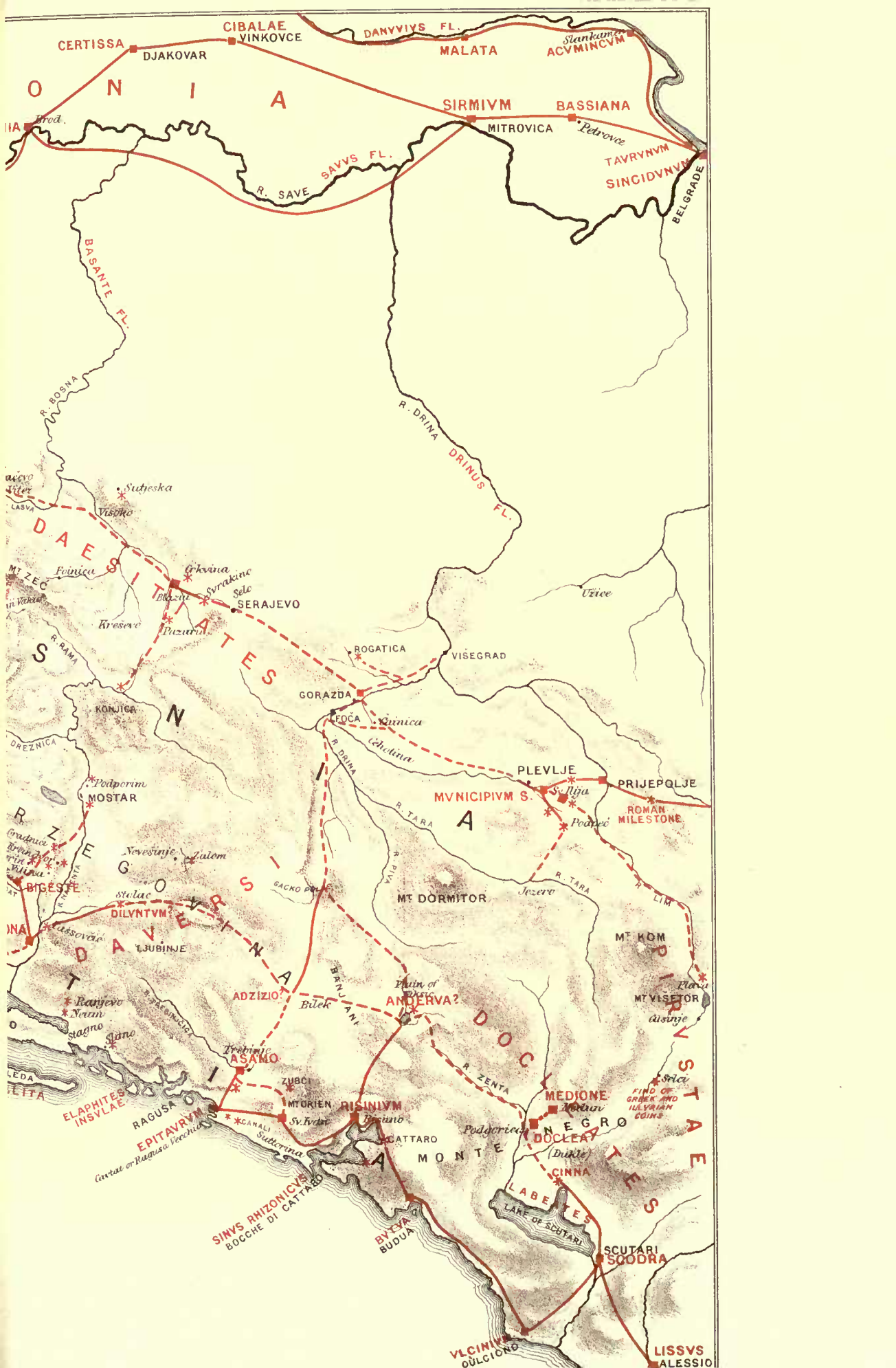
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**SKETCH MAP
OF PARTS OF
ROMAN DALMATIA.**

*Indicating the course of the Roads and the Sites
where Roman Remains have been discovered.*

Prepared by the Author.



ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

I—EPITAURUM—CANALI—RISINIUM.

OWING to the neighbourhood of the civilized republic of Ragusa, which sprang as it were from the ashes of the Græco-Roman city, the antiquities of the Dalmatian Epidaurus have been investigated from the early days of the Renascence. The merchant antiquary, Cyriac of Ancona, who visited Ragusa during his voyage into the Levant, undertaken in 1435, had already begun the work of copying the remaining inscriptions, which was continued in the next century by the native Ragusan antiquaries, who supplied Aldus Manutius and others with epigraphic materials from the Epidaurian site. The work thus early begun was worthily continued in the last century by the Ragusan patrician De Sorgo,^a more recently by Dr. J. A. Kasnačić and others, and Professor Mommsen personally collated many of the inscriptions for the great work of the Berlin Academy.^b The aqueduct and general antiquities of the site are treated at length by Appendini, but in a somewhat fantastic and uncritical manner.^c A residence on the spot has now

^a *Comment. Lud. Cervarii Tuberonis de origine et incremento Urbis Rhacusanæ.* Ragusa, 1790.

^b The hitherto known inscriptions from the site are collected in C. I. L. iii. p. 288 *seqq.* and Prof. Mommsen (*s. v.* EPIDAURUM) gives a résumé of the earlier sources for the epigraphy of the place.

^c *Notizie storico-critiche sulle Antichità, Storia e Letteratura di Ragusei.* Ragusa, 1802, t. i. lib. i. ii. The remains at Ragusa Vecchia have been touched on since Appendini's time by Stieglitz, *Istrien*

enabled me to make some fresh contributions to the materials already collected, and to correct perhaps some prevailing misconceptions.

The site of the ancient city, at present occupied by a small town called, by a curious transference of names, Ragusa Vecchia, but still known to its Slavonic-speaking inhabitants as Zavat or Cavtat, from the earlier Romance form *Civitate*, is on a small peninsula jutting out from the opposite side of the bay to that on which its offspring Ragusa stands. Although the Dalmatian Epidaurus, or, to accept the prevalent local orthography, Epitaurum,^a does not appear in history till the time of the Civil Wars, the name itself may be taken as a sufficient indication that it was an Adriatic colonial station of one or other of its Peloponnesian namesakes; and its peninsular site was just one of those which offered special advantages to the early Greek settlers on a barbarian coast.

Mommsen, indeed, who visited this site in order to collate the monuments for the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, has revived in a new form a theory, already propounded by Mannert,^b and others, that the site of Epitaurum is to be sought at Prevlaka, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro, and not on the peninsula of Ragusa Vecchia. It has been pointed out by these authorities that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* makes Epitaurum 105 miles distant from Lissus and 103° from Narona, while Pliny^d makes it equidistant—100 miles from either—and it has been urged that these measurements can only be reconciled with the position of Prevlaka.

As Mommsen however himself admits, the statement of the *Itinerarium Maritimum*^e that Epitaurum was 200 stadia from the isle of Melita (Meleda) can

und Dalmazien, p. 264 (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1845), Wilkinson, *Dalmatia* i. 373 (London, 1848), Kohl, *Reise nach Istrien, Dalmazien und Montenegro*, ii. 33 *seqq.* (Dresden, 1856), Lago, *Memorie sulla Dalmazia* (Venezia, 1870), and others, but the notices are slight and add little to our knowledge.

^a On a *Privilegium Veteranorum* of Vespasian found at Salona there is mention of a P. Vibius Maximus,—EPITAVR . EQ . R. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana* the name appears as *Epitauro*: in the Geographer of Ravenna as *Epitauron* (379, 14) and *Epitaurum* (208, 10). In St. Jerome (*Vita S. Hilarionis*) *Epitaurum*: in the sixth century Council-Aets of Salona, *Epitaurensis Ecclesia*. The town is alluded to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29) as τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα; and its early Slavonic name was *Starigrad Pitaur*, still preserving the *t* in preference to *d*. The readings of Ptolemy (2, 16, 5), Pliny (23, 143), and Antonine (*It. Mar.* 520), cannot weigh against this consensus of local testimony; but we need not with Prof. Tomaschek (*Die vor-slawische Topographie*, &c. p. 37) seek an Illyrian derivation for the name.

^b 7, 350.

^c Accepting the correction of the distance Narona—Ad Turres (see p. 79).

^d *Hist. Nat.* iii. 22, 143.

^e A MELITA EPIDAVROS STADIA CC. *It. Antonini*, 520.

only be reconciled with the Ragusa-Vecchian site. He further observes that any one who, like himself, has visited Ragusa Vecchia, who has seen the remains of the amphitheatre cut out of the solid rock, the traces of the Roman harbour, the inscriptions which, though not presenting in a single case the name of the city, are numerous and imposing, and the other abundant traces of Roman habitation that are daily brought to light, can fail to recognise the fact that a famous and important Roman city must have existed at this spot, epithets which, among all the Roman stations on the coast between Lissus and Naronæ, alone apply to the Colony of Epitaurum.^a

In order to reconcile these conflicting indications Mommsen has recourse to the hypothesis that the original Epitaurum existed at Prevlaka, but that for some reason unknown, and at a still flourishing period of the Roman Empire, it was transferred to the Ragusa-Vecchian site; so that there would be an Old and New Epitaurum as well as an Old and New Ragusa.

This hypothesis, not very hopeful in itself, appears to me to be untenable for several reasons. At Prevlaka a single inscription only has been discovered, referring to a decurion of the *Sergian* tribe,^b the tribe to which the citizens of Risinium and the Roman predecessor of Cattaro belonged, but not the tribe of the Epidauritans, which was the *Tromentine*. Taken by itself, therefore, this inscription supplies internal evidence that it belonged to one of the known Roman cities of the Rhizonic Gulf. A careful examination of the isthmus and peninsula of Prevlaka has convinced me that no ancient town has ever existed at that spot.^c Not only are all architectural traces wanting, but the soil is absolutely deficient in those minor relics, such as fragments of pottery and tiles, that always mark an ancient site.

On the other hand, there have been discovered on the site of Ragusa Vecchia indubitable relics of Hellenic intercourse, dating from præ-Roman times.

^a C. I. L. iii. p. 287, s. v. EPIDAUROM. I do not know to what Prof. Mommsen refers as the remains of the Amphitheatre.

^b C. I. L. iii. 1738.

^c Dr. Ljubić, *Viestnik hrvatskoga archeologičkoga Društva* (*Journal of the Croatian Archaeological Society*), iii. p. 52, and cf. ii. p. 102, completely corroborates my observations: "Na Prevlaki neostoje ni traga rimskom gradu, a rimski nadpis koji ondje stoji uzidan u crkvi bez dvojbe je iz Risna ili iz Kotora donesen." (There is not a trace of a Roman town at Prevlaka, and the Roman inscription, which is there walled into the church, has been doubtless transported from Risano or Cattaro.) Dr. Ljubić is replying to G. Gelchich, who in his *Memorie sulle Bocche di Cattaro* (Zara, 1880), p. 7, asserts at random that remains of the city exist at Prevlaka.

Among the coins here brought to light, I have noticed several silver pieces of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, of the third century B.C., in one case an autonomous coin of Scodra, dating probably from about the year 168 B.C.,^a and I have, myself, picked up a small brass coin of Bœotia. A few years since there was dug up here a pale carnelian intaglio in the perfect Greek style, representing Apollo Agyieus, guardian of roads and streets, leaning on a pillar and holding forth his bow.^b The old Greek connexion with this part of the Dalmatian coast is still traceable in the local names, and one of the Ragusan islands has preserved in a corrupted form the name of the *Elaphites Nésoi*.^c

Finally, I hope to be able to adduce some fresh evidence as to the course of the land communication between Epitaurum and Naronia which may serve to reconcile completely the statements of Pliny and the author of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with the position of Epitaurum as indicated by existing remains, and may enable us to dispense once and for all with the ingenious hypothesis of Mommsen. This evidence I am compelled to reserve for a future paper; but it may be useful to mention that I have discovered the traces of the Roman junction road from Epitaurum, running inland, and not, as hitherto supposed, along the coast; and that an inscription on this road shows that, in Claudius's time at any rate, the maritime terminus of this road was to be found on the Ragusa-Vecchian site.

The existing architectural remains of Epitaurum are small. The rocky nature of the soil has hindered the usual accumulation of *humus*, which so often preserves for us at least the foundations of ancient buildings. On the other hand, what remained of the Roman city has, no doubt, largely contributed to supply its more renowned mediæval offspring with building materials. Epitaurum, only seven miles distant, across the bay, by sea, has become a convenient quarry for Ragusa. Traces of the quay, however, and parts of the city walls, may yet be seen, and the ancient steps, cut in the rock, show that several of the steep and narrow streets of Ragusa Vecchia, the small town that now partially occupies the

^a Vide *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. pl. XIII. fig. 2.

^b This gem is now in the possession of Mr. W. J. Stillman. It greatly resembles that engraved by King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pl. XV. fig. 8, and probably preserves the outlines of a celebrated statue.

^c Lopud (*It. Mezzo*) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *Dalafota*, i.e. *Da Lafota* or *D'Alafota*, Cf. Dr. Constantin Jireček, *Die Handelstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag, 1879, p. 9. Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 30, 151), mentions the seven Elaphites Insulæ as lying south of Melita (Meleda).

site, follow the Roman street-lines. On the height, now crowned by a chapel of S. Rocco, are evident remains of the Roman cemetery, the oblong cavities of *sarcophagi* being cut out of the solid rock; and on the shore of the Bay of Tiha, along which the Roman road leading to the peninsula gate of Epitaurum must have run, are still to be seen Roman mortuary inscriptions cut in the face of a ledge of rock. That considerable suburbs existed on this side is shown by the fact that Roman remains are abundant as far as Obod, where a fine tessellated pavement^a was discovered in the last century; and in the bay itself walls believed to be Roman are at times visible in the shallows. On the further side of the present harbour of Ragusa Vecchia Roman remains are also distinctly traceable. In the walls and courtyards of the present town are fragments of sculpture, and columns, inscriptions, and monuments, amongst which is an interesting representation of a Roman *Signifer* (fig. 1).^b



Fig. 1. ROMAN SIGNIFER.

^a "I di cui vivacissimi colori con maraviglioso artificio fra loro disposti presentano all'occhio una serie luminosa di vaghissime liste," is Appendini's high-flown description of this mosaic in 1802. *Storia di Ragusa*, p. 50.

^b The engraving which I here reproduce is taken from my work on Bosnia, in which I have already given a popular account of some of the Roman Antiquities of Ragusa Vecchia.

But the most important relic that remains of Roman Epitaurum is unquestionably the Aqueduct. The total length of this great work, the remains of which extend to a mountain source called Vodovalja, on the further side of the plain of Canali, is about fifteen miles. I have myself traced it throughout the greater part of its course, and from a comparison of its different levels am persuaded that the water was in places conducted up eminences *à siphon* by means of large reservoirs *à chasse* and *à fuite*, as has been shown to be the case with some of the great aqueducts of Provence. The arches by which it spanned the level tracts have unfortunately all perished, though some were existing in the immediate neighbourhood of Epitaurum within the memory of man. The last pier of one of these, formerly existing just outside the present gate of Ragusa Vecchia, was removed not longer ago than 1875 to widen the road in honour of the Emperor Francis Joseph's visit. The great length of this aqueduct curiously illustrates the known daintiness of the Romans in regard to their water supply. At a point several miles nearer Ragusa Vecchia the aqueduct spanned a mountain source called Gljuta, far more copious than that to which it is ultimately conducted. The water of the Gljuta, so far as my own experience goes, is not only deliciously cool to bathe in but eminently drinkable. I found however that the natives of the district through which the aqueduct runs, and to which it gives its name Canali, the old Serbian *Župa Konavalska*, have a prejudice against either drinking or bathing in the water of this stream. They declare that it is slightly saline, and that after drinking it you are quickly seized with thirst again, that bathing in it is liable to give you ague, and that it is not beneficial to herbage. Hence they call it Gljuta, or the bitter water. This prejudice may be traditional, since, although the Canalesi are at the present day a Slav-speaking people, the name Canali itself, and many of the village names^a of the district as well as some of the prevalent physical types attest a considerable survival of Illyro-Roman blood.

^a As for instance *Molunta* (cf. Illyrian-Messapian suffix *-untum, -ventum, &c.*), *Vitaljina* from *Vitalis*, *Cilippi*, not to speak of the mediæval reminiscences of Epitaurum, as *Starigrad Pitaur*, and its modern local name, *Cavtat=Civitate*, cf. Rouman: *Cetate, Citat*, Albanian: *Giutet, &c.* (cf. p. 32). Excavations conducted by my friend Dr. Luschan and myself in mediæval cemeteries about Mreine and Sokko, not far distant from the head of the Aqueduct, amply demonstrate the prevalence of non-Slavonic crania. For the survival of Roman local names in the territory of Ragusa, see Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 8. Still more curious are the fragments of the Roman provincial dialect of Dalmatia existing in the Slavonic dialect of the Ragusans. Vide Prof. Luko Zore, *Dubrovník*, iii. p. 195, *Naš jezik tijekom naše književnosti u Dubrovniku*. (Our language in the course of our literature in Ragusa.)

The remains of the piers that still exist are formed of a conglomerate of rubble-masonry, mortar, and bricks, and not of deftly-hewn blocks as in the aqueduct of Salona. The most interesting feature in the existing remains is the conduit hewn out of the solid rock, which may be traced for miles in the more hilly part of the country to be traversed, taking great curves in order to maintain the level. In the last century, to judge from a manuscript letter of the secretary of the Republic of Ragusa, Antonio Alleti, to his friend Mattei at Rome, it must have been still more perfect. "I have been," he writes on December 14, 1724, "with much satisfaction at Canali to see the Aqueduct through which the Romans from a distance of thirty Italian miles [an exaggerated estimate] used to conduct the water to Epidaurum, and in order the better to enjoy that venerable antiquity at times I rode on horseback in the very channel in which at one time the water ran." ^a

It is noteworthy that in Canali the breadth of the channel of the Aqueduct is nearly three times as great as at Ragusa Vecchia. More water was needed in this part of its course to be employed in irrigating the fields. The district of Canali is still the best artificially-watered tract in the whole of Dalmatia, and the inhabitants seem to have preserved the art of irrigation from ancient days.

The Aqueduct on abutting on the peninsular hill on which Epitaurum stood ran along the northern wall of the Roman city, which follows for awhile the northern steep of the peninsula, the city itself lying below on the southern flank of the hill, where the town of Ragusa Vecchia is at present situate. From the north-western angle of the old city wall it descends slightly, in part of its course by a subterranean channel tunnelled out of the rock, to a semicircular Chamber overlooking the ancient quay, and which appears to have formed part of the public baths.

Just above this spot I excavated a very perfect portion of the ancient channel. The channel itself had been hewn, here as elsewhere, in the more rugged part of its course out of the limestone rock, but the vault above had been constructed of masonry and concrete. From the pitch of the vaulting to the floor the height

^a "Sono stato con sommo contento in Canali per vedere gli avanzi dell' Acquedotto per cui i Romani dalla lontananza di trenta miglie avevano condotto l'acqua in Epidauro, e per maggior godere di quella veneranda antichità alla volta con cavallo mi cacciai in quel letto medesimo su cui un tempo scorreva l'acqua." The correspondence of Alleti is in the possession of Don Paulovich of Ragusa, by whose kindness I am enabled to reproduce the parts bearing on the antiquities of Epitaurum. Cervarius Tubero, *Commentaria suorum temporum*, remarks, "Quod autem Canalensis ager territorii Epidaurii fuerit, argumentum est opus mirabilis structuræ effectum, quâ a vigesimo prope milliario aqua in urbem perducta est, partim subterraneo rivo, partim opere arquato."

was exactly five feet, the object being apparently to enable workmen to walk along it when repairs were necessary. The rock walls sloped inwards from the spring of the arch so as to present a somewhat coffin-like section, due, no doubt, as in the case of a coffin, to the desire to give space for the upper and broader part of a man's body. The base was trilateral (fig. 2).

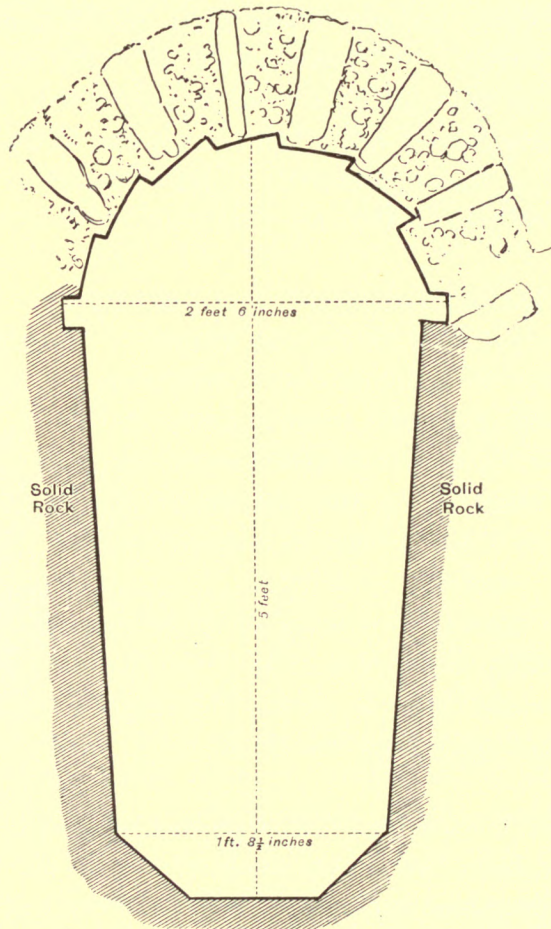
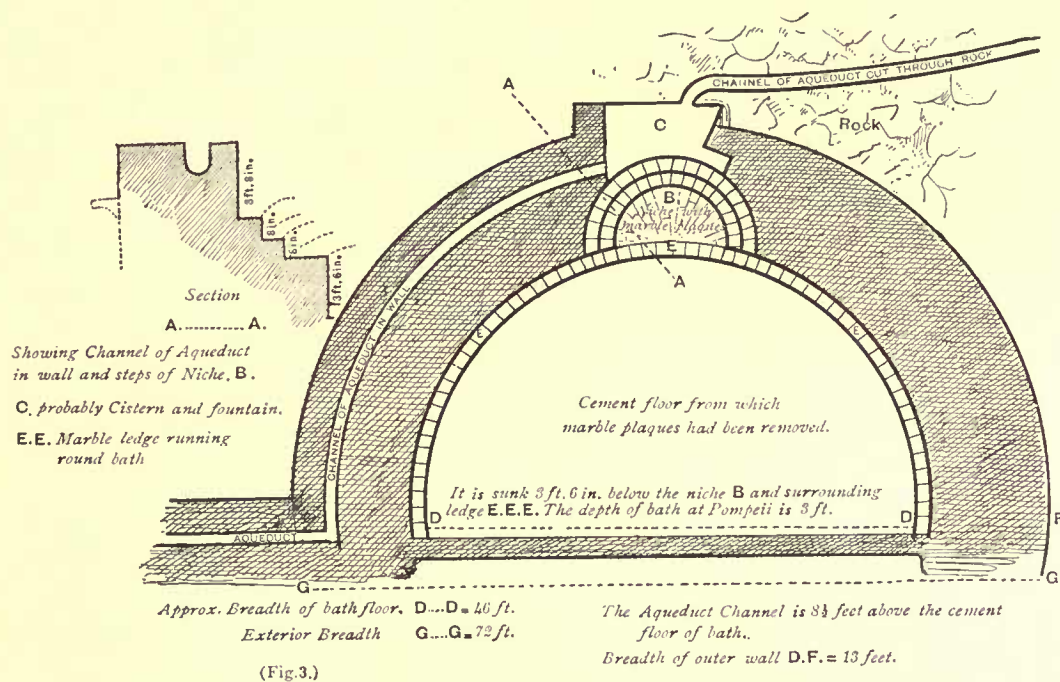


Fig. 2. SECTION OF AQUEDUCT TUNNELLED THROUGH ROCK.
EPITAUURUM.

The most remarkable feature, however, is the vaulting above the rock channel. The concrete with which its surface is coated presents a curious coggled or serrated section, due to the impression of the planks of the wooden framework or centering on the soft material, as is proved by the grain of the wood being itself in places reproduced. From this it appears that the centering employed by the

Epitaurian architect was different from those generally in use at the present day. That it consisted of overlapping planks supported below on a semicircular framework is evident, but it is difficult to understand what the special advantages of this form of centering may have been. The fact, however, that no interstices are left between the planks, shows that the concrete used was of a very soft nature.



(Fig. 3.)

Bath Chamber at Epitaurum.
(Ragusa Vecchia.)

The semicircular basin into which the channel of the aqueduct runs was excavated by me in 1878 (fig. 3). The water entered the Chamber by a semicircular niche containing two steps 8 inches high. This again opens into what was evidently a semicircular Piscina, about 46 feet in diameter, floored with cement, and surrounded with a ledge on which the bathers could stand. The depth of the Piscina is 3 feet 6 inches, about half a foot deeper than a similar bath at Pompeii. Not only the niche and surrounding walls and ledge, but the concrete floor of the bath itself, had been covered with plaques of marble, all of which—with the exception of fragments—had been removed by the inhabitants. The channel of the Aqueduct is continued along the middle of the western wall of the building, and thence along another wall which follows the line of the straight

side of the Piscina. Unfortunately, however, the ruin of the rest of the bath buildings has been too complete to admit of reconstruction.

The hitherto known inscriptions discovered on this site are collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and many of those still existing on the spot have been personally examined by Professor Mommsen. The most important of these, containing an honorary dedication by the cities of Upper Illyricum to P. Corn. Dolabella, who, as Pro-prætor under Tiberius, directed the execution of at least five great lines of roadway from Salona into the Dalmatian interior, now, unfortunately, exists only in a fragmentary condition.^a According to the accounts of the Ragusan antiquaries, this inscription was originally discovered, together with a head and other fragments of a statue, at Obod, in 1547, in the remains of a small quadrangular building that lies about a mile distant on the line of the Roman roadway that leads to Epitaurum from the north. The building itself has the appearance of a low tower, about 18 feet square, and, according to the testimony of a local antiquary, originally showed traces of a cupola.

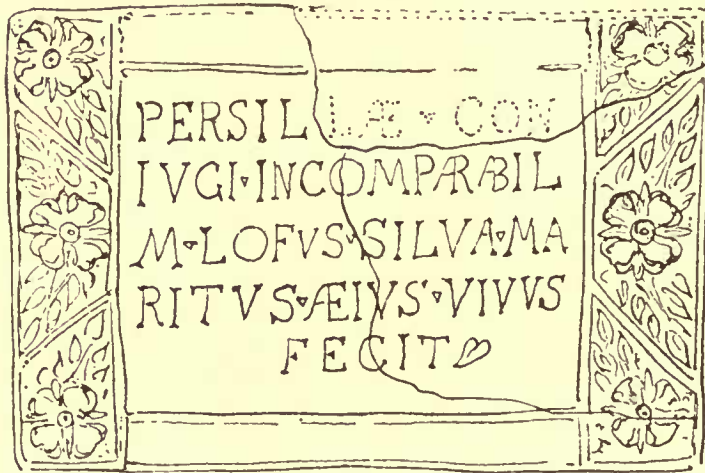


Fig. 4. EPITAURUM.

It has certainly been built up of the remains of an earlier building, as frag-

^a C. I. L. iii. 1741. In its perfect state the inscription ran: P. CORNELIO || DOLABELLAE COS || VII. VIRO. EPVLONI || SODALI. TITIENSI || LEG. PRO. PR. DIVI. AVGVSTI || ET. TI. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI || CIVITATES SVPERIORIS || PROVINCIAE HILLYRICI. This Dolabella is referred to by Vellejus Paterculus, who, after mentioning the good government of his Illyrian province by Junius Blæsus in A.D. 14, continues: "Cujus curam ac fidem Dolabella quoque, vir simplicitatis generosissimæ, in maritima parte Illyrici per omnia imitatus est."

ments of moulding and a portion of a triangular arch had been built into the walls.

To the inscriptions discovered at Ragusa Vecchia I am able to add the following. The right hand portion of fig. 4 I found in 1875, embedded in a recently constructed wall in the upper part of the town. I afterwards learnt that the inscription had originally been discovered in a more perfect state, and succeeded in obtaining from an inhabitant of Ragusa Vecchia a native copy of the inscription in its entirety, from which I here supplement my own.

On the lower part of a sarcophagus carved out of the solid rock, in the Roman cemetery already mentioned as existing on the summit of the Epitaurian peninsula, I was able to decipher the following fragment of an inscription (fig. 5) :



Fig. 5. INSCRIPTION ON SARCOPHAGUS HEWN OUT OF THE ROCK.
EPITAUROM.

Hearing that a "written stone" had been found some time since, embedded in the Roman Aqueduct, at a point near the north-east corner of the ancient city, but had subsequently been removed for building purposes, along with other fragments from the same source, and buried in the foundation of a wall, I prevailed on the owner of the wall to permit its re-excavation. It proved to contain the following not uninteresting inscription. (See fig. 6.)

The portion of the inscription that has been preserved may be completed :

|| AQVILIO || . F. TROM(*entina sc. tribu*) AQVILINO
AEDILI II VIRO IVRE DICVNDQ QVINQVENNALI.

We are thus presented with the first epigraphic record of the highest municipal dignity at Epitaurum—that of the *Duumviri Quinquennales*—elected every

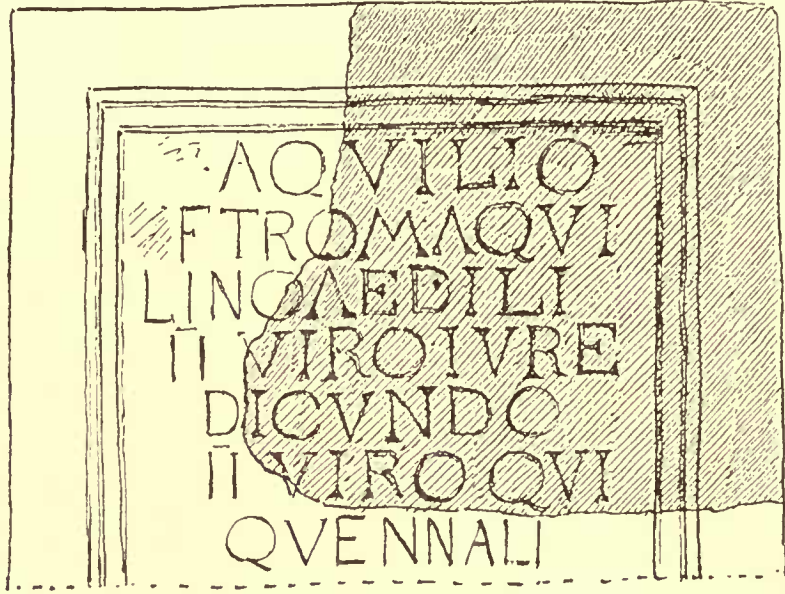


Fig. 6. EPITAVRUM.

lustrum, or five years, to discharge in their *Municipium* duties analogous to those performed by the Censors at Rome, whose title, indeed, they on occasion assumed.^a One of their most important functions was to revise, in accordance with the fundamental law of the city, the list of the *Decuriones*, or local Senators, and to enter it in the album, or *Libro d' Oro*, of their civic Republic. The Patrician Roll of Epitaurum, perpetuated and renewed by its offspring Ragusa, was closed by Napoleon within the memory of man.

The mention of the local *Ædile* is also new on Epitaurian monuments. The Aqueduct in the ruins of which the inscription was found would have been under his special charge; and we are tempted to believe that the magistrate whose name it records, and who added to his duties of municipal Consul and Censor that of guardian of the public works,^b had connected his name in some honourable manner with this important fabric.

^a Cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, pt. iii. sec. i. p. 360. Their financial functions seem to have been later on transferred to the *Curatores*.

^b At Dyrrhachium (Durazzo), *Ænona* (Nona), and Apsorus (Ossero) on this coast, the titles of *ÆDILIS* and *IVIR QVINQVENNALIS* are coupled on inscriptions. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 611, 2977, 3138.) *ÆDILIS IVIR* is common: but on the other hand there were *Ædiles* who were not *Duumvirs*, and *Duumvirs*

Considering the peninsular position of the town, the character of the soil, and the climate, which rendered it liable to droughts, the water supply of the city, notwithstanding the existence of an aqueduct, must have been a special care of the civic officers; and we find accordingly another Epitaurian monument recording the restoration by the Duumviri Jure Dicundo, at the public expense, of a large cistern or reservoir.^a The present city of Ragusa, though provided with an aqueduct constructed by a Neapolitan architect in the fifteenth century, stands greatly in need, during a dry season, of such a reservoir as was provided for her Roman predecessor by the wisdom of the Epitaurian magistrates. The Duumvirs, or local Consuls, are referred to on two other monuments. From an unpublished letter of the then Secretary of the Republic, Antonio Alleti,^b the brother-in-law of the great Ragusan antiquary, Banduri, it appears that part of the bust of the Duumvir M. Pomentinus Turbo was, in 1724, still attached to the monument recording his name. In three instances decrees of the Decuriones are preserved, in which these municipal senators pay, in the name of their city, the last honours to citizens that had served it. In two instances they vote a public statue: in one case the mother and grandmother of the deceased treating the Decurions, the Sacral College of the Augustals, and their officers or Sexviri, to a banquet, and the citizens at large to a show of prizefighters.^c The third inscription, relating to

who were not Ædiles. At Narona we read of AEDILIS IIIIVIR: at Salonæ of a Curule Ædile. (C. I. L. iii. 2077.)

^a P . VIBIVS . P . F . VRBICVS || P . ANVLENS . BASSVS || II . VIR . I . D || CISTERNAM . EX pecunia . publica . REFICIEN||DAM . CVRAVERVNT. (C. I. L. iii. 1750.)

^b Antonio Alleti, Segretario della Repubblica di Ragusa, al Rev^{do} Don Giorgio Mattei, a Roma, Dec. 14, 1724: "Mi sono impossessato di un mezzo busto di marmo ed è la figura di M. PONENTINO figlio di M. PONENTINO TURBONE IIVIRO I. D." The inscription has been published by Aldus Manutius and others and is given by Mommsen, who had himself personally collated it, in C. I. L. iii. 1748; but the hitherto unpublished passage in Alleti's correspondence is, I believe, the only reference to the bust which formerly accompanied it. The inscription itself at present exists in the Casa Gozze at Ombla. Alleti adds, "Anche allo scoglio di Mercanna ho trovato frammenti di vari iscrizioni senza pero che abbia potuto cavare altro che un barlume indistinto." (Mercanna is a rocky isle opposite the peninsula on which Epitaurum stood; personally I have been unable to find Roman remains there.) In a letter written from Ragusa in April 1714 he describes an urn found near Ragusa Vecchia with TIPANSIANAS stamped on the lid. The stamp of the *Figlinæ Pansianæ* is common on Dalmatian sites. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 3213.)

^c P . AELIO . P . F || TRO || OSILLIANO || NOVIA . BASSILLA || MATER . ET . NOVIA . IVS || TILLA . AVIA . POSVERVNT || ET . SPORTVLIS . DECVRIO || AVGVSTALIBVS ET SEXVIRIS DATIS ITEM PVGILVM || SPECTACVLO DEDICAVE||RVNT HVIC VNIVERSVS || ORDO DECVRIONATVS || HONOREM ET LOCVM || STATVAE DECREVIT. (C. I. L. iii. 1745.) Discovered in 1856 in the ruins of an ancient building on the shore.

a decree of the Decurions, has been only imperfectly given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*,^a and I therefore reproduce it—

L. F INVITILLA
 FILIO PIÏSSIMO
 VFL^DDDN.

Nothing, indeed, is more instructive on this site than the large proportion of inscriptions illustrating the municipal life of Epitaurum. Out of twenty-three extant inscriptions no less than ten, or nearly half the total number, refer to the civic government or record the public benefaction of some citizen to the town. Of *tituli militares* there are only two. This overwhelming preponderance of civil and civic records becomes all the more noticeable when we compare the case of Epitaurum with that of the neighbouring coast towns on either side. At Risinium, indeed, out of twenty inscriptions only two have any reference to the common weal. Even at Narona, where there are some splendid records of private munificence to the city, the proportion of municipal records is far smaller than at Epitaurum. At that city the nucleus and germs of the later municipality are to be found in an informal commercial colony of Roman citizens in an Illyrian emporium who formed a *vicus* governed by two *Magistri* and two *Quæstors*.^b On the deduction hither of a formal colony about the time of Augustus we find the city governed by *IIIVIRI*, but the civic life of the place seems rather to have centered in the sacral guild of the *Augustales*, whose *Sexviri* are mentioned in no less than eighteen inscriptions found in that site; and the liberality of the citizens is chiefly displayed in vows of temples and altars to the Gods. The government of a *vicus* was based on sacral rather than purely political relations, and this characteristic seems to have clung to the city even in its later colonial days. At Epitaurum, on the other hand, which was not in its origin a native market, a mere Illyrian tribal aggregation, later moulded into shape by a guild of Roman merchants, but, as its very name proclaims, a Greek colonial city, the case would have been very different from that of Narona. At Epitaurum we may believe that the local Senate, or *Ordo Decurionatus*, and the Plebs of the Roman Municipium, were in some degree, at all events, nothing more than a recasting in a Roman guise of the *Boulê* and *Dêmos* of the original

^a C. I. L. iii. 1746, on the authority of Dr. Eitelberger (*Jahrbuch der Central Commission*, &c. v. 288), who makes the third line simply L D D D. The letters, however, as given in my copy, are perfectly clear.

^b C. I. L. iii. 1820, and cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 291, s. v. NARONA.

Dorian colony, still known by their old names in the Greek-speaking half of the Empire on the borders of which this city never ceased to stand. In the Parian colony of Pharia, in the isle of Lesina, which lies a little further up the Adriatic coast, inscriptions^a have been discovered referring to the Boulê and Dêmos of the Greek city, to the Dêmarch and Prytanês. We find a self-governing community, waging war with the Illyrian mainlanders,^b striking coins in its own name, receiving legates from another city, and sending a deputation to consult the Delphic oracle. Issa, a Syracusan insular colony on the same Dalmatian shore, presents us with similar monuments,^c and her Roman Municipium^d was only a perpetuation of the earlier and more complete autonomy of her Hellenic days. The discovery of Greek coins and gems on the site of Epitaurum to which I have already referred gives us something more than etymological evidence that the Roman city sprang out of an earlier Greek foundation; and though, in the absence of epigraphic records, we are at present debarred from knowing the exact form of its autonomous institutions, we may with confidence infer their general character. To these Hellenic antecedents, to the abiding Hellenic contact of the Roman city, I would refer the specially high development of the civic sense noticeable on the existing monuments of Epitaurum.

Among the gems of Roman date discovered at this site I have noticed another interesting indication of the Hellenic traditions of Epitaurum. Three of those in my possession contain representations of Æsculapius, in two cases associated with Hygieia. This may be taken as fair evidence that the special cult of the Saronic Epidaurus was perpetuated in its Illyrian namesake. Dedicatory inscriptions to the God are unfortunately wanting, but the fact that the cult of Æsculapius flourished in the neighbouring city of Naronâ, and that his name appears there twice under the quasi-Greek form of Æsclepius, is not without significance, as showing the extent to which the cult of the Epidaurian patron had taken root in Roman times on this part of the Dalmatian coast. The serpent form under which the God of healing was worshipped in his inmost shrine may still indeed be said to haunt the ruined site of the Starigrad Pitaur. St. Jerome, writing in the fifth

^a C. I. G. ii. add. 1837, b, c, d, e. All these Pharian inscriptions are now in the museum at Agram. Vide S. Ljubić, *Inscriptiones quæ Zagabriæ in museo nationali asservantur*. Zagabriæ, 1876, p. 71 seqq.

^b C. I. G. ii. add. 1837, c. The mainlanders with whom the Pharians seem to have been at war were the Jadasini, the inhabitants, that is, of the later Jadera (Zara) and their Liburnian allies.

^c C. I. G. ii. 1834.

^d In C. I. L. iii. 2074, are mentioned two *decuriones* of the Roman Municipium of Issa.

century,^a mentions that the inhabitants of the Dalmatian town of Epitaurum, who we may inferentially assume to have been then Christian, had handed down a most marvellous tale of how St. Hilarion had freed their city from a portentous serpent or "Boa,"^b that was devouring both men and cattle, and in this early legend^c we may be allowed to see reflected the final triumph of Christianity over the local cult. The horrible aspect of this Epitaurian serpent will surprise no one who understands the peculiar animosity displayed by the early missionaries against the God of healing, who as the pagan master-worker of miracles did most to rival their own. At a centre of Æsculapian worship, more than elsewhere, the counteracting tradition of mighty Christian miracles was necessary, and Hilarion, we are told, not only compelled the portent to mount his *auto da fê*, but during a great earthquake, probably the historical earthquake of Julian's time,^d rolled back the waves that were threatening to engulf the city. The cult of the new and Christian miracle-worker of Epitaurum still survives on the spot,^e and an unfathomed cavern,^f whose precipitous recesses descend into a watery abyss, is pointed out by local tradition as the former habitat of the portentous *Boa*. At the present day the peasants tell you that it is the haunt of the Serbian nymphs or Vilas, and that at times a terrible "Neman," or portent, somewhat akin to the Irish Phooka, plunges into its depths. Lying as it does, near the upper or northern wall of the Roman city, it is reasonable to suppose this mysterious abyss to have supplied a local habitation for mythic beings in ancient as well as

^a S. Hieronymi *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 2, *Vita Sancti Hilarionis*.

^b "Draco miræ magnitudinis quas gentili sermone Boas vocant." The word *boa* = huge serpent, was known to Pliny (8, 8, 14). It is remarkable that a large species of snake still found in this district is known to the present Slav-speaking inhabitants as *kravosciac*, *i. e.* cow-sucker, as it is supposed to suck the milk of cows. As Coleti, however, judiciously remarks, it is hardly big enough to *swallow* a dove.

^c The words of St. Jerome, who must have had opportunities of taking down the tale from the lips of the Epitauritans themselves, are worth notice: "Hoc Epidaurus et omnis illa regio usque hodie prædicat matresque docent liberos suos ad memoriam in posteros transmittendam."

^d This earthquake is placed by the Chronicle of Idatius in the year 385.

^e In the sonorous words of Appendini (*Storia di Ragusa*, vol. i. p. 68): "Il culto verso questo Santo non è punto scemato appresso i Ragusei: anzi una parrochia di cui egli è il Titolare: il concorso nel dì della sua festa ad una piccola capella vicina a Ragusa Vecchia (e cio per voto), e tre altre piccole chiese innalzate nel sobborgo di Ragusa in sua memoria perpetueranno in tutti secoli avvenire la tenera pietà e gratitudine dei Ragusei verso un sì gran Santo e Protettore."

^f The existing popular tradition given by Appendini and others, that this and another cave on Mt. Sniesnitza (about five hours distant from Ragusa Vecchia) were sacred to Æsculapius or Cadmus, is of course of later engrafting, and is akin to the appearance of Dolabella in Ragusa-Vecchian folk-lore.

modern times. It is known to the inhabitants by the name Scipun or Šipun, a word of no Slavonic origin.

It is certain that another ancient cult connected with rocks and caverns, and therefore singularly adapted to the limestone ranges of Dalmatia, that of Mithra, "the rock-born,"^a flourished at Epitaurum during the Roman Empire. In my work on Bosnia I have already described the discovery of a rock containing a rude bas-relief of Mithra, which stands on the Colle S. Giorgio, that overlooks the site of Epitaurum on the land side. The relief, which is unfortunately much weather-worn, represents Mithra in the usual attitude, sacrificing the mystic bull between two ministers, one with a raised, the other with a lowered, torch, and both with their legs crossed. The representation does not, as is so usually the case, stand in connexion with a natural cave. The Mithraic *spelæum* was necessary to the worshippers as the mystic image of this sublunary world, to which the spirit of man descended, and from which when duly purged by ritual it was to ascend once more, according to their creed, to its celestial abode.^b We are therefore left to suppose that, in this as in some other instances, the "cave" itself was artificially constructed against the natural rock on which the icon itself is carved. The rock itself faces east, according to the universal Mithraic practice, and within the area which would have been included in the artificial *spelæum*, now wholly destroyed, are two square blocks hewn out of the solid rock, and with a small gutter round them, which were evidently altars. In the artificial *spelæum* found at Kroisbach, in Hungary,^c two votive altars were found. In the Mithraic temple at Ostia, attached to the baths of Antoninus Pius,^d there was one large square altar before the chief icon at the east end, and seven smaller ones near what may be described as a side chapel. Representations of these

^a Τὸν πετρογέννη, the epithet applied to Mithra by Johannes Lydus. So St. Jerome (*Adv. Jovinianum*, 247), "Narrant et gentiliū fabulæ Mithram et Erichonium de lapide vel in terra de solo libidinis æstu esse generatos;" and Commodianus (*Liber Instructionum*), "Invictus de petra natus deus." At Carnuntum, in Pannonia, an inscription was found—PETRÆ GENETRICI. It has been supposed that the idea took its origin from the fact that fire was produced by means of flint; but this method of ignition was apparently, at least among Aryan peoples, a late usage. The real origin of the connexion of Mithra with rocks and mountains should be sought in cloudland.

^b Cf. Porphyrius, *de Antro Nympharum*, c. vi. &c.

^c Das Mithræum von Kroisbach. Dr. F. Kenner (in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central Commission*, 1867, p. 119 *seqq.*)

^d *Del Mitreo annesso alle terme Ostiensi di Antonino Pio.* C. Visconti (*Annali di Corr. Arch.* 1864, p. 147 *seqq.*)

smaller altars occur on other Mithraic monuments; they represent the sevenfold nature of fire in the Magian religion.

Although in the present instance there was no trace of a cave, artificial or otherwise, I observed a natural fissure in the rock, below the Mithraic slab, and on clearing it as far as was feasible from the black earth which choked it up, found three small brass coins, one of Aurelian, one of Constantius Chlorus, and the third of Constantius II. From this it may be inferred that Mithraic worship went on at this spot during the third and the first half of the fourth century. Mithraic worship survived, in fact, to a considerably later date in Western Illyricum.

Near the village of Mocici, in the district of Canali, and about an hour distant from the site of Epitaurum, I found a more perfect Mithraic relief carved over the mouth of a limestone grotto known as "Tomina Jama," or "Tom's Hole" (fig. 7). The lower part of the grotto forms a natural basin containing a perennial supply of fresh water, which had been vaulted over to serve as a cistern for the villagers. Situated on a rugged range of hills, still to a great extent covered with a woodland growth of sea pines, cypresses, and myrtles, and its rocky brows overhung when I saw it with the azure festoons of ivy-leaved campanulas, the cavern seemed singularly appropriate for its religious purpose. In selecting such a natural temple the local votaries of Mithra were faithfully following the example of Zoroaster, who, we are told,^a when founding the worship in its later, established form, sought out a natural cave in the neighbouring Persian mountains, overgrown with flowers, and containing a fount within, which as the microcosm of the created world he consecrated to Mithra, the *Demiurge* or Father of all.

The relief itself gives the conventional representation of Mithra sacrificing the generative Bull of Persian cosmogony, by which, according to this belief, he was to give a new and spiritual life to all created beings, and the typical sacrifice of which at the hands of his votaries brought them Regeneration unto Eternal Life.^b From below, as is usual on these Mithraic groups, the scorpion, snake,

^a "Πρῶτα μὲν, ὡς ἔφη Εὐβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφύεις σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθηρὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερώσαντος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου εἰκόνα φέροντας αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου ὃ ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε." Porphyrius, *De Antro Nympharum*, c. vi.

^b In the Mithraic mysteries the initiated died fictitiously in order to be born again by the symbolic sacrifice of a bull. TAVROBOLIO IN AETERNVM RENATVS· occurs on a monument of a Mithraic votary in C. I. L. vi. 510. Darmesteter (*Ormuzd et Ahriman*, p. 329) observes that Mithra has usurped the part

and dog, animals supposed to be specially connected with generative power, dart forward to quaff the life-blood of the victim, while on either side stand the two

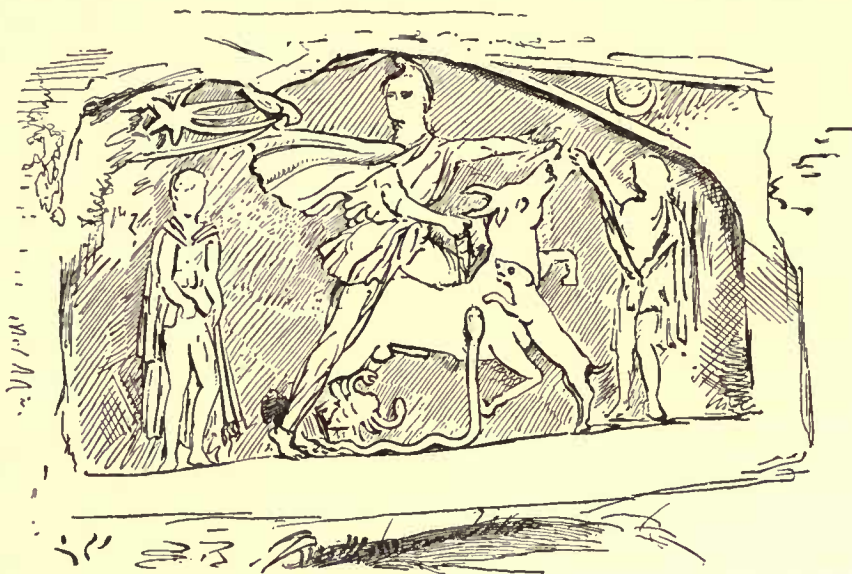


Fig. 7. MITHRAIC RELIEF. TOMINA JAMA, CANALI.

ministering Genii, one with a raised, the other with a lowered, torch, symbolical in ancient art of Day and Night, Grief and Joy, Life and Death; but in the present connexion bearing a direct and undoubted reference to the descent of the soul to earth and its subsequent re-ascent to the heavenly spheres^a through the purifying grace of Mithra. In the two spandrels of the arch above these figures are seen the crescent moon, from which the human spirit was believed to descend, and the rayed sun, the gate of its return. Three of the seven mystic rays of the orb of light are seen to be prolonged in the present representation, as if to illuminate in a special way the bird which leans forward over the sacrificing divinity. This is

performed by Çaoshyant in the Mazdean religion, who according to the Bundelesh (75, 6) will give men an immortal body from the marrow of the immolated bull Hadhayaos.

^a The soul was thought to descend from the moon through the "gate" of Cancer, and to ascend again through the "gate" of Capricorn to the sun. Plato had learned this Magian doctrine (cf. Porphyrius, *op. cit.* c. xxx.) On their return to their celestial abode the spirits of men were thought to pass through the seven planets (answering to the seven Mithraic grades on earth), by which they were purified and rendered worthy to enter the fixed heaven, the dwelling-place of Ormuzd.

the Eorosh, the Celestial raven described as "speaking the language of heaven," and the symbol of Mithra as interpreter of the divine will. The projecting rays on the present monument may seem to have a special significance when it is remembered that one of the distinguishing epithets of the Mithraic raven in the *Zendavesta* is "irradiate with light."^a Pray to him, we are told in another passage, and "he will shed much light, both before him and behind him."

The celestial raven, *Hierocorax*, among the Mithra worshippers of the Roman Empire, gave its name to an inferior grade of devotees, and to the rites connected with their initiation called *Coracica*. The grotto itself, and the rugged ranges that surround it, was admirably adapted for these Mithraic hermits and fakirs to be the scene of the successive trials through which they hoped to mortify the flesh and fit themselves for "the better life."^b In some remarkable monuments^c discovered in Transylvania and Tyrol, many of the self-inflicted tortures,—the scorching by fire, the bed of unrest, the flagellations and fasts,—are still to be seen depicted as they once were undergone by the predecessors of Simeon Stylites in these Illyrian wilds that were soon to rival Lérins and Iona as the retreat of Christian ascetics. The basin within the grotto supplied in this instance a natural font for the Mithraic rite, alluded to by Tertullian,^d of baptism for the remission of sins.

From the site of Epitaurum itself I have obtained an engraved stone, such as, apparently, was given to those who, after the due period of fasting and mortification of the flesh, were admitted to share the Mithraic Eucharist.^e It is a white

^a In Lajarde's translation of the passages in the *Zendavesta* referring to the Eorosh: "Éclatante de lumière" (*Recherches sur le culte de Mithra*, p. 355.) The elongation of the sun's rays is observable on another Mithraic monument, found at Rome in the Via di Borgo S. Agata (*Annali di Corr. Arch.* 1864, p. 177). In this case a ray is made to shoot through a sacred cypress towards Mithra.

^b *Βίον τὸν κρείττονα*—the words used by Himerius the Sophist (*Orat.* vii. 9) in describing the state of the initiated.

^c See Hammer (*Les Mithriaques*, Pl. V. VI. VII.), and cf. Greg. Nazianz, *Orat.* 3, who describes several of the tortures.

^d *De Præscriptionibus adv. hæreticos*, c. xl. "(Diabolus) ipsas res sacramentorum divinatorum idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam utique credentes et fideles suos. Expiationem delictorum de lavacro reponnittit."

^e Cf. Augustine (*in Johannis Evangelium*, Tract. vii.): "Et magnum est hoc spectare per totum orbem terrarum victum Leonem sanguine Agni . . . ergo nescio quid simile imitatus est quidam Spiritus ut sanguine simulacrum suum emi vellet quia noverat pretioso sanguine quandocumque redimendum esse genus humanum." The *Spiritus quidam* is Mithra, as appears from the succeeding paragraph, in which the Christian Father alludes to the honey mixed with the sacramental water of the Persian rite: King's

carnelian, streaked appropriately with blood-red, containing a singularly rude representation of a figure sacrificing the Mithraic bull before a lighted altar, above which are the crescent moon and rayed sun (fig. 8). The absence of the characteristic Phrygian cap and flowing mantle in the sacrificing figure makes me hesitate to suppose that it is actually Mithra himself who is here depicted. The two ministering Genii, and the scorpion and other animals representing the generative principle, are also conspicuous by their absence. It might have been thought that in any design, however barbarous, of the Mithraic sacrifice, these characteristic features would not have been omitted. Or, have we here, perhaps, simply the representation of the actual liturgic sacrifice performed by the Mithraic priest? So far as the vestment is delineated at all it seems to be simply a short-sleeved tunic or dalmatic. The style of the head would indicate a post-Constantinian age.



Fig. 8.
MITHRAIC GEM.
From site of Epitaurum.
(Enlarged two diams.)

Another class of gem, discovered on this and other Dalmatian sites, engraved with the Mithraic lion, characterised by its peculiar radiated mane, may not improbably have been the badge of the high Mithraic grade known as *Leontes* or *Lions*, and whose special ritual was called from them *Leontica*.

In this connexion I cannot pass over another engraved stone which appears to me to be intimately connected with Mithraic symbolism (fig. 9). It is a red carnelian, acquired by me at Scardona, on this same coast, presenting a figure of what, judging by other somewhat conventional designs, is intended for a bee, from whose mouth, in place of a proboscis, proceeds the twisted end of a caduceus. Now, from two passages in Porphyry, *de Antro Nympharum*,^a it appears that the bee, amongst the worshippers of Mithra, was the special emblem of the soul. As bees, according to the ancient idea, were generated by bulls' carcasses,^b so bees, representing the vital



Fig. 9.
MITHRAIC GEM.
From Scardona.
(Enlarged two diams.)

inference (*Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 61), that by the *simulacrum* given to the initiated is betokened an engraved Mithraic gem, affords a reasonable explanation of the passage. It would even seem from St. Augustine's words that he had in view a representation such as the present one of a Mithraic sacrifice, which result gives special point to his parallel. Even as "the Lamb" slays "the roaring Lion," the Devil, so the false Spirit, "the Capped One," is represented by his worshippers as slaying the Bull, which, according to their creed, was to herald the resurrection.

^a C. xv. and c. xviii.

^b "ἄς (sc. μέλισσας) βουγενεῖς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν." Porph. *op. cit.* c. xv. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. v. 554:

principle, sprang from the Cosmic bull of Persian mythology. So, too, no fitter emblem could be found for the spirits of men that swarmed forth, according to this creed, from the horned luminary of the heavens, the Moon, their primal dwelling-place, to migrate awhile for their earthly pilgrimage below. In this way the Moon itself was sometimes known, in the language of the mysts, as "the bee,"^a and it is noteworthy that the bee appears on the coinage of Ephesus, the special city of the Asiatic Moon-Goddess. The line of Sophocles—

βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν σμήνος, ἔρχεται τ' ἄλλη,^b

may be taken as evidence that the identification of bees with spirits had early invaded Greek folk-lore. Everything seems to point to a Persian origin for the idea, at least in its elaborated form, and had Eubulus's copious history of Mithra been preserved we should doubtless find that it entered largely into the Magian philosophy. On the Roman monuments of the sect a bee is sometimes seen in the mouth of the Mithraic lion,^c as the emblem of the soul—*βουγενής* like to insect—and, connected with this symbolism, was the practice of mixing honey in the eucharistic chalice, and the singular rite performed by the *Leontes* or Lion priests of Mithra,^d of purifying their hands with honey in place of lustral water. From all this it will be seen that the present conjunction of the bee and the well-known symbol of Mercury, the shepherd of departed souls, has a deep mystic significance. In the hands of one of the ministering Genii, symbolising the ascending soul, on a Mithraic monument, Von Hammer^e detected

"Hic vero subitum ac dicta mirabile monstrum
Aspiciunt liquefacta boum per viscera toto
Stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis."

It is to be observed that this portent is obtained by sacrifices offered to the shades of Orpheus and Eurydice; an indication that Virgil was conscious of a mystic connexion between bees, the Magian bull, and the spirit-world.

^a "σελήνην τε οὖσαν γενεσεως προστάτιδα μέλισσαν ἐκάλουν, ἄλλως τε ἐπεὶ ταῦρον μὲν σελήνη, καὶ ὕψωμα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος, βουγενεῖς δὲ αἱ μέλισσαι." Porph. *op. cit.* c. xviii. An allusion to the same idea will be found on a very interesting engraving on a gold ring from Kertch (in the Siemens Collection) representing a bee above a full-faced bust of *Deus Lunus*.

^b *Fragmenta* (Dindorf. 693). Quoted by Porphyrius, *op. cit.* in this connexion. Bergk emends the *ἔρχεται τ' ἄλλη* of Porphyrius, as above.

^c As for instance on one engraved by Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum*, Oxonii. 1700, tab. I.

^d Porph. *op. cit.* c. xv.

^e *Les Mithriaques*, p. 252.

a wand, described by him as resembling that of Mercury; from which it may be inferred that the caduceus was by no means alien to the later Mithraic iconography.

It is impossible to close this account of the traces of Mithra worship existing on the site and in the immediate neighbourhood of Epitaurum without recalling a sepulchral inscription described as existing here by Aldus Manutius and the early Ragusan antiquaries,^a the spiritualism of which bears striking witness to the triumph of Oriental religious ideas in the Roman city :

CONVBII · DECVS · EGREGIVM · LVX · ALMA · PARENTVM
 EXIMIVMQ · BONVM · CORPORIS · ATQ · ANIMI
 INVIDIA · FATI · RAPITVR · VINCENTIA · FLORENS
 ET · NVNC · ANTE · PATREM · CONDITVR · HELIONEM
 QVIN · POTIVS · CORPVS · NAM · MENS · AETERNA · PROPECTO
 PRO · MERITIS · POTITVR · SEDIBVS · ELYSIIS.

The belief in the immortality of the soul, in the reward of the righteous and the incorporeal resurrection, set forth in this epitaph, are among the characteristic features of the Mithraic creed, and its language suggests comparisons with such formulæ as “*MENTIS DIVINAE DVCTV*” and “*IN AETERNVM RENATVS*,” of known Mithraic monuments. The imagery of Elysium, as portrayed by Virgil (not untouched himself by Persian influences),^b had certainly much in common with the starry paradise of these children of “the Unconquered Sun :”

Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
 Purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.^c

Among the smaller relics found amongst the ruins of Epitaurum, the engraved gems, of which this and the other Roman sites of the Dalmatian littoral are astonishingly prolific, are by far the most interesting. At least a hundred of these from this spot have come under my personal observation, and in such abundance are they discovered in a field near the point of the Epitaurian peninsula that we are perhaps justified in inferring that a jewellers' quarter of the city lay on that side. As I propose to take a more collective view of the gems

^a Given in C. I. L. iii. 1759. I have been unable to find any trace of its present existence.

^b See p. 23, *note* ^b.

^c *Æn.* vi. 640.

discovered on the Dalmatian sites, I shall here content myself with calling attention to one which, like the Æsculapian and Mithraic stones already mentioned, seems to have a special local interest. In the *Reliquiario* of the Cathedral at Ragusa I noticed a ring, a peasant offering to the Madonna, set with a carnelian intaglio, which, from the character of the subject and the workmanship, must be assigned to the fourth or fifth century of our era (fig. 10). It represents an Emperor on horseback, robed in the *paludamentum* or military mantle, facing the spectator, and with both hands raised in the attitude of adoration common in figures of saints and martyrs in the catacombs, and in Byzantine representations of the *Theotokos*.



Fig. 10.

ROMAN CHRISTIAN
GEM—EPITAUURUM.

(Enlarged two diams.)

horseback, robed in the *paludamentum* or military mantle, facing the spectator, and with both hands raised in the attitude of adoration common in figures of saints and martyrs in the catacombs, and in Byzantine representations of the *Theotokos*. Above, on either side of the riding figure, are two crosses, and in the exergue below are the crescent moon and star, the emblems of Byzantium. There can be little doubt that it is intended to represent the Vision of Constantine, on the eve of his crowning victory over Maxentius :

Hoc signo invictus transmissis Alpibus ultor
Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus.^a

The appearance of *two* crosses in the design suggests some variation from the recorded versions of the Vision, but the moon and star below sufficiently connect the adoring figure with the founder of New Rome. The only existing contemporary monuments directly referring to the alleged miracle hitherto known are the coins of Constantius II. and the Mœsian usurper Vetranio, both from Illyrian mints, and dating from the year 350,^b on which these Emperors are severally depicted holding the Labarum standard and surrounded with the legend *HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS*. The present gem supplies an actual representation of the celestial Vision, hitherto, so far as I am aware, entirely unknown on early Christian monuments.

^a Prudentius, *Contra Symm.* i. 467.

^b In the case of Constantius possibly also of 351. As Vetranio was deposed in January of that year the design can have nothing to do with the appearance of a cross in the heavens recorded four months later in the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* and in a letter of Cyril, both which authorities fix the date of the meteor, or whatever it was, on May 7, 351. Still less can it have any reference to the Vision of Constantius, which, according to Philostorgius, took place on the eve of the battle of Mursa, in September or October 351.

A silver ring obtained by me from the same Epitaurian site (fig. 11) proved to be a Roman-Christian relic of probably still later date than the gem in the *Reliquiario*. Its bezel contains an incised monogram, which, like many similar monograms of the fifth and sixth centuries, is difficult to decipher, and has besides been cut about by a later hand. On the exterior of the ring, in late letters inlaid in darker metal or niello in the silver, is the inscription, curiously inverted, VIVA IN VIVA, apparently standing for VIVAS IN VITA.



Fig. 11.

ROMAN CHRISTIAN RING — EPITAUURUM.

These two Roman Christian relics, with some Byzantine coins—including an aureus of Phokas—are the latest Epitaurian antiquities that I have been able to discover. The statement, repeated by the latest writer on Dalmatian history,^a that Epitau-

rum was destroyed by the Goths in 265 A.D. and its successor, Ragusa, founded shortly afterwards by the surviving citizens, rests on no authority whatever, and is wholly at variance with recorded facts. St. Hilarion, as we have seen, wrought his miracles at Epitaurum in Julian's reign, about a century later, and St. Jerome—Illyrian-born—took down the local tradition of the Saint's mighty works, apparently from the lips of the Epitauritans themselves, in the first quarter of the fifth century.

Equally impossible is it to accept the statement (probably due to an error of transcription) made by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,^b who observes of the year 949—in which he wrote his account of the Dalmatian Theme—that it is the fifth centenary of the founding of Ragusa, built, as he tells us, by refugee citizens from the overthrow of Salonæ and Epitaurum. There is no evidence that Attila destroyed, or even approached, these cities. The Dinaric Alps seem, in fact, to have been as useful in shielding the Dalmatian coast-cities from the Hunnish cavalry as they were nearly a thousand years later in breaking the fury of the Tartar invasion; and at a time when Siscia and Sirmium lay in ruins Salonæ and

^a H. Cons. *La Province Romaine de Dalmatie* (Paris 1882, p. 285): "Les Goths avaient encore fait irruption au-delà du Danube, pénétré de nouveau jusqu'à l'Adriatique et détruit la Colonie d'Epidaure (Ragusa Vecchia, 265). Les habitants de cette malheureuse ville se réfugièrent au fond de la baie cachée où bientôt s'éleva Raguse." Now, although the Eastern provinces of Illyricum, including Macedonia and Greece, suffered fearfully at this time, there is no mention of Dalmatia being invaded, much less of Epitaurum having been destroyed.

^b *De Adm. Imp.* c. 29: "Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ῥαουσαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκράτουν τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤνικα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκρατήθησαν κάστρα παρὰ τῶν Σκλάβων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ θέματι, ἐκρατήθη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν οἱ δὲ ἤχμαλωτίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δυνηθέντες ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ διασωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς ὑποκρήμνονες τόπους κατέφυκον ἅφ' οὗ δὲ ἀπὸ Σαλῶνα μετέφυκον εἰς Ῥαούσιον εἰσὶν ἔτη φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐβδόμης ἔτους στυνζ'."

Epitaurum were still flourishing. In 536, during Justinian's Gothic war,^a we find the Byzantine commander making Epitaurum—still, as is to be gathered from Procopius's words, a city of some importance—a preliminary base for his descent on Salonæ. Six years previous to this, in the provincial council of Salonæ of 530,^b Fabricianus, bishop of Epitaurum, was the fourth in order to attach his signature.

Still later, in 591, the bishop of Salonæ appears exercising his metropolitan authority to deprive and exile Florentius, bishop of Epitaurum, in a fashion so uncanonical as to provoke a remonstrance from Gregory the Great.^c Seven years later Florentius is still in exile, and Gregory, stirred by a renewed appeal from "the inhabitants of the city of Epitaurum," again urges on his brother of Salonæ the necessity of bringing the matter to a canonical issue.

Whether he attained his object we are not told, but this letter of 598^d is the last mention of Epitaurum as a city. The "*Sancta Epitauritana Ecclesia*,"^e to whose spiritual head, Pope Zacharias,^f in 743, concedes an extended charge over the southernmost Dalmatian cities, and the, by that time, Serbian and Zachulmian lands of the interior, can hardly be more than an ecclesiastical anachronism, and must refer to the church of Ragusa which claimed Epitaurum as its ancient self. In the first year of the seventh century, Gregory sends the bishop of Salonæ the expression of his vehement affliction for what Dalmatia and its border lands were already suffering from the Slavonic hordes.^g From another of his letters, written

^a Procopius, *de bello Gothico*, lib. I.

^b Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 163. The bishop of Epitaurum signs next to the bishop of Siscia, what Attila had left of that once great city being now in ecclesiastical subjection to Salonæ.

^c Farlati, *op. cit.* t. vi. p. 4 *seqq.*

^d Gregorius Sabiniano Episcopo Jadertino (in Farlati, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 269) *ad fin.*:—*Præterea habitatores Epidaurensis Civitatis Florentium quem suum dicunt esse Episcopum sibi a nobis restituendum studiosissime poposcerunt.*"

^e In the same way after the destruction of Salonæ, the church of Spalato was still known as "*Sancta Salonitana Ecclesia*."

^f This important letter, formerly in the Ragusan archives, begins "Dilecto in Christo filio Andree archiepiscopo Sancte Epitauritane ecclesie. Constituimus te omnibus diebus vite tue esse pastorem te et successores tuos super istam provinciam. Imprimis Zachulmie regno et regno Servulie, Tribunieque regno. —Civitati namque Catarensi seu Rosa atque Buduanensi, Avarorum (Antivarorum?), Liciniatensi (Ulciniatensi), atque Scodrinensi, nec non Drivastinensi atque Polatensi cum ecclesiis atque parochiis eorum." Owing to the insertion of the Archiepiscopal title doubts have been thrown on the genuineness of this letter. It is, however, accepted by Kukuljević, who gives it in the *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae*, &c. p. 35.

^g Gregorius Maximo episcopo Salonitano . . . "Et quidem de Sclavorum gente quæ vobis valde

about the same time, we learn that Lissus—in the language of the times the *Civitas Lissitana*—the present Alessio, on the Dalmatian coast south of Epitaurum, was already in Slavonic hands, and its bishop an exile.^a Salonæ, itself, seems to have been overwhelmed in the great Avar-Slave invasion of 639. Epitaurum, at the most, could not long have survived the fall of the greater city. It is, perhaps, something more than a coincidence that 649, the year in which Pope Martin dispatched his legate to Dalmatia for the redeeming of captives and the rescuing of the sacred relics from the hands of the heathen Slaves,^b attained its tercentenary in the year 949, mentioned by Constantine as the five hundredth anniversary of the founding of Ragusa by the refugee citizens of Epitaurum and Salonæ. If we may suppose that the Φ, representing 500 in the original MS. of Constantine, or in some MS. notes from which the Emperor copied, has been accidentally substituted for a T=300, his notice may conceal a genuine historical date.

The mainland behind the peninsular site of Epitaurum, and, in a certain sense, the whole region between it and the next sea-gulf to the South-East, the Bocche di Cattaro, derives its name, Canali, from the artificial *canal* of the Roman Aqueduct already described which traversed a great part of its extent. It is, indeed, remarkable that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in whose valuable account of tenth century Dalmatian geography the name Canali first occurs, should have assigned to it a different derivation^c from the sufficiently obvious one of Canalis in its sense of a watercourse, and his remarks on the origin of the name have been hitherto placed in the same category with his suggested derivation for the Dalmatian city of Jadera, “jam erat.” But the etymology of the Byzantine Emperor is by no means always of this fantastic kind,^d and in the

imminet affligor vehementer et conturbor. Affligor in his quæ jam in vobis patior; conturbor quia per Istriæ aditum jam Italiam intrare cœperunt.”

^a Mansi, *Collectio Concil.* t. ix. Gregory appoints the refugee bishop to the bishopric of Squillace. Should, however, his own city be liberated at any time from the enemy he is to return to it.

^b Farlati, *op. cit.* t. iii. p. 22.

^c Šafarik for example (*Slawische Alterthümer*, ii. 271) imagines Constantine's derivation of Canali to have been founded on some blundering reminiscence of “*Kolnich*,” which appears as the Slavonic equivalent of *Via Carri* in a document of the year 1194 referred to by Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. vi.)

^d His explanation for instance of the name of the neighbouring old Serbian district of Zachulmia, “*ὀπίσω τοῦ βουνού*” is a perfectly correct piece of Slavonic etymology. Equally exact is his rendering of the Croatian *Primorje* by “*ἡ Παραθαλασσία*.” His derivation for the river-name *Bona* contrasts favourably with Šafarik's.

present instance he had more warrant for his suggested explanation than may at first sight appear. Constantine, whose Dalmatian topography is singularly accurate, after mentioning the Serbian district of Terbunia, observes that beyond this is another district called Canali. "Now Canali," he continues, "in the Slavonic dialect means a wagon-road, since from the level nature of the spot all transport service is accomplished by means of wagons."^a If we now turn to the Theodosian Code we find that the word *canalis* is used there in the sense of a highway or post-road. In the law on the public posts promulgated by Constantius II. a special provision is made against the abuse of wealthy or powerful citizens requisitioning the pack animals^b (post-horses), reserved for the public service of the province, to convey the marble required for their palaces along the *canalis* or highway. In the law regulating the functions of the *Curiosi*, or imperial post-inspectors, the *canales* are spoken of in the sense of the post-roads along which wheeled traffic of all kinds was conducted.^c In the Acts of the Council of Sardica (A.D. 347) the word occurs in the same sense, and in this case has special reference to the great postal and military highway across Illyricum from the borders of Italy to Constantinople. Gaudentius,^d bishop of Naissus, in Dacia Mediterranea, a city which derived its importance from its position on what was then the main line of communication between the Eastern and Western halves of the Empire, proposes a canon specially affecting bishops, who, like himself, are on the *canalis* (in its Greek form *κανάλιον*) or highway; and Athanasius in his *Apologia* alludes in a similar manner to the bishops on the *kanalion* of Italy.^e

^a "Τὸ δὲ Καναλί ἰρμηνεύεται τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἀμαξία, ἐπειδὴ, διὰ το εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐπίπεδον, πάσας ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς δουλείας διὰ ἀμαξῶν ἐκελεοῦσαν." *De Adm. Imp.* c. 34.

^b *De Cursu Publico*, xv. "Mancipium, cursus publici dispositio Proconsulis formâ teneatur. Neque tamen sit cujusquam tam insignis audacia qui parangarias aut paraveredos ad canalē audeat commovere quominus marmora privatorum vehiculis provincialium transferantur." Du Cange (*s.v. Canalis*) interprets this to mean that pack-horses, &c. destined for lanes and bye-ways are not to block the highway, but agrees in the important point that *canalis* = *via publica*.

^c *De Curiosis*, ii. "Quippe sufficit duos (sc. agentes in rebus) tantummodo curas gerere et cursum publicum gubernare ut licet in canalibus publicis hæc necessitas explicetur." (Law of Constantius and Julian, 347 A.D.) Gothofred (ad loc.) observes, "Illud satis constat hic non pertinere ad aquarum seu fluminum canales, quandoquidem in his rhedæ, birotum, veredi, clabulæ, moveri dicuntur."

^d Gaudentius (*Conc. Sardic.* can. 20) speaks of "ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς παρόδοις ἦτοι κανάλιῳ καθιστώτων." In the Latin translation (Mansi, t. iii. p. 22): "Qui sumus prope vias publicas seu canales." Ducange supposes that the word *canalis* in a charter of A.D. 1000, published by Ughellus (*Episcopi Bergamenses*), has the same meaning of "*via publica*."

^e *Apol.* i. 340, οἱ ἐν τῷ κανάλιῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

Whatever associations, however, the word *canalis* had in the mouth of a Byzantine, the natives of Canali itself seem to have derived this name for their district from the Roman Aqueduct.^a The word, indeed, as used in this sense, passed from the Illyro-Roman inhabitants to the Slav-speaking occupants of a later date, and, when the new aqueduct connecting Ragusa with a mountain source in another direction was built in the fifteenth century, it, too, was known by a Slavonized form of the Roman *Canalis*.^b The district of Canali itself had by Constantine's time become the Serbian *Župa Konavalska*, otherwise *Konavli*, but the parallel preservation of the word in its Roman form, which his record attests, is of interest as corroborating what we know from other sources as to the considerable survival of the Illyro-Roman element throughout this whole region.

Politically the country outside the limits of the still Roman coast-towns was by Constantine's time in the hands of Slavonic *Župans*, but side by side with the dominant race the older inhabitants of the land continued to inhabit the Dinaric glens and Alpine pastures. The relics of the Roman provincials who survived the Slavonic conquest of Illyricum were divided, in Dalmatia at all events, into two distinct classes, the citizens of the coast-towns, who retained their municipal and ecclesiastical institutions and something of Roman civilization under the ægis of Byzantium, and the Alpine population of the interior, the descendants for the most part of Romanized Illyrian clansmen recruited by the expropriated *coloni* of the municipia, or at least that part of them who had been forced to give up fixed agricultural pursuits for a semi-nomad pastoral life. Both classes spoke the Latin language, approaching, in various stages of degradation, the Romance variety still spoken by the Rouman population of parts of Macedonia and the Danubian provinces; and both were indiscriminately spoken of by their Slavonic neighbours as Vlachs, or Mavrovlachs: Romans, or Black Romans.^c

^a In Serbian it often appears in the plural form, *konavle* = the channels, showing that the name took in the lateral system of irrigation which ramified across the plain from the main Aqueduct. The plain of Canali is still (as has already been noticed) one of the best irrigated regions in Dalmatia—the inhabitants having in this respect inherited their Roman traditions.

^b *Konô* (*i. e.* *konol*).

^c The earliest Dalmatian chronicler, the Presbyter of Dioclea, who wrote about the year 1150, expressly identifies this Rouman population with the descendants of the Roman provincials of Illyricum. After mentioning the conquest of Macedonia by the Bulgarians under their Khagan he continues: "post hæc ceperunt totam provinciam Latinorum qui illo tempore Romani vocabantur modo vero Morovlachi, hoc est nigri Latini, vocantur." *Regnum Slavorum*, 4.

Ragusa^a—the new Epitaurum—was in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus still a Roman city, and though in the course of the succeeding centuries Ragusa became a Slav-speaking community there are still interesting traces of her older Illyro-Roman speech to be found in the later dialect,^b while the names of many of the surrounding villages clearly indicate a Neo-Latin origin. The name Cavtat (in its earlier form Capětatě) still applied by the present Slav-speaking population of the neighbourhood to the town that occupies the Epitaurian site is, as we have seen, simply a Rouman *Civitate*, to be compared with the Wallachian *Cetate* or *Citat*, and the Albanian *Giutet* or *Kiutet*. Molonta, Vitaljina, and other Canalese villages, still present us with non-Slavonic name-forms,^c and there is documentary evidence that as late as the fifteenth century the shepherds who pastured their herds on the mountains of Upper Canali were still Rouman or Wallachian.^d

^a The materials relating to the Rouman population of Dalmatia, Herzegovina, &c. existing in the archives of Ragusa have been collected by Dr Const. Jireček in his paper entitled *Die Wlachen und Maurowlachen in den Denkmälern von Ragusa*. (*Sitzungsberichte der k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1879).

^b *e. g.* *Dókes* = *decessus* (of the tide), *rekesa* = *recessus*, *plaker* = *placere*, *lukjérnar* = *lucernarius*. (Prof. Luko Zore, *Naš jezik tijekom naše književnosti u Dubrovniku*. (Our language in the course of our literature in Ragusa.) (*Dubrovnik*, iii. 1871.) The preservation of the *k* sound of the Latin *c* is also a characteristic of the Latin forms contained in Albanian. The discovery of a Roman-Christian glass bowl of sixth-century date among the ruins of Doklea (Dukle in Montenegro), presenting inscriptions in the local dialect, shows that this guttural survival was an early peculiarity of the Romance dialect of this part of Illyricum. On the Doclean vase under the figure of Jonah and the whale occurs the line "*Diunan de ventre queti liberatus est*," where the "*queti*" for "*ceti*" is, as the Comm. di Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1877, p. 77) points out, not a mere barbarism but an archaistic survival carrying us back to the "*oquoltod*" for "*oculto*," "*quom*" for "*eum*," &c. of the S. C. de Bacchanalibus. On a Dalmatian inscription (C. I. L. iii. 2046) *QVELIE* occurs for *COELIAE*. In the matter of the survival of the *k* sound of the *c* Dalmatia showed itself more conservative than the West. The epigrammatic address of Ausonius to Venus,

"Orta salo, suscepta solo, patre edita cælo"

loses its alliterative point unless the *cælo* be pronounced as beginning with a sibilant: and the natural inference is that in fifth-century Gaul the guttural sound of the Roman *c* had been already softened down.

^c *E. g.* Vergatto (Sl. Brgat), mediæval Vergatum, from Latin *Virgetum*; Zonchetto, Latin *Junchetum*; Rogiatto (Sl. Rožat) = *Rosetum*; Delubie, on the bank of the Ombla, = *Diluvies*. (Cf. Jireček, *Die Handelstrassen*, &c. p. 8.) Montebirt, the name of a pine-clad height near Ragusa, seems to me to be a *Mons Viridis* (cf. *Brgat* for *Virgetum*), though the derivation from a combination of the Latin and Slavonic name for mountain—*brdo*—has been suggested by Professor Zore. In the latter case it would find a parallel in "Mungibel." The rocky promontory of Lave or Lavve on which the earliest city of Ragusa was built derives its name from a low Latin form *labes* = land-slip. Constantine Porph. (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29) gives it under the form *λαῦ* and makes it = *κρημνός*.

^d Cf. Jireček, *Die Wlachen und Maurowlachen*, &c. p. 6.

Excavations made by Dr. Felix von Luschan and myself in the mediæval cemeteries of Canali have supplied craniological proofs of the existence here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of a non-Slavonic race presenting apparently Illyrian and Albanian affinities. What is especially pertinent in this regard, a large number of the skulls on which this generalisation is based were obtained from a mediæval graveyard above the present village of Mrcine, known from old Ragusan records^a to have been a Vlach or Rouman centre as late as the fifteenth century. The name Mrcine itself, written *Marzine* according to the Ragusan orthography, appears to me to be of the highest interest. It is a characteristically Rouman word, and is found with its derivatives in the present Rouman lands north of the Danube under the form *Mrăcina* or *Mărăcină*, meaning the prickly thorn of Eastern Europe,^b *Cratægus Oxyacantha*, the Slav *Drač*, with which indeed the rocks of Mrcine are covered. The Roumanian antiquary Hajdeu,^c who notices its appearance as a Vlach surname in a chrysobull of the Serbian Emperor Dušan, which contains many references to the still existing Rouman population in the old Serbian regions, after pronouncing the word, justly enough, to be neither of Latin nor of Slavonic origin, expresses his opinion that it is probably derived from the old Dacian tongue. It would seem to be rather of Illyrian origin, for the modern word for blackthorn among the Albanians, the existing representatives of the Illyrian stock, is *Muris-zi*, in the plural *Muriza-te*.^d The name Mrzine or Mrcine appears in this case to have been a Rouman equivalent for the old Slavonic name of the hilly district on whose borders it lies:—*Dračevica*, or the “Thorny Country,” from *drač*, *drača*, the Serb equivalent of the Wallachian *Mărăcina*.

The colossal stone blocks with their curious devices and ornamentation that cover the graves at Mrcine show that those who built them had considerable resources at their disposal.^e In the Middle Ages indeed these descendants of the

^a *Libri Rogatorum*, 1427-32. The older name for Mrcine in the Ragusan records is Versigne. Cf. Jireček, *Die Wlachen*, &c. p. 6.

^b *E. g.* *Mărăciņușu*, = a place overgrown with thorns; *Mărăciņosu*, = thorny.

^c *Arhiva istorica a Romaniei*, t. iii. Bucuresci, 1867. *Resturile unei carti de donatiune de pe la anul*, 1348, emanata de la Imperatul Serbesc Dušan, &c.

^d This etymology, if admitted, would be a strong argument against the exclusively Thracian origin of the Wallachians, which at present finds so much favour.

^e Similar mediæval megalithic cemeteries, of which I hope to say something on another occasion, are scattered over a large part of what is now Herzegovina, Bosnia, Northern Montenegro, and certain districts of Dalmatia, and are common to both old Serbian and old Rouman districts. They are therefore not by themselves of ethnographical value. The inscriptions when found are always Serbian, and in Cyrillian

Illyro-Roman provincials were the carriers and drovers of the peninsula. In the Balkan interior they were the pilots of Ragusan commerce. Their wandering enterprise reopened ancient trade routes, and they seem not unfrequently to have availed themselves of old Roman road-lines known only to themselves. On the mediæval caravan route, leading from this Vlach station to the Trebinje Valley, is another station of the same kind, at present conspicuous only by its ancient sepulchres and monuments, but which still bears the distinctively Rouman name of Turmente. *Turma* was the name given by these mountaineers to their caravans, and I found that the word in this sense has not been wholly forgotten by their Slavonized successors.

The disappearance of the Roman-speaking element at Ragusa itself ^a and in the regions around, was, as a variety of still-existing records shows, of a most gradual character. The Illyro-Roman inhabitants seem to have early discovered the necessity of acquiring the speech of the new settlers and conquerors by whom they were surrounded, and to whom in most cases they were politically subject. The result of this was that they passed through a bilingual stage, continuing to speak their own language among themselves, while able to converse in Slav with their neighbours, a condition of things almost universal on the borderlands of conflicting nationalities, and finding its parallel still in the Dalmatian coast-cities, though there the case is at present reversed, the citizens for the most part speaking Slav among themselves, while holding converse with outsiders in Italian. One result of this habit has been that throughout a large part of Dalmatia, and notably in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, we find a number of Neo-Latin or Illyro-Roman village names with an alternative Slavonic form ^b exactly translating their meaning; and finally, in many cases, as the inhabitants forgot even the domestic use of their native Rouman, the original Latin form has altogether passed away, leaving no trace of its existence beyond its Slavonic

characters; the "Vlachs" do not seem to have had a written language. A rich "Vlach," however, being bilingual, might put up an inscription in Serbian, which was to him the language of Church and State.

^a The Ragusans early found a more convenient Romance language in Italian. Nor is it necessary to suppose that they ever spoke a Rouman dialect in the sense that the Dalmatian highlanders spoke it. The correspondence between Ragusa and the other Dalmatian coast-cities, Cattaro, Budua, Antivari, &c. was conducted in Latin.

^b This fact had already struck Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiae*, lib. vi. Francofurti, 1666, p. 277), who instances "*Petra*" = Sl. "*Brus*"; "*Via Carri*" = Sl. "*Colnich*"; "*Circuitus*," = Sl. "*Zavod*"; "*Calamet*" = Sl. "*Tarstenich*." Cf. "*Cannosa*," near Ragusa, Sl. "*Trstenik*." In the same way Vlach personal names were early translated into Slavonic equivalents, so that in Ragusan records we hear again and again of "Vlachi" with Serbian names.

translation. This process has been, in all probability, of far more frequent occurrence in this part of Illyricum than can at present be known. It is only, for instance, by the chance that Constantine^a refers to the earlier name of the place that we know that the name of the Herzegovinian stronghold of Blagaj is simply a translation of the Bona of formerly Romance-speaking mountaineers. Another curious revelation of the survival of ancient nomenclature in a Slavonic guise is due to the quite modern discovery of a Roman monument. In 1866 an inscription,^b apparently of second or third-century date, was discovered in the Kerka Valley, revealing the ancient name of the rocky crest that there overhangs the stream, *Petra longa*. To the present inhabitants, who for centuries have spoken a Slavonic dialect, the crag is still known by its Roman name in a translated form, *Duga Stina*, "the long rock."

Physical types, distinctively un-Slavonic and presenting marked Albanian affinities (an Illyrian symptom), are still to be detected among the modern Canalese, Brenese, and Herzegovinian peasants, mingled with types as characteristically Slav. Their language, however, is at the present day a very pure Serbian dialect, and, taken by itself, affords us no clue to the fact, illustrated in this case by historical record, by craniological observations, and by the stray survival of local names, that their forefathers were as much or more Illyro-Roman than Slavonic. This interesting phenomenon, repeated in the case of many districts of Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro,^c may throw a valuable light on similar

^a *De Adm. Imp.* c. 33: "ἐν τῇ τοιοῦτῃ χωρίῳ βουνός ἐστι μέγας, ἔχων ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ δύο κάστρα, τὸ Βόνα καὶ τὸ Χλοῖμ· ὅπισθεν δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτου βουνοῦ διέρχεται ποταμὸς καλούμενος Βόνα, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται καλόν." At present the castle on the peak is called Blagaj, the river which wells in full volume from its foot is still called Buna. This passage of Constantine affords valuable evidence of the existence in the tenth century of an Illyro-Roman population among the interior ranges of what is now Herzegovina. *Bona* is a characteristic Rouman name for good, clear, streams (cf. Sl. Dobravoda, &c.), and re-appears in this sense in the North Albanian Alps, where the Val Bona indicates the former presence of Romance-speaking highlanders in a glen which so far as language is concerned is at present Albanian. In the same way we find forms like *Alp'bona* in the Ladine or Romance districts of Tyrol.

^b C. I. L. iii. 6418.

^c The Ragusan records and old Serbian chrysobulls reveal a great extension of Rouman tribes in this part of Western Illyricum in the early Middle Ages. Amongst those in the present Herzegovina and Montenegro were the Vlachi Banjani, Nikšići, Mirilović, Pilatovci, and the Rigiiani in the mountains that overlook the ruins of Risinium. Their Alpine villages were called Cantons, in Slav. Katun, from whence the Katunska Nahia of Montenegro has its name. Like the Dokleates, the Illyrian tribe that once occupied a considerable part of the same mountain region, and of whom they were in part the Romanized descendants, they were great cheese-makers. The foundation charter of the church of St. Michael and St. Gabriel at Prizrend (1348) presents us with a number of Wallachian personal names with the Rouman suffix *-ul*, showing the Illyro-Roman survival in the ancient Dardanian province and its border-lands.

researches regarding Britain, the conquest of which by the English presents some striking analogies with the Slavonic conquest of Illyricum. It cuts, at all events, the ground from the feet of those who, because the people of England speak a language containing few Welsh or Romano-British elements, and can trace most of their institutions to a Teutonic origin, would have us therefore believe that the earlier inhabitants of a large part of Britain were either expatriated or exterminated wholesale. The inhabitants of Southern Dalmatia, of Herzegovina, and Montenegro, are at present Serbian, not only in language but in customs, in popular traditions, in village and domestic government, and yet we have in this case irrefragable proofs that, down to a late period of the Middle Ages, a considerable proportion of them were still speaking an Illyrian variety of Romance.

Although enough has been said to explain Constantine Porphyrogenitus's derivation of the word Canali, it seems, as we have seen, to be tolerably certain that the local term owed its origin solely to the course of the Epitaurian Aqueduct. The general accuracy, however, of Constantine's information as to Dalmatian matters, and the acquaintance which he shows with the prevailing physical characteristic of Canali itself, may embolden us to believe that when he seeks the etymology of the plain in the late Roman signification of *canalis* as a highway on which wheel-traffic was conducted, he may not have been without some apparent foundation for his statement. In Roman times, at all events, the district of Canali was a *canalis* in the sense in which the word is used in the Theodosian Code, and by the fourth-century Illyrian bishop. There can be no question but that the Roman road from Epitaurum to the next great Illyrian city to the south, Risinium, ran through the present Vale of Canali, emerging on the Boeche, the ancient Sinus Rhizonicus, through the Sutturina gorge, in the neighbourhood of Castelnuovo.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, so fertile in difficulties for this part of Dalmatia, makes the distance from Epitaurum to "Resinum" only twenty miles, about half the real distance. The idea that Epitaurum itself was ever situate on the Sinus Rhizonicus, and therefore nearer Risinium, I have already scouted. It only remains, therefore, to imagine either that a numerical error here occurs in the *Tabula* or that an intermediate station has been left out. Professor Tomaschek^a accepts this latter theory, and imagines Castelnuovo to have been the site of the omitted station.

Local researches had long convinced me that a Roman station of some importance existed between Epitaurum and Risinium. Its site, however, was

^a *Die vorlawische Topographie*, &c. p. 37.

not Castelnuovo, where, so far as I am aware, no Roman remains have been discovered. Near the village of Gruda, about the centre of the plain of Canali, have been found Roman coins, *intagli*, fragments of pottery, and other relics; and it is a common saying among the Canalese peasants that there once existed a city at this spot. The locality where these remains are found is known to the natives as Djare, from *djara*, a jar, owing to the *amphoræ* and other vessels discovered here. A little to the east of Djare rises an isolated height capped by the small church of Sveti Ivan (St. John), a sanctuary, as the early mediæval monuments round it show, of considerable antiquity. Visiting this spot, in company with my friend Dr. von Luschan, I had the good fortune to discover, walled into the church porch and partially concealed by plaster, a Roman inscription, which, when cleared of mortar and cement, read as follows (fig. 12):



Fig 12. SVETI IVAN, CANALI, from probable site of Roman Mnnicipium between Epitaurum and Risinium.

D M
 Q FVLVIO I *Filio*
 II VIR *Iure Dicundo*
 ET TAVRAE MAXI
 MAE VXSORI EIVS
 TAVRVS MAXIMVS
 ET FRATRES *Titulum Posuere*

Taken by itself the mention of a Duumvir Jure Dicundo, the chief municipal magistrate, on this monument raises a fair presumption that the Roman station at this spot was itself a *Municipium*, and not a mere *Vicus* of the Ager Epitauritanus. On the other hand, the course of the Epitaurian Aqueduct, across the whole extent of the plain of Canali, in the midst of which Djare and Svéti Ivan lie, certainly tends to show, as was pointed out long ago by the Ragusan historian Cervarius Tubero, that, originally at least, Canali was comprised in the territory of Epitaurum. It is to be observed that the name of a Q. Fulvius Clemens occurs among the tituli found at Ragusa Vecchia.^a

Be this as it may, it is certain that there was a considerable Roman station in this vicinity; and the position is itself admirably adapted for a half-way post between Epitaurum and the Rhizonic gulf. Opposite the isolated height of Svéti Ivan, on which the inscription stands, opens a pass in the mountains dividing the huge mass of Mount Sniesnica on one side from the offshoots of Mount Orien on the other. It is at the opening of this pass that the village of Mreine is situate, already mentioned as an important Rouman centre in the Middle Ages, and above which was the ancient cemetery, also, in all probability, belonging to these descendants of the Illyro-Roman provincials. It is certain that the pass itself, which served these later representatives of Rome for their caravan traffic with the inland countries between the Adriatic and the Drina, would not have been neglected by the Romans themselves as an avenue of communication. The remains of a paved mediæval way may still be traced threading the gorge, and we have here, perhaps, the direct successor of a Roman branch line of road connecting the station, which appears to have existed at Svéti Ivan, with another Roman station, of which I hope to say more, in the valley of Trebinje.

On the other hand, there are distinct indications that Svéti Ivan lay on the direct Roman road between Epitaurum and Risinium. The old Ragusan road

^a C. I. L. iii. 1739.

through Canali to the Bocche di Cattaro ran past this position, and the old bridge over the Ljuta lies just below it. What, too, is extremely significant, a long line of hedges and ancient boundary lines, that originally bisected the plain, runs from the direction of Ragusa Vecchia towards this point. Any one who has endeavoured to trace Roman roads in Britain must be aware how often, when other traces fail, the continuous hedge lines preserve the course of the ancient Way.

The distance from Djare and Svéti Ivan to Risinium is as nearly as possible twenty miles. It is, therefore, not impossible that at this point was the station *ex hypothesi* omitted in the *Tabula*. It is probable, as I hope to show in a succeeding paper, that this was also a point of junction between the road Epitaurum-Risinium and a line communicating with the interior of the Province.

From this point the way to the Bocche runs down the Sutturina Valley, reaching the Adriatic inlet near Castelnuovo. After following the coast for some miles, the road would again strike inland, over the Bunovié Pass, which forms the shortest line of communication with the inner gulf on which Risinium stood. From this point the course of the Roman road is no longer a matter for theory. Between Morinje and the western suburb of the little town of Risano that preserves the name of the Roman city its course can be distinctly traced along the limestone steep that here overhangs the sea.

The site and early history of Rhizon, or Risinium, form a marked contrast to that of Epitaurum, as, indeed, to most of the Græco-Roman sites on the Dalmatian shore. Here there is neither peninsula nor island: no natural bridge nor moat to secure the civilized colonist from the barbarism of the mainland. The peak which formed the Acropolis of Rhizon is but a lower offshoot of the greater ranges beyond. An Alpine pass, communicating with highland fastnesses as rugged and inaccessible as any to be found within the limits of Illyricum, zigzags directly into the lower town. Thus the early history of Rhizon is neither Greek nor Roman, but pre-eminently Illyrian.

In 229 B.C. Teuta, the Illyrian Pirate Queen, defeated by the Romans, took refuge at Rhizon, as her securest stronghold. From the expression of Polybios^a that Rhizon was "a small city, strongly fortified, removed from the sea, but lying directly on the River Rhizon," some writers, including Sir Gardiner Wilkinson,^b have endeavoured to discover its site somewhere in the mountains of

^a "Πολισμάτιον εὐ πρὸς ὄχυρότητα κατασκευασμένοι, ἀνακεχωρηκὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ κείμενον τῷ Ῥίζωνι ποταμῷ." *Polybios*, ii. 11.

^b *Dalmatia*, vol. ii. p. 234.

the interior. As, however, I have elsewhere shown,^a there can be no doubt that the Rhizon of Queen Teuta is identical in site as well as in name with the later Roman colony, which gave its name to the Rhizonic gulf, the present Bocche di Cattaro, and which still prolongs its continuity in the little town of Risano. The Rhizon Potamos of Polybios is used, in fact, as a general term for the winding, river-like fiord itself, otherwise known to ancient poets as the "Illyrian river," the chosen lurking-place of piratic craft. In its narrower local application it may be taken to signify the small torrent, the *Fiumara*, which bursts from a cave in the mountains, about half-a-mile from the head of the fiord. The name Risano, applied to two similar torrents on the East Adriatic coast, one in Istria, near Trieste, the other near Durazzo, leads us to infer that Rhizon or Risinium was an aboriginal Illyrian river-name, which, in the present case, attached itself to the town past which the torrent ran.

The remains of the old street terraces are distinctly traceable on the flanks of the peak that dominates the right bank of the torrent. It is evident that this was the ancient Acropolis, the chosen stronghold of Queen Teuta, but I have been unable to discover any remains of primeval walls, such as are to be seen on the more southern Illyrian peak stronghold of Acrolissos (Alessio). The lower town lay unquestionably on the level space between the Acropolis and the shore, to the right of the torrent. Here I have at different times excavated the foundations of houses and narrow streets lying at a depth of about ten feet beneath the present surface. I was not so fortunate, however, as to hit on the remains of any remarkable building. Foundations may also be seen, as at Ragusa Vecchia, beneath the sea, proving a slight submergence of the land within the historic period. The most important architectural relic is the remains of the eastern city-wall, to be seen in places overhanging the right bank of the torrent, which must have washed this wall of the city almost throughout its length.

The remaining fragments of this wall, built of huge oblong blocks, recall the long walls connecting Salonæ with its Piræus, a work dating in all probability from the period preceding the actual conquest, though executed under Græco-Roman influences. It is remarkable that epigraphic evidence exists, showing that, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, the inhabitants of Risinium traced back the antiquity of their walls to heroic times. At Lambæse, in Numidia, in a shrine of the temple of Æsculapius, was discovered a votive inscription raised by a native

^a See "On some recent discoveries of Illyrian Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. pp. 269-302.

of Risinium, who had risen to the position of Legate of Numidia and Consul Designate (afterwards elect), in honour of the patron divinity and "public Lar" of his native Dalmatian city. In this poetic dedication the walls of Risinium are referred to as "Æacia Mœnia," and the expression has created some difficulty. It seems to me, however, to be susceptible of a perfectly natural and probable explanation. The Epirote Princes, in right of their Thessalian connexion, had always insisted on their descent from Achilles the son of Æacus; and one at least of them appears in history as Æacides pure and simple. The connexion between the reigning families of Epirus and Southern Illyricum was intimate, and we are expressly told of King Glaucias, the Taulantian, that his wife was of the Æacid race.^a The South Illyrian princes who succeeded him, and who, like their Epirote kinsmen, affected Greek manners, and adopted a Greek style on their coinage; would certainly not neglect this claim to Achæan descent. The *Æacia Mœnia* of the inscription would, therefore, indicate the local tradition that the walls of Risinium, this ancient stronghold of the native kings, were reared by one of these Illyrian Æacidæ.

As any account of the antiquities of Risinium would be incomplete without some reference to this remarkable inscription, I here reproduce it.^b

"Mœnia qui Risinni Æacia qui colis arcem
 Delmatix, nostri publice Lar populi,
 Sancte Medaure domi e(t) sancte hic: nam templa quoq(ue) ista
 Vise precor parva magnus in effigia.
 Succussus læva sonipes (e)ui surgit in auras
 Altera dum letum librat ab aure manus.
 Talem te Consul jam designatus in ista
 Sede locat venerans ille tuus √ √ √
 Notus Gradivo belli vetus ac tibi Cæsar
 Marce, in primore clarus ubique acie."

"Adepto Consulatu √ √ √ √
 Tibi respirantem faciem patrii numinis
 Hastam eminus quæ jaculat refreno ex equo
 Tuus, Medaure. dedicat Medaurius."

The continuance of the cult of Medaurus, the Illyrian Lar of Risinium, in

^a Justinus, lib. xvii. 3: "(Pyrrhus) defertur in Illyrios et traditus est Berœ uxori regis Glauciæ quæ et ipsa erat generis Æacidarum."

^b As edited by Mommsen in C. I. L. iii. p. 285.

Roman Imperial times, is itself a proof of the strength of the indigenous element at this spot. The excavations and researches made by me on the site of the ancient city have brought to light abundant evidence of the importance of Risinium as an Illyrian staple and royal residence before the days of the Roman conquest. This evidence, which is almost exclusively derived from Illyrian coins, discovered in abundance on this site, has formed the subject of a communication by me to the Numismatic Society, so that I may here content myself with summarising the results at which I was enabled to arrive.^a

In the numismatic history of the Illyrian city two periods are to be noticed; the first during which the Rhizonian mint was under Greek influence, and the later period, during which Roman influence predominated. The coins are of three main varieties:—

1. Autonomous coins, struck in the name of the city, with the legend PIZO, or PIZONITAN, showing that here, as at Lissos (Alessio) and Scodra (Scutari d'Albania), there was a Republican period in the history of the city: in all probability the period immediately succeeding the break-up of the Illyrian kingdom of Genthios by the Romans in 167 B.C.
2. Coins of an Illyrian Prince Ballæos, unknown to history, but who possessed another prolific mint in the Isle of Pharos (Lesina). It is probable that this prince reigned in the second half of the second century B.C. and that his dominion represents a revival of the old Ardiæan dynasty. These coins have Greek legends, like those of Genthios.
3. Coins of one or more successors of Ballæos, some with the legend ΜΥΝ. In the figure of Artemis, on the reverse, these coins resemble those of Ballæos, but the obverse presents us with heads imitated from the Pallas, Libertas, and Virtus on Roman consular *denarii*.

The general conclusion which we are enabled to draw from these coins is, that Rhizon, or Risinium, remained in a position of independence or quasi-independence of Rome, at least under the government of native princes, at a period when large tracts of the Illyrian coast both north and south of this point had been placed under direct Roman government. We are, in fact, informed by Livy^b that, as a reward for their timely defection from King Genthios, the inhabitants

^a See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. p. 269 *seqq.*

^b Lib. xlv. c. 26.

of Rhizon and Olcinium, with the Pirustæ and others, were not only left free to govern themselves but were exempted from all tribute.

Among the coins of præ-Roman date found at Risano silver pieces of Corinth, Dyrhachium, and Apollonia, are of comparatively frequent occurrence, and I have obtained one of the Pæonian King Lykkeios. But the extraordinary feature of this site is its inexhaustible fertility in the small brass pieces of the native King Ballæos and his successors. Considering that these coins themselves occasionally attain to a fair art level, that the inscriptions are in Greek, and that they are universally associated with fragments and remains that are undoubted products of Greek and Roman civilization, we are justified in inferring that already in Illyrian days Rhizon was beginning to present many of the external features of a civilized city. The historians of Greece and Rome, from whom all our written knowledge of the Illyrian coast-lands in their yet unconquered days is due, naturally lay stress on the piratic and barbarous side of Illyrian life. But the indigenous coinage existing at Rhizon, Scodra, Lissos, and the Isle of Pharos, and even among the mainland tribe of the Daorsi, is itself a proof that more commercial instincts were developing among the aborigines of the Adriatic coast. The ancient trade route between Greece and the lands at the head of the Adriatic could not have been without its civilising influence on the inhabitants of the littoral, and there is strong presumptive evidence that Phœnician, Pontic, and Etruscan merchants frequented the Illyrian havens in still earlier days. This Phœnician contact has left its trace in the persistent repetition by Greek writers of legends connecting Cadmus and his consort with the Illyrian towns, and in a special way with Rhizon itself. That coins of the Illyrian king Genthios have been found in Sicily tends to prove that his dominion had a mercantile as well as a piratic side, and this drunken barbarian, as he is described by Polybios and Livy, has deserved well of medical science by bringing into use the herb *Gentian*, that still preserves his name.* Nor are there wanting ancient writers who have passed a more favourable verdict on the inhabitants of the Illyrian coast. We read of their cities, of their regular government, now under chieftains, now under kings, now autonomous in its constitution, and Scymnos adds, that "they are very pious, just, and given to hospitality, that they respect the ties of social life, and

* Pliny, *H. N.* lib. xxv. 34: "Gentianam invenit Gentius rex Illyriornm, ubique nascentem, in Illyrico tamen præstantissimam."

live in an orderly manner.”^a The splendid booty collected by Anicius on the capture of King Genthios in his royal city of Scodra renders it tolerably certain that King Ballæos and his successors at Rhizon knew how to surround their court with the luxuries of civilisation, and a silver coin of this prince in the British Museum, in all probability coined in his Rhizonian mint, proves that on occasion he could employ Hellenic workmen.

The history of the Illyrian mint at Rhizon, as illustrated by the coins, undoubtedly reflects the general course of civilisation in the Illyrian city. During the period marked by the autonomous coins and the coins of King Ballæos, the external culture introduced was Greek so far as it went, and the numerous coins of Greek cities found on this site evidence considerable mercantile intercourse with Hellas. The semi-Roman character of the coins of Ballæos’s successor, taken in connexion with the presence of numerous consular *denarii*, tends to show that towards the end of the second century B.C. Roman commercial enterprise, following in the wake of political supremacy, was supplanting the old Greek connexion with this part of the Adriatic coast.

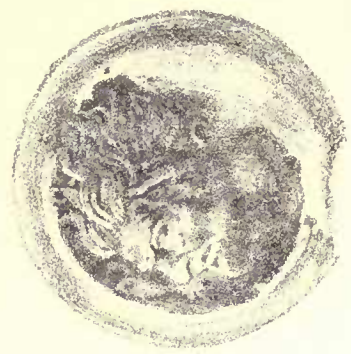
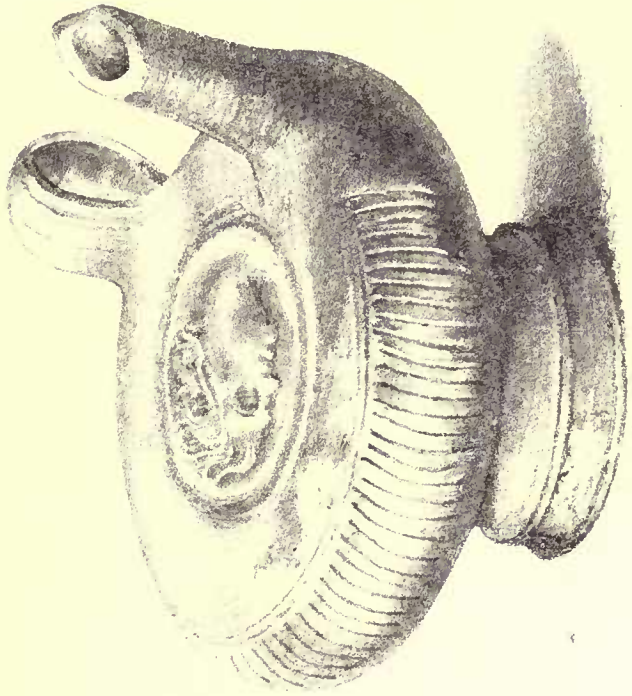
Greek inscriptions have been found at Risano,^b one or two of præ-Roman date, but the greater part of the remains found at Risano belong rather to the later period, when Roman influences preponderated. Among the pottery however obtained from this site I have one good example of Greek fictile art. It is an *askos* of reddish brown and yellow ware, of that peculiar form that seems to be characteristic of Magna Græcia, and which certainly bears a greater resemblance to a small china teapot than a “bladder.” (See Pl. II.) On its upper surface is stamped a medallion containing a highly artistic Faun’s head, with pointed ears pricked, and flowing locks. The funnel-shaped opening of the spout is unfortunately broken off. It is difficult to understand for what use this kind of vessel may have served.

^a V. 420 *seqq.*

“Καί τινα μὲν αὐτῶν βουλικάϊς ἔξουσίαις
ὑπήκο’ εἶναι, τινὰ δὲ καὶ μοναρχίας,
ἃ δ’ ἀυτονομῆσθαι· θεοσεβεῖς δ’ αὐτοῦς ἄγαν
καὶ σφόδρα δίκαιους, φασί, καὶ φιλοξένους,
κοινωνικὴν διάθεσιν ἡγαπηκότας
εἶναι, βίον ζηλοῦν τε κοσμιώτατον.”

His words have a special reference to the south Dalmatian coast, as he places opposite the region of these civilized mainlanders the Greek island colonies of Pharos (Lesina) and Coreyra Nigra (Curzola).

^b Cf. G. Gelchich, *Memorie storiche sulle Bocche di Cattaro*, pp. 10, 11, and Ljubić, *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arkeologičkoga Društva*, an. iii. p. 52. Most of these have been transported to Perasto.



ASKOS. FROM SALONÆ.
(FULL SIZE)
See p 44



SACRIFICIAL KNIFE. FROM NARONA.
(FULL SIZE)
See p 77

The expanding mouth of the spout seems to preclude the idea that it was used for filling lamps, and the fact that it has no other orifice but the spout must have prevented free flow from it for any purpose. Possibly it served for letting the oil drip in the process of anointing. This vase was found at Carine, on the western part of the ancient site, by a peasant digging in his vineyard. In the same grave, for so he described to me the place in which it lay, were a patera and another vase which has lost its handles, but which also bears a Magna Græcian character.

It is noteworthy that at the present day the East Adriatic ports obtain their pottery almost exclusively from the Apulian coast, and the modern potters of the Terra d'Otranto are thus only keeping up a connexion begun, as these Risinian relics prove, in days before the Roman conquest of Illyricum. Compared with the handiwork of the ancient artists of Uria and Lupiæ the modern crockery is rude, but in some of the forms a distinct Hellenic tradition is perceptible, and amphoras, especially, of singularly old Greek aspect are still to be seen exposed for sale on the quay of modern Risano.

The *askos* and vase described belong to the latest præ-Roman period of Greek art. There is, however, evidence that Greek mercantile enterprise was supplying the Illyrian aborigines with earthenware, and that from a more remote quarter, at a considerably earlier period. Theopompos^a of Chios, who wrote in the fourth century B.C. and who ought certainly to be an authority on matters that relate to the wares of his own island, informs us that Thasian and Chian pottery was found in the Naron, the next river-inlet on the Illyrian coast beyond the "Rhizonic gulf." This notice is supplemented by a passage in the pseudo-Aristotelian work, "On Wondrous Reports,"^b in which the author of that work states that between Mentoricé and Istria is a mountain called Delphion, "from the peak of which the Mentores who inhabit the Adriatic coast are said to see ships sailing on the Pontic Sea," and that "in the intervening space is a common market where merchants coming from Pontus sell the wares of Lesbos, Chios, and Thasos, and others coming from the Adriatic coast sell Coreyrcæan amphoras."^c Apart from

^a *Fr.* 140. Theopompos imagines that the vases must have reached the Naron by some underground river course forming a connexion between the Adriatic and the Ægean. Strabo, to whom the preservation of this notice is due, is justly sceptical as to the geological deduction of Theopompos: "Καὶ ἄλλα δ' οὐ πιστὰ λέγει· τό τε συντερεῖσθαι τὰ πελάγη ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρίσκεσθαι κεραμόν τε Θάσιον καὶ Χίον ἐν τῷ Νάρονι." (vii. p. 488.)

^b Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, c. εἰν.

^c "εἶναι δὲ καὶ τινα τόπον ἐν τοῖς ἀνά μίσον διαστήμασιν εἰς ὃν ἀγορᾶς κοινῆς γενομένης πωλεῖσθαι παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐμπόρων ἀναβαινόντων τὰ Λέσβια καὶ Χία, καὶ Θάσια, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου τοῖς Κερκυραϊκοῖς ἀμφορεῖς."

the geographical absurdity of Pontus being visible from a mountain near the Adriatic coast, there can be little doubt that this notice, containing as it does an allusion to the old Danubian trade-route between the Euxine and the head of the Adriatic, is true so far as it relates to the importation of Greek wares and pottery to some native market on the Illyrian coast, in all probability either Rhizon itself or the old Illyrian staple of the Narenta. In the Greek insular settlements in these waters at Issa, Black Coreyra, Pharos, and elsewhere, there was naturally a demand for such wares, and fine Greek vases and οἶνοχόαι have been found at Lissa^a and elsewhere. It is reasonable to suppose that a part of these imported wares found its way to the native markets of the mainland, and it would even appear that the fictile works of the native potters were, at an early period, rudely imitated from Greek models, though without their colouring and ornament. On a fragment of a cup discovered by me in a pre-historic stone-barrow in Canali, an account of the excavation of which I hope on some future occasion to communicate to this Society, and which dated apparently from the later period of the Illyrian bronze age, Hellenic influence appears to be distinctly traceable.

That in Roman times the suburbs of the city embraced a considerable area is shown by the fact that the foundations of houses, including a mosaic pavement, are to be seen about half-an-hour up the mountainous steep on the East and near a delicious fountain. The sepulchral remains lie for the most part either at Carine or in a campagna to the left of the Risano Fiumara. I copied the following,^b (v. figs. 13—17) not contained in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* or *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.

The name Plætoria or Plætorius, as it appears to occur on another Risinian inscription,^c with its variant forms Plætör, Plator, and Pletor, is a Latinization of one of the most characteristic Illyrian names,^d and derives special interest from

^a Cf. Glavinich, *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central Commission*, 1878, xcii. In the museum at Ragusa is a Greek painted vase said to have been found on the site of Epitaurum.

^b Since I took down these inscriptions copies of figs. 13, 14, 15, and 17 have been sent to the Croatian Archæological Society, and are given by Dr. Ljubić in *Viestnik* (an. i. p. 127; an. ii. p. 101), where my excavations are referred to. The examples in the *Viestnik* will be found to differ in some small details from mine, and do not represent the original lettering. Figs. 14 and 16 are at present in the Casa Mišetić. Fig. 13 was found in the *campagna* of Paprenica. Fig. 15 is from the left bank of the Fiumara; I have since deposited this stone in the museum at Ragusa.

^c C. I. L. iii. 1730, as completed by Mommsen.

^d Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2751, 2752, 2773, 2788, among inscriptions found at Verlikka and S. Danillo in Dalmatia; 3144 in the Isle of Cherso; 3804, 3825, at Igg near Laibach, here in a Celtic connexion:—“VOLTRIX PLAETORIS”; in a Privilegium (C. I. L. iii. D. vii.) granted by Vespasian—PLATORI . VENETI . F . CENTVRIONI . MAEZEIO; at Apulum and Alburnus Major (VICVS PIRVSTARVM) in Dacia where was a large Illyrian mining colony (1192, 1271.)

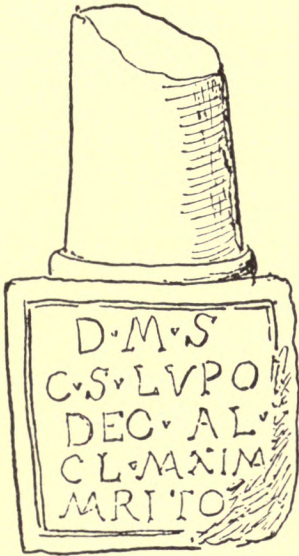


Fig. 13.

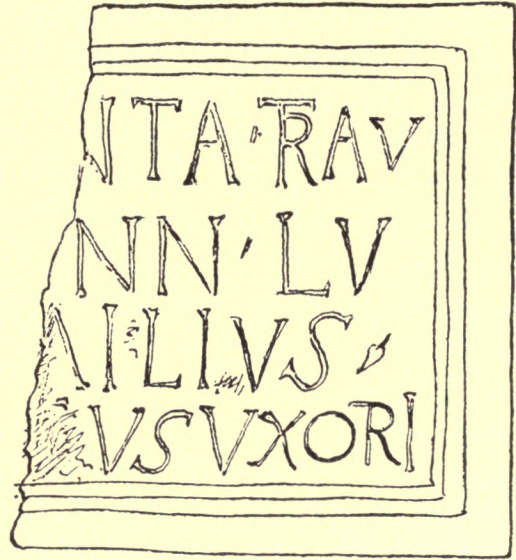


Fig. 15.



Fig. 14.

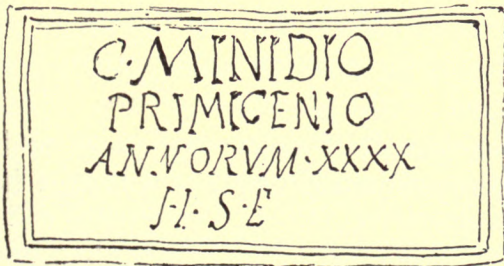


Fig. 16.

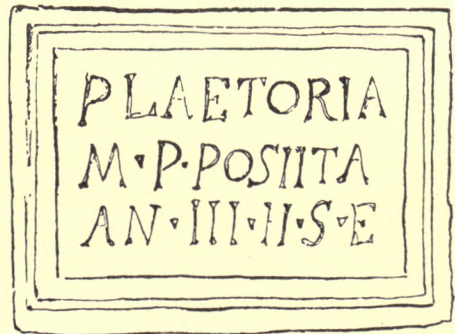


Fig. 17.

its reappearance among the Messapians^a of the opposite Italian coast, the Illyrian affinities of whom are undoubted. The occurrence of this and other indigenous names on Risinian monuments, taken in connexion with the abiding cult of the native Lar, show that the Illyrian element continued to hold its own in the Roman city; and I may observe that the modern Risanotes, though at present entirely of Slavonic speech, must ethnologically be classed with the Albanian descendants of these same Illyrians. The finely-modelled head, the aquiline nose, such as King Ballæos displays on his Rhizonian coins, the "stricti artus, minax vultus," recall at once the Illyrian aborigines of ancient writers and the modern Skipetar. Meanwhile the Risanote tales about Queen Tenta or Czaritza Tiuda, as they call her, may be safely placed in the same category with the Ragusa-Vecchian traditions of Dolabella and Cadmus.

The Roman city appears to have drawn its water supply direct from the cavern from which the Risano Fiumara issues. On the right bank of the stream I found the channel of an aqueduct, resembling that of Epitaurum, hewn out of the solid rock. This channel leads into the vast atrium of the cavern, the floors and walls of which have been hewn out apparently to form a large reservoir. There can be no doubt that in ancient times this was filled with water, and that the supply of water was considerably greater than it is now. At present in summer the bed of the Fiumara is almost dried up, and the aqueduct would be useless even in the rainy season. That the character of the source should have altered will surprise no one who has observed the vagaries of streams and sources in a limestone country; and its diminished volume may be connected with the continued deforesting of the Dalmatian coasts during the last two thousand years, which here, as in Greece, has contributed to decrease the rainfall. The cavern is still, however, a considerable reservoir. Following it by an easy descent of about one hundred yards into the mountain you arrive at the brink of a subterranean pool of unknown dimensions. In Roman days the summer level of this pool must have reached the excavated chamber in the mouth of the cavern, from which the channel of the aqueduct issues. The Slavonic-speaking natives, having wholly forgotten its former application and origin, regard the rock-hewn channel as of supernatural creation, and call it "Vilin Put," "the Fairies' Way."

^a Cf. inscriptions found at Capo di Leuca, Πλατορας Παλετας Ισαρητι, and at Ceglie beginning ΠΛΑΤΟΡΑΣ, given in Mommsen, *Die unteritalienischen Dialekte*, p. 51. The plebeian family name Plætoria at Rome was derived from this source.

Engraved gems are not so abundant on this site as on that of Epitaurum, where Græco-Roman culture was less alloyed with indigenous barbarism. I have, however, procured four or five; and a fine gold ring set with an onyx engraved with a lion, recently discovered here, was presented by the Commune of Risano as a baptismal gift to the second son of Prince Nikola of Montenegro.^a One *intaglio*, a pale sard from this site, in my own possession, is remarkable as presenting an unique Roman-Christian composition (fig. 18). On it is seen the Good Shepherd, not in the usual attitude, but holding forth what appears to be intended for the typical lamb, which he has lowered from his shoulders.^b Before him stands a ram, while to the left is a tall amphora-like jar, probably meant to represent one of the water-pots of Cana of Galilee. Above is seen the Christian monogram, and another symbol consisting of three upright strokes crossed by one transverse.



Fig. 18. ROMAN-CHRISTIAN INTAGLIO FROM RISINIUM. (Enlarged.)

As late as the end of the sixth century the Christian Church of Risinium seems to have been still flourishing and important. Two letters are extant addressed by Pope Gregory the Great to Sebastian, Bishop of Risinium, one of 591 and the other of 595 A.D.^c In the latter of these Gregory speaks of "*dulcissima et suavissima fraternitatis tuæ verba*," but laments at the same time the evil which he suffers from Sebastian's friend, Romanus, Exarch of Ravenna, to whose government Risinium with the other Dalmatian coast-cities then belonged, and whose malice towards the representative of St. Peter cut sharper in Gregory's opinion than the swords of the Lombards.^d The next mention of a Bishop of Risinium occurs after an interval of seven hundred years.

Of a date still later than the Christian intaglio, and by far the most beautiful object, to my knowledge, discovered at Risano, is a gold pendant, inlaid on either side with cloisonné enamel, dug up in a *campagna* at Carina in 1878 by a man whom

^a Amongst other objects of Roman jewelry obtained by myself from this site may be mentioned a part of a gold earring terminating in a lion's head, and two spiral snake bracelets of silver, much resembling a kind of bangle which has lately again become fashionable.

^b On another Christian gem, obtained by me at Salona, the Good Shepherd stands at the side of a group of sheep and goats beneath a palm tree. The material is green jasper.

^c Given in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. vi. pp. 411, 412. The letters are headed "Gregorius Sebastiano Episcopo Rhiziniensi."

^d "Quia ejus in nos malitia gladios Longobardorum vicit."

I had employed to make excavations (fig. 19). It presents on one side a crested beast of grotesque and mythical aspect, with a projecting tongue, the colours of

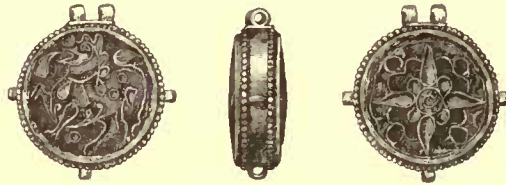


Fig. 19. GOLD ENAMELLED PENDANT, CARINA, 1878.

the animal being green, yellow, red, and bluish white on a dark blue ground. On the other side is a conventional rose, with dark blue and yellow petals, and red centre on a green ground. This rose, which has much in common with the familiar rose of heraldry, is of a form frequent on Roman mosaics, and not least upon those that adorn the walls of Roman-Christian basilicas. The four round excrescences attached to the broader petals may be regarded as singular, otherwise there is nothing in the design on this side alien to the Roman art of the Western Empire to which Risinium in Justinian's time belonged. So far as the colours go they recall with singular fidelity the predominant tints in the mosaics of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, of the church S. Apollinare Nuovo and other Ravennate monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries. The sombre blue and green ground in mosaic work, at least, is more distinctive of Western than of pure Byzantine traditions.

The quasi-heraldic animal on the other side of the pendant is suggestive at once of Oriental influences. It bears a strong family likeness to the griffins, winged lions, and other fabulous monsters, on some remarkable vessels found at Szent Miklos, in the district of Torontal, in Hungary, in 1799, and which are now among the treasures of the Antiken Cabinet at Vienna.^a Among the points in which the animal on the Risano pendant bears a special resemblance to some of those of the Torontal hoard may be signalised the character of the head and eye, the drop-shaped spots or stripes on the body, and the attitude of the legs and tail. On the other hand, the crest or mane is of a more cocks-comb-like form; the wings with which most of the Torontal monsters are equipped, as

^a See Von Arneth, *Monumente des k. k. Münz und Antiken Cabinettes*, Wien, 1850, Pl. G. IV., G. V., G. XIV. &c.

well as their arabesque appendages, are wanting, and the general elegance and spirit of the design is considerably diminished.

The Torontal objects are unquestionably of Persian origin; ^a the mythic representations that occur on them are thoroughly Oriental, and the monsters represented are the true forerunners of the Mahometan *Borrak*, of which fabulous animal we learn that it had a mane of pearls and jacinths, that its ears were as emeralds, and its eyes as rubies. The form of the Torontal gold vessels is also characteristically Persian, much resembling the cups which every Persian hangs at his saddle-bow when he goes out riding. Von Arneth considers them to be of fifth-century workmanship, though they bear inscriptions of later date. One of these, in Greek characters, seems to be a line of a Byzantine missionary hymn. Another gives the names of two chiefs, apparently of Bela, Župan of the Theiss, and Butaul, Župan of the Jazyges, a people, be it observed, of Medo-Sarmatian stock. ^b

The Risano pendant may therefore be taken as illustrating the influence of these fifth-century Persian models on late Roman and Byzantine art, an influence which, from this time onwards, becomes more and more perceptible. No example of any perfectly analogous jewel has come under my observation; there is, however, one feature besides the general character of the enamel and goldwork, which it shares with some other ornaments of Byzantine date. The outer rim is provided with a groove and five loops—three below and two above. The use to which these were applied is shown by an earring in the British Museum, with similar groove and loops, to which a circlet of pearls—strung on a golden wire—is still attached. Two other Byzantine earrings, in the Burges Collection, enriched on one side with that well-known Christian emblem, a pair of doves, enamelled, in one case, on a gold field, and dating probably from the seventh century, show an arrangement of the same kind.

Taking into consideration on the one hand this Byzantine feature in the form, and, on the other hand, the distinct reflection in the design of Persian models, the introduction of which into the Illyrian provinces was probably not unconnected with the great Hunnish irruption of the fifth century, we cannot greatly

^a An account of the Torontal treasure will be found in Von Arneth, *op. cit.* p. 20 *seqq.*

^b This inscription reads: ΒΟΥΗΛΛ · ΖΟΑΙΑΝ · ΤΕΣΗ · ΔΥΓΕΤΟΙΓΗ · ΒΟΥΤΑΟΥΑ · ΖΩΑΙΑΝ · ΤΑΓΡΟΓΗ · ΗΤΖΙΓΗ · ΤΑΙΣΗ. Von Hammer (*Osmanische Geschichte*, iii. 726) compares ΤΑΓΡΟΓΗ · ΗΤΖΙΓΗ with *Δακρυγοί* *ιάζυγες*, a tribe of Jazyges mentioned by Dion (lxxi. 12). The Tagri are mentioned by Ptolemy (iii. c. 5). The inscription is cited by Šafarik (*Slawische Alterthümer*, i. 345) as a monument of the early connexion of Slavs and Sarmatians. ΖΟΑΙΑΝ cannot be other than the Slav *Župan*, the governor of the *Župa* or Mark.

err in assigning the present work to the period of comparative peace and prosperity that dawned on Dalmatia in the first half of the sixth century. Of later date than the sixth century it cannot well be, as Roman Risinium itself was utterly wiped out some time in the first half of the next century by a barbarous horde of Slavs and Avars. The early part of the century that preceded this awful overthrow—which Risinium shared with its sister cities, Epitaurum and Salonæ—was marked in Dalmatia, as in Italy, by the beneficent Ostrogothic dominion. The Dalmatian cities gained a new lease of life, and the relative abundance of Ostrogothic coins on these Trans-Adriatic sites is itself a tangible proof of their prosperity. On the recovery of Dalmatia by Justinian's generals, the Roman cities of its coast ranked among the most valuable possessions of his Exarchs at Ravenna, and the Province was then reckoned "the stronghold of the West." There can be no good reason for doubting that the Risano jewel was of Dalmatian, perhaps of local Risinian, manufacture; indeed, its somewhat heavy Occidental aspect, coupled with the purely Roman form of the rose, associated as they yet are with undoubtedly Oriental features, render the work peculiarly appropriate to the character of a Province which formed the borderland between the Eastern and Western Worlds.

II.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES,—SISCIA, SALONÆ. EPITAEURUM, SCODRA.

SYNOPSIS.

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II.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES,—SISCIA, SALONÆ, EPITAURUM, SCODRA.

Two lines of communication between the Dalmatian capital, Salonæ and the great Pannonian city, Siscia, are indicated by the *Tabula* and *Itinerarium Antonini*. One ran through Æquum, near Sinj, and thence by an obscure route across what is now North-West Bosnia, to Servitium, identified with Gradiska, on the Save, where it met the important valley line connecting Siscia and Sirmium. The other, followed the Via Gabiniana to Promona, marked by the abiding name of the mountain, Promina. Thence it proceeded to Burnum, identified by the extensive ruins near Kistanje, known, from the still-standing portion of a Roman triumphal arch, as *Archi Romani*,—to the Morlach natives as the “Hollow Church” or “Trajan’s Castle,”—an account of which was communicated to this Society,^a in 1775, by John Strange, Esq. from information supplied by the Abbé Fortis. From Burnum the road crossed the steeps of the Velebić range into the ancient Iapygia, at present the Lika district of Croatia. At a point called Bivium it divided into two branches, one running to the port of Senia, the modern Zengg, the other, traversing what is now the Kraina, to Siscia, past the station of Ad Fines, which has been recently identified with the hot springs of Topusko^b in the valley of the Glina.

Taking Burnum as a fixed point, Professor Mommsen has identified the next station, thirteen miles distant on the route, Hadre, with the village of Medvidje, where Roman inscriptions have been discovered, and to which the traces of a Roman road from Burnum certainly conduct. Were this identification to be accepted, it would follow that the Roman route from the Liburnian district of Dalmatia into the Japygian interior approximately coincides with the course of the present highway which winds up the steeps of Velebich from the Dalmatian town of Obbrovazzo, and descends into what has been not inaptly called the Croatian Siberia at the little village of St. Roch. Near here, at St. Michael, and

^a *Archæologia*, vol. iii. p. 346.

^b Prof. Ljubić in *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arkeologičkoga Društva*, 1880, No. 1.

again at Ploča, Roman inscriptions^a have been discovered, and it is in this district accordingly that Professor Mommsen places the site of Ausancalio, marked on the *Tabula* as 29 miles distant from Hadre.

On the other hand, it may be urged that the natural pass into the Lika district from Kistanje, the site of Burnum, lies rather up the Zermanja valley and past Mala Popina to Gračac. A good road runs through its whole extent, and this is the route which a native would undoubtedly take at the present day. In this case the site of Hadre would have to be sought in the Zermanja valley, somewhere near the mediæval ruins of Zvonigrad. The next station, "Clambetis," 13 miles distant, would lie in the neighbourhood of Gračac, where, at Omsica, a fragment of a Roman inscription has been discovered, and the succeeding station, Ausancalio, 16 miles further, should be sought at Udbina, to which place a natural route, of about the requisite length, conducts us from the plain of Gračac.^b

Two Roman inscriptions from Udbina are already known. I am now enabled to describe another, which remarkably corroborates the view that here, rather than at St. Michael, is to be sought the ancient Ausancalio (fig. 1^a). The inscription itself had been transported from Udbina to the neighbouring town of Lapae,

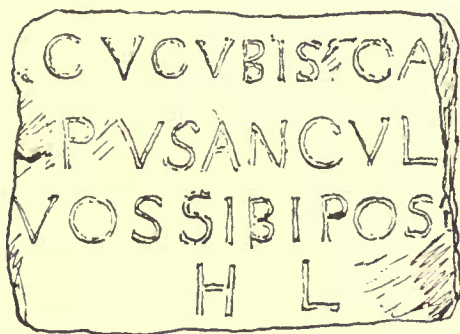


Fig. 1^a. INSCRIPTION REFERRING TO THE MUNICIPIUM OF AUSANCALIO.

Found at Udbina.

^a C. I. L. iii. 2992, 2995.

^b This is far from denying that there was an alternative road from Liburnia into Japygia by way of the Municipium that apparently occupied the site of the present Obbrovazzo. It stands to reason indeed that this line of communication was known to and used by the Romans. All that I have been maintaining is, that the natural route from *Burnum* towards Siscia and Senia would run through the easier pass of the Zermanja. I am, personally, well acquainted with both routes.

where I saw it in the out-house of a local eccentric called Omčikus, who had collected a variety of antiquities and other miscellaneous objects under his roof, amongst which he lived, in what he was pleased to call a state of nature.

The two penultimate lines may, perhaps, be completed :—

MUNICIP . AUSANCVLION . || VIVOS SIBI POSUIT

The preceding word must be regarded as uncertain, but the reference to the name *Ausancalio*, here *Ausanculio*, is clear.^a

The long plain of Corbavia (Krbava), extending from Udbina to the north-west, would afford an admirable avenue for the continuation of the Roman road. The position of Bunić, 15 miles distant, at the other extremity of this plain, would answer to the succeeding station Ancus, which, as we may infer from its containing an element common to *Ausancalio* or *Ausanculio*, must have stood in some obvious geographical opposition to the latter. So in Southern Dalmatia we find a *Derva* and an *Anderva*.



Fig. 2^a. FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIPTION.
Lower Lapac.

From Udbina a road leads eastward, over the wild and romantic forest-mountain known as the Kuk Planina, to the fertile plain of Lapac. Here, in the lower village of that name, and in the same locality as the last, I copied the following Roman inscription, found on the spot (fig. 2^a). The inscription was, unfortunately, in a fragmentary condition, the lower portion being detached from the rest.

The mention of the IIVIRI IVRE DICVNDQ is an indication that a Roman Municipium existed on the site, or in the immediate neighbourhood, of Lapac. Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, those I saw being mostly of fourth-century date, and from the Siscian and Aquilejan mints. From the same site I obtained a Gnostic gem of green jasper, and of remarkably good workmanship, presenting the legend IAO ADONIS ABRAXAS.

^a A copy of this inscription was sent by its present possessor to Dr. Kukuljević, and has been communicated by him to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (vol. iii. n. 570). The version given there, however, is misleading.

Beyond Lapac, to the East and South-East, on the other side of what till lately was the Turkish frontier, stretches the rugged Alpine district of the Upper Kraina, watered by the Unna and its tributary the Unnac, which is one of the wildest and least-explored districts in the whole of Bosnia. During the recent troubled years its inaccessible glens formed the strongholds of rayah insurgency against the Ottoman; and the wholesale exodus of the Christian population from the Turkish districts filled the limestone caverns and rock shelters, which abound throughout the region, with a new race of cave-dwellers. In the heart of this region, archæologically speaking a *terra incognita*, but which I had occasion to traverse throughout the greater part of its extent, I discovered interesting traces of mediæval and Roman civilization. At Preodac, Vissuéa and elsewhere are considerable remains of feudal castles, dating from the days of the Bosnian kingdom. At Upper Unnac are the remains of an ancient church, surrounded by the huge sepulchral blocks usually found in mediæval Bosnian graveyards; while lower down the valley are interesting ruins of a tower and an ancient minster, whose name, Ermanja, would lead us to connect them with Hermann of Cilli. But the most remarkable feature of the district is the trace of an ancient paved way. The whole country-side abounds in legends connected with this ancient way, which perpetuate in an extraordinary manner the memory of an historical event which occurred in this part of the world in the thirteenth century. A contemporary writer, Thomas the Archdeacon of Spalato,^a informs us with the vividness of an eye-witness, how on the occasion of the great Tatar invasion of Hungary of 1241 King Bela fled from Agram with his queen, Maria Lascaris, the shattered relics of his chivalry, and his royal treasures, across the Dinaric ranges to his maritime Dalmatian stronghold of Spalato, the mediæval successor of Salonæ. The Tatar Khagan, we are told, Utegai, the son of the terrible Genghis Khan, or rather the Khagan's general, pursued King Bela, to quote the Archdeacon's words, "with a furious host across the mountains, flying rather than marching, scaling the most inaccessible heights,"^b till he finally swept down on the Dalmatian littoral, there to dash his forces in vain against the walls of the coast-cities, and to see his horse-flesh waste away on the Dalmatian rocks. It is said that the

^a *Historia Salonitana*, c. xxxix.: "Rex relictis stationibus Zagrabiensium partium cum omni comitatu suo ad mare descendit . . . Rex vero et totus flos reliquorum Ungarorum ad Spalati partes devenit." Later he retreats to Traü, "cum uxore sua et cum omnibus gazis suis."

^b "Venit autem non quasi iter faciens sed quasi per aerem volans loca invia et montes asperissimos supergrediens unde numquam exercitus ambulavit." *Op. cit.* c. xl.

names of Monte Tartaro, near Sebenico, and of Kraljazza, or the King's island, whither King Bela transported his treasures, still perpetuate the memory of the great Tatar invasion and the royal flight on the Adriatic coast. In the Unnac district the record of the Tatar invasion and of King Bela's escape has been even more distinctly preserved, although in some cases partly confounded with the later flight of the last King of Bosnia from the Turks, which found its tragic termination in the field of Bilaj, on the borders of the same district. So deeply had this earlier episode of the terrible Mongol inroad impressed itself on the imagination of the inhabitants, that not even the Turkish conquest has been able to efface its record among the Kraina peasants. Without entering into details on the present occasion, I may here briefly relate the legend as it was told to me by the inhabitants.

“When the Tatars invaded Bosnia, the King, Bela, took refuge in his stronghold, the Starigrad of Bravsko, that lies on the forest-mountain of Germeć.^a There he sate with his family, and his nobles, and his treasures; but when the Tatars came nearer he resolved to fly once more, leaving only his daughter behind him, who for her tarrying was transformed into a dragon, to guard his hoards. And there, above Bravsko, is a walled enclosure, still known as Kraljevo Torine, or the King's Yard; and there is a fountain called the King's fountain. But the King fled with the Queen and the rest of his family, and part of his treasure, to the South, into Dalmatia, and as he went he laid down a road wherever he passed, and placed milestones along it, round in shape and five feet above ground, and five feet under the earth. And these milestones are to be seen to this day along the King's road from Bravsko onwards to Resanovec.”

Such is the legend in its main outline. The road itself runs from Bravsko to Crljevica and crosses the Unnac near the village of Drvar, from which point I have myself traced it to Resanovec and thence in the direction of the Tiškovac Valley. At Resanovec I was pointed out a square pillar about eight feet high now in the churchyard, but which was said to have been transported from the “King's Way.” A spring further along the road is still known as “Mramor,” from the “Marble Stone” that is said to have existed there. Although I was not fortunate enough to find any of these milliare columns *in situ*, it is certain

^a The name Germeć covers a greater area to the South-East than that assigned to it in the Austrian *General-Stabs Karte*.

that more than one was to be seen within the memory of man. The description of their deftly-rounded form, of their deep socketing in the earth, which I had from more than one native, leaves no doubt in my mind that they were of Roman origin, and that this now forgotten route by which King Bela fled represents a section of an important line of Roman road bringing the Dalmatian coast-cities into communication with the Save Valley and the great cities of Siscia and Sirmium. In all probability it forms part of the line already mentioned at the beginning of this paper leading from Salonæ viâ Æquum to Servitium, the course of which on the Dalmatian side has never yet been satisfactorily traced. From Bravsko, a road, which is in fact the continuation of the "King's Way," leads down to Kliuč, the ancient "Key-fortress" of the Upper Sana. We are thus brought within a stage of Dobrinja, the village to which Dr. Blau^a traced a Roman way leading from Gradiska, the site of Servitium, on the Save, past Banjaluka, where the hot springs still well up, as at Novipazar, under a late Roman cupola, and thence across the ranges which form the water-shed between the Verbas and the Sana. The line followed by Dr. Blau was identified by him with every appearance of probability with the northern end of the Roman road connecting Salonæ with Servitium and the great Pannonian cities. He, himself, looked for its continuation from Dobrinja in a more southerly direction, on the strength of a hearsay account of an old Kalderym, or paved way, running from Han Podražnica (where he seeks the ancient *Leusaba*), in that direction. Dr. Blau, however, himself acknowledges the absence of ancient remains about Podražnica,^b while on the other hand he mentions the existence of two marble sarcophagi,

^a *Monatsbericht der k. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1867, p. 741 *seqq.* Cf. *La Via romana da Sirmio a Salona* (in *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata*, 1882, p. 69). Hoernes, *Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, ii. 131 *seqq.*, accepts Dr. Blau's conjecture as to the course of the way from Dobrinja across the Crnagora, and sees in the Roman remains found at Glavice, Glamoč, and Livno, an indication of its subsequent course. Tomaschek advocates the same general line (*Die vorславische Topographie der Bosna*, &c. p. 16 *seqq.*), but his views on Dalmatian topography are not corrected by personal observation. A comparison of the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* seems to show that between Leusaba and Æquum there were two alternative routes. In the *Tabula* we have Æquo, viii. in Alperio, xiiii. Bariduo, — Ionnaria, xiii. Sarute, vii. Indenea, v. Baloie, xii. Leusaba. In Antonine: Æquo, xvii. Pelva, xviii. Salvia, or Silvia, xxiiii. Sarnacle (or Sarnade), xviii. Leusaba.

^b "in Ermangelung antiker Reste kann Leusaba nur im allgemeinen in der Hochebene Podražnica angegeben werden."

supposed to be Roman, at Radkovo,^a in other words, on the road from Dobrinja to Kliuč, and only separated by a small range from the Sana Valley.^b

It is indeed difficult to imagine that a main line of communication, which in its early aspect was before all things a coupling-chain of fortified posts wherewith to bridle the fierce highlanders of the Dalmatian Alps, should not have afforded access to such an important strategic point as Kliuč has shown itself down to the very latest days of Illyrian warfare.

In the Vale of Unnac itself,^c I lighted on some important remains which greatly serve to corroborate the hypothesis that King Bela's road owed its original construction to Roman engineers. A little below the point where the old road crossed the Unnac by a bridge, now destroyed, at a spot called Vrtoča, is a large and apparently artificial mound, partly imbedded in which are a confused medley of accurately squared limestone blocks. Some of these had been used in later times as Christian tombstones, as was evidenced by the crosses carved on them^d but the whole gave me the impression that I was on the site of some considerable Roman structure, and although the circumstances of my visit did not permit of a long investigation I found upon one of the blocks a bas-relief of really fine Roman workmanship, representing Mercury holding the *caduceus* (see fig. 3^a). The block itself was about five feet square, its depth three feet, the height of the face of the relief itself about two feet and a-half.^e

In front of the mound on which these ancient remains occur, a *vallum* about a hundred yards in length traverses the level part of the valley from the river-

^a Cf. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien*, &c. p. 110.

^b Near Varcar, to the North of Banjaluka and Eastward of Kliuč, have been recently discovered Roman remains, including a large hoard of *denarii*, mostly of the Emperors Alexander Severus, Gordian, Philip, Trajan Decius, Gallus, and Volusian, some sixty of which have passed through my hands. The discovery of Roman remains at this site establishes a link of connexion between the Sana Valley and the succession of Roman sites at Podlipci, Runić, Mosunj, Putačevo and Vitež, in the Valley of the Lašva, and points to an old line of communication between the Upper Bosna and the Sana, which opens the most natural route towards Siscia.

^c Interesting remains have been lately discovered by Capt. Von. Handel in the Valley of the Unna about an hour to the south-east of Biháč. They consist of several inscriptions, one presenting the female Illyrian name-form *DIRVEIO* and the Mazeian name *Andes*, a Mithraic relief, a figure of a Faun or Sylvanus, and other fragments. Prof. Tomaschek, who has published an account of the discovery (*Sitzungsberichte der k. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1881, h. 2, p. 466 *seqq.*), is inclined to identify the site with the ancient Rætinium. There is a height answering well enough to the description of the Acropolis of Rætinium, besieged by Germanicus.

^d In one case a monogram appeared, Æ

^e I have alluded to this discovery in my *Illyrian Letters*, London, 1878, p. 37.

bank. This is known as *Šamac*,^a or “the dyke,” and on the neighbouring height of Mount Obljaj, are two more, known as *Gradine*.

More recently I learn that a schoolmaster from Srb on the triple frontier has discovered another Roman monument in the Unnac Valley, described in the

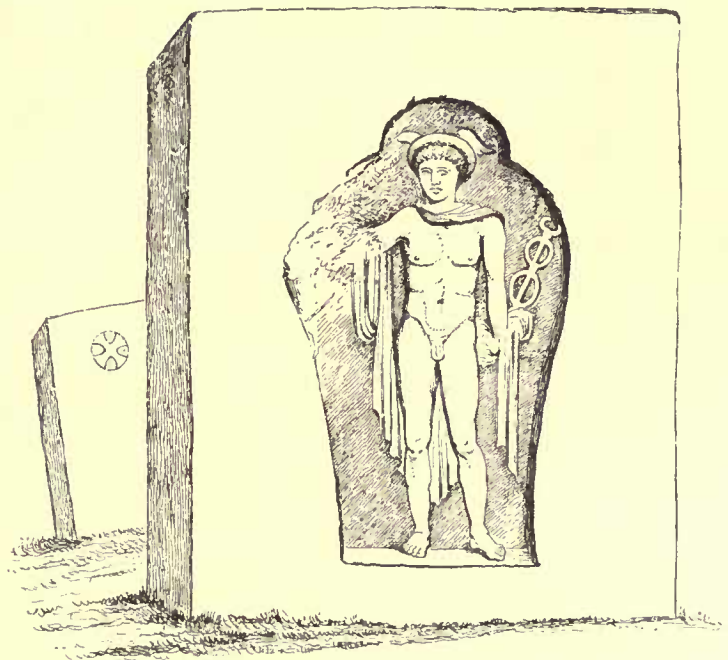


Fig. 3^a. ROMAN BAS-RELIEF OF MERCURY.
Vrtoča, in the Unnac Valley, Bosnia.

Croatian Archæological Journal as a fragment of a sepulchral slab showing a human figure in bas-relief with crossed arms, and beneath it an inscription too weather-worn to be deciphered, but in Roman characters.^b

After crossing the water-shed the ancient road descends into the vale of the Tiškovac stream a little above the village of Strmica. Here, again, Roman remains are abundant. I have procured many good specimens of imperial and consular denarii from this site, and a sepulchral inscription was found here in

^a Cf. Germ. *Schanze*.

^b *Viestnik hrvatskoga arkeologičkoga Društva*, 1880, p. 63: “jedan komad nadgrobne ploče na kojoj je u basirilifu ljučka slika skrstenima rukama izpod koje nadpis koj je zub vremena veoma iztrošio, no vidi se ipak da je rimski.” In the same communication is mentioned the discovery of Roman coins of Constantine’s time, together with other antiquities, at Kumićgrad, an hour’s distance from Srb.

honour of a soldier of the 11th Legion.^a From Strmica the River Butišnica opens a natural avenue to the Vale of Knin, in the immediate neighbourhood of which and at Topolje, near the beautiful upper falls of the Kerka, Roman remains are of frequent occurrence.



Fig. 4^a. MONUMENT, PERHAPS
OF AN EARLY CROAT PRINCE.
Knin, Dalmatia.

At Knin itself, apparently the ancient Varvaria—witness an inscription^b found on the neighbouring banks of the Kerka, the ancient Titus or Titius—I observed, walled into a gateway on a public walk, a little below the old castle, or “Starigrad,” a monument dating probably from the period when the interior part of Dalmatia was in the possession of Croat princes, the coast-cities being still Roman under the more or less shadowy suzerainty of Byzantium. I paid, indeed, the by no means unexampled penalty of being arrested by the Austrian Commandant for my temerity in copying a stone which was within his “*rayon*,” but I was able to preserve at least the front view of this interesting memorial (fig. 4^a). It has since, I am informed, been mysteriously removed from its ancient site; for there are still, it would appear, European countries in which archæology savours of sedition.

The monument is of a remarkable kind. Its face, so far as it is preserved, presents two compartments, in the upper of which stands a full-length figure holding a spear, and some unknown object; in the lower is the full-face bust of a larger figure, which suggests a direct tradition from Constantinian times, to the left of which is a sceptre. The acanthus leaf and chevron bordering—the latter of which is frequent on the Roman monuments of Dalmatia—also show the influence of Imperial models. The elaborate palmetto ornament (fig. 5^a), which forms the border of the exposed side of the slab,^c also occurs on the Roman

^a C. I. L. iii. 6417.

^b The monument (C. I. L. iii. 6418) is erected to a veteran of the 11th legion killed here, “FINIBVS VARVARINORVM IN AGELLO SECVS TITVM FLVMEN AD PETRAM LONGAM.” It was found near the village of Puljane, at a spot still known as Duga Stina, “the long rock” (cf. p. 35).

^c The other face of the monument when I saw it was built into the wall. Its height was about 2½ feet. The segment of this ornament (fig. 5^a) is taken from a sketch which the susceptibility of the Austrian authorities prevented me from completing and which is therefore imperfect.

monuments of the province, and as an ornamental tradition was preserved by the Roman coast-cities of Dalmatia in the early Middle Ages. It is seen, for instance, on the *repoussé* silver *arca* of St. Demetrius at Arbe, an indigenous Dalmatian work of the eleventh or twelfth century,^a as well as on the panels of the wooden door of the Duomo at Spalato, executed by that admirable Spalatine artist, Andrea Guvina, in the year 1214. In lapidary sculpture it seems to have been not unfrequent in Adriatic regions in the eighth century, occurring in a rather degraded form on the altar of the Lombard Duke Pemmo, of Friuli, who was deposed by Liutprand in 738.

The legend between the two panels on the face of the slab appears to be STEFATON|| (TE in ligature). It is possible, however, that the final letter may be part of an M. The sceptre to the left of the bust would certainly seem to indicate a princely personage, and I observe that a sceptre of similar form is repeated at intervals round the font of the Serbian Great Župan Voislav, or Višeslav, of Zachulmia, formerly in the church of S. Salvatore, at Venice, at present existing in the Museo Correr. The Great Župan, whose name it bears, and whom Dr. Kukuljević Sakeinski^b first identified with the historical personage referred to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ruled over Zachulmia, the old Serbian region inland from Ragusa, embracing a good deal of what is at present the Herzegovina, between about the years 870—900. The son of this Zachulmian prince, Michael Višević, is twice brought into connexion with the Croatian King Tomislav. About the year 925, Pope John X. addressed to both a letter exhorting them to bring up their children in the knowledge of Latin letters;^c and shortly after this exhortation, both princes are found presiding at a synod at Spalato,^d in which the use of the Slav vernacular is again denounced. Could it be shown that Tomislav, like so many later Slavonic princes, attached the Christian name Stephanus, or



Fig. 5^a. SPECIMEN OF ORNAMENTATION ON THE SIDE OF THE MONUMENT.

^a Engraved in Eitelberger, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmaziens*, p. 150.

^b *Arkiv za poviestnicu jugoslavensku*, vol. iv. p. 390 *seqq.* The frontispiece to this volume contains a representation of the font.

^c *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, xc. (t. i. p. 76). The Pope continues, "QUIS enim specialis filius sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, sicut vos estis, in barbara seu Slavonica lingua Deo sacrificium offerre delectatur?"

^d *Codex diplomaticus*, xcii. (t. i. p. 78).

Stefanus, to his Croatian name, the inscription on the present stone—the final letter of which is uncertain—might be taken for the commencement of the words STEFAN TOMISLAV. It is certain that Knin was highly favoured by the early Croatian princes; its bishops received from them the title of *Episcopi regii*, or *palatini*,^a and the Latin style of the present inscription fits in well with King Tomislav's acquiescence in the Pope's injunction to abjure the barbarian letters, in other words, the Glagolitic alphabet.

It is probable that the course of the Roman road, with which we are at present specially concerned, passed rather to the east of Knin, skirting its plain, to the Roman site at Topolje.

From Topolje the present road leads by an easy pass to the town of Verlika, in the neighbourhood of which, and especially near the source of the Cettina, several Roman inscriptions have been found, presenting some Illyrian name-forms. While examining one of these in the mediæval graveyard that surrounds the ruined church of S. Salvatore (Svéti Spas)—itself, as some interlaced Byzantine ornament built into its walls shows, the successor of a still earlier foundation—I had the curiosity to ask my Verlika guide to whom he thought the ancient monuments owed their origin. He replied that they were made by the old inhabitants of the land, the *Goti-Romani*, or Roman Goths, who lived there before his own (Slavonic) forefathers took possession of it. The reply was curious, as this local tradition of the Goths was certainly, in his case, not derived from book-learning. The Ostro-Gothic dominion in Dalmatia, as has already been remarked, was a prosperous episode in the history of the province. The number of coins of Theodoric, Athalaric, and even the later kings, Witiges, and the Totila^b of history, that are discovered on Dalmatian soil is remarkable, and we have the distinct statement of Procopius that there existed, side by side with the Roman provincials, a settled Gothic population in Dalmatia. That the name of the Goths should still survive in the local folk-lore is the less to be wondered at when we remember how large a part they play in the early Slavonic sagas collected by the first Dalmatian historian, the Presbyter of Dioclea.

From Verlika the road runs past Citluk, near Sinj, the site of the ancient Æquum, to Salona and Spalato. Thus from the upper Sana to the Adriatic, on a line of ancient communication between the valley of the Save and the local

^a Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. iv. p. 280.

^b On his coins, *Baduila* or *Badueta*. In this connexion I may mention that I have obtained from Bosnia a jacinth intaglio on which is engraved a monogram bearing the closest resemblance to that of Theodoric on his coins.

successors of Siscia and Sirmium on the one hand and the Dalmatian littoral and the local successor of Salonæ on the other, I have traced a succession of sites marked by the occurrence of Roman monuments and remains. It is difficult not to believe that this ancient line of communication and the paved road across the ranges of the Upper Kraina represent the Roman road by which, according to the Itinerary of Antonine and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the port of Salonæ was brought into connexion with the Pannonian cities Siscia and Sirmium. It was by no other road that, when Attila overwhelmed these two imperial cities, the fugitive remnants of their citizens made their way across the Dinaric ranges to what was then the great Dalmatian city of asylum. It does not appear that the ravages of Attila actually extended to the Dalmatian littoral, but in 591 A.D. we find the Avar Khagan making use of this avenue of communication to penetrate into the Adriatic coast-lands from the valley of the Save. According to the Byzantine chroniclers^a the Avar Khagan, compelled to evacuate Singidunum, the present Belgrade, hurried to Dalmatia and the Ionian, we may translate the Adriatic, Sea, capturing on the way, with the aid of siege material, a city variously named *Bankeis*, *Balkes*, *Balbes*, and *Balea*, and destroying forty other strongholds. That his chief advance was made along the Roman high-road appears from the succeeding notice of Theophylact, that the Roman officer who was despatched with a small body of not more than two thousand men to observe the Khagan's motions kept to the byways and avoided the main roads^b lest he should encounter the enemy in overwhelming forces. In this city, which from the context we may infer to have been the key stronghold of the Roman main line of communication across the Dinaric Alps, some have traced the *Baloie* which appears in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the midmost station between Servitium and Salonæ, and Šafarik^c has discerned in it the peak-stronghold of Bilaj, about ten miles distant from the confluence of the Unnac and the Unna, famous in later history as the scene of the execution of the last King of Bosnia by his Turkish captors. Dr. Rački^d prefers to see in it Baljke, near Dorniš, within the modern Dalmatian border.^e Personally, I would

^a Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* vii. 11, 12 (Ed. Bonn, p. 291.) Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 428.

^b Τὰς λεωφόρους.

^c *Slav. Alt.* vol. ii. p. 238.

^d *Mon. Spec. hist. Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. vii. p. 254.

^e I can see no reasonable grounds for accepting Prof. Tomasehek's conjecture (in the teeth of all the MSS.), that the word is a corruption of *Salviis* (*Vorlawische Topographie*, &c. p. 19), or the suggestion of

venture to suggest that the alternative forms “*Βαγγκεις*” and “*Βαλκης*” simply represent a late Latin “*Balneis*” or “*Bagneis*,” the Italian *Bagni*. The Roman word in its singular form *Balnea* has supplied the present Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of Illyricum with the word “*Banja*,” universally applied to places where hot springs exist, and the thermal source and remains of the Roman bath-building at *Banjaluka* give the word a peculiar significance in connexion with the great highway from Pannonia to the Dalmatian coast, which, as has been already pointed out, passed by that position. In the *Tabula* *Banjaluka* appears as *Castra*,^a but by the sixth century the town may have already begun to bear the vulgar Latin name that it has preserved to this day. Geographically, this identification squares well with the course of this Avar invasion, and, indeed, from a military point of view, the position holds the key to the northern end of the line of passes through which the Roman road ran after leaving the lowlands of the Save.

This Roman highroad was thus already in the fifth and sixth centuries an avenue at once of barbarian invasion and of civilised exodus towards the sunny shores of the Adriatic. Eight centuries after the time of Attila the descendants of the very hordes that had driven forth the Romans from the Pannonian cities were forced to flee from Mongols more savage than themselves, and the abiding traces and traditions that I have been able to point out serve to show that it was by this same Roman road-line that King Bela and the remnants of the Hungarian chivalry sought their Dalmatian City of Refuge. It is interesting to notice that on the site of Salonæ, and in its local successor Spalato, monumental records both of the later and of the earlier catastrophes have been preserved to us. At Salonæ, beneath the floor of the Roman-Christian basilica, there was recently discovered, above a violated tomb, a marble slab erected to the memory of the infant daughter of some high-born Roman, “who was brought,” the inscription tells us, “from Sirmium to Salonæ” (fig. 6^a):^b—

DEPOSETIO INFANTIS
DOMNICAЕ XII KALED
OCTOBRIS QVAE A SIRMI
O SALONAS ADVCTA EST

Dr. Hoernes (*Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, &c. vol. ii. p. 134), that “*Salvia*” (in most MSS. “*Silvia*”) and “*Balbeis*” are alternative names for the same place.

^a Perhaps the *AD LADIOS* of Antoninus.

^b This monument is at present in the Museum at Spalato, and has been described by Dr. Glavinić.

Written in a style and letters that proclaim the age of Attila, the simple record, "*Quæ a Sirmio Salonas aducta est,*" speaks for itself. Side by side with this

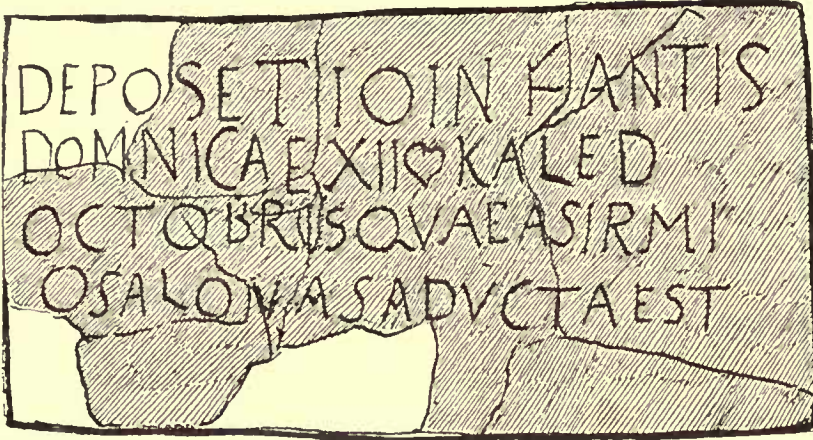


Fig. 6^a. ROMAN CHRISTIAN SEPULCHRAL SLAB.
From the Christian Basilica, Salona.

Salonitan memorial to this tender victim of the Huns and their associates may be set a monument formerly existing outside the Cathedral Church at Spalato, reared to the memory of the two young princesses, daughters of King Bela, who succumbed at Clissa to the hardships and terrors of the flight from the Tatars, and whose bodies were carried to Spalato:—

CATHARINA INCLYTA ET FVLGENS MARGARITA
IN HOC ARCTO TVMVLO IACENT ABSQVE VITA
BELLE IIII FILIE REGIS HUNGARORVM
ET MARIE LASCARI REGINE GRECORVM
AB IMPIIS TARTARIS FVERVNT FVGATE
MORTVE IN CLISSIO HVC SPALETVM TRANSLATE.

^a Cf. Thomas Archidiaconus, *op. cit.* c. xl. "Mortuæ sunt duæ puellæ virgines, scilicet filiæ regis Belæ et in ecclesia B. Domnis honorificè tumulatæ."

Lucius, who gives this inscription in his notes to Thomas Archid. (in *De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatia*, Frankfort, 1666, p. 478), adds, "Gulielmus quoque, Belæ ex filia nepos, in hac eadem fuga mortuus, Tragurii sepultus fuit." The epitaph of this prince formerly existing at Traù is given by the same author in his Memorials of that city. It contained the lines,

"Arcente denique barbaro perverso
Infinitis Tartaris marte sub adverso,
Quartum Belam prosequens ejus consobrinum
Ad mare pervenerat usque Dalmatinum."

The roads, the course of which I have been hitherto attempting to investigate, were of considerable importance as the highways of communication between the Dalmatian capital and the great Adriatic emporium of Aquileja, the key of Italy, on the one side and on the other between it and the imperial Pannonian cities, Siscia and Sirmium. From Salonæ onwards another main line of thoroughfare was opened out along the lateral valleys of the Dinaric ranges to Scodra and Dyrrhachium, where it joined the famed Egnatian Way and the Greek and Macedonian road system.

The course of this road—which forms, in fact, a continuation of the land route connecting the Italian cities with Athens and Thessalonica—has been ascertained with tolerable precision as far as the next important Dalmatian centre, Naronæ.

From Salonæ the road ran inland, past the key-fortress of Klissa, the Κλεισα of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that closes the mountain-pass conducting towards the Vale of the Cettina. That river, the ancient Tilurus, it reached at a bridge-station called from it Pons Tiluri, or Tilurium, the name of which still survives in that of the modern village of Trilj, near which, at a spot called Gardun, the ancient site is still distinctly visible.

Here, on the right bank of the Cettina, was discovered an important inscription referring to the restoration of the Roman bridge over the river by the citizens of Novæ, Delminium, and Rider, in the name of the Emperor Commodus.^a The site of two of these cities has been fixed with certainty. Rider,^b the Municipium Riditarum, was an important Illyrian staple near the present coast-town of Sebenico, the mediæval commercial relations of which with the interior it seems to have anticipated. The site of Novæ we shall pass at Runović, on the high road to Naronæ. The position of Delminium, the historic stronghold which

^a IMP · CAES || M. AVRELIVS || COMMODVS || ANTONINVS || AVG · PIVS · SARM || GERM · MAXIMVS || BRITTAN-
NICUS || PONT · MAX · TRIB || POT · VIII · IMP · VI || COS · III · P · P || PONTEM · HIPPI FLVM || NIS · VETVSTATE
COR || RVPTVM RESTITVIT || SVMPTVM ET OPERAS || SVBMINISTRANTIBVS || NOVENSIBVS DELMI || NENSIBVS
RIDITIS · CV || RANTE · ET · DEDICANTE || L · IVNIO · RVFINO · PROCV || LIANO · LEG · PR · PR · (C. I. L. iii. 3202.)
This inscription was discovered by Dr. Carrara and first published in the *Bulletino dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 1815. The name of Commodus had been defaced in accordance with the orders of the Senate recorded by Lampridius.

^b The form in which it appears in Ravennas, the only geographer who mentions it. He gives it (5, 14) as the last station before reaching Scardona, on the road from Tragurion (Träü). Its actual site was at St. Danilo near Sebenico. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2767, &c.)

gave its name to the dominant Dalmatian race,^a is more difficult to determine. Earlier writers had no hesitation in looking for it beyond the Prolog range that overhangs the Cettina Valley to the north, in the plain of Duvno, the mediæval name of which, *Dulmno*, is derived unquestionably from an Illyro-Roman form *Dalmino*;^b and where, on the heights of Županjac, Roman remains have been discovered. On the other hand, the occurrence of the name on the inscription relating to the Cettina bridge, coupled with the existence of considerable Roman remains on the height of Gardun, has led the most recent authorities to fix here the site of Delminium.^c Mommsen argues with some force that the bridge must have been comprised in the territory of one of the three cities that bore the expense of its restoration; that we know that neither the Novenses nor the Riditæ embraced the Cettina valley in their district, and that, hence, it follows that the bridge lay in the territory of Delminium,^d which he fixes at the site of Gardun. Professor Tomaschek, judging by the general range of the campaign that preceded the capture of this famous Dalmatian stronghold by Figulus, in 156 B.C. had been already led to seek its site in the Cettina valley;^e and Professor Glavinić, of Spalato, who shares this view, has traced to his own satisfaction both the line of the walls of the original Illyrian city and the more restricted circumvallation of the Roman town, as rebuilt after the capture by Figulus and Scipio Nasica.^f

Still, it must be observed that the simple fact that Figulus took Narona as his base in his campaign against Delminium does not by any means exclude its having been situated on the Duvno plain. The actual distance from Narona to Duvno is considerably less than that from Narona to Gardun, and a route might be chosen presenting few serious obstacles.^g The evidence

^a "Πόλις Δελμίνιον ὄθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἐς Δελματίας εἶτα Δαλμάτας ἐγράφη." Appian, *Illyr.* ii. Cf. Strabo. vii. 5.

^b The variant forms of the name occur: *Delminium*, *Dalmis*, *Dalnion*, *Delmion*.

^c Cf. Prof. W. Tomaschek, *Die vorlawische Topographie der Bosna, Herzegowina, Crnagora. und der angrenzenden Gebiete* (Wien, 1880). (*Separat-abdruck aus den Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*), p. 9. The Catholic bishopric that existed here in the fourteenth century was still known as *Ep. Delmensis* or *Dulmensis*.

^d C. I. L. iii. p. 358, s. v. DELMINIUM.

^e *Die vorlawische Topographie der Bosna, Herzegowina, Crnagora und der angrenzenden Gebiete.* (*Separat-abdruck aus den Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*), p. 10.

^f *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 1878, p. 23.

^g What is extremely pertinent in this regard, Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that the "Župa of Dalen," the form given by him to the old Slavonic Dulmno (Duvno), belonged to the Pagani or Narentans: a fact which shows a certain facility of inter-communication between the inland plain of Duvno and the

again of the Itineraries is against Delminium having stood at Gardun, which answers to the station Tilurium or Pons Tiluri, a name as we have seen still perpetuated by the neighbouring village of Trilj. It is further noteworthy that, admitting that the ancient Delminium stood in the district which still preserves its name, the routes from Delminium and Novæ towards the port of the Reditæ would converge just at the point where the bridge was constructed. The name Delminium is absent in the Tabula and Itineraries, yet we know that it continued to survive from the fact that in the Second Provincial Council of Salonæ, A.D. 532, we find mention of an *Episcopus Delminensis Montanorum*,^a a bishop, that is, whose district embraced what was then a mountain-girt territory, taking its name from the ancient city which itself, probably, was already in ruins. This sixth century "Delminian Weald" reappears in Constantine Porphyrogenitus^b four centuries later as the Župa of Dalen, the Dulmno or Duvno of later Slavonic records; and the Presbyter of Dioclea, who composed his *Regnum Slavorum* (woven for the most part out of earlier Sagas) at Antivari in the twelfth century, places the fabled Synod of King Svatopluk on "the Plain of Dalma."^c In the other version of this earliest Serbian Chronicle, that, namely, discovered in the Kraina and translated into Latin from the original Slav by Marcus Marulus in 1510, the King's name appears as Budimir, and the place of the great Moot is expressly mentioned as on the site of the ruins of Delminium. These traditions are at least valuable as showing the continued living on of the old Illyrian city-name on the Duvno plain in an ecclesiastical connexion; and this is further brought out by Thomas, the Archdeacon of Spalato, who, writing in the thirteenth century, speaks of Duvno as *Delmina*, and as containing the site of the ancient city *Delmis*. He further tells us that in his day there was still to be seen here a church with an inscription recording its dedication by St. Germanus, Bishop of Capua,^e who, as we learn from other sources, was sent Narenta Valley. (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 30.) Dr. Kukuljević, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, pt. I. p. 86, note, agrees in identifying the Zupa of "Dalen" with Duvno.

^a Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173.

^b *Loc. cit.* The geographical details of Constantine regarding Dalmatia and its borderlands are peculiarly valuable, and seem to have been supplied by trustworthy native informants; not improbably Ragusan patricians, amongst whom was a Byzantine *Protospatharius*. Constantine's words are: "ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δαλενοῦ (Ζουπανία) μηδὲν ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας ζῶσι τῆς γῆς."

^c "In planitie Dalmæ," Diocleas, *Regnum Slavorum* (in *Lucius de Regno Dalmatiae*, &c. Frankfort, 1666, p. 289.)

^d Marci Maruli, *Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta* (in *Lucius*, *op. cit.* p. 306).

^e *Historia Salonitana*, cap. xiii. "Istaque fuerunt Regni eorum (sc. regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae)

by Pope Hormisdas to Constantinople in 509 A.D.^a This is certainly an indication that the bishopric of Delminium, mentioned in the Council-Acts of Salona of A.D. 532, should be sought on the plain of Duvno, where in Thomas's days this ancient basilica was still standing. From the early part of the fourteenth century (1337) onwards we again hear of a regular series of bishops of Duvno, *Episcopi Delmenses*.^b

The Roman monuments themselves discovered on the Gardun site supply strong negative evidence that the city that existed there was rather a Roman foundation than a great native centre. They are almost purely of a legionary character. On the other hand, if we examine the monuments discovered on the site of the Municipium of the Reditæ, which appears from the inscription relating to the bridge to have been the maritime outlet of the old Dalmatian capital, we find a very large proportion of pure Illyrian names, such as Panto, Madocus, Tritano, Aplo, Baezo, Vendo, Pladomenus, and if we turn to another inland example of an important native site, the old Illyrian hill-stronghold of St. Ilija, near Plevlje, we are again struck with the great preponderance of native names, the bulk of which are absolutely identical with those that occur on the monuments of the Reditæ. So remarkable, indeed, are the coincidences that we are reduced to infer that a strong commercial bond of some kind linked these two sufficiently remote Illyrian centres. How much the more must this community of names have existed between the Reditæ and the comparatively neighbouring Delminenses, whose cities, moreover, we know from the Gardun inscription to have been connected by commerce as well as by the affinities of race. And yet we are asked to believe that a site characterised rather by an absence of Dalmatian names was that of the city which gave its name to the Dalmatian race.

From all these considerations I am led, the high authority of Mommsen notwithstanding, to seek the site of Delminium on the more inland plain that still preserves a corruption of its name. Von Hahn's derivation of the name Delminium, as suggested by Albanian parallels, from an Illyrian word signifying a sheep-pasture,^c fits in well with the character of the Duvno Polje, and this

confinia, ab Oriente Delmina ubi fuit civitas Delmis in qua est quædam Ecclesia quam B. Germanus Capuanus Episcopus consecravit sicut scriptum reperitur in ea."

^a Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. iv. p. 169.

^b Farlati, *op. cit.* t. iv. p. 168 *seqq.* From 1685 onwards the diocese was placed under Vicars Apostolic.

^c *Albanesische Studien*, p. 232. Hahn is of opinion that Delminium answers to a Gheg Albanian form *δελμίν-εα* = sheep-fold, or sheep-pasture. He further compares the name of the Dalmatian city with that of the two Epirote towns *Delvino* and *Delvinaki*.

pastoral origin would explain the statement of Strabo^a that Scipio Nasica made the plain a sheep pasture at the same time that he reduced the size of the town.

Whether or not, however, the Roman city that stood on the site of Gardun bore any earlier name than that of Tilurium, under which it appears in the *Itineraries*, it is certain that the remains of an aqueduct and of an amphitheatre attest the former existence at this spot of a station of considerable importance. Gems and other minor antiquities are discovered here in great abundance, and a carnelian intaglio representing the head of the Emperor Antoninus Pius procured by me from this site is one of the most exquisite examples of Roman portraiture with which I am acquainted.

Beyond the bridge station of the Tilurus traces of the road have been detected,^b running from Vedrine, on the left bank of the river, past the village of Budimir, and along the vale of Cista to Lovreć,^c and thence to Runović, on the skirts of the plain of Imoski. Here was the site of an important Municipium, the identification of which with the AD NOVAS of the *Tabula* is established by the discovery at this spot of inscriptions referring to the *Novenses*.^d Here were found two altars dedicated to Jove and the Genius of the Municipium, and other inscriptions referring to the local *IIVIRI* and *Decurions*. The remains of baths and of tasteful mosaic pavements attest the prosperity of the Roman town; and the Christian *Basilica* of the Municipium Novense is mentioned as late as 532 A.D. The bridge over the Cettina, in the construction of which, as we have seen, the inhabitants of this city participated,^e must have been of the highest importance to the *Novenses*, as improving their communication with the North Dalmatian ports.

Beyond Runović the Roman road crosses the watershed into the upper

^a *Geog.* vii. 5: "Δάλμιον δὲ μεγάλη πόλις ἦς ἐπώνυμον τὸ ἔθνος μικρὰν δ' ἐποίησε Νασικᾶς καὶ τὸ πεδίου μὴλόβοτον διὰ τὴν πλειονεξίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων."

^b Cf. Glavinić, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 1878, p. 54. A. K. Matas, *Prinos za iztraživanje tragova rimskih puteva u Dalmaciji* ("A contribution towards investigating the traces of the Roman roads in Dalmatia"), in the *Viestnik hrvatskoga arheologičkoga Društva*, 1880, p. 32, mentions an alternative route along the right bank of the Cettina, but omits to specify the evidence on which his statements rest.

^c According to Prof. Glavinić, *loc. cit.* traces of a Roman road are to be seen running from Lovreć to the Western part of the plain of Duvno.

^d C. I. L. iii. 1892, 1908, 1909, 1910.

^e *Acta Concilii ii. Salonitani*, in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173.

valley of the Tihaljina or Trebižat, where remains of it are still to be traced near the village of Neždravica and elsewhere, running along the left bank of the river.^a

The next station along the road that can be determined with certainty is Bigeste, the last station before reaching Narona. The ruins of this city are visible at Gradčine and Humac, near the Herzegovinian town of Ljubuški, still in the valley of the river Trebižat, and the foundations of a Roman bridge that spanned the river at this point are still preserved.^b Several inscriptions have been discovered on this site, two of them recording the restoration of a temple and portico of Liber Pater by officers of the 1st and 11th Legions;^c and a milestone, now, unfortunately, no longer to be seen, is said to have been found near the village of Humac.

To the inscriptions from this site I am able to add the following, a copy of which I obtained from the Pravoslav Kalugjer of Ljubuški, Kristofor Milutinović. It was found near Ljubuški, in January last, and exists at present near the Serbian church. (See fig. 7^a.)

The auxiliary cohort of the *Lucenses* to which this *Eques* belonged was from *Lucus Augusti*, the present Lugo, in Gallæcia. There is epigraphic evidence of the presence of the 1st cohort of the *Lucenses* in Pannonia,^d in the year 80 A.D.; and there are references to the second and fifth *Lucensian* cohorts in other Illyrian military diplomas of the first and second century.^e The name *Andamionius* has, as might be expected, a Celtic ring, recalling the *Andoco(mius)* and *Amminus* of British coins. *Andes* occurs as an indigenous Dalmatian name.

Between the site of Bigeste^f and Narona the Roman road is distinctly trace-

^a Dr. Glavinić traced its course in 1856 from Runović past the villages of Ploče and Drinovce to the Upper Tihaljina. *Bullettino*, loc. cit. Cf. Dr. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien u. der Hertzegovina*, Berlin, 1877, c. 42.

^b Cf. Hoernes, *Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien u. der Hercegovina* in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen*, vol. iv. p. 37 seqq.

^c C. I. L. iii. 6362, 6363, one of A.D. 173.

^d Cf. the *Diploma of Vespasian*, C. I. L. iii. D. xi.

^e II LVCENSIVM, C. I. L. iii. D. xxi. in *Moesia A.* 105: V. LVCIENSIVM ET CALLAECORVM. A. 60 in *Illyricum*. D. ii.: A. 85 in *Pannonia D.* xii.: in *Pannonia Superior D.* xxxix. In the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* (*Occ.* xlii. 29) is mentioned the *Tribunus Cohortis Lucensis, Luco*.

^f From the occurrence of Roman remains at a succession of localities (Vitina, Kreindvor, Studenci, Gradnić, Čerin, Kruška), between Ljubuški and the Vale of Mostar, Dr. Hoernes conjectures that on this side a road branched off from Bigeste to the valley of the Narenta. (Cf. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien*, &c. p. 42).

able, being, indeed, in parts so well preserved that, if cleared of bushes, it might still be useful for traffic.^a The natives, without taking in the meaning of their words,

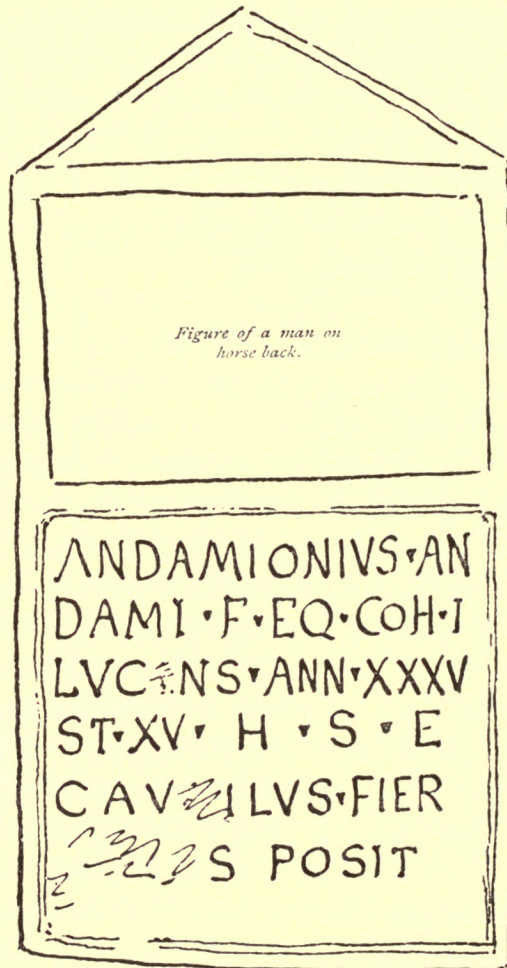


Fig. 7^a. FROM LJUBUŠKI, HERZEGOVINA, THE ANCIENT BICESTE.

still repeat a tradition, that it leads from "Solin to Norin," in other words, from Salona to Narona. They call it *Sekulan* or "Janko's Road," from a supposed connexion with the feats of the latter-day Illyrian hero, John Hunniades, the *Deli Janko* of South-Slavonic epic. At distances respectively of one and two miles from Viddo, the site of Narona, the bases of two Roman milestones are still in position.

The site of the important Dalmatian city of Narona has been better explored than most. One hundred and twenty-six inscriptions from this spot have been

^a Glavinić, *Mittheilungen der k. k. Commission*, &c. 1880, p. xciii.

published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*,^a and others have been added more recently by Professor Glavinić, being the result of excavations conducted at this spot on behalf of the Central Commission at Vienna.^b The early existence of an Illyrian staple on the lower Narenta may be gathered from the passage of Theopompos of Chios, already cited ;^c and the fact signalized by Prof. Mommsen, that here alone among Dalmatian sites have been discovered Roman inscriptions of the age of the Republic, indicates that a Roman mercantile plantation had been established here at a period considerably anterior to the "deduction" hither, about the time of Augustus, of a colony of Veterans.

The chief remains are situate on a conical hill,^d the existing village on which owes its name, *Viddo*, to a divinity of the Narentine Slavs,—the *Pagani* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Here, probably, was the *Castra* or citadel of Narona, of which Vatinius speaks in his letter, addressed to Cicero from this city ;^e the rest of the town lying in terraces on the mountain theatre behind.

A number of beautiful objects found on this site, besides the inscriptions recording the erection of temples and public baths by local benefactors, attest the former opulence of this Illyrian city. In the course of his recent excavations Professor Glavinić discovered here an amethystine glass bowl of exquisite fabric, and from the occurrence of glass tumblers of that late thorn-bossed kind,^f which in the West we are apt to associate with Frankish and Saxon sepulture, we may infer that here, as at Doclea further to the South, glass manufacture continued till a very late date ; at least, it is difficult to imagine that such fragile wares as I have seen excavated at Narona were transported from any great distance. It is possible that the Ostro-gothic chiefs in Dalmatia, like their Teutonic kinsmen of the West, patronised this curious excrescence of late-Roman luxury.

The smaller glass bottles and so-called lachrymatories, so common on this site, have a special interest in their connexion with a local product. Pliny tells us that only two unguents of the royal Persian kind are produced in Europe, the

^a C. I. L. iii. p. 291 *seqq.* and p. 1029.

^b Cf. Glavinić, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, &c. *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iv. p. 86 *seqq.*

^c See p. 45.

^d Cf. Glavinić, *Mittheilungen*, &c. 1880, p. xciv.

^e "Vatinius Imp. Ciceroni . . . ex castris Narona." (*Ad. Fam.* v. ep. 9.) Vatinius complains of the Dalmatian winter.

^f A specimen seen by me at Metcovich, and found at Viddo on the site of Narona, was precisely similar in form to tumblers found in Kent, in the Saxon cemetery at Fairford, in the Frankish graves at Selzen in Rhenish Hesse, in Normandy, and elsewhere. Cf. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. li. Lindenschmidt, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. i. Heft xi. t. 7, &c.

Illyrian *Iris* and the Gallic spikenard.^a The best quality of *Iris* grew, he tells, in the wooded interior about the Drin and the city of Naronæ. The mouths of the Naron or Narenta,^b on which this city lay, and the Drin, had already been celebrated for this herb by Nikander in his *Theriaca*,^c and the naturalist Theophrastos^d yields the palm to the Illyrian *Iris*. The flower from whose root the spikenard was prepared is abundant throughout all this region, and its rainbow petals may still be seen lighting up the ruins of Naronæ. To the natives it is known as *Mačić*, a translation of the Latin word *Gladiolus*,^e but also as *Perunika*,^f suggestive of the name of the old Slavonic Thunder-god Perun, and thus attesting the abiding veneration in which the herb was held. We may perhaps reasonably infer that many of these Naronitan *unguentaria* contained the precious balm



Fig. 7*.

CRYSTALLUM FROM SALONÆ.

for which the neighbouring Illyrian wilds were so early famous, and which was exported, as may be gathered from Pliny's reference, to the other provinces of the Empire. In this connexion I may mention an *unguentarium*, recently obtained by me on the site of the ancient Salonæ, which seems to show that that luxurious Dalmatian city was not content with perfumes of native origin. It is a small crystal bottle of a form suggestive of Oriental influences, and was no doubt one of those precious *crystalla*, or crystal vessels imported, as Martial^g tells us, by the Nile fleet (fig. 7*):—Alexandria, being then the channel by which the products of India and the furthest East reached Italy and the West. I obtained the *unguentarium* on the spot from a peasant who had dug it up with other Roman remains in his *campagna* within the circuit of the ancient walls. It is not improbable that it formed part of the contents of a late-Roman grave; a variety of crystal vessels were found in the sarcophagus of Maria, the child-bride of Honorius,

^a "Ergo regale unguentum appellatur quoniam regibus Parthorum ita temperatur Nihilque ejus rei causa in Italia victrice omnium, in Europa vero tota, præter irim Illyricam et nardum Gallicum gignitur." (*H. N.* lib. xiii. c. 2.)

^b "Iris laudatissima in Illyrico et ibi quoque non in maritimis sed in silvestribus Drilonis et Naronæ." (*H. N.* lib. xxi. c. 19.) Pliny here names the city *Naronæ* and not the river *Naron*.

^c Ἴριον θ' ἦν ἔθρεψε Δριλῶν καὶ Νάρονος ὄχθη.

^d *Hist. Plant.* lib. ix. c. 9.

^e Cf. the French word for *Iris*, *Glaïeul*.

^f Also as *Bogiša*, from *Bog* = God.

^g xii. 74, "Cum tibi Niliacus portet *crystalla* cataplus."

brought to light during some excavations at St. Peter's in 1544,^a and, in the fifth century, Salonæ, the last refuge of Empire in the West, rivalled Rome and Ravenna themselves in the dignity of her interments.

Among the objects obtained by myself from Narona are two marble heads, one of a Roman lady, the style of whose *coiffure* appears best to tally with that of the daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius, the Empress Galeria Valeria, though the workmanship would seem to belong to a better age; the other head is of Mercury, and is executed in a fine Græco-Roman style. The cult of Mercury was specially popular at Narona, as is witnessed by an altar and another dedicatory inscription,^b both raised by the Seviri Augustales, who add to their titles on several more of the local inscriptions the letters M.M. interpreted to mean *Magistri Mercuriales*.^c

On the same occasion I procured the handle and part of the blade of a sacrificial knife (see Pl. II.), the use of which was possibly not unconnected with the sacral functions of these Naronese Seviri. The blade of this knife is of iron, the hilt of bronze, circled with an interlaced palmetto ornament, and terminating in a griffin's head of considerable spirit. The Roman sacrificial knife seems to have been of various forms and materials, and Festus^d tells us of the gold and ivory handle of the "*secespita*" used by the flamens and pontifices at Rome. The present example answers exactly to a common form of the sacrificial knife as seen associated with other sacrificial utensils on ancient monuments. This monumental form, like the Naronese knife, is of great breadth in proportion to its length, and the handles, as in the present instance, terminate in the heads of animals such as lions and eagles.



Fig. 7†.

TURQUOISE RING
FROM NARONA.

Engraved gems are plentiful among the ruins of Narona, and I acquired a ring of peculiar form and material (fig. 7†). It is carved out of a single pale Turquoise, the highly valued *Sapphirus* of the Ancients, and has engraved upon it in high relief a two-winged insect resembling a moth with folded wings.

The coins that have passed through my hands from this site range from Dyrhachian silver pieces of the third century B.C. to

^a Luc. Faunus, *de Antiquitatibus Urbis Romæ*, c. x. Cf. King, *National History of Gems or semi-precious Stones*, p. 105.

^b C. I. L. iii. 1792, 1793.

^c Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 291.

^d *Ad. Virg. Æn.* iv. 262. Festus' words are: "Secespitam esse Antistius Labeo ait cultrum ferreum oblongum, manubrio rotundo, eburneo, solido, vincto ad capulum auro argentoque, fixum clavis æneis, ære Cyprio: quo Flamines, Flaminicæ Virgines, Pontificesque ad sacrificia utuntur." On Consular coins the instrument of sacrifice generally appears as an axe.

the fifth century of our era. Consular *denarii* and coins of the early Empire are abundant; the latest piece that I have noticed is of the Emperor Anastasius.

With reference to the early Greek mercantile connexion with the Narenta valley, the name of Trappano, a little town on the peninsula of Sabbioncello, opposite the Narenta mouth, suggests a Hellenic origin. Its peninsular position was precisely such as the old Greek colonists on the Illyrian coast were prone to choose for their plantations, and it would stand to the Illyrian staple of Narona in the same relation as the Greek settlement on the isle of Issa stood to the staple of Salonæ. The name of Drepanon, or "the sickle," seems to have been commonly applied by Greek settlers to similar promontories, and the horn of rock which here runs into the sea presents analogies with the Cretan Dhrépano and the Sicilian Trapani. At Trappano itself the stranger hears of antiquities at every turn. Below the town is a tower known to the inhabitants as Cæsar's Palace, but a very slight examination convinced me of its mediæval origin. The same is probably true of the remains of the castle on the hill, but I observed a cistern and a wall with narrow bricks and tiles alternating with masonry, that certainly seemed to be of Roman construction. Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, and I was informed that, two and a-half years since, in making the new road, some beautifully-wrought marbles, including several inscriptions, were brought to light and at once broken up for road material. It is to be observed, as explaining the apparently Hellenic origin of Trappano, that it lies on the natural transit route across the peninsula of Sabbioncello, between the ancient emporium of the Narenta and the port of Curzola, the *Κέρκυρα μέλαινα*, or Black Coreyra, of the ancients, one of the earliest Greek island colonies on the Illyrian shore, and which must have stood to the mainland staple of Narona in the same economic relation as that in which Issa and Pharia stood to Salonæ. At the present day the communications between Curzola and Metcovich, the modern local representative of Narona, follows this line.

Up to Narona the general direction, at times even the exact course, of the great Dalmatian-Macedonian highway is well ascertained. The distances from Salonæ and Narona of the three identified stations, Pons Tiluri, Ad Novas, and Bigeste fit in well with the numbers of the *Itinerary* and *Tabula*;^a and the total distance given—83 or 84 Roman miles—squares equally well with the actual

^a Adding on in the case of the *Tabula* the omitted distance of xiii. m. p.

distance from Viddo, the site of Narona, *viá* Ljubuški, Runović, and Trilj, to the site of Salonæ, and at the same time approximates within a mile to Pliny's calculation.^a

From Narona onwards to the neighbourhood of Scodra all is as dark and uncertain as it was clear before; and the last writer who has attempted to elucidate the problem, Dr. Hoernes,^b in despair of reconciling the distances given with the probable localities of the stations, throws over the numbers supplied by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* altogether.

It must be observed, however, that, with the exception of a single omission in the *Tabula*, which Antonine enables us to supply, we have up to this point had every reason to rely on the mileage given by our two authorities; and that the sum of the mileage given between Narona and Scodra, 172 m.p. is very much what we should expect to find it. Admitting that we have lost our compass, that is no reason for throwing away our measuring-rod as well.

Hitherto, for the whole distance, Narona—Scodra, there has been no intermediate fixed point to guide us in our inquiry. In the course of my explorations of the Herzegovinian ranges that lie inland to the north-east of the site of Epitaurum, I have come upon some Roman remains which may help to supply this desideratum. In order, however, to show what I believe to be the full bearing of these new materials on the question at issue, I may be allowed to examine the whole subject from a point of view which appears to me to have been hitherto too little regarded.

Before proceeding further with this investigation, it may be well to give a comparative table of the route Narona—Scodra, as given by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* of Antonine.

<i>Itinerary.</i>	<i>Tabula.</i>
NARONA	NARONA
	XII ^c
XXV	AD TVRRES
	XIII
DALLVNTO	DILVNTO
	XIIII

^a lxxxv. m. p.

^b *Alterthümer der Hercegovina und der südlichen Theile Bosniens*, vol. ii. p. 146.

^c Accepting the correction of the xxii. given, in order to square with the xxv. m.p. given by Antonine as the distance, Narona—Dallunto.

<i>Itinerary.</i>	<i>Tabula.</i>
XL	PARDVA
	XVI
	VIII
LEVSINIO	LEVSINIO
	XII
XXVIII	SALLVNTO
	XVII
ANDERBA	ANDERVA
	VI
XVIII	VARIS
	XI
SALLVNTO	SALLVNTO
XVII	XVII
ALATA	HALATA
X	X
BIRZIMINIO	BERSVMNO
XVIII	XVI
CINNA	SINNA
XII	XX
SCODRA	SCODRA

It will be seen that the Roman road from Naronæ to Scodra (the modern *Scutari d'Albania*), as given in the *Tabula*, forks at a point called Ad Zizio into two branches, one of which leads through the interior of the country to Scodra, the other runs to Epitaurum (Ragusa Vecchia), and follows thence the coast-line to Butua and Lissus (Alessio).

Hitherto, owing mainly to an expression of the Geographer of Ravenna, it has been assumed that the earlier part of this route, the route common to the two lines of communication, followed the coast-line from Naronæ. This conclusion I am altogether unable to accept.

Ravennas, in a confused list of Dalmatian cities, all of which, according to his statement, are on the sea-coast,^a adds after Epitaurum, "id est: Ragusium,"

^a Lib. iv. c. 16: "Attamen Dalmatiæ plurimas fuisse civitates legimus ex quibus aliquas designare volumus quæ ponuntur per litus maris, id est: Burzumi, Aleta, Saluntum, Butua, Decadoron, Buccinum, Rucinium, Epitaurum id est Ragusium, Asamon, Zidion, Parduæ id est Starnes, Turres, Narrona," &c.

—“*Asamon, Zidion, Pardia, id est Stamnes, Turres, Narrona.*” The order of the names between Epitaurum and Narona shows an agreement with the *Tabula*, “*Dilunto*” alone being omitted, and the identification of Epitaurum with the site of Ragusa, by Ravennas’ time already a famous city, being correct within a few miles, it is inferred that Ravennas is an equally good authority for the approximate identification of Pardia with “*Stamnes*,” or Stagno, a town situate on the neck of the peninsula of Sabbioncello.

On the other hand it is equally probable that the Geographer of Ravenna, knowing the order of some of the most famous towns on the other side of the Adriatic, as they existed in his day, and knowing the connexion between Ragusa and Epitaurum (a fact which, as Ragusa Vecchia preserved the name of Pitaur to a much later date, must have been tolerably notorious), proceeded further to identify Stagno, the next modern seaport known to him, midway between Ragusa and the mouth of the Narenta, with what on the ancient chart from which he drew was the middle station between Epitaurum and Narona. Considering the grotesque blunders with which his list begins, placing “*in ipso litore maris*” three cities which lie, beyond all contestation, in the central glens of what is now Montenegro, the fact that Ravennas places Pardia, Asamon and Zidion (the *AD ZIZIO* of the *Tabula*), on the coast, can prove nothing as to their real position, and the situation of Stagno lying on a peninsula, off the line of any possible coast road, makes its identification with any station on the line Narona—Scodra highly improbable. Stagno derives its name from the *Stagnum* or shallow lagune of sea, whence from time immemorial salt has been obtained by evaporation. In Constantine Porphyrogenitus it appears already as *Stagnum*,^a but there are no remains either on this site, or anywhere within miles of it, of Roman habitation.

To prove that the earlier stages of the great line Narona—Scodra lay along the Adriatic coast requires something more than a random statement of a writer like Ravennas. The *Tabula*, which from its distorted form can rarely be appealed to with confidence as to the exact direction of a road, observes in this case a judicious neutrality. The line of stations between Narona and the point of junction at Ad Zizio are represented as filling a narrow strip between the Narenta

^a *Σταγνόν*. It is difficult to understand why Professor Tomasehek, *op. cit.* p. 36, should go out of his way to suggest a derivation for the word “*Entweder aus einem vorauszusetzenden illyr. Worte Stamen, Maul, Rachen, Hals, oder aus Gr. στενόν, —Enge.*” The mediæval Latin form *Stannum*, like the *Stamnes* of Ravennas, is simply a corruption of *Stagnum*, and it is to be observed that these forms illustrate a Rouman characteristic, cf. Latin *Signum*, Wallachian *Sennu*, &c. The Slavonic abbreviation of the name is *Ston*.

(which is made to run parallel to the sea from East to West)^a and the Adriatic. The road itself is not indicated till we reach Ad Zizio. In this chart Narona itself is placed on the sea, from which in reality it was distant about fifteen miles, and it is to be observed that the name of the next station, Ad Turres, has an inland tendency.

All *à priori* considerations should make us look for the course of the great highway between Narona and Scodra inland from the beginning. The road itself ought not to be regarded as if it was a merely local line, or series of local lines constructed for the convenience of the citizens of Narona, Epitaurum, or other individual cities. The only right way of regarding it is as a section of the highly important through route connecting the great city of Salonæ with Dyrrhachium, in a still wider sense connecting Italy with Greece. The main object of the highway Narona—Scodra was to open out the shortest land route between Dalmatia and Epirus, and we may be sure that all local considerations were subordinated to this aim.

We may assume, then, that the military engineer who superintended the construction of the section Narona—Scodra endeavoured to follow as direct a line between these two cities as the physical configuration of the country admitted. A straight line from Scodra to Narona would pass through Risinium on the inmost inlet of what is now the Bocche di Cattaro, but the intervening mass of the Black Mountain, in a less degree the Lake of Scutari itself, would prevent the route from taking anything like a direct course.

The mountain mass of what is now South-Western Montenegro has, in fact, in all historical times, operated to deflect the traffic between Albania and Dalmatia (to use the geographical language of more modern times) from its direct course, and the valley of the Zeta, that leads from the lacustrine basin of Scutari to the plain of Nikšić, must in all ages have been the avenue of communication between the North-West and South-East. From Scodra, therefore, to what is now the plain of Nikšić, the course of the Roman road was dictated by physical conditions, as cogent in ancient days as they are now. So far, indeed, all who have endeavoured to trace the course of this Roman highway are agreed. Whatever its subsequent direction, it must have run from Scutari, along the eastern shores

^a A little to the west of the Narenta mouth the Drina is made to run into the Adriatic, coalescing in some strange way with the Cettina. The promontory of Sabbioncello is not so much as indicated. On the other hand the outline of the coast and islands in the neighbourhood of Salonæ has much greater pretensions to exactness.

of the lake between lake and mountains, it must have followed the Zeta Valley, and it must have debouched on the spacious plain of Nikšić.

As on this side we are, by all accounts, on certain ground, it may be well to take Scodra as our starting point and work backwards awhile along the shores of the lake and up the Zeta Valley to the plain of Nikšić. The position of Scodra itself lying between the river outlet of the lake and a branch of the Drin has been of considerable strategic and commercial importance in all times of which we have any record. Its rocky Acropolis, which forms the key of the whole lacustrine basin, was the royal stronghold of the most important of the Illyrian dynasties, and after its capture, together with the Illyrian king Genthios, by L. Anicius in 167 B.C., it became a Roman administrative centre and the appointed place for the *Conventus* of the native chieftains of the Labeate district. Of its intercourse with the Hellenic communities in early times a curious monument has been discovered in the neighbouring village of Gurizi, in the shape of a bronze statuette representing a female figure of archaic Greek workmanship, not unlike some of those discovered at Dodona,^a and I have elsewhere described a new series of Illyrian coins discovered at Selci in the North Albanian Alps, which introduce us for the first time to Scodra as a free city under Macedonian hegemony.^b On the other hand, after careful researches on the spot I have been unable to discover any such architectural or epigraphic traces as are to be found on other historic sites in Southern Illyria, at Alessio, for example, and Durazzo. On the South-western edge of the citadel peak, now known as Rosafa, there are indeed some traces of a rude wall built of huge uncemented blocks, the existing remains of which bear some resemblance to the so-called Cyclopean fragments in the foundation of the citadel walls at Alessio.^c Excepting this, however, I was unable to obtain other relics of Scodra, Illyrian, or Roman, beyond coins and a few intagli. Among the coins, silver pieces of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia are still so abundant that they occasionally pass current along with old Ragusan and Venetian pieces in the bazaars of the modern Albanian town. An onyx gem in my possession from this site bears the legend AVSONI.

The disappearance of larger monuments on this site is no doubt due to the extraordinary deposits of alluvial matter resulting from the yearly inundations of the lake and river. So rapid is the growth of the soil owing to this cause that on the plain near Scutari I have myself seen the columns of the Turkish canopied

^a *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. t. xxiv. p. 1, engraved pl. xv.

^b See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. "On some recent discoveries of Illyrian Coins."

^c A fragment of the Alessio wall is engraved in Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 122.

Tebés built during the last three centuries buried up to the spring of the arches that support their cupolas.

After leaving Scodra, the Roman road, the better probably to avoid the marshy tract near the borders of the lake, appears to have run for a few miles almost due north. On the spacious plain or common that opens to the north of the modern town of Scutari, which is studded with pre-historic barrows (here, unlike the stone mounds of the rockier Dalmatian region, mainly composed of earth), I have observed the remains of an ancient embanked way, now overgrown with heath and bracken, running to the West of the Kiri river and the "Venetian bridge" leading to Drivasto, almost midway between lake and mountains. In the neighbourhood of the village of Boksi the Roman road appears to have taken a westerly bend, and the distance of Cinna,^a the first station beyond Scodra, given in the *Tabula* as twenty miles, must lead us to seek its site in the district of Hotti, where a marshy inlet of the lake juts into the mountains. I am informed by the Padre Superiore of the Franciscans that in their church at Hotti are two Roman inscriptions, and that on the neighbouring site of Helmi are the remains of a considerable ancient building which he believed to be a temple, as well as another inscription built into the house. On these remains I hope on a future occasion to be able to give a more satisfactory report.

Cinna, to be identified with the modern Helmi (an Albanian form of the Old Serbian *hulm*, a hill), bears the name of an Illyrian queen. In the mountains beyond it lay Medeon, where Anicius captured the consort and two sons of the last Scodran dynast, King Genthios. The name of this old Illyrian stronghold appears to survive in that of the hill-fortress of Medun, to the North-east of Podgorica, the mediæval *Medon*, so long the bone of contention between Montenegrin and Albanian Turk. Near Medeon, and below the heights on which its modern representative, Medun, lies, is the village of Dukle, which still preserves the name of the ancient Doklea, later *Dioclea*, the birth-place and name-giver of Diocletian. This site is rich in monuments of antiquity, amongst which was discovered an honorary dedication to the Emperor Gallienus by the Commonwealth of the Docleates.^b It was here that the famous glass vessel, generally known as the

^a According to the *Itinerary* of Antonine this station is only xii. miles from Scodra—probably an error for xxii. In the same way the *Itinerary* increases the distance between Cinna and Berziminium by two miles = m. p. xviii., as against xvi. in the *Tabula*. With regard to the name of the place I adopt the reading of Antonine, as being generally more correct than those of the *Tabula*, and as giving the name of an Illyrian queen. In Ptolemy it appears as *Xivva*.

^b IMP · CAES · P · LICINIO · GALLIENO || PIO · FELICI · AVG · PONT · MAX || TRIB · POT · P · P · CONS · III · RES || PVBL · DOCLEATIVM · (C. I. L. iii. 1705). The best account of the ruins on the site of Dukle is in Kovalevski,

Vase of Podgorica, was found, engraved with typical scenes from the Old Testament by a Roman-Christian hand, explained by inscriptions which afford a most valuable indication of the provincial dialect of this part of Roman Dalmatia.^a As a further proof of the indigenous character of this manufacture, I may mention that I have recently seen some additional fragments of late-Roman glass from this site, resembling in the style of their engraving the celebrated Vase, but without inscriptions.

Neither Doklea^b nor Medeon appear in the *Tabula*, or Antonine, from which we may infer that they lay slightly off the main route between Scodra and Narona. In these authorities the next station is Birzinio, or Bersumno, according to Antoninus eighteen miles distant from Cinna; according to the *Tabula*, sixteen. This fits in well with the neighbourhood of Podgorica,^c the cradle of the Nemanjas, the princely race which placed for awhile on Serbian brows the falling diadem of Diocletian and Constantine. The Roman station of Birzimi-

Četyre mjesjaca v Černogorii. (Four months in Montenegro.) St. Petersburg, 1841, pp. 81-85, cited by Jireček, *op. cit.*. There are massive remains of an aqueduct, town walls in the form of a parallelogram, columns and ruins of a temple or large building known as "Carski Dvor—the Emperor's palace," sarcophagi with bas-reliefs and Latin inscriptions. Some new inscriptions from this site have been recently communicated by Dr. Bogišić to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. Doklea gave its name to the Slavonic region of Dioklia, from which in the early Middle Ages the Serbs extended the name *More Dioklitijsko*, "the Dioclitian sea," to the Adriatic itself. The additional "i" of the later form of the name, *Dioclea*, is said to have been due to an endeavour to justify its etymological connexion with the name of Diocletian. But the alternative name *Diocelea* appears too early to justify such an artificial origin. The authority for Diocletian's birth at Dioclea is the almost contemporary Aurelius Victor, whose statement on this head is clear: "Diocletianus Dalmata, Anulini Senatoris libertinus, matre pariter atque oppido nomine Dioclea, quorum vocabulis donec imperium sumeret Dioeles appellatus, ubi orbis Romani potentiam cepit Grajum nomen in Romanum morem convertit." (*Epit.* c. xxxix.) It is to be observed that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, while placing Diocletian's birth-place at Salona, makes Diocletian found Dioclea: "Τὸ κάστρον Διόκλεια τὸ νῦν παρὰ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ἠκοδόμησεν." (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29, and cf. c. 35, where he speaks of it as being then *ἱρημόκαστρον*, as we should say, "a waste chester.") Ptolemy mentions a *Διοκλεία* (al. *Δόκεια*) in Phrygia; not unknown to ecclesiastical history.

^a This vase is now in the Musée Basilewsky in Paris. It is described and illustrated by the Cav. di Rossi in the *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, 1877, p. 77). The linguistic peculiarities of the inscriptions on it suggest interesting comparisons with the Romance survivals in the dialect of Ragusa. See p. 32, *Note*.

^b It appears to me probable that the obscure "Diode," placed between "Lissum" and "Codras," or Scodra, in *Guidonis Geographia* (114), stands for "Dioclea," a hint that the name appeared under this form in some copy of the *Tabula*.

^c The older Serbian name of Podgorica was Ribnica, still preserved by the small stream that flows beside its walls. (Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 20.) This place derived its importance as lying in the centre of the district of Zenta.

nium would have been the point of bifurcation for the road leading to Doclea and Medeon, and its identification with the site of Podgorica fits in very well with a hint of Ravennas, that "Medione" lay in its vicinity.

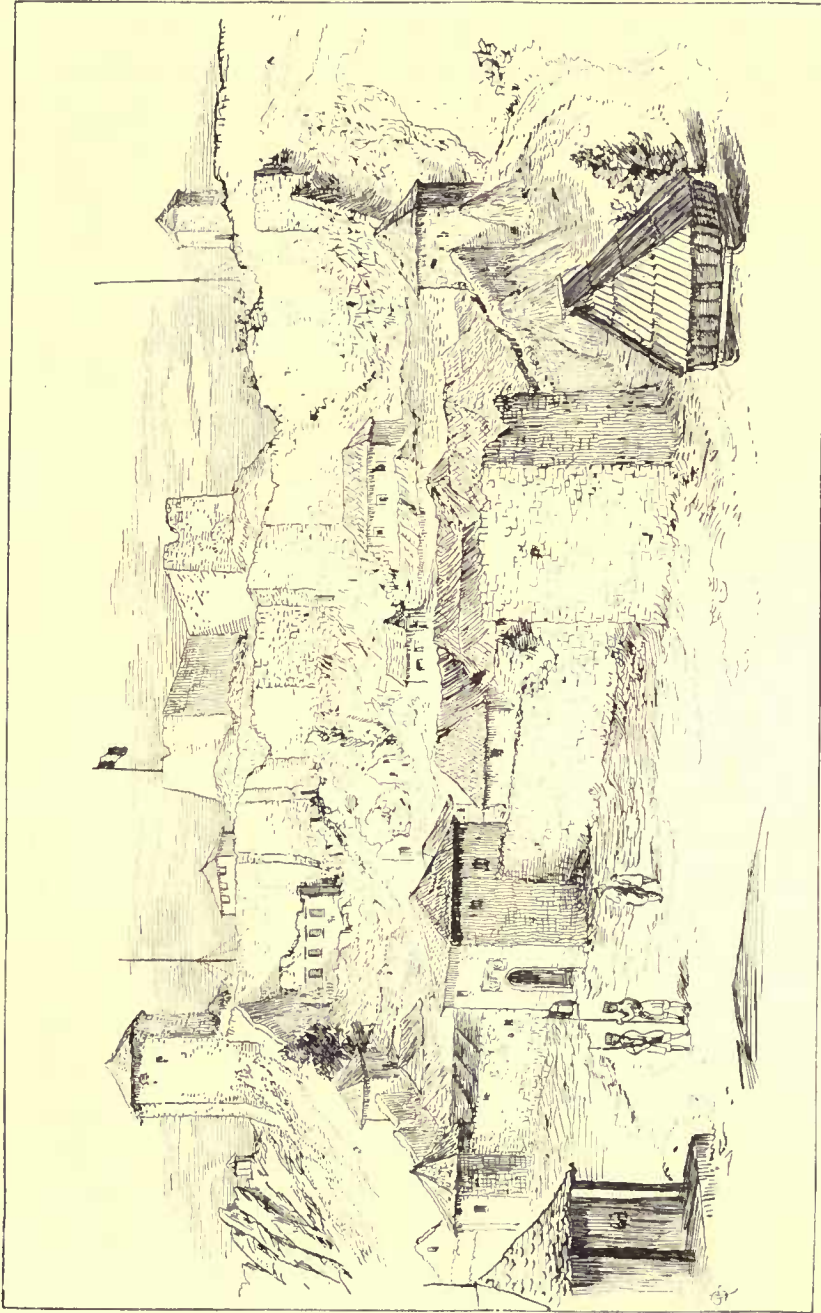
It is certain that from this point the Roman road must have followed the upward ascent of the Zeta valley. The next station, Alata or Halata, the Aleta of Ptolemy and Ravennas, ten miles distant from Birziminium, would thus take us to the neighbourhood of Danilovgrad,^b and the seventeen or eighteen miles given as the distance from this to the next station, Salluntum, brings us over the pass of Ostrog to the plain of Nikšić. It is interesting in connexion with the proved affinities between the Illyrians and the Messapians of the opposite Italian coast to note the curious parallel between the juxta-position of *Aleta* and *Salluntum* in the Dalmatian Itineraries, and the appearance of an Apulian *Aletium* in the district of the *Sallentini*.

The aspect of the town of Nikšić, better known as the Onogost of Old Serbian history, is singularly Roman (Pl. III.); indeed its ground-plan (fig. 8^a) presents the familiar outline of a Roman castrum, with square and polygonal towers at the four corners and in the centre of the side walls. This quadrilateral arrangement, however, occurs in some other Herzegovinian towns, Ljubinje, for instance, and is rather, perhaps, due to some later wave of Byzantine influence. The walls, in their present construction, are unquestionably mediæval, though it is always possible that the Old Serbian architects followed pre-existing lines.

Excepting this ground-plan, I have been unable to light upon any direct indications of the existence of a Roman Municipium on the site. Roman gems and coins, however, occur from time to time in this neighbourhood, and the importance of this central plain of Nikšić, whether as one of the most fertile spots in this part of the Dinaric Alps, or as the natural crossing-point of routes leading from East to West, and from the Bocche di Cattaro, or Rhizonic gulf, into the interior, renders it certain that it fulfilled in the Roman economy of this Illyrian tract a function at least as important as that performed by it in mediæval times. The archæological explorer in the plain of Nikšić is struck by the number of mediæval cemeteries to be met with on every side, and by the grandeur of the

^a Geog. Ravennas, p. 211 (ed. Pinder et Parthey): "*Item juxta Burzumon est Civitas quæ dicitur Medione,*" &c.

^b Prof. Tomaschek neglects the abiding conditions of intercourse as fixed by the physical configuration of the country in seeking the site of Aleta out of the Zeta Valley: "*Vielleicht östlich von Cettinje, bei Gradac oder Uljici,*" *op. cit.* p. 42. The name Aleta itself he compares with the Albanian *hel* [pl. *heljete* (*hejete*)] = a point, as of a lance, &c.



View of the Old City, Nikšić.

tombs, the sculptures of which are in this district wrought in a better style than elsewhere. These Old Serbian monuments derive both their general outline and

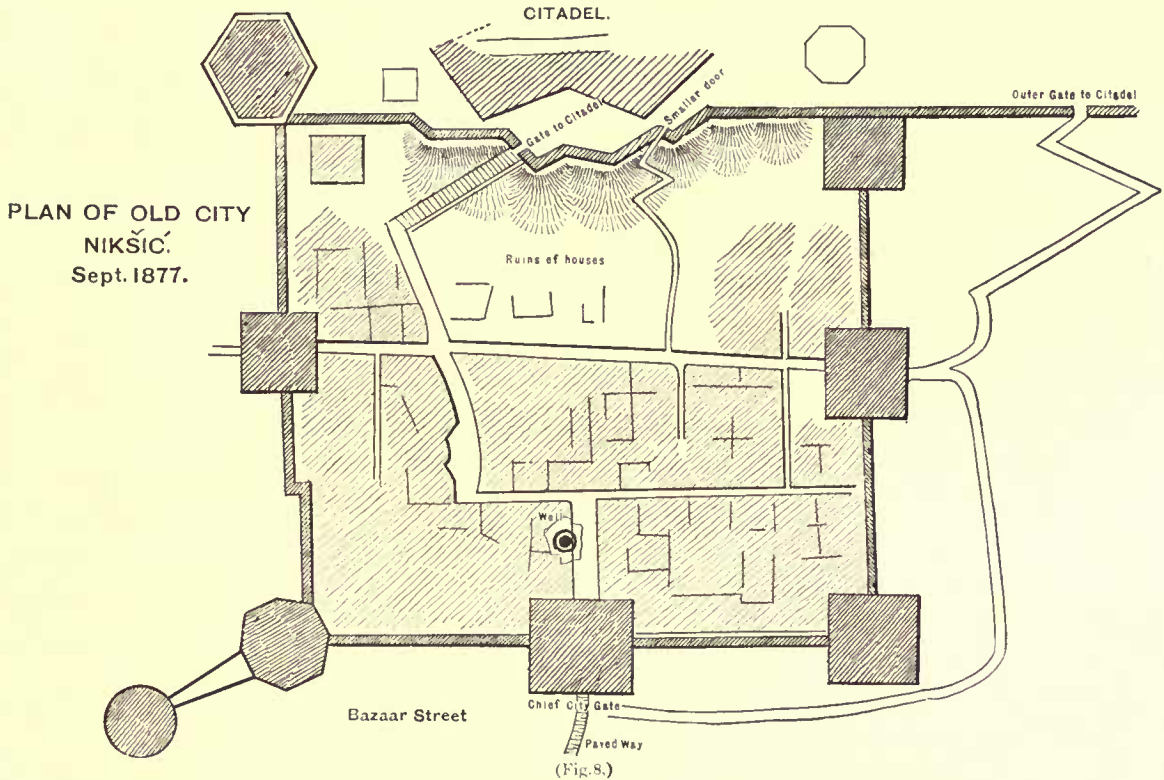


Fig. 8^a. PLAN OF OLD CITY, NIKŠIĆ.

their special ornamentation, notably the vine spiral, the most frequent of all, from Roman prototypes, and the excellence of the Nikšić tomb-sculptures is itself sufficient proof that those who wrought them had Roman models at hand. On a mediæval gravestone found near Nevesinje the Old Serbian sculptor has actually executed a rude copy of the symbolic Genius with reversed torch, so often seen on Roman sepulchral monuments.

Assuming that the site of the first Salluntum (another is subsequently mentioned on the same route) is to be sought on the extreme east of the Nikšić plain, perhaps even in the Gračanica valley, there would be room for the two next stations, Varis eleven miles distant, and Andarva, or Anderva, six miles further

in the middle of the plain itself, and on its Western margin, respectively.^a On the ground of a Montenegrin *saga*, Dr. Jireček and others have considered themselves justified in assuming that the Roman road in its onward course, from the Upper Zeta valley and the margin of the Nikšić plain, took the direction of Grahovo. According to this *saga*, as related by Vuk Karadžić,^b three brothers fell to contending which should take with him their only sister, whereupon they set themselves three tasks. One said that he would wall in the mountains, another that he would build a church in Dioclea, the third that he would join the Cijevna and the Morača. The third brother finished his work first, but "foolish Vuk," the first, had time to build a boundary wall from the Bijela Gora (which forms the triple frontier of Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina), four days' journey to the great mountain of Kom, which lies in the Montenegrin canton of Kući, near the Albanian border. On the strength of an assertion of the French traveller, Vialla de Sommières, this semi-mythical boundary-dyke, of which it is especially said that (unlike a Roman road) it follows the contour of the hills,^c has been converted into a Roman road, although its whole course, as described in the *Saga*, is wholly irreconcilable with the exigencies of road engineering. In the neighbourhood of the plain of Grahovo, by which it is said to run, I have sought for it in vain, but, on the other hand, I have come upon an existing trace and a popular tradition connected with it which preserves the distinct record of a road running inland from the site of the ancient Risinium to the plain of Nikšić, and far into the interior. In dry weather a straight line, the trace of an ancient Way, is seen running straight across the Crivoscian plain of Dvrsno, from the opening of the pass which leads to Risano, the ancient Risinium, to that leading to the

^a The attempt to identify Sallunto (ii.) with the Slansko Polje (Hoernes, *Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, vol. ii. p. 149), on the ground of similarity of name, is too hazardous; and the same applies to its comparison with either of the two *Slanos*. The Serbian form of the Illyro-Roman word, if directly adopted and preserved, would be *Solunat*: Tomasehek's suggested comparison with the name of the village of *Zaljut* (inadmissible on other grounds) must therefore be discarded. I would suggest the identification of this "Sallunto" with the "*Lontodocla*" in the region of Dioclia, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*op. cit.* c. 25). It might be a "*Salbunto-Docleatium*," to distinguish it from the other "Sallunto" on the same route further to the West.

^b Lexicon, *s.v.* VUKOVA MEGJA.

^c "Od jednoga kraja do drugoga ove megje prijekijem putem ima oko četiri dana hoda; a kad bi se išlo preko gudura i litica pored nje bilo bi mnogo više." ("From one end to the other of this boundary-wall, as you go forward, is about four days' journey; but were one to go along it through glen and over ridge it would be much further.") Vuk, *loc. cit.* This description recalls rather the up and down progress of a Roman frontier-wall, such as that from Tyne to Solway, than any Roman road.

Montenegrin plain of Grahovo. The trace is known to the Crivoscian peasants as "St. Sava's path," and they have a tradition that it was along this route that the founder of the Serbian Church was carried to his Minster tomb at Mileševa, which lies in the Novipazar district beyond the Lim.^a The trace itself, as well as the tradition, points to the existence of an ancient line of communication between the Rhizonic gulf, the Drina Valley, where it would join the Danubian road-system, and the route which traversed the ore-producing ranges of Dardania. The same line was still followed by the Cattarese merchants in the Middle Ages, who passed from Risano through this Crivoscian plain, then peopled by a Rouman tribe, the Vlachi Rigiani (who seem to have perpetuated the Illyro-Roman race of the ancient Risinium), thence through Grahovo to Nikšić, and thence again across the Drina to Plevlje, itself the site of the most important Roman settlement in that part of Illyricum. The natives declare that "St. Sava's path" can be traced right away to Mileševa itself. My own observations have led me to the conclusion that the "kalderym," or paved mule-track, over the mountains between Grahovo and the plain of Nikšić, runs in places along the trace of a Roman Way.

The point where this cross-line of communication between Risinium and the Drina Valley intersects the highway Scodra—Narona, which we have been pursuing, lay unquestionably in the Western angle of Nikšić plain, where, as has been shown from a measurement of distances, we must seek the city of Anderva. I have now to adduce some remarkable evidence bringing the name of this city into relation with a Roman Municipium on the Drina, and thus affording a new indication that a cross-line of Roman road, connecting Risinium with that river, cut the Dalmatian-Epirote highway at this spot.

The ancient track already mentioned, running from Risano and the Bocche di Cattaro to the plain of Nikšić, and which for practical purposes may be identified with the Roman road-line, is continued across the plain and through the long Duga Pass, so often the scene of combat between Turk and Montenegrin, to the plain of Gacko, where it meets another ancient route, running from the site of Epitaurum and the later Ragusa, of which more will be said. From this point both routes unite and are prolonged across the wild Čemerno ranges to Foča, in the Drina Valley, and the important bridge-town of Gorazda, where this Adriatic line meets

^a This, of course, is historically impossible, as St. Sava died at Tirnovo, in Bulgaria, and must therefore have been carried to Mileševa from the East.

^b Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen*, sect. 11. *Von Cattaro nach Plevlje* (p. 72).

the cross-line of communication between the upper valley of the Bosna, the Lim, and the ore-bearing ranges of Old Serbia,—in other words, the ancient route connecting Salonæ with the *Metalla Dalmatica* and *Argentaria*.

At Gorazda Dr. Hoernes^a had already observed a *sarcophagus* with an obliterated inscription. During a recent visit to this place I found, near the old bridge over the Drina, several more ancient fragments, and amongst them a bas-relief of an eagle, in a rude style but of Roman origin, carved on a porphyritic marble, which was much used by the Roman masons and sculptors of Plevlje, the next important Roman site to the south-east of Gorazda. Walled into the apse of the Orthodox church, a foundation of Duke Stephen, from whom Herzegovina derives its name, and which lies on the banks of the Drina a little below the present town, I was so fortunate as to discover two Roman inscriptions. When

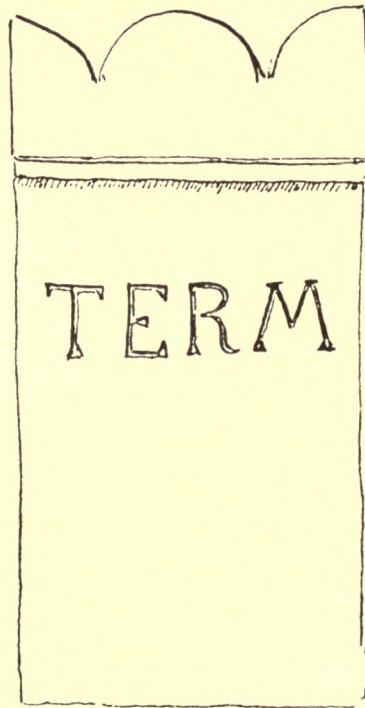


Fig. 9^a. ROMAN MONUMENT.
Gorazda, Bosnia.

I first saw them they were almost wholly covered with a coating of plaster, which however, with the aid of the priest, I succeeded to a great extent in removing.

^a *Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. ii. (in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* vol. iv. p. 47).

The first was apparently a part of an altar with the inscription TERM, perhaps originally a boundary altar, marking the limits of the municipal *Ager* (fig. 9^a).

The other monument formed a portion of a larger slab, containing a dedication, probably of a temple, to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Cohortalis* (fig. 10^a), to whom a dedicatory inscription has also been found at Narona.^a



Fig. 10^a. ROMAN MONUMENT REFERRING TO THE ANDARVANI.
Gorazda, Bosnia.

The part preserved of the second line probably records the share taken in the dedication by a *Decurio* of the MVNICIPIVM ANDARVANORVM, about which latter name there is no room for doubt. Andarva, or Anderva itself, lying as it did on the main-line of road between Scodra and Narona, cannot by any possibility be sought so far inland as Gorazda; but the occurrence of the name of the Andarvani on a monument at Gorazda is of value, as indicating a direct road-connexion between it and the plain of Nikšić, where we have to seek the ancient site of Andarva.^b

The plain of Nikšić, then, in Roman times was in all probability the point of intersection of two important thoroughfares, one leading from Scodra and the

^a C. I. L. iii. 1782, I · O · M || CHOR || TALI. In the present inscription the H of CHOR(TALI) is obliterated, but doubtless was originally contained within the c.

^b It seems to me probable that this line Nikšić—Gacko—Gorazda is indicated by the Geographer of Ravenna, who refers to a line of stations, “*Sapua—Bersellum—Ibisua—Derva—Citua—Anderba.*”

Epirote cities to the great Dalmatian emporia of Naronæ and Salonæ; the other connecting the coast-city, which gave its name to the Rhizonic gulf, with the mining centres of the old Dalmatian interior, and the Danubian provinces. From this central plain, pursuing the route towards Naronæ, we find the physical obstacles by no means so great as those that then deflected the route from Scodra to Nikšić. Hence, it follows that a straight line drawn from the centre of the plain of Nikšić to the site of Naronæ may give some idea of the general direction of the Roman Way in this part of its course. A glance at the map discloses the fact that, if we now start from Naronæ, a line so drawn, so far from approaching the sea at any point, inclines further and further inland from that city to the plain of Nikšić. On the other hand, it will be observed that this ideal line passes either through or in close proximity to sites which in mediæval and modern times have been at once the chief centres of habitation, and the principal strategic points in this part of the Dinaric interior.

It passes within a few miles of the very important position of Stolac, where Roman remains and inscriptions indicating the former existence of a Municipium have recently been discovered. The distance of Stolac from the site of Naronæ answers almost exactly to the xx m.p. given by the *Itinerary* of Antonine as the distance from Naronæ to the next station on this side, important enough to be mentioned by that authority—Dallunto, the Dilunto of the *Tabula*. The continued importance of Diluntum is attested by the appearance of the Municipium Diluntinum—or, as it appears there, “Delontino”—in the Acts of the Council held at Salonæ in 532 A.D. It is there mentioned along with the Municipium Novense (the site of which, as we have seen, lay at Runović, near Imoski), and an obscure Municipium Stantinum, as having a Christian *Basilica*, placed under the charge of the bishop of the inland Dalmatian town of Sarsenterum.^a

At the village of Tassovčić,^b lying in the Narenta valley, between Stolac and Naronæ, are ancient columns and other remains, and the position answers well to that of Ad Turres, the intermediate station between Naronæ and Diluntum.

Assuming the identification of Stolac with Diluntum to be correct, the course of the natural route towards Nikšić leads us to seek for the next station, Pardua,

^a *Acta Concilii II. Salonitani*, in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173. The identification of *Stantinum* with Stagno, urged by Dr. Hoernes on the strength of the existence of the later *Župa Stantania* from *Ston*, the Slavonic form of Stagno, is hardly admissible, since the Acts of this Council of Salona show as yet no trace of Slavonic settlement or nomenclature in that part of Dalmatia which they concern.

^b I have referred to these in my work on Bosnia (2nd ed. p. 361), where, however, Tassovčić is wrongly printed Tassorić.

fourteen miles distant, in the plain of Dabar, a district—as its Old Serbian monuments show—the scene of some commercial prosperity in the Middle Ages.^a The next station, “Ad Zizio” (sixteen miles), where, according to the *Tabula*, the junction line to Epitaurum branched off, would thus lie in the neighbourhood of Bilek. The two stations, “Leusinio,” m.p. viii. and “Sallunto,” m.p. xii. that occur between this and Andarva, which all authorities agree in placing on the plain of Nikšić, should be sought, according to this calculation, in the passes of Banjani.

We have only now to deal with the objection already alluded to, that, according to the Geographer of Ravenna, the earlier stages of the route Narona—Scodra ran along the Adriatic coast. Something has been said already on Ravenna’s identification of Pardua with “Stamnes,” or Stagno; it may, however, be well to point out how absolutely his statement on this head is at variance with the more trustworthy data supplied by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* of Antonine. If the distances given in those two authorities are to be even approximately observed, it is impossible that the five stations between Narona and Epitaurum, or even four out of the five, lay along the sea-coast. The distance to be traversed by road between Epitaurum and Narona is, according to the *Tabula*, 112 miles; the actual distance along the coast is about 55. It is impossible, as Dr. Hoernes admits, to make up this disparity of two to one from the bends of the road, and he draws the conclusion, that it is better to set aside the distances in the *Tabula* altogether.

But the distances given in the *Tabula* are the best guides we have. As a whole, they square well with the distances given in the *Itinerary*, and with the general statement of Pliny, that Epitaurum was 100 miles distant from Narona. Moreover, the general correctness of our two authorities in what regarded the section Salonæ—Narona gives us just grounds for believing that they are still to be relied on in the section Narona—Scodra.

When we find the distance, Epitaurum—Narona, *viâ* the junction to Ad Zizio, is over twice the length of the coast line between the two, the natural inference is that the junction station of Ad Zizio is to be sought considerably in the interior, and that the angle formed by the two lines Narona—Ad Zizio and Epitaurum—Ad Zizio must approach a right angle.

^a The name *Dabar* suggests a connexion with the important tribe of the *Daversi* or *Daorsi*, who inhabited the ranges East of the Narenta at the time of the Roman Conquest. In the Romance dialect of Dalmatia (as exemplified by its surviving remnants in that of Ragusa), *v* is changed to *b*.

^b Though the *Itinerary* of Antonine seems to give us authority for striking off 10 m. between Dilunto and Narona, see p. 79.

What has been said already here specially applies. The road Narona—Scodra was not made to suit the convenience of the inhabitants of Epitaurum. That the road Narona—Scodra made a *détour* to the coast of at least 35 miles to suit the convenience of any more obscure coast-city is a still less admissible hypothesis. As a matter of fact, the communications between Epitaurum and the great emporium of the Narenta must have been almost exclusively maritime, the land journey being restricted to the single mile across the peninsula of Stagno. The traffic between Ragusa, the modern representative of Epitaurum, and Metcovich, the modern representative of Narona, runs at the present day almost entirely by sea and river, and, in ancient days, when the whole coasting traffic of the Adriatic ran along the Dalmatian shore, the communication between the two cities would have been as exclusively maritime.

To Epitaurum, as to Ragusa, the value of a road must have depended on the extent to which it opened out its communications with the centres of habitation, in the Alpine interior, with what are now the upland plains of Trebinje, Gaeko, Nikšić, and Nevesinje, in a still higher degree with the valley of the Drina beyond. The great caravan route, by which in mediæval times the merchandise of the West left the Adriatic coast for the furthest East, ran from Ragusa, the local successor of Epitaurum, straight inland over the interior ranges, past Trebinje and Gaeko, to the valley of the Drina. It is highly probable that, as in the case of Cattaro already cited, this mediæval caravan route represents a very ancient line of communication between the Drina valley and its Adriatic outlet. In the course of many journeys among the Dalmatian and Herzegovinian ranges a phenomenon has been repeatedly observed by me, nowhere more than in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, which seems to prove that the mule tracks leading from the coast into the interior are often of high antiquity. The course of these hoof-worn mountain tracks is very often literally mapped out by a succession of prehistoric barrows belonging to the Illyrian Bronze Age, which persistently follow the course of the route. That the Roman road should have taken the same general direction as this ancient line of traffic between the Adriatic port and the Drina may be reasonably inferred, though, no doubt, its course was straighter than the actual route followed by the indigenes.

We will now turn to the evidence afforded by existing Roman remains. At Klek and Ranjevo Selo, near the southern mouth of the Narenta, have been found three Roman sepulchral inscriptions relating to private individuals.^a Along the whole

^a C. I. L. iii. 1763, 1764, 1765.

coast of the Raguseo, however, from Stagno to the site of Epitaurum, with the exception of a single sepulchral inscription found near Slano^a of the same unimportant character as the last, absolutely no relics of Roman habitation have been brought to light. Carefully as I have myself examined this coast line I have neither been able to discover any new inscriptions nor to find any traces of a Roman road. It must be remembered, moreover, that this maritime strip, unlike the wilder tracks of the Herzegovinian interior, has been for centuries under antiquarian observation. It has formed a part of what, to the beginning of the present century, was the highly civilised Republic of Ragusa, the birthplace of Banduri, and the Roman remains of which had already been made a subject of research by Aldus Manutius in the early days of the Renascence. And yet, despite this prolonged antiquarian scrutiny, the remains of the Roman towns and stations that we are told to look for in the neighbourhood of Stagno, in the bay of Malfi, the valley of Ombla, or on the site of Ragusa itself, are absolutely non-apparent.

The absence of such remains along the coast, and the general considerations already enumerated, had long forced me to the conclusion that the Roman road communication between Epitaurum and Narona ran inland and not along the coast. In this conclusion I was strengthened by observing on the flank of the mountain above the village of Plat, about three miles from the site of Epitaurum, the distinct trace of an ancient road running from the direction of Ragusa Vecchia towards a rocky *col* leading into the interior in the direction of Trebinje. Owing to the accumulation of talus on the platform of the road in the lapse of ages, the surface is concealed from view, and indeed it is best traced by looking at it from a hill a mile distant; but the arrow-like directness of its course at once proclaims its Roman origin^b. In general appearance this talus-hidden track much resembles the track of the Roman road already described by me as running along the limestone steeps above the sea in the direction of the ancient city of Risinium.

^a C. I. L. iii. 1761.

^b The traces of the Roman road above Plat are doubtless the same as those observed by Dr. Constantin Jireček in the neighbourhood of Ragusa Vecchia. (*Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, p. 8.) Dr. Jireček observes that the "via vetus que vocatur via regis" is mentioned in the Ragusan Catasters of the fourteenth century, and supposes, with great probability, that its Slavonic name was "*Carski Put*," "Cæsar's Way," a name by which Roman roads were generally known to Serbs and Bulgars in the Middle Ages, and answering to the Byzantine ὁδὸς βασιλική. In 1880 I took Dr. Hoernes to visit the traces, and his impression of their appearance as recorded by him (*Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. i. p. 2) agrees entirely with my own.

The wild limestone ranges amongst which the trace of the Roman way above Epitaurum is seen to lose itself, pursuing when last discernible a North-Easterly direction, are known by the general name of Drinji Planina. Inland to the north of this mountain mass opens the well-watered valley of the Trebinjčica, on which stands the old Herzegovinian city of Trebinje. It was whilst exploring this district that I came upon a more important clue. About two miles and a-half south of Trebinje, a tributary inlet of the main valley opens into the mountains that lie between that city and Ragusa Vecchia. This plain, known from its liability to inundation as the Mokro Polje, or "wet plain," presents an elongated form, and its major axis, if produced, would exactly connect the present site of Trebinje with the former site of Epitaurum.

Whilst examining a curious earthen mound in the centre of the spacious Mokro Polje, about one hour from Trebinje, I observed a rounded block of stone (fig. 11^a), about two and a-half feet in length, lying in some bushes at its base. Its form

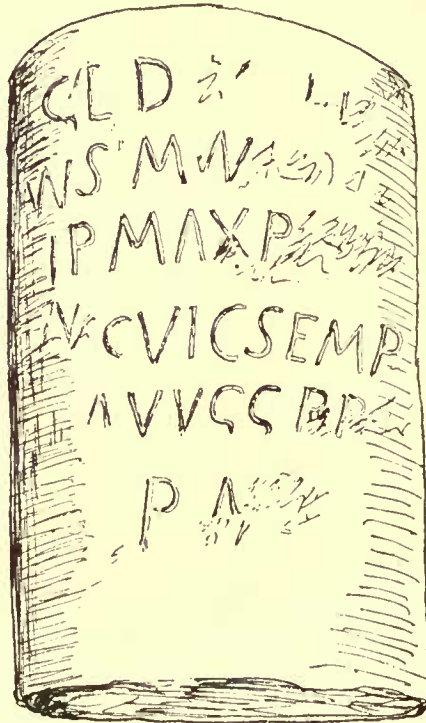


Fig. 11^a. ROMAN MILESTONE.
Mokro Polje.

leading me to suspect that it might be a Roman milestone, I turned it over and discovered on the formerly buried side distinct traces of a Roman inscription,

which proved that my conjecture had been correct. The letters were unfortunately much weather-worn, and the copy which I am able to give, though the result of six separate visits to the spot, and careful collations of the inscription in all lights, is still far from satisfactory.

The titles "Vic(toriosissimi) Semp(er) Aug(usti)," which form the most legible part of the inscription, at once enable us to assign to it a fourth-century date. The latter part may, perhaps, be restored:—

PRINC)IP MAX P(EREN)
N (A)C VIC SEMP
(A) A V V G G B . R . P . N

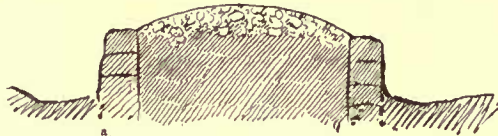
i.e. (Prin(cip(es) max(im)i) p(eren)n(es) a)c Vic(toriosissimi) semp(er) Aug(usti) B(ono) r(ei)p(ublicæ) n(ati). The style thus elucidated agrees very well with the age of Valens and Valentinian, and it is possible that the work of road restoration begun in Dalmatia under Julian (as may be learnt from miliary inscriptions found at Narona, Zara, and elsewhere)^a was continued under his successors. The imperfect preservation of the earlier part of the inscription prevents us from determining the names of the Emperors under whom this monument was raised, but the (A)AVVGG implies, according to the usage of the time, that two Augusti were then reigning.

Examining now the spot with a view to lighting on the traces of the road itself, the propinquity of which the milestone indicated, I was gratified with the sight of a slightly raised causeway running with arrow-like straightness across the plain, almost from north to south. On further inspection this proved to be the remains of an ancient road about seven paces wide, flanked by two small lateral ditches; and, as was to be expected from the nature of the soil, constructed of small fragments of grey limestone. In places it was extremely perfect, and presented a characteristic Roman section. Towards the middle it was slightly raised, and its sides were contained and supported by two low walls of massive well-cut masonry, with a slight inward slope (figs. 12^a, 13^a).

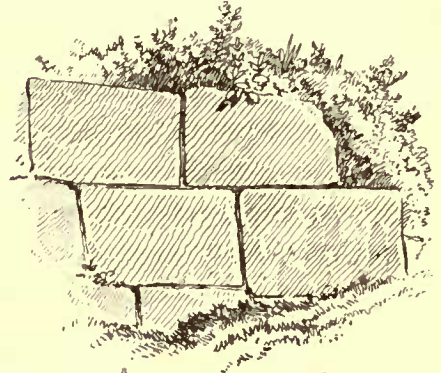
Southwards the track ran from the neighbourhood of the mound by which the fourth-century milestone lay straight and clear across the plain to an angle of mountain which concealed Trebinje from view. In places a modern path runs along the top of the embankment. Elsewhere it is accompanied by a mediæval paved

^a C. I. L. iii. 3207, 3208, 3209, 3211. The title given to Julian on these is "Victor ac triumphator totiusque orbis Augustus, bono reipublicæ natus."

way, or Turkish *kalderym*, quite distinct from the Roman work in character; and, finally, the roadline is prolonged, as so frequently in Britain, by a continuous line of hedgerow, reminding me of a "long hedge" on the Akeman Street.



(Fig.12^a) *Section of Roman Way
across Mokro Polje.*

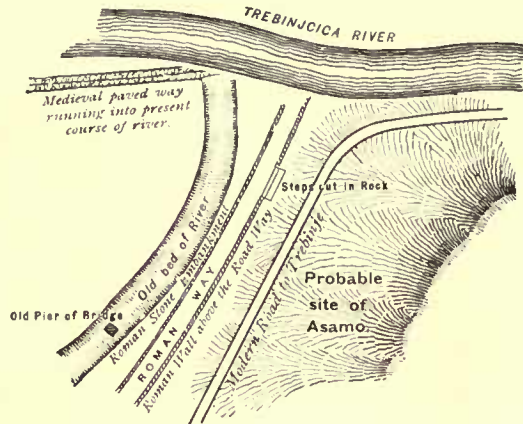


(Fig.13^a) *Fragment of side-wall
supporting road-way.*

A little way beyond the small church of St. Pantaleon, which belongs to the village of Čičevo, and nearing the mountain promontory already mentioned, the traces of the road become still more distinct. An old bed of the Trebinje river, along which its current must have flowed in Roman times, is here perceptible, taking a considerable bend southwards. Along this bend, in the narrow strip between the former channel of the river and the mountain steep, and just below the modern road, the old road-line forms a clear-cut terrace, banked up on the side of the former river-bed by a wall of well-cut stone blocks, of undoubtedly Roman construction. From fragments of this stone embankment a later dam, which also serves as a footway, has been built in a rough fashion across a marshy part of the old channel, and at this point may be seen the remains of a pier of older masonry, which seems to have been the land abutment of a Roman bridge across the former course of the Trebinjčica (fig. 14^a).

A little below this appear other distinct traces of Roman work. On the steep above the track of the Roman road, and leading out of it, a flight of steps seven paces in width has been hewn, like so many street steps on the site of Epitaurum, out of the solid rock. These steps, of which only the first two or three are at present traceable, seem to show that at this point a considerable street mounted what is at present the bare limestone steep; and, taken in connexion with the traces of a Roman wall, here visible above the ancient road, as well as the stone embankment and bridge-pier below, lead us to seek for the Roman station which was the local predecessor of Trebinje rather in this vicinity than at Trebinje itself, where, so far as my observation goes, no Roman remains are to be found.

The neighbouring village of Čičevo occupies the pleasantest and most fertile angle of the Mokro Polje, and Roman coins are not unfrequently discovered in



(Fig. 14^a) Roman remains near Trebinje River.

the neighbouring fields.^a It is, in fact, inherently probable that the Roman station should have been built terrace-fashion on the rocky steeps that flank the plain rather than on the "wet plain" itself. The fact that the Roman road across the Mokro Polje runs throughout on a low embankment shows that in ancient times, as at present, it was liable to floods; and though the periodical inundation, due mainly to the welling-up of the water, from rock reservoirs below the surface, is at present mostly confined to the southern part of the plain, it is probable that, in Roman times, when the mountains were more wooded, and the rainfall consequently greater, it was subject to floods throughout its length.

Beyond the old bed of the Trebinjčica the traces of the road disappear, destroyed in all probability by its alluvial deposits, and still more by the constant tendency that it shows in this part of its course to shift its channel, a tendency illustrated only a short distance beyond the last traces of the Roman road by the disappearance in its waters of a *kalderym*, or paved way, that apparently at no remote date followed its bank.

Having traced the Roman road northwards to the banks of the Trebinje river and the apparent site of a Roman station, I will return to the mound by which the milestone lay, as a starting-point for exploring its southward course.

Near this point there are apparent traces of the beginning of a branch line of road leading towards the modern hamlet of Bugovina, whence it probably ascended an intervening range into the plain of Zubci, and reached, by a pass

^a I have a *denarius* of the Empress Lucilla from this site, with the reverse legend IVNONI LVCINAE.

already alluded to, the site of the Roman station that appears to have existed in the plain of Canali midway between Epitaurum and the Rhizonic gulf.

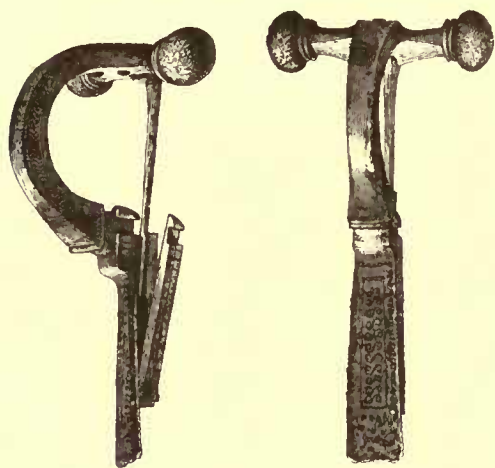
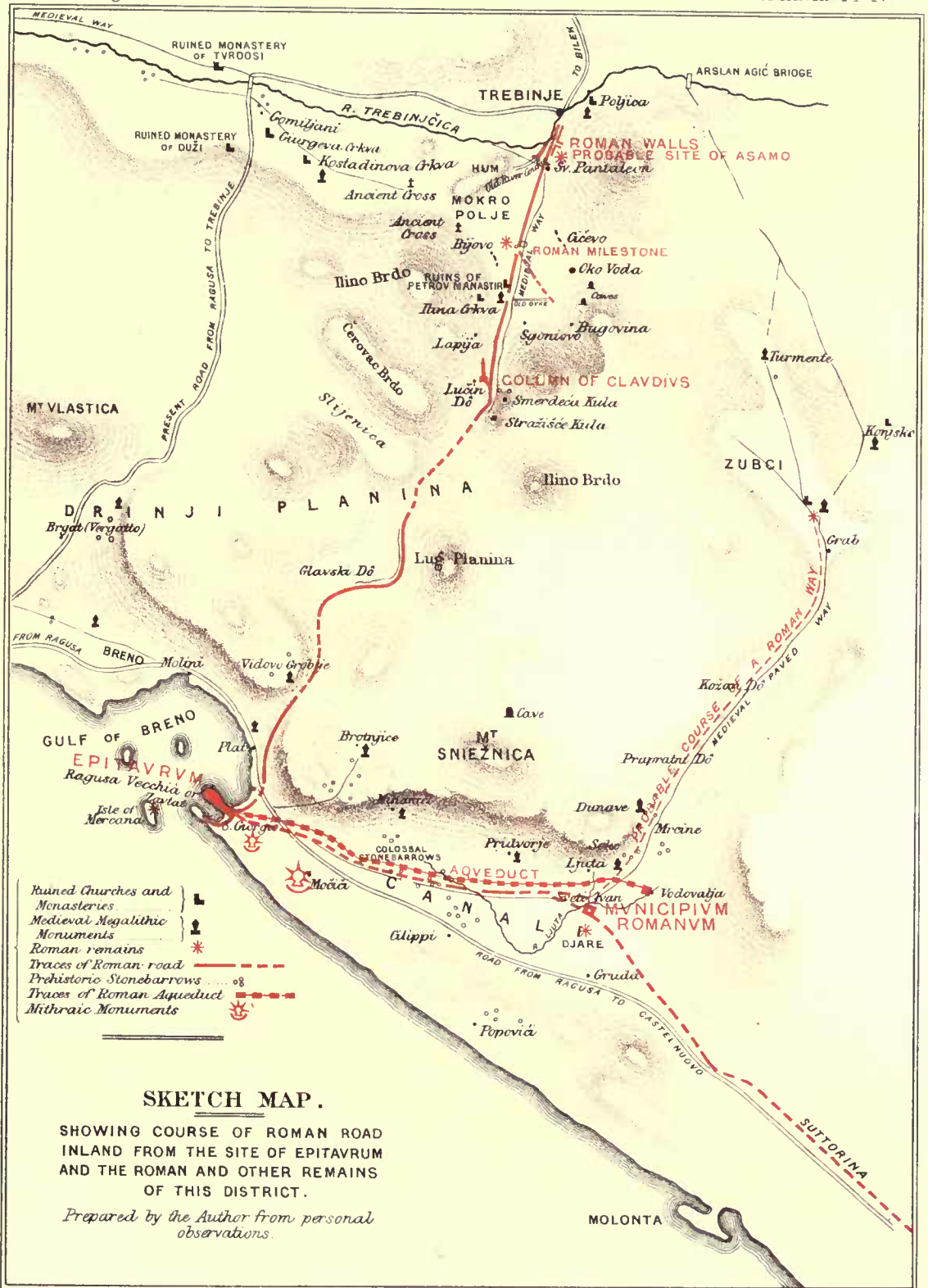


Fig. 14*. FIBULA FROM ZUBEI.

From Zubei I obtained a Roman *fibula* or safety-pin of very remarkable form (see fig. 14*). It will be observed that the groove in which the pin itself catches is provided with a hinged lid, so as to keep the pin doubly secure, and the appearance of another groove above the hinged lid shows that this in turn was made fast by a small bolt or catch. As an example of an improved Roman safety-pin this *fibula*, so far as I am aware, is altogether unique, and the invention may be reasonably set to the credit of local, probably Epitaurian or Risinian, manufacture.

To return to the main road. The course of the Roman Way to the south continues so far as the plain extends with the same arrow-like directness as before (see sketch map Pl. III.), leaving on the right, less than a mile distant from the milestone mound, the mediæval ruins of an Old Serbian Minster dedicated to St. Peter—Petrov Manastir—the foundation of which I found ascribed by local saga, amongst others, to “Czar Duklijan”—the Emperor Diocletian! From this spot the trace of the Roman Way makes straight for a defile in the range already referred to, that separates the Mokro Polje from the Adriatic haven where Epitaurum formerly stood. Observing the point in the mountains to which the ancient roadway tended, I inquired of a party of peasants whom I found working in the fields near to where the milestone lay whether there was not another stone like it in that direction. All shook their heads, but at last an old Mahometan answered that there certainly was a rock known as “the round stone” (*Oblji Kamen*) in the direction I had indicated, and, finally, for a consideration, consented to guide me to the spot. Three-quarters of an hour’s walk brought us to a rocky eminence at the entrance of the defile (which is known as Lučin Dò), commanding a full view of the long Mokro Polje, and here, after a prolonged hunt among the brushwood, my guide hit upon a large cylindrical fragment, partly imbedded in the soil, which turned out to be the “round stone” we were seeking. It lay not far from the present mule-path between Trebinje and Ragusa Vecchia, which here follows more or less accurately the course of the Roman Way.



C F Keil Lith 8 Castle St. Holborn London E C

The "round stone" proved to be part of a larger monument, other portions of which I presently discovered in the bushes near. The first discovered fragment was 81 inches in length, exhibiting at what was its upper end a circular section $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, but which took the shape at its lower end of an ellipse $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches, thus presenting a slightly-tapering outline, showing it to have formed part of a somewhat obelisk-like column. At its larger elliptical end lay a huge fragment of its square base.

A few feet off lay a smaller fragment, which appeared to be the top of the column. Upon this was an inscription giving the name and titles of the Emperor Claudius, engraved in letters nearly three inches high, so as to be legible from a considerable distance (fig. 15^a). The central portion of the inscription was broken away, but from a calculation of the letter space at our disposal it can be restored with sufficient certainty.

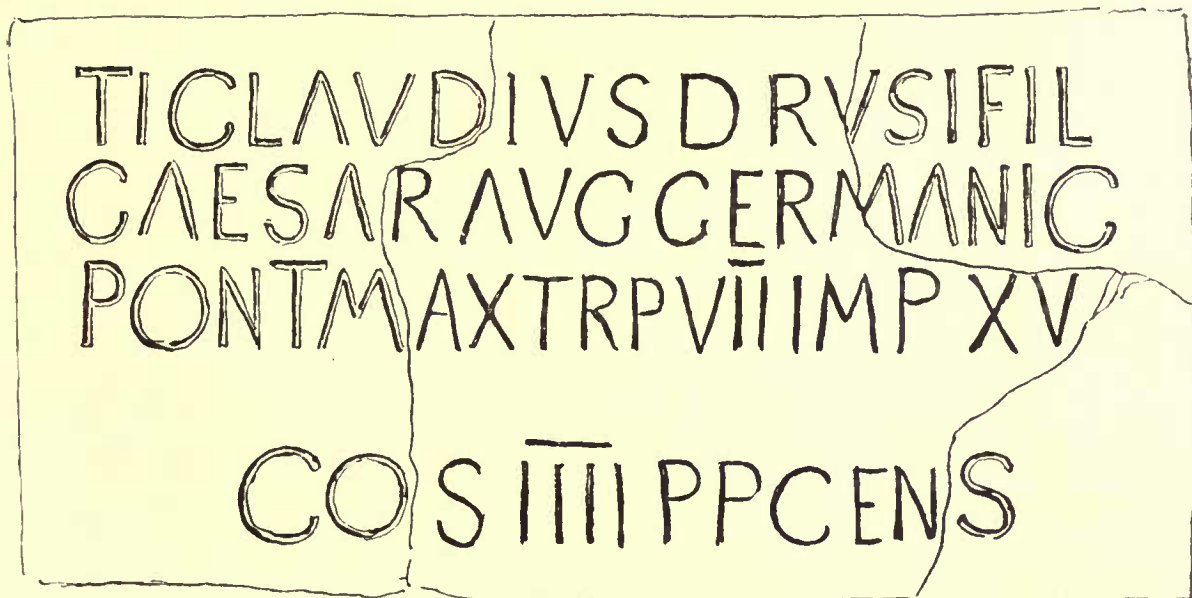


Fig. 15^a. MILIARY COLUMN OF CLAUDIUS.
Lučin Dô.

Tiberius CLAVDIVS, DRVSI FILIUS, CAESAR AVGVSTVS, GERMANICVS,
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS, TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE VIII IMPERATOR XV,
CONSUL III, PATER PATRIÆ, CENSOR.

The date of the inscription would thus be 47-48 A.D. The column itself is unquestionably of the miliary kind, and, though the continuation of the inscription recording the mileage from Epitaurum or elsewhere has unfortunately perished,

the mention of the name and titles of Claudius shows that, in all probability, this road connecting Epitaurum with the interior was completed under his auspices. It would thus appear that this Emperor, by the hands of his legates, continued the work of road-making through the Dalmatian Alps, so worthily begun by Dolabella under his predecessor Tiberius. The date of this Claudian column, which must certainly have recorded no mean achievement of Roman engineering, almost synchronises (if the numbers supplied be correct) with the opening of the *Via Claudia Augusta*, leading from the mouth of the Po, over the Brenner Pass,

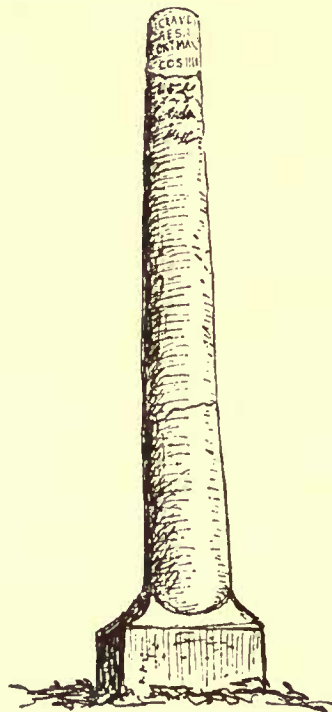


Fig. 16^a. COLUMN OF CLAUDIUS.
(Restored.)

to the banks of the Upper Danube, the construction of which had been directed by Drusus, but which was finally completed by his son in 47 A.D.^a It would appear that in Upper as well as in Lower Illyricum Claudius cemented the conquests of his father and predecessor by completing another great line of Roman road, this time leading from the Adriatic to the Drina and the Middle-Danubian system. The still-existing tribute of the cities of Upper Illyricum to Dolabella would lead us to believe that this, like so many other Dalmatian roads, owed its first beginnings to the energetic provincial Governor of Tiberius.

The diameter of the summit of this inscribed fragment, the section of which was circular, was just twelve inches; the lower part of it was too much broken to enable an exact measurement to be taken. Assuming that the column or obelisk, after taking its circular form, continued to diminish in the ratio of about six inches to every 80, indicated by the first discovered fragment, the whole must have stood originally about 20 feet high, excluding the base, which may have added another three feet above the ground level. When perfect the monument would have presented an imposing appearance, and from its conspicuous site must have been visible for miles (fig. 16^a).

^a The construction of this road is recorded on a miliary column found at Feltria (C. I. L. v. 8002):
TI · CLAVDIVS · DRVSI · F || CAESAR · AVG · GERMA|NICVS · PONTIFEX · MAXV||MVS · TRIBVNICIA ·
POTESTA||TE · VI. COS. IV. IMP XI P. P. || CENSOR · VIAM · CLAVDIAM || AVGVSTAM · QVAM · DRVSVS ||
PATER · ALPIBVS BELLO PATE || FACTIS · DEREXERAT · MVNIT · AB || ALTINO · VSQVE · AD · FLVMEN ||
DANVVIVM · M. P. CCCL. Another similar was found at Meran (C. I. L. v. 8003).

Near the remains of this larger column were fragments apparently of two lesser monuments of the same kind, the basis or part of the shaft of one being still fixed in the soil. In all I counted seven cylindrical fragments, but, although I excavated the half-buried fragments and repeatedly explored the spot, I did not succeed in bringing to light any fresh inscription.

Following the later mule-track which leads from the Mokro Polje past "the round stone," and across the mountains to the Gulf of Breno and the peninsular site of the ancient Epitaurum, now Ragusa Vecchia, I came here and there on distinct terraces along the mountain side, which evidently mark the continued course of the Roman road-line. These traces were most apparent below the Turkish Kula or watch-tower of Smerdeća, on the flanks of the Lug Planina, and again at Glavski Dô, where a considerable *kalderym* follows apparently the old trace. Beyond this point the remains may be traced uninterruptedly till they join the trace of the Roman road, which myself and others had already observed running along the mountain side above the village of Plat and the Gulf of Breno. Thence it descended to Obod and the spot where the memorial monument was discovered dedicated to Dolabella, the Road-Maker, by the grateful cities of Upper Illyricum, and past the cliffs which served as Roman gravestones, to Epitaurum itself.

From the column of Claudius to Ragusa Vecchia may be reckoned four hours of difficult progress by the present mule-paths, and, considering the ruggedness of the country, the Roman road must have made still greater bends in traversing these *Planinas*. The distance as the crow flies is barely eight miles, but the distance by the Roman road could hardly have been under 15 miles. If we now add to this an additional five miles as the distance between the "round stone" of Claudius and the remains on the Trebinjčica, which apparently indicate the former existence of a Roman station, we arrive within a mile of the xx m.p. given in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the distance between Epitaurum and Asamo, the intermediate station on the junction-line Ad Zizium—Epitaurum. *Asamus* appears elsewhere in Illyricum as a river-name, being the ancient form of the Bulgarian river Osma. Judging therefore from the name alone, we should naturally look for the site of *Asamo* on a river.

The discovery of an important line of Roman road (as its monuments show), running inland from Epitaurum, and the identification of the Roman remains on the Trebinjčica with the ancient "Asamo," give us at once a new starting-point for our investigation. The conclusion which I had already arrived at on other grounds, that the junction-line connecting Epitaurum with the main line of com-

munication Narona—Scodra, ran through the interior of the country, and not along the coast, as hitherto believed, is placed on something more than a theoretic basis.

Assuming that the course of the Roman road across the Mokro Polje gives at least an approximate indication of its subsequent route over the ranges beyond the Trebinje river, the station of "Ad Zizio," marked as the point of junction between the Epitaurum road and the main line from Narona, and placed 28 miles distant from "Asamo," should be sought in the district of Rudine, beyond the Herzegovinian town of Bilek, in the district that is, in which, from independent considerations, I had been already led to seek it. I am informed by an engineer who had to do with a modern road in that district (although circumstances have prevented my verifying his statement) that traces of an ancient embanked way, distinct in structure from the Turkish *kalderyms*, and believed by him from the directness of its course to be Roman, are to be seen leading from near Bilek, past Korita and Crnica and across the plain of Gaeko, in a Northerly direction. The existence of this ancient trace greatly supports the view already advanced that the junction-line from Epitaurum continues to pursue the same general direction after leaving "Asamo"; and corroborates the opinion that the real usefulness of the line from Epitaurum to "Ad Zizio" was not so much as affording a practicable avenue of land communication with Narona, but rather as forming a section of an independent road-line, the further course of which is clearly marked by the ancient embanked way across the plain of Gaeko, connecting the Adriatic haven with the Drina Valley and the Danubian system, and which, further inland, coalesced with the line already indicated, that brought Risinium into the same connexion.

In the valley of the Drina this Adriatic route would intersect another main-line of thoroughfare between West and East, that, namely, which brought Salonæ into communication with the ore-bearing ranges of what in the Middle Ages formed the cradle of the Rascian kingdom, and, ultimately, with the Macedonian valleys. Of the Roman remains along this route I hope to speak in a succeeding paper; meanwhile, it is interesting to reflect in connexion with the Roman road from Epitaurum with the interior that, when centuries later its local successor, the Republic of Ragusa, took the lead in opening up anew the re-barbarized midlands of Illyria to commerce and civilization, her caravans passed along a line identical throughout the greater part of its extent with that of the Roman Way. So close, indeed, is the parallel, that the Itinerary of the Venetian Ramberti, who in 1533 passed along this Ragusan overland route to Con-

stantinople, may serve to indicate the probable position of some of the Roman stations.^a His first night station after leaving Ragusa by a rough mountain track was Trebinje, sixteen miles distant, near which, as we have seen, was the ancient Asamo, 20 m.p. according to the *Tabula* from Epitaurum. His next station, twenty miles, is Rudine, the very district in which we have been enabled to place the site of Ad Zizio. "Curita" (Korito) and "Cervice" (Crnica),^b the next two stations mentioned, are still on the trace of the Roman road. In all, from Ragusa to the Drina was then five days' journey.

Thus it was that in days when Ragusa stood forth as the successful rival of Venice in the Balkan lands, her caravans that transported the products of Italian industry overland to the shores of the Black Sea and to the furthest East, and bore in return the silk of Tartary, the spices of India and Arabia, together with the silver ore of the Serbian mountains, to be transhipped to Venice and Ancona and transported to the markets of Florence and the West, passed along a route which had been opened out by Roman engineers over a thousand years before to their forefathers of Epitaurum, under the auspices, as we now know, of the son of Drusus.

^a Ramberti, *Delle cose de Turchi, Libri tre, Nel primo, il viaggio da Venetia à Costantinopoli, &c.* p. 5, (In Vinezia, nell' anno M.D. XXXXI. In casa di Maestro Bernardin Milanese.)

^b Mentioned already in 1380 as the site of a Ragusan customs station and small commercial colony. (*Liber Reformationum Majoris, Minoris, et Rogatorum Consiliorum, Civitatis Ragusii.* Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 75.)

II.—*On a Hoard of Bronze Objects found in Wilburton Fen, near Ely.*
By JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

Read April 20, 1882.

By the kind permission of Mr. Oliver Claude Pell, of Wilburton Manor, near Ely, I am enabled to exhibit to the Society an exceedingly interesting and extensive hoard of ancient bronze objects recently found in Wilburton Fen. I am indebted to Mr. Pell for the following particulars as to the manner and the place in which the discovery was made. The hoard was found in the month of January of the present year (1882), in Wilburton Rush Fen, in the county of Cambridge; the exact spot being about 800 yards due south of Mingay Farm, on the catch-water drain, and just six miles south-west of Ely Cathedral. The objects were resting on the clay, at a depth of from 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches below the surface of the black peat earth, and were found by a man while "gripping" or cutting a deep narrow grip across the ground, in order to let off superfluous water. The whole of the articles lay within a space of about 6 feet by 3 feet, and they were for the most part dug out under the immediate supervision of Mr. Pell. A second careful examination of the spot brought to light a few small spear-heads and some minor articles, which are included in the list which follows.

Wilburton Rush Fen, in which the "find" was made, forms part of the large circle of fen or marsh-land surrounding the "highlands" of the parishes of Wilburton, Haddenham, Sutton, Witcham, Mepal, Coveney, Witchford, Ely, Thetford, and Stretham, composing the original and true Isle of Ely. In a map in Dugdale's *History of Embanking* this district is shown as under water, and at the time of the Conquest it proved an impassable barrier to the Normans. It was at Aldreth, about two miles west of the spot where this hoard was discovered, that the Normans were so often foiled in making a floating causeway in order to effect an entrance into the isle. The old bed of the river Ouse is about three-quarters of a mile from the scene of the discovery, and an old watercourse

running into it passes within 200 yards of the spot, which is in fact at almost the lowest part of the fen.

In old times these fens were constantly flooded by the inland waters on their way to the sea; but in the time of the Commonwealth a new channel, 100 feet wide, from Earith to Littleport, was cut and embanked, and sluices were constructed. In later times the water has been pumped by engines into embanked drains leading to the sea, and the area of the fens, which was at one time covered with soft black peat to a depth of 10 or 12 feet, and frequently some feet below the level of the water, has now been effectually drained. The peaty mass in drying shrank to not more than a quarter of its original thickness, and so dry did it become that a practice arose of burning or setting fire to the reclaimed land with the view of increasing its productive power; and in a hot summer the peaty soil when once on fire would continue to smoulder for months. Although prohibited by Act of Parliament, the practice continued, and there are persons still alive who remember the particular field of seventeen acres in which these bronze objects lay, having been in a blaze from one end to the other. It is to this burning of the soil that the injured and partially fused condition of many of the instruments in the deposit is probably to be attributed.

Before proceeding to examine in detail the various forms present in the hoard, and the peculiarities which they exhibit, it will be well to give a general list of the objects, classified to a certain extent under the prevailing types.

BRONZE OBJECTS FOUND IN WILBURTON FEN.

Looped palstave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Socketed celts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tanged chisel (broken)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Small knife or dagger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Swords (broken)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Scabbard-ends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Spear-heads of various forms—									
For the most part whole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	87	} 115
Much broken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	
Ferrules, long	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	} 9
do. with spheroidal ends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
									144
Carried forward									-

						Brought forward	-	-	144
Annular buttons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hollow rings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Solid rings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Various objects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Melted metal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

163

I now proceed to describe more minutely the various articles comprised in this hoard, and in doing so shall refer for illustration where practicable to my *Ancient Bronze Implements*.

Looped Palstave.—The only specimen of this tool or weapon is 6 inches long, and closely resembles my fig. 83; it expands, however, more at the edge, which is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide.

Socketed Celts.—Of these there were two. One is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, with a slight double moulding round the expanding square mouth, not so broad as that on fig. 116. There are narrow vertical ribs running down inside the socket, two or three on each of the four sides. The other celt is of a rare form, 4 inches long, and like fig. 157, but with a better defined beaded moulding round the mouth, which is nearly square. The loop is broad and stout. It is shown on the scale of $\frac{1}{2}$ linear measure in Pl. V. fig. 8.

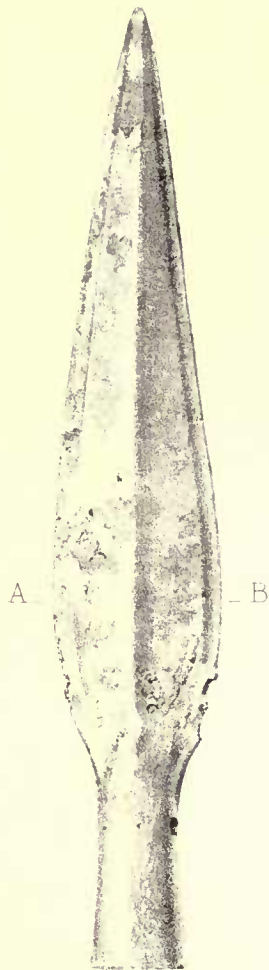
Tanged Chisel.—The blade only of a small example, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, was found in the subsequent examination of the spot. It is like that of fig. 192* in character, but wider in proportion.

Knife or Dagger.—This solitary example is much the same in character as fig. 263, but instead of a rivet-hole it exhibits a semicircular notch in the centre of the base. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Swords.—The whole of these have been broken into pieces, probably in old times, and some of the fragments have suffered from the action of fire. Seven of the weapons have been reconstituted from the fragments in a more or less complete manner, and their length appears to have been from 23 to 24 inches. They are of the leaf-shaped form, and in general character resemble fig. 342. They all seem to have been provided with a central slot in the hilt-plate, and seven have had holes or slots for a single rivet in each wing at the base of the blade. In the remaining four, provision is made for two rivets in each wing.



1



2^a



Section through A. B



3



4



5



6



7



8

Scale 1/2

Several of the rivets have remained in place, but there are no traces of the horn or wood of which, probably, the hilts were made.

Scabbard-ends.—Of these only one is in good condition. Indeed but for a slight injury at the mouth this fine specimen is perfect. It is identical in character with that shown in fig. 364, and is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. There is a small cylindrical projection at the tip, but I can see no traces of the usual diminutive hole for a rivet to secure the non-metallic part of the scabbard. The other three scabbard-ends are represented by fragments, but are of the same character. In two, the small rivet-hole is visible.

Spear-heads.—Of these there were about 115 in all, but owing to the broken condition of some of them their number cannot accurately be ascertained. The great majority of them, some 92 in number, are of the ordinary leaf-shaped form, showing the conical socket for the shaft running down the middle of the blade, and with a rivet-hole running through the socket in the same plane as the blade. In one instance of a lance-head, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, there is a hole only on one side of the socket. The general type is that of figs. 384-386, and the length of different specimens of the ordinary form ranges from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 inches. The edges of some of the blades are slightly fluted.

In one spear-head, $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, the base of the blade is slightly truncated, so that it projects at right angles from the socket nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ inch on either side.

On five of the spear-heads there are small ribs running down each side of the conical projection on the blade, as in fig. 383. On one remarkably fine specimen, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the blade is worked in steps like that from Fulbourn, Cambridge.^a It is represented in Pl. V. fig. 1.

In ten others there is a peculiarity which has not, I think, been previously noticed. It is that, instead of the socket for the shaft appearing as a conical projection along the blade, the surface of the blade is evenly rounded so as to show a pointed oval in section (Pl. V. figs. 2a, 2b). In five the section is more lozenge-shaped, there being an angular ridge running along the blade. The spear-heads of this class are from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 inches long, and as a rule their edges are fluted. In a ridged specimen of this kind there are two round holes like those in fig. 416, but rather nearer the base of the blade, which is somewhat truncated where it joins the socket.

In one remarkable example, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches long (Pl. V. fig. 3), the central ridge is made more pronounced by the four facets of the blade being hollowed so that

^a *Archaeologia*, vol. XIX. pl. iv. 5.

the section is a lozenge with the sides curved inwards. The mouth of the socket is ornamented by five parallel beadings.

The spear-heads, with crescent-shaped openings in the blade, are five in number, varying in length from $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The longest much resembles fig. 418, but the socket is not ornamented, and is moreover hexagonal. The next in size ($10\frac{3}{4}$ inches) has smaller openings in the blade, and a sharp, well-defined median ridge running along it, making the receptacle for the shaft almost like that of fig. 396 (Pl. V. fig. 4). The third and fourth, both of which are imperfect, have the blade with two facets only on each face, thus giving a lozenge-shaped section like that of some of the leaf-shaped spear-heads already described. One of these has a triple beading round the mouth. The smallest has the usual conical projection running along the blade. In some of the broken spear-heads there are remains of carbonized wood, but whether they were lost or buried with their shafts attached, or whether, in some instances, a part of the broken shaft was left within them, cannot well be determined. No traces of the shafts appear, however, to have been observed in the peaty soil, from which they were exhumed. Although the whole of these weapons are provided with a rivet-hole through the socket, for the purpose of securing it to the shaft, there is no trace in any of them of a metallic rivet, and we may therefore infer that the pin in general use for securing these spear-heads to their shafts was, as usual, made of some perishable material such as wood or horn.

Ferrules.—With one exception, those of the ordinary elongated form are more or less broken. The longest fragment is, however, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and seems to have lost only a small part of the base. It is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter at the mouth, and about midway along it is a small rivet-hole. The type is that of fig. 423. The perfect specimen is only $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, more tapering in form, and with the rivet-hole about an inch from the mouth. The ferrules, with spheroidal ends, differ in character from any that I have figured. The longest (Pl. V. fig. 7) is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with a cylindrical portion about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, on which are two bands, each of four parallel grooves, the one near the mouth, and the other a little way below the rivet-hole. There is a projecting bead round the base of the spheroidal end, which is otherwise smooth and unornamented. The other ferrule (Pl. V. fig. 6) is shorter, being 2 inches long. Two parallel grooves run round the cylindrical part at the mouth, and there are three round the upper part of the bulb. The bottom, which is a segment of a sphere, has at the margin two concentric bands, about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, hatched with lines, in the outer ring to the right, and in the inner to the left. Of the

third of these ferrules but little more than the bulb remains. This is ornamented with a series of concentric grooves round its centre.

Miscellaneous Objects.—Of those present in the hoard the largest is not unlike the lid of a jar, consisting of a convex circular plate about $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with a shallow groove round the margin, and having attached to it, on the concave side, a short tube of metal about 1 inch long and about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. Through this runs a hole for a rivet, by which it was probably attached to a piece of wood. It is hard to assign a purpose to it, but it may have formed a covering for the end of an axle-tree, or possibly may have been let into the centre of a buckler. A drawing of it is given in Pl. V. fig. 5.

Equally mysterious are several objects provided with various holes and recesses, some of which may possibly be classed under the heading which forms the usual last resource of an antiquary, "horse trappings." Others, however, are more probably fittings connected with the belts or straps by which the scabbards of the swords were suspended. One of these articles is a flat C-shaped object expanding at the two ends, in which are deep recesses with rivet-holes through them. Through the middle of the curved part is an oblong hole which communicates with a narrow slit in the thickness of the metal that opens out at the back of the C. One face is ornamented with marginal grooves round the curved part and double transverse lines behind the rivet-holes. They seem to have been punched in by means of a blunt chisel-ended punch.



Semicircular object.
Full size.

Another object formed of whiter metal than usual is much like a modern scabbard end, but appears to be hardly thick enough for that purpose. Its two faces are not solid, but have two openings through them on each side of a central bar, like an elongated Lombardic \mathfrak{C} . One face of this object is ornamented in nearly the same way as that last described. Not only is there a recess through the broad straight end, but there is an oval hole nearly $\frac{5}{8}$ inch long through the rounded end.



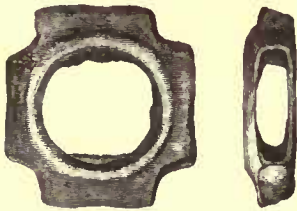
Perforated tag?
Full size.



Perforated hollowed plate.
Full size.

A third object looks like the mounting for the end of a broad strap of thick leather, but with openings to allow of thin strips in continuation of the main strap to come through. It is like a piece of a tube $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{8}$ in diameter, closed at the ends, but with a longitudinal opening $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide all along it on one side, and three small openings about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch by $\frac{1}{8}$ inch arranged at equal distances along the opposite side.

Another curious object is a flat, short-limbed, broad cross, with the inner angles rounded, and with each limb hollow so that a strap could run through it, and having its centre voided by a large circular hole, round which runs a beaded moulding. The whole would fit into a square hole, but little more than 1 inch across, and the breadth of each limb is about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch; the total thickness is rather more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. Allied to this are some remarkable hollow rings of nearly circular section, but slightly flattened on one face. Through the



Perforated Cross.
Full size.

periphery are three broad openings almost touching each other, so that the supports from one face of the ring to the other are at three of the corners of a square. Opposite the centre of the fourth side of the square is a smaller opening. The triangular supports from one face of the ring to the other do not extend the whole way across the ring, so that on the inner side there is a groove all round. Two of these rings were found

nearly perfect, and there are portions of two others. They are different in character from the jet rings with perforations at the sides, like fig. 372 in my *Ancient Stone Implements, &c.*



Perforated Ring.
Full size.

Of solid rings of circular section there are four: two 1 inch, one $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and one $\frac{9}{16}$ inch in external diameter.

Of annular buttons, with two loops at the back, like fig. 500, there are two, one perfect and the other broken. They are $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, the annular part being about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide. There is a fragment of a similar ring of less diameter, but it may be part of one of the perforated rings already described. It will be remembered that the Edinburgh specimen which I have engraved as my fig. 500

was, like these, found in company with leaf-shaped swords, and that such weapons have on several occasions been found in company with rings of bronze.

The only other objects that require description are by no means easy to describe. In form they more nearly resemble the terminations of the hilts of some daggers belonging to the Early Iron Period than anything else with which I am acquainted, though they are much smaller. They are, however, not altogether unlike our common drawer-handles.

The straight central part, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, expands in the middle, and has a long pointed oval



Curved object.
Full size.

opening through it in the same plane as the two ends of the object, which are turned back from the central part, and then turned slightly outwards and end in small knobs. The extreme length of these ends from the face of the central part is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. One of these objects is complete; of the other one half only was found. I am at a loss to assign a purpose to them.

Of English hoards, that which approaches most closely in character to this from Wilburton Fen is that of Blackmoor, near Selborne, described by Lord Selborne in Bell's edition of Gilbert White's well-known *History*, vol. ii. p. 381. It consisted of twenty-seven fragments of sword-blades, some of which when put together made complete swords; two fragments of sword-sheaths, one "grooved socket," perhaps a ferrule, eighteen large and six small spear-heads, two "spear-points," three rings, and two fragments of uncertain use. The sword-blades as in the present instance had been broken before they were buried, and the edges of some of the spear-heads had been hacked and notched in a manner which could hardly have resulted from use. Neither palstaves nor socketed celts seem however to have been present in the Blackmoor hoard.

A Welsh hoard, that of Guilsfield,^a in Montgomeryshire, also presents various points of analogy with that of Wilburton Fen. In it there were several looped palstaves and socketed celts, two gouges, broken swords, scabbard-ends, spear-heads, and ferrules. One spear-head had the lunate openings. The Glancych or Pant-y-maen hoard may also be compared with this, as may also that of Nettleham, in which were socketed celts of the same peculiar character as one of those from Wilburton Fen—spear-heads and a ferrule, but no swords.

Whether the Wilburton hoard is to be regarded as personal, or as that of a merchant or bronze-founder, is a difficult question. There is an entire absence of

^a *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2d S. vol. ii. p. 251; *Arch. Camb.* 3rd S. vol. x. p. 214; *Montgom. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 437.

moulds, jets from castings, and portions of cakes of metal, and the only fragments of fused metal which are present are such as might have originated in the burning of the peat in which the hoard was buried. On the other hand, the broken condition of the swords, which from the bending of the metal appears to have been brought about before their burial in the peat, affords an argument against the hoard being merely that of a merchant intended for sale or barter, or of the whole being weapons in personal use. The varied character of the spear-heads, both in size and form, is against their being the weapons belonging to some detachment of a native army, and on the whole I am rather in favour of regarding the hoard as the property of some early merchant of bronze, whose stock was in part old metal destined for the crucible, and in part tools and weapons possibly intended to be bartered away for a greater weight of metal in the form of broken or worn-out instruments. If, as seems probable, the site where the hoard was discovered was in the Bronze Age of Britain a waste of waters, we must assume that the deposit of these instruments in the peaty bottom of the mere was unintentional, and was probably caused by the upsetting of a canoe. There is one other possibility, viz., that they may have been thrown into the water as precious offerings to the gods, as has been suggested by Mr. Worsaae; but where votive offerings of such a kind were made it seems to have been the practice, as with the gold coins offered to the divinity of the Seine, to deface and injure the offerings, so that they could not again be restored to their pristine worldly uses. In the present hoard, though the swords and some other articles seem to have been broken in ancient times, many of the spear-heads, and several other objects, are absolutely uninjured. The spot where they were deposited must also before the drainage of the fens have been in all probability inaccessible, except by a boat or canoe. Whatever the origin of its deposit, and whoever its last owner, the hoard is of great value and interest from the number and variety of the forms which it comprises, and from the novelty of some of the types it exhibits, and the Society is much indebted to Mr. Pell for bringing it before them.

III.—*On a Hoard of Bronze, Iron, and other Objects found in Belbury Camp, Dorset. Communicated by EDWARD CUNNINGTON, Esq., of Dorchester.*

Read March 30, 1882.

I HAVE the honour of exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries, through Mr. Joshua James Foster, of Dorchester, some objects of bronze, iron, glass, and earthenware lately found together in Belbury Camp, near Higher Lychett, Poole, Dorset.

This camp (see Plan on next page) is nearly circular, with a south aspect, the ground gradually sloping for about 700 feet to a small stream. Its rampart on the north side is the best preserved, showing a height of 10 feet above the external ditch; that on the east is in process of destruction by the plough. Its length and breadth are each about 11 or 12 chains, making an inside area of rather more than 10 acres. The entrances east and west are guarded by the vallum being brought inside about 82 feet. The centres of north and south are open to the north for a road and to the south for the water supply. The breadth of the vallum was 41 feet in its present condition. The objects and a large quantity of wrought iron were all found together in the western side from 2 feet to 3 feet underground whilst draining the camp.

The antiquities discovered were as follows:—

Two bronze cast figures about 4 inches long with bull's head and horns.

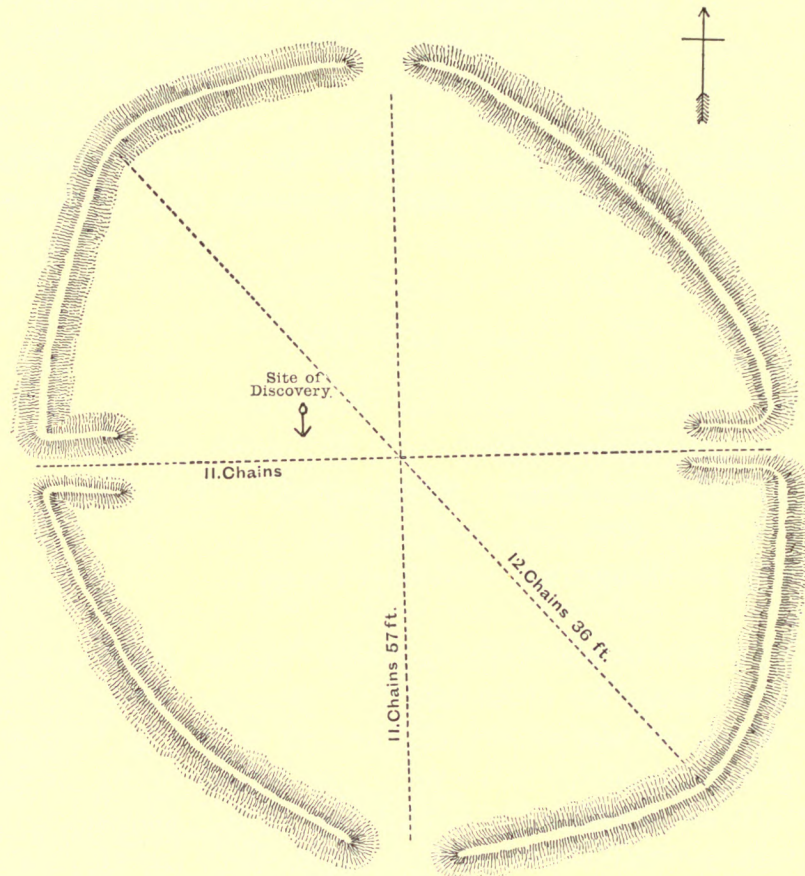
Two small bronze ornaments pierced with holes for fastening on wood, and ornamented on the sides and tops.

Two large bronze rings, 3 inches in diameter, with small rings encircling them for attachment.

Three smaller bronze rings.

Handle of an iron dagger with bronze fittings.

Piece of bronze with iron ribs for strengthening it.



Belbury Camp.

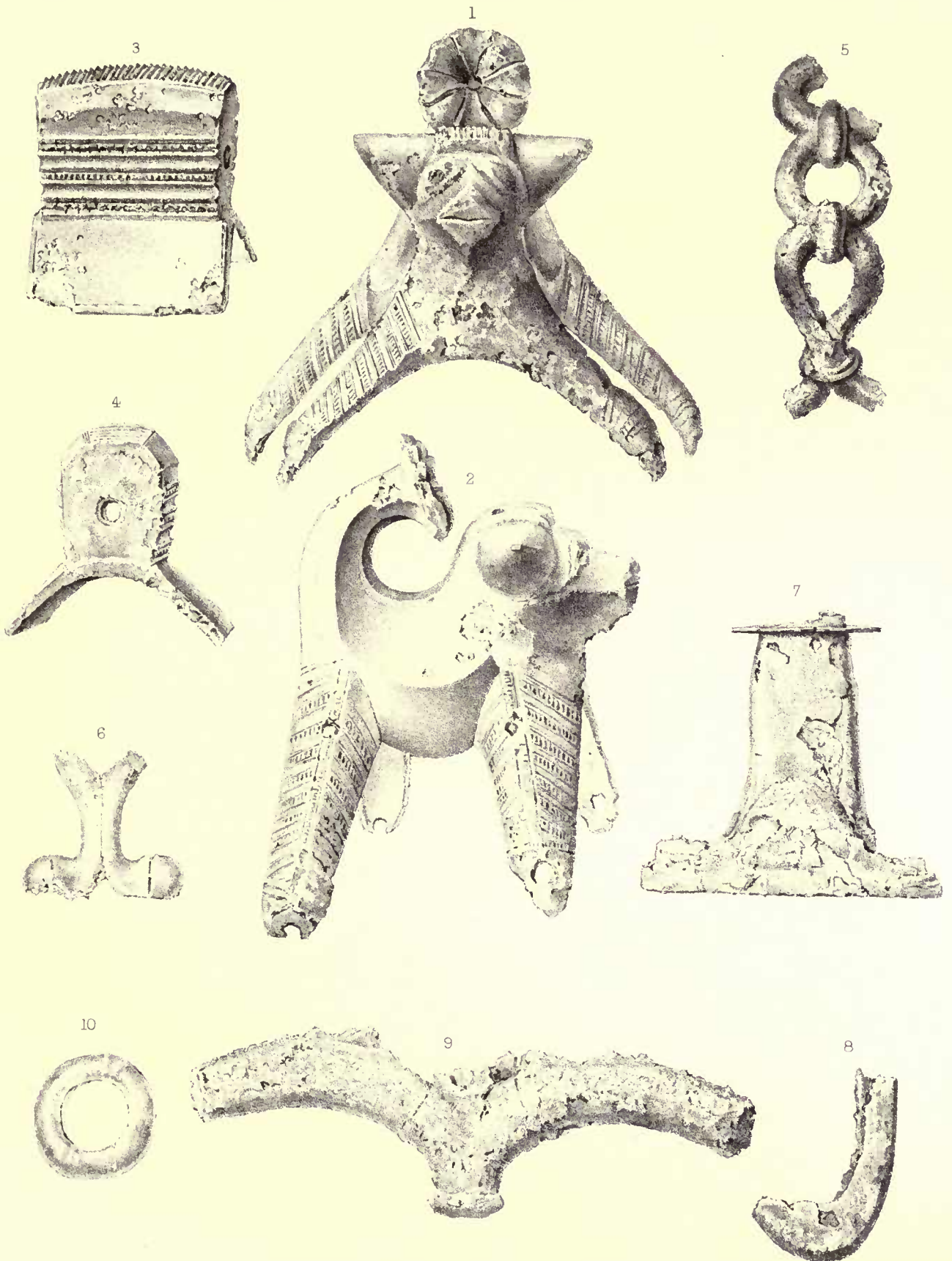
An anchor (see fig. opposite) 4 feet 6 inches long, $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches from point to point of the fluke, the main stem varying from 2 to 3 inches in breadth, the links of the chain close to anchor 5 inches in diameter, the rest of the links about 2 inches.

Two glass beads 1 inch in diameter, and six of the same kind $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter.

Several fragments of bronze.

A bar of iron 3 feet long, and 1 inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ in thickness.

Large nails, 6 to 7 inches long, "as thick as a thumb" (see the passage of Cæsar below).



C. Kellish Castle St. Helborn E. C.

OBJECTS FROM BELBURY CAMP, NEAR POOLE, DORSET.

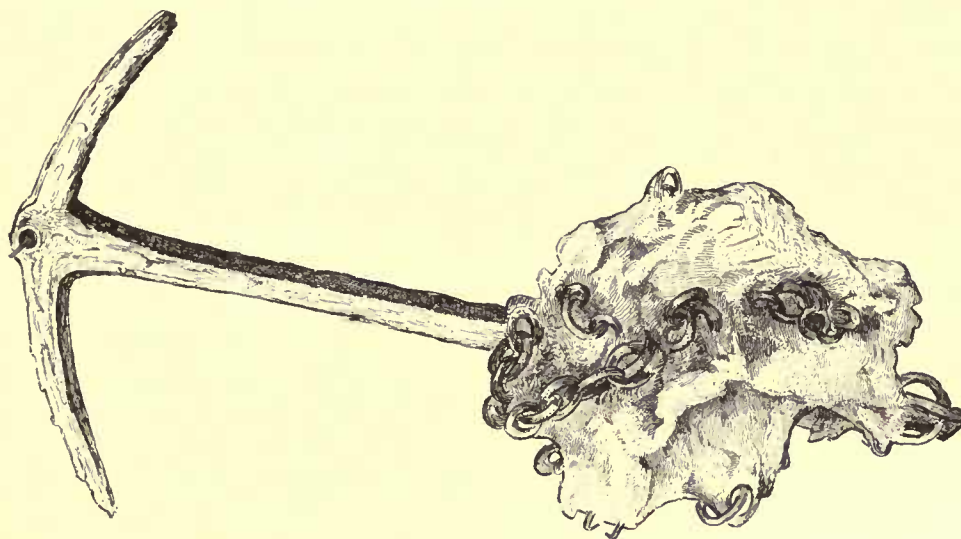
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1883.

A large sledge hammer, 6 inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, weight $7\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.

A smaller hammer.

An iron hatchet.

A long iron with two feet, exactly similar to an andiron.



Anchor from Belbury Camp.

A piece of fine bronze chain or armilla.

Two or three rounded flat pieces of iron, which may be timber-clamps.

Half of a good quern of a very hard sandstone.

Fragments of black well-burnt pottery.

This hoard was found in the autumn of 1881. Having heard of the discovery, I paid a visit to the old woman who was reported to possess several of the objects. On inquiring of her for them, she told me that she "hadn't a' got 'em." On my asking what had become of them, she said "Well, there! I was obliged to send 'em to my poor boy, for he was ter'ble bad, and did sort o' pine for 'em; and a' thought if a' could have thie there little dog, and nail un up over the door, a' would be better." I then went to the son's house, where I duly found the animal nailed over the door. Afterwards I learned that a quantity of beads, a duplicate of the animal, and some pieces of rusty iron, had been discovered at the same time and place, but had been dispersed. My search for these was successful, and its result appears in this communication.

My idea is, that the bull was used as an ornament to the helmet, as illustrated in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 2nd edition,

p. 566. On one of the helmets there engraved "from antique gems" is affixed a lion in a somewhat similar position. The writer says, "In the Roman army of later times the crest served not only for ornament, but also to distinguish the different centurions, each of whom wore a casque of a peculiar form and appearance."

The anchor and its chain are remarkable in respect of their discovery on a spot at a considerable distance from, and height above, any place where they could have been used, even in the earliest historic times. They are also singularly illustrative of the following passages in the third book of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, "*De Bello Gallico*," describing the Veneti, and their ships and naval power:—

"Hujus civitatis [Venetorum] est longe amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum, quod et *naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consueverunt, et scientiâ atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt.* * * * * Ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factæ armatæque erant. Carinæ aliquanto planiores, quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum æstus excipere possent; * * * * transtra pedibus in latitudinem trabibus confixa *clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; anchoræ, pro funibus, ferreis catenis revinctæ.*"

"This state [of the Veneti] has far the most ample authority in all the sea-coast of those regions, because *the Veneti have very many ships with which they have been used to sail to Britain*, and also exceed the other nations in knowledge and use of navigation. * * * * Their ships were built and equipped in this manner: the keels somewhat flatter than those of our ships, so as the more easily to deal with the shallows and the ebb tide; * * * * the benches of planks a foot wide, fixed together with *iron nails as thick as a thumb; the anchors fastened to iron chains*, instead of ropes."

On the question of appropriating the camp or the objects found therein to any age or people, I may mention that there are several Celtic barrows at Bloxworth Down, about a mile from the camp, and that there are large numbers of stone implements on the same down now ploughed up.

I do not know the height of the camp above the sea-level, but should think that it is about 150 feet above the small stream that runs down the valley some

200 yards off. Lychett Bay is two miles off. If there ever has been any road between the camp and the bay, it is now entirely obliterated by the plough.

Plate VI. represents some of the most remarkable objects, and is accompanied by a description kindly supplied by one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, A. W. Franks, Esq., of the British Museum.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VI. *

Figs. 1, 2. Two views of a bronze object, evidently intended to be fastened to a rounded surface by four rivets. It consists of a rude representation of a bull, through the rudimentary legs of which the rivets passed. The tail-end is curved round and terminates in an eight-petalled flower, forming a kind of hook. The figure of the bull is coarsely executed, but the hooked portion is good in outline. The flower somewhat resembles Etruscan ornaments. The probability is that this ornament is Late Celtic; but it does not resemble English examples, in which animal forms are rare and further removed from nature; it may therefore have been brought from the Continent. Two of these bronze objects were discovered, exactly alike.

Figs. 3, 4. Two views of a hollow bronze object which has also been fixed to a rounded surface. The arched portion has no rivet-hole, but the means of attachment seems to have been by a large rivet-hole at each end. There are bands of engraved ornaments not unlike those on the legs of the bull. Two of these objects were also discovered.

It has been suggested that the four objects in question may have formed the crest of one or more helmets, but the discovery of two of each seems to be against this, especially when it is remembered how great was the love of variety during the Late Celtic period, so that it would not be likely that two helmets should be exactly alike. The hook forming the termination of the bull would seem to have been made for use, as though for a cord or thong, or perhaps a bar—the inner surface of the hook being flat, not convex—to pass through it. It appears therefore more likely that they formed parts of a war-chariot. That the British *essedum*, or at any rate the yoke of it, was ornamented, appears from a passage in Propertius, (El. lib. ii. 1, 76.)

“*Esseda cælati siste Britanna jugis,*”

and, as there were two horses, the ornaments would be in pairs.

Fig. 5. Part of a curved bronze ornament decorated with openwork, showing resemblance in style to some of the horse-trappings discovered at Stanwick, Yorkshire; see for instance, the *York* volume of the *Archæological Institute* (1847) Pl. ii. fig. 6.

Fig. 6. Fragment of a similar bronze ornament, or possibly another portion of the same.

* The objects are figured full size.

Fig. 7. Part of the hilt of a sword, Late Celtic in character. It is of iron with a pierced plate of bronze towards the upper part. The tang extended probably for as much more in length before it terminated in the pommel. The lower part resembles in its outline the corresponding portions of other Late Celtic swords. See for an account of such swords, *Archaeologia*, XLV. 251.

Fig. 8. Fragment of the bronze edging of a sword-sheath.

Fig. 9. Bronze object, perhaps part of a mirror handle; a thin plate of bronze seems to have been fixed into it to form a mirror; the lower part of the handle is broken off. Such mirrors have several times been found in England. For instance, at St. Keverne, Cornwall, (*Archæol. Journ.* xxx. 267, woodcut); at Stamford Hill, near Plymouth (*Archaeologia*, XL. 500, pl. xxx.); near Bedford (*Archæol. Journ.* xxvi. 71); and a very fine example has been recently found near Gloucester. Another, from the Isle of Portland, has been lately presented to the Duchess of Edinburgh.

Fig. 10. A ring or bead of transparent amber glass. Glass beads were found with the mirror from St. Keverne, Cornwall, mentioned above; they have also been found in barrows of the Late Celtic period at Arras and Cowlam in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the material being fine in colour, as here, and very transparent. See *Archaeologia*, XLIII. 496.

IV.—*Inventories made for Sir William and Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knights, of Walton, and of Gilling Castle, Yorkshire, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Communicated by EDWARD PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read Feb. 9, 1882.

Bottesford Manor, Brigg,
December 31, 1881.

THE Inventories of Household Goods and Farming Stock which I have the honour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries have been copied by me from the original manuscript which is preserved in the library of Nostell Priory. They occupy some of the latter pages of a large folio volume, the earlier leaves of which contain lists of Yorkshire musters taken in the latter years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The volume had probably been purchased by Sir William Fairfax, as it has his initials W. F. on both the covers.

Of the great historical family of Fairfax it is not needful that I should say much. It has been, as the biographer of the most illustrious of the race has well said, alike famous in war, literature, and scholarship.^a There are few races in the North of England which have given so many of their members to the service of their fellow creatures, and none, it may be confidently affirmed, which has left a purer fame.

Sir William Fairfax was the representative of the parent stem. His grandfather, Sir Thomas, married Agnes, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne, of Gawthorpe, by his wife Lady Margaret Percy, daughter of the third Earl of Northumberland. Sir Nicholas, son and heir of Sir Thomas, was an active and important person of much social influence. He was one of those who took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, but does not seem to have suffered in person or estate for his devotion to an unsuccessful cause. By his first wife Jane, daughter of Guy Palmes, he became the father of Sir William. The life of Sir William

^a Clements Robert Markham, C.B., F.S.A., *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 2.

seems to have been spent in the public service in his native county. From documents which I have seen, both in private and public custody, I have come to the conclusion that he was an accurate and far-seeing man of business. He was sheriff of Yorkshire in 1578. I have not been able to ascertain the date of his death; it is not given in the Pedigree compiled by Ralph Thoresby,^a nor in Mr. Markham's *Genealogy of the Fairfaxes* as revised and reprinted in the *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. vii. (1873). His son and successor was Sir Thomas, who served as sheriff for Yorkshire in 1628.

It is perhaps needless to point out that inventories of the sort here printed are much rarer and far more interesting than those compiled for purposes of probate. In papers of the latter kind no more information is commonly given than was needed to satisfy the authorities. Those before us were made for a purely domestic purpose, that the owner might know what household goods he was possessed of, and what cattle he had on his farms. There are, as a consequence, many little touches which would never be found in a public document; for example, in one of the trunks there was a single sheet of fine holland; the fact that there was not a pair is accounted for by the remark that "my lady was wound in its fellow." (The "my lady" here spoken of was almost certainly the first wife of Sir William, Agnes, daughter of George Lord Darcy.) The amount of plate, it will be noticed, was very great; much of it must have been more for ornament than use. The linen is so carefully described that we can well nigh see it before us with its ornaments of roses, gilliflowers, and spread-eagles. Those last we may assume were the product of the looms of Flanders.

My thanks are due to the present owner of the manuscript, Rowland Winn, Esq., M.P., for lending it to me for the purposes of transcription.

^a *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 66.

The Inventories are printed in the order in which they occur in the MS. volume, and are entitled thus:—

1. Inventory of Plate and Household Stuff at Gilling, belonging to Sir William Fairfax, Knight, 16th March, 1594–5.
2. Inventory of Household Stuff and other things at Walton, 3rd April, 1624.
3. Inventory of Household Stuff at Gilling, 22nd June, 1624.
4. Sheep and Cattle at Gilling and Walton, 28th July, 1596.
5. “ My ” Books at Gilling (no date).
6. Plate at Gilling, 25th March, 1590.
7. Linen at Gilling, 10th September, 1590.

Nos. 2 and 3 are probably of the time of Sir Thomas, son of Sir William.

-
1. The Inventorie of all the plaite and Houshoulde stuffe at Gillinge, and belonginge to the right wo^r S^r Wilm ffairfax, knight, had and taken the xvjth daie of march Anno Domini 1594.

GILTE PLATE.

- Imprimis ij gilte saltes with a couer contayning xxxiij ounces di.
Item one gilte goblett contayninge xv ounces.
Item one square salte with a cover con. xxiiij ounces.
Item one trencher salte gilte con. iiij ounces di.
Item one gilte salte with a cover con. xvij ounces.
Item iiij gilte sponnes con. viij ounces q^{ter}.
Item one gilte cupp con. x ounces q^{ter}.
Item one castinge bottell gilte con. iiij ounces.^a
Item ij gilte liverie pottes con. lxiiij ounces.^b
Item v gilte bowles with a couer con. xxxiiij ounces iiij q^{ters}.
Item one gilte basin and Eure con. lxiiiiij ounces.
Item one great gilte bowle with a cover con. xxx ounces di.
Item one gilte bowle with a cover con. xxvj ounces di.
Item one gilte standinge cupp with a cover con. x ounces.

^a A bottle for casting or sprinkling perfumes, Nares, *Glossary*, *sub voc.* Cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 293, vol. xlii. p. 353.

^b Livery was applied, according to John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., to “articles made in a quantity, according to a fixed pattern, for distribution in the several apartments.” *The Unton Inventories*, p. 44.

WHITE PLATE.

- Imprimis ij liverie pottes cont. iiij^{xx} vj ounces.
 Item ij liverie pottes con. lvij ounces di.
 Item one spowte pott cont. xxix ounces di.
 Item one nest of bowles with a cover con. xlv ounces di.^a
 Item ij other bowles with a cover cont. xlj ounces.
 Item ij french bowles with a cover con. xxvj ounces ij q^{ters}.
 Item ij other french bowles with a cover con. xxvij ounces di.
 Item ij dossen of silver sponnes cont. xlix ounces di.
 Item one dossen of silver plaites cont. v^{xx} xj ounces.
 Item one doble salte con. ix ounces ij q^{ters}.
 Item one spice boxe with a sponne con. xv ounces.
 Item one silver chafindisse con. xxix ounces di.
 Item a Lavre for water con. xxij ounces.
 Item one Basin and Ewre cont. lxxij ounces.
 Item one hollowe Basin con. xxij ounces.
 Item ij silver Cannes con. xxx ounces di.
 Item iiij Candlestickes con. xxxvij ounces.
 Item ij litle Cuppes con. xj ounces.
 Item one bottell cont. vj ounces q^{ter}.
 Item one Siluer standishe cont. xvij ounces.
 Item one shipp Basin and eure cont. lxj ounces ij q^{ters}.
 Item iiij beare pottes for the hall cont. iiij^{xx} x ounces.
 Item one siluer cullander con. v ounces q^{ter}.
- Summa total of all the plate ccciiij^{xx} xiiij li. vij s. vij d.

GREAT CHAMBER.

- Imprimis one drawinge table of walnuttre cutt and earued of three leaves longe and xij stooles
 cutt and earued xv li.
 Item a greene clothe with a greene silke frindge for the same table liij s. iiij d.
 Item xij stooles couered with greene clothe and frindged with greene silke iiij li.
 Item one long carpitt of tapistree for the same table vj li.
 Item one chaire couered with grene clothe and frindged with grene silke xxvj s. viij d.
 Item iiij litle stooles couered with grene clothe and frindged with greene silke xiiij s. iiij d.
 Item one square table, and a grene clothe to the same frindged with greene silke xxiiij s.
 Item one silke carpit square for the saide square table frindged with greene silke x li.

^a A number of things of the same sort fitting into each other, the smaller within the larger, was called a nest. We hear of nests of bowls, goblets, weights, and counters. Cf. *Mem. of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 210. Marston, *Dutch Courtesan*, act i. sc. 1. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxx. p. 26, vol. xxxvi. p. 293.

Item ij eubbourdes cutt and carued with two greene clothes to the same and frindged with greene silke iiij li.

Item v quishions of Nedleworke xxv s.

Item ix quishions of Scottishe worke xxx s.

Item one paire of brasen awnde irons, a paire of tonges, and a fire panne, iij li.

Item two longe quishions of blacke and reade sattan figured iiij li.

Summa liiij li. xij s. iiij d.

THE DYNINGE PARLOR.

Imprimis one drawing table of three leaves xl s.

Item viij buffitt stooles viij s.^a

Item one greene table clothe x s.

Item one Cubborde and a greene clothe vj s. viij d.

Item two firmes iiij s.

Item vj quishions xiiij s. iiij d.

Item one paire of awnde irons xiiij s. iiij d.

Summa iiij li. xv s. iiij d.

NEWE LODGINGE.

Imprimis a bedsteade of cutwirke iiij li.

Item a teaster and vallens of black and cremysine veluet ymbrodered with cuttes of clothe of golde and frindged with cremysine silke and golde xvj li.

Item iiij curtaines of reade and yallowe chaungeable taffitie vj li.

Item one downe hed, a bowlster, ij pillowes, and ij wollen blanckettes, vj li.

Item one Read rugge xxx s.

Item one quilte of cremysine sarcenet v li.

Item one cubborde and a cubborde clothe of Turkie worke xx s.^b

Item one chaire and a long quishwine couered with clothe of gold x li.

Item one little stoole couered with sattan figured vj s. viij d.

Item one fetherbed, one boulster, one couerlett and a coveringe of verdere, vj li.

Item two awnde irons x s.

Item a chamber pott xx d.

Summa lvj li. viij s. iiij d.

IN THE OUTER NEWE LODGINGE.

Imprimis a read bedsteade xiiij s. iiij d.

Item a teaster and vallens of blacke tufted Taffitie and yeallowe sattan and blacke and yeallowe silke frindge vj li.

^a See *Promptorium Parvulorum*, vol. i. p. 41.

^b In the Sacrist's Roll of Lichfield Cathedral A.D. 1345 occurs "unus pannus de Turky de dono regis." *Journal of Derbyshire Archæological Society*, vol. iv. p. 112; and in the *Inventory of Goods of Churches of Surrey in the reign of Edward VI.* p. 34, we find "j vestment of Turkey worcke with a green crosse."

Item iij curtaines of blacke and yeallowe sarsenett x s.
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, and two pillowes, 1 s.
 Item two wollen blancketes and a coveringe of verdere xl s.^a
 Item a cubborde and one greene clothe vj s.
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, a couerlet and a coveringe, iij li.
 Item iij pieces of Hanginges viij li.
 Item one chamber pott xx d.
 Item one chaire and a quishione vj s.

Summa xxij li. vij s.

IN THE NEXT CHAMBER CALLED THE SCHOOLEHOUSE.

Imprimis one standinge bedsteade, a teaster of blacke branched veluet, and white clothe of Tynsell, xx s.
 Item iij curtaines x s.
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, one couerlett, and a coveringe of verdere, iij li.
 Item one cubborde and a cubborde clothe vj s.
 Item one chaire and a quishione iij s.
 Item vj hangings of Tapistree xvj li.
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, ij wollen blankettes, and a large coveringe of verders, vj li.
 Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xxvij li. xx d.

IN THE PRESSE IN THAT CHAMBER.

Imprimis one teaster and vallens of white damaske and v white taffitie curtaines xvj li.
 Item two large pieces of hanginges ix li.

Summa xxv li.

NEW TURRITT.

Imprimis a bedsteade cutt iij li.
 Item a teaster high roved of blacke and cremysine sattin figured with gilte knoppes xv li.
 Item v curtaines of blacke and cremysine chaungeable taffitie vij li.
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, and ij wollen blanckettes, iij li.
 Item one read rugge xxx s.
 Item one chaire of sattan figured and a longe quishione of sattan figured of the same stufte iij li.
 Item a cubborde and a greene clothe v s.
 Item a litle stoole couered with wrought veluett v s.
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, one coulett, and a coveringe of verders, 1 s.
 Item one chamber pott, xx d.

Summa xxxvj li. xj s. viij d.

^a In the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 364, *verder* is explained as meaning "a kind of tapestry representing foliage." This word occurs several times in the Inventory of the Priory of St. Martin's, Dover, taken 27 Henry VIII. See *Mon. Anglic.* vol. iv. pp. 542, 543.

PLEASAUNCE.

- Imprimis a bedstead with a teaster of purple and read clothe of bodkyne xl s.
Item iij curtaines of blewe and yeallowe sarenett xx s.
Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, two pillowes, and two wollen blanckettes, iij li. x s.
Item one read rugge xxiiij s.
Item one chaire and one quishione v s.
Item one cubborde and a greene clothe vj s.
Item one Buffitt stoole xij d.
Item one longe quishione of cloth of golde and cremysine velvett xij s.
Item one fetherbed, one boulster, one couerlett, and a coveringe of verders, ls.
Item one counterpointe hanging on the wall xiiij s. iiij d.
Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xij li. iij s.

THE OLDE STUDYE.

- Imprimis a bedsteade, a teaster of cremysine sattan and veluett ymbroodered with armes and letters of N and ff,^a iij li.
Item ij yeallowe and Tawny curtaines of sercenet xv s.
Item one downe bed of ffustion, one bowlster and pillowe, iiij li.
Item one spanish blanckett and a wollen blanket & a coveringe of verders xx s.
Item one ffetherbed, one bowlster, one coverlet and one coveringe of verders, iij li.
Item one chaire and one quishione and one buffitt stoole v s.
Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xij li. x d.

PARRADISE.

- Imprimis one bedsteade, one yeallowe cannopie imbrodered with eutes of blacke veluett with a Trayne of blacke and yeallowe sarenet, viij li.
Item one ffetherbed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, one wollen blanket, and a chicker rugge, liij s. iiij d.
Item one cubborde, one greene clothe to the same, one chaire, and one quishione and one Buffitt stoole, x s.
Item two awnde irons ij s.
Item one bedstead with a teaster, a fetherbed, a Bowlster, two wollen blanckettes, and one coveringe of verdere, iij li.
Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xiiij li. vij s.

^a The initials of Sir Nicholas Fairfax, the former owner (see p. 121).

GALLORYE AND LODGINGE.

- Inprimis one bedstead cutt liij s. iiij d.
 Item one Teaster of blacke and white tufted Taffitie and blacke veluett with vallens of the same and fringed with blacke and white silke fringed x li.
 Item iij curtaines of blacke and white sarcenett xl s.
 Item one featherbed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, ij wollen blanckettes, iij li. x s.
 Item one white Rugg xx s.
 Item one cubborde with a greene clothe x s.
 Item one chaire of blacke wrought veluett, one longe quishione of blacke veluett and blacke and white tufted Taffitie, iij li. x s.
 Item one litle stoole couered with blacke wrought veluett vj s. viij d.
 Item ij aund irons, a fire pann and a paire of tonges, ij s.
 Item a chamber pott xx d.
 Item a Trunlebed,^a a featherbed, a bowlster, a couerlett, and a coveringe of Tapistrie, xl s.
 Item one presse for clothes vj s. viij d.

Summa xxvj li. iiij d.

GREENE CHAMBER.

- Inprimis one bedstead, one cannopie of greene veluett laide with golde lace and fringed with silke and golde fringed with a traine of Taffitie sarcenett, xiiij li. vj s. viij d.
 Item one featherbed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, and one wollen blanckett, iij li.
 Item one greene Rugg xxx s.
 Item one greene quilte of Tynsell sarcenett iij li.
 Item one chaire couered with greene silke and a quishione to the same xx s.
 Item ij litle stooles couered with the same stuffe iiij s.
 Item one cubborde with a greene clothe iij s. iiij d.
 Item one featherbed, one bowlster, one couerlett, and a coveringe of Tapistrie, iij li. x s.
 Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xxv li. xv s. viij d.

MY MR. HIS CHAMBER.

- Inprimis one bedsteade cutt iiij li.
 Item one Teaster and vallens of blacke veluett wrought with armes and imbrodered with golde v li.
 Item v curtaines of blacke and yallowe sarcenett iij li.
 Item one downe bed, one Bowlster, two pillowes, one Spanishe blanckett and one wollen blanckett, x li.

^a A trundle signifies a small wheel or castor; a trundle-bed was a low bed which ran on castors and which could be pushed beneath the larger bed when not in use, commonly used by servants who slept in their masters or mistresses' rooms. Cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. xl. pp. 324, 341. *Mon. Anglic.* vol. iv. p. 542.

- Item one Read Rugge xx s.
 Item one longe counterpointe of verders iij li.
 Item one longe quishione of read silke wrought and two stooles xx s.
 Item one faire counterpointe^a shadowed with silke xiiij li. vj s. viij d.
 Item one paire of awndirons, one fire panne, and one paire of tonges, iij s.
 Item one chamber pott xx d.
 Item one cubborde with a greene cloth iiij s.
 Item one close cubborde with a grene clothe xij s.
 Item one Trundlebed, one fetherbed, a bowlster, a couerlett, and a coveringe, 1 s.
 Item iij presses, iij chistes,^b and one Trounceke, iij li. x s.

Summa xlviij li. vij s. iiij d.

BYSHOPPES CHAMBER.

- Imprimis one bedsteade cutt x li.
 Item one teaster of blewe and golde wrought veluett and vallens of the same fringed with blewe and yeallowe silk frindge v li.
 Item v curtaines of blewe and yeallowe sarcenett iiij li.
 Item one downe bed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, a fustion blanckett, and a Spanishe blankett, vij li.
 Item one greene rugge xxx s.
 Item one quilte of blewe sarcenett v li.
 Item one cubborde with a clothe of Turkie worke xxvj s.
 Item one chaire couered with veluett and pincked with golde, frindged, and a longe quishion to the same, xxvj s.
 Item one bigge stoole and one lesser stoole couered with the same stuffe v s.
 Item iiij pieces of hanginges of Tapistrie xxx li.
 Item two aunde irons, a fire pann, and one paire of tonges, xvj s.
 Item one chamber pott xx d.
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, one couerlett reade and white, and a coveringe of verders, iiij li.

Summa lxx li. vj s.

IN THE LOWE VAWTE.

- One ffetherbed, one bowlster, and two coueringes, xx s.

KITCHINE CHAMBER.

- Two mattresses ij coddess,^c and iiij^{or} couerlettes, xxvj s.

^a "Contrepointe . . . couverture de lit piquée point contre point, a counterpoint or counterpain for a bed." Boyer, *Dict. Royal François-Anglois*, 1727. "Contre-pointeur . . . Ouvrier en contre-pointes, a quilter or counterpoint maker." Miegé, *New Dictionary French and English*, 1679. Cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, act ii. sc. 1.

^b Chist is the North-country form of chest. It occurs in *Havelok*, p. 222. The Editor possesses a linen chest inscribed "This is Esther Hobson chist 1637."

^c Pillows.

OVER THE MIDLEGATES.

One bedstead, one fetherbed, one bowlster, two pillowes, one wollen blanckett, two couerlettes, one cubborde, and a chaire, iij li.

PORTER LODGE.

One bedsteade, one mattresse, one bowlster, and two couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

OVER THE FARRE GATES.

One ffetherbed, one bowlster, two wollen blanckettes, one couerlett, and one rugge checkerd, xls.
Item one bedsteade, one ffetherbed, one bowlster, one blanckett, and two couerletes, xxvj s.
Item one bedsteade, one mattresse, a bowlster, a wollen blanckett, and ij couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

STABLE.

One cubborde bedsteade, a mattresse, a bowlster, a wollen blankett, and ij couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

OUER THE STABLE.

One flockebed, one bowlster, and two couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

KYLNE.

One mattresse, one bowlster, and two couerlettes, xs.
Item one Seasterne of leade for barley and a kilne haire.^a

Summa xv li. ij s. viij d.

DARYE.

Imprimis two mattresses, ij bowlsters, v couerlettes, whereof one read and white, xxvj s.
Item one cheese presse, two kettles, one chafer pott, one reckone,^b and one brandred,^c vij leades for mylke, xxiiij bowles, two chirnes, one sooe,^d cheese fattes,^e and Bowkinge^f Tubbes, iiij li.

OXHOUSE.

Two mattresses, two coddess, and iiij^{or} couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

Summa iiij li. xix s. iiij d.

^a The hair cloth on which malt was laid when put upon the kiln. See E. Chambers' *Cyclopædia*, 1738, *sub voc. Malt*.

^b Reckin-hook, that is the hook which hangs in the reek. The hook by which a pot is suspended over a fire.

^c A tripod for supporting a pot on a fire. "One brasse pott, iij pannes, brandryt, cressyt, iiij s." *Invent. of Thomas Robynson of Appleby, Lincolnshire*, 1542. "Brander" seems to be the Scottish form of the word. See Dunbar, *Social Life in Former Days*, p. 212. Cf. *Catholicon Anglicum* (E.E.T.S.), p. 40.

^d Soa, soe, signifies a large tub. It is now commonly used to indicate a brewing-tub only, but it is sometimes employed for the large tub in which clothes are steeped before they are washed. Danish *saa*, a pail; Icelandic *sár*, a cask. It occurs in *Havelok*—

"He kam to the welle, water updrow,
And filde there a michel so."—Line 932.

^e The moulds in which cheeses are made.

^f Washing-tubs.

WINE SELLER.

Imprimis one square counter v s.

Item one great chiste for plate xl s.

Item one quarte pewter pott, xij hogsheades, and one pipe, xxvj s. viij d.

Summa iij li. xj s. viij d.

PANTRYE.

Imprimis one great dinge^a for breade iij s.

Item one chiste for mancheat^b ij s. vj d.

Item one chiste for lynone v s.

Item one litle Trounke for plate ij s.

Item v dozín Trenchers x s.

Item one dozín rounde Trenchers ij s.

Item xij lattin^c candlestickes xvij s.

Item ij Basins and Ewers of Pewter xij s. iij d.

Item ij pewter voyders^d x s.

Item one chippinge knife, one table, iij shelues, and a tostinge sticke tipt with siluer, vj s. viij d.

Summa iij li. xij s. vj d.

HETHER BUTTRYE AND MIDLE BUTTERYE.

Imprimis vj paire of Gauntres^e xij s.

Item vj pipes for beare xij s.

Item xxvij hogsheades xxx s.

Summa liiij s.

PEWTER IN THE KYTCHINE.

Imprimis xij Sawcers

Item xij dishes

Item xij great dishes

Item xij great platters

Item xij lesser platters

Item iij^{or} chargers

Item sawcers xij

Item dishes xij

vj li. xij s. iij d.

^a Probably an ark or chest in which to keep bread. The word is new to me. It occurs again p. 30.

^b The best wheaten bread.

^c Latten, the mixed metal of which monumental brasses were made. See Parker, *Glossary of Gothic Architecture*, *sub voc.*

^d A tray. "A voyder vpon the table then haue

The trenchers and napkyns therein to receaue."

Seager's *Schoole of Vertue*, in *Manners and Meals in Olden Time* (E.E.T.S.), p. 342, l. 376.

^e A gantree or gantry signifies a wooden frame used to support a barrel or a low shelf of wood or masonry in a dairy on which the milk-vessels stand. It is sometimes, though rarely, used to denote the shelves on which coffins stand in a burial-vault.

NEW VESSELL.

Imprimis xij sawcers	}	vij li. xiiij s. iiij d.
Item xij sallite dishes		
Item ij dozin great dishes		
Item xviiij great platters		
Item xviiij lesser platters		
Item one charger of ye greatest sorte		

Summa xiiij li. vj s. viij d.

KYTCHEINE.

Imprimis one ffurnace pann for beefe x s.
Item two great kettles bounde xxvj s. viij d.
Item two lesser ketles bounde xij s.
Item iij pannes bounde xiiij s. iiij d.
Item ij litle bowed ^a pannes ij s. vj d.
Item ij eopper lugde ^b pannes xvj d.
Item ij great brasse pottes xl s.
Item iij lesser brasse pottes xv s.
Item one tynn pott and iij paire of pothookes iiij s.
Item one gallie ^c bawke, iij berers, vij crookes, and one iron range, xl s.
Item ij paire of rakes of iron xvj s.
Item two great square spittes, iiij lesser square spittes, iij rounde spittes, and ij small spittes, xxvj s. viij d.
Item two dripping pannes x s.
Item one iron peele ^d xviiij d.
Item one brasen mortar and a pestle xx s.
Item ij girde ^e irons and one frying pann vj s.
Item iij iron ladles xviiij d.
Item one lattin skimmer and one grater ij s.
Item one pepper mylne and one paire of mustarde quearnes ^f vj s. viij d.
Item iij bourdes and a salte ^g pic iij s. iiij d.

Summa xiiij li. xiiij s. ij d.

^a Pans having "kilps," that is semi-circular iron handles affixed to them. Many curved or semi-circular objects are called bows, as the bow of a fishing net, the cap wire used to make the borders of women's caps stand off, the handle of a key, the arch of a bridge, or the arcades of a church.

^b Pans having ears.

^c The strong iron bar in an open chimney from which cooking vessels were suspended.

^d A baker's shovel. Cf. Jackson, *Shropshire Word Book*, p. 318. *Catholicon Anglicum*, p. 273.

^e Gridirons.

^f Handmills, it is confidently stated, have been in use until a very recent period. *Archaeologia*, vol. XLIV. p. 285. Quern-stones, small and large, are mentioned in the Excise Act of 1656. Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, vol. ii. p. 475.

^g A box for salt.

DRYE LARDER, WETT LARDER, PAISTRIE.

Item two mouldinge^a bourdes and a bowlting^b tubb for meale x s.

Item one litle table, one spice cubborde, one chiste for otemeale, one trough, iij hanginge shelues, and vj other shelues, xl s.

Item iij tubbes for beefe, vj barrelles for salte, and vj shelues, xl s.

Summa iij li. x s.

BACKHOUSE, BOUTINGE HOUSE, AND BREWHOUSE.

Imprimis one great kilmynge^c for meale, one boutinge tubb, one Levanne Trough, two sives, one bouteloth, one temse,^d one doghsheete, and one leape,^e x s.

Item iij mouldyng bourdes, one kettle, and one brandred, x s.

Item one great Copper to brewe in xlii.

Item one mashfatt,^f one quilefatt,^g one sweete worthe tubb, one worthe trough, and one long worthe trough, iij sooes and ij scopes,^h xij li.

Summa liij li. x s.

DAMASKE, DIAPER, CANVASSES AND LYNONE OF SEUERALL SORTES.

Imprimis one damaske table clothe of vij yardes longe, wrought with a spread Eagle, iij li. x s.

Item one damaske table clothe of vj yardes dim. longe, wrought with pictures, iij li.

Item one damaske table clothe of v yardes iij q^{ters} longe, wrought with the spread eagle, l s.

Item one damaske table clothe of iij yardes iij q^{ters} longe, wrought with ye marigold and the Rose, xl s.

Item one newe Damaske table clothe of vij yardes longe xlvj s. viij d.

Item one damaske square clothe, laced about, xij s. iij d.

Item one damaske towell of iij yardes longe, wrought with the marigolde, xxvj s. viij d.

Item one damaske towell of viij yardes dim. longe, wrought with the marigolde and rose, liij s. iij d.

Item one damaske towell iij yardes iij q^{ters} longe, wrought with the spreade eagle, xx s.

^a A board on which bread or pastry is made.

^b To bolt is to sift meal. At Mereval Abbey, Warwickshire, there were at the time of its suppression "iij troves to bolt and to knede in." *Mon. Anglic.* vol. v. p. 485.

^c A kimling is a large tub made of upright staves hooped together in the manner of a cask. "A kimling in Lincolnshire, or a kimmel as they term it in Woreestershire, vas coquendae cerevisiae." Littleton, *Lat. Dict.* 1735. Cf. *Ripon Act Book* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 182, 371.

^d A brewer's sieve.

^e A basket.

^f A brewing tub.

^g A brewing vessel, a tub into which the sweet liquor is drawn off. "A lead, a mashefatte, a gylfatt with a sooe, xv s." *Invent. of Roland Stavelly of Gainsburgh, 1551.*

^h A large hollow wooden shovel.

Item one damaske v yardes longe, wrought with the marigolde and ye rose, xxvj s. viij d.

Item one newe damaske towell of v yardes longe x s.

Item ij newe damaske cubberde clothes ij yardes x s.

Item ij dozín newe damaske napkins ij li. xij s.

Item ij dozín damaske napkins ij li.

Summa of the damaske xxvij li. xvij s. viij d.

Damaske table clothes v.

Square clothes j.

Cubberd clothes ij.

Damaske towelles v.

Damaske napkins v dozín.

DIOPER.

Inprimis one dioper table clothe of viij yardes dim. longe l s.

Item one dioper table clothe of vj yardes longe, xlvj s. viij d.

Item one dioper table clothe of iiij yardes dim. longe, xxx s.

Item one dioper table clothe of iiij yardes dim. longe xxx s.

Item ij dioper cubborde clothes xxx s.

Item one dozín dioper napkins xxiiij s.

Summa of the dioper xj s. viij d.

Dioper Table Clothes iiij^{or}.

Cubborde Clothes ij.

Napkins j dozín.

HOLLAND CLOTHE.

Inprimis three fine large sheetes of hollande for a womans chamber in child bed, whereof one sheete x yardes dim. one sheete vij yardes dim. and one sheete v yardes dim. xij li.

Item one paire of Hollande sheetes of xvij yardes ix li. iiij d.

Item one paire of sheetes of xv yardes xl s.

Item xx holland pillowberes^a ij li. vj s. viij d.

Summa of the Holland xxvj li. x s. viij d.

Sheetes paire ij. od sheete.

Pillowberes xx lie.

CANVASSE SHEETES.

Inprimis one paire of doble canvasse sheetes of xj yardes

Item one paire of canvasse sheetes of xiiij yardes

Item ij paire of canvasse sheetes of xx elles

Item v paire of canvasse sheetes of xlix elles

Item v paire of canvase sheetes x yards in euery paire

} xx li.

^a Pillow cases. Cf. *Mon. Anglic.* vol. iv. p. 542. Dunbar, *Social Life in Former Days*, p. 209.

LYNONE SHEETES.

Imprimis ij paire of Doble Sheetes of xx yardes
Item xvij paire of lynne sheetes x yardes in euerye paire } ix li. x s.
Item xx lynne pillowberes 1s.
Item xxx paire course sheetes x li.

Summa of the canvasse & lynone sheetes xliij li.

In toto canvasse sheetes, paire xiiij.
Lynne sheetes xix.
Lynne pillowberes, xx decaied iij.
Course sheetes xxx.

CANVASSES.

Imprimis one Canvase table clothe vij yardes dim. longe xxij s.
Item ij canvasse table clothes vj yardes longe xlij s.
Item iij table clothes made of x elles of canvasse xxiiij s.
Item one canvasse drawinge clothe vj yardes longe xviiij s.
Item one canvasse drawinge clothe iij yardes longe x s.
Item one canvasse Towel iij yardes iij q^{ters} longe vj s viij d.
Remayninge dailie in the pantrye.
Item one canvasse table Clothe iij yardes dim. longe xvj s.
Item vj canvasse table clothes ij yardes iij q^{ters} longe le pece lvj s.
Item v canvasse square clothes 1s.
Item ij canvasse Towelles iij yardes longe le pece xx s.
Item ij canvasse Towelles ix q^{ters} longe le pece x s.
Item iij dossen napkins iij li. xij s.

Summa xvij li. vj s. viij d.

Table clothes xiiij.
Drawinge clothes ij.
Square clothes v.
Towelles v.
Napkins dozain iij.

LYNONE IN THE CHAMBER.

Imprimis v lynne table clothes
Item vj cubborde clothes cont. xxxviiij yardes } xl s.
Item one cubborde clothe iij yardes longe v s.
Item vj Towelles maide of xxiiij yardes xxiiij s.
Item xij dozain napkins vij li. iij s.

Lynone rem. dailie in the Pantrie.

Imprimis iij lynne table clothes iij yardes dim. longe le pece xviiij s.
Item ij cubborde clothes vj s. viij d.
Item iij lynne table clothes ij yardes dim. long le pece xiiij s. iij d.

- Item vj cubbourde clothes xij s.
 Item ij lynne square clothes xij s.
 Item iij lynne Towelles ij yardes longe le pece viij d.
 Item one lynne Towell iij yardes longe ij s. vj d.
 Item xij dozin Napkins vj li.
 Item v hemplynne square clothes xiiij s. iiij d.
 Item v hall clothes xx s.

Summa xxj li. xvij s. x d.

WALTON.

2. An Inventorye taken of all the houshold stuffe in the house, and all other things in the out houses the third of April 1624.

IN THE BEST CHAMBER.

- A bedsteed, a matt, a matterice, a fetherbed, a boulster, 2 pillowes, 3 blancketes, a greene rugg, 4 changable taffaty curtins, imbrodered vallence and teaster of black & red velvet & 4 knops, & silk & gold frindg, 4 peeces of hangings, & matted vnder foote.
 A pallet bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulster, two pillowes, 2 blancketes, a counterpoint, a greene velvet canopye laced & fringed with two taffatye sarcenet eurtains & knops, a couch setwork chaire, a livery cubberd & turkey carpet on it, 4 window shuttes,^a an iron chimney,^b & a paire of tongs, a set-work chaire, & a plaine stoole for a cushion cloth.

IN THE BLACK CHAMBER WHICH IS SEALED.

- A bedsteed, a matt, a matterice, a feather bed, a boulster, 2 pillowes, 3 blancketes, a blew Rugg, 5 taffaty curtaines, tester & vallance of black velvet with black silk frindg, a chare of tuftaffatye, a pallet bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulster, 2 pillowes, 2 blanckettes & a white Rugg.
 A livery cubberd, a rawed-work cover on it, a dornix^c window curtaine & an iron rod for it, an iron chimney & a paire of tongs.

IN THE WEST GREAT CHAMBER.

- A faire waynscott table with draw leaves, five high buffett stooles covered with leather, a litle firr table with feet to fould up.
 A set work chare.

^a Shutters. Window shutters are called "shntts" in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire at the present time.

^b A fire-grate. Cf. *Catholicon Anglicum*, vol. xxxv. p. 63. Raine, *Hist. North Durham*, pp. 101, 243.

^c A fabric manufactured at Tournai. Cf. *Mon. Anglic.* vol. v. p. 485. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 444, vol. xxx. p. 4, vol. xl. p. 323, vol. xliii. pp. 207, 215.

IN THE PASSAGE.

A bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a paire of blankettes & a greene Rugg, trunkes.

IN THE GALLERYE.

Two standing & a trunnell bedsteed, 2 mattes, 3 featherbedes, 3 boulsters, 3 pillowes, 3 paire of blankettes, a rugg, a blew Quilt, & 2 couerletes, a wainescott square table & a chare, 3 window shuttes, an iron rodrosse the chamber, 3 peeces of new mattes, a tent, 2 frames for bed testers, and a broken bedsteed.

IN MY LADY LAITON'S^a CHAMBER.

A waynscott bedsteed, a matt, a matterice, a quilt, a feather bed, a boulster, two pillowes, 3 blankettes, a red rug, a red teaster imbrodered with blacke veluet with indented vallance of the same, & 3 red curtaines, a chare sutable to the teaster, a livery cubberd & cubberd cloth of turkey worke, an iron chimney, tongs, a fier shovell, six wyndow shutes, 2 low covered stooles, a plaine buffet stoole for the cushion cloth, & a long cushion.

IN THE INNER CHAMBER.

A bedsteed, a greene canopye, a matt, a featherbed, a boulster, 2 pillowes, a paire of blankettes, & a greene rugg.

IN THE LITTE CHAMBER AT THE GREAT CHAMBER END.

A bedsteed with tester & vallance of silke stufte frindged, a matt, a featherbed, a boulster, a paire vncutt and an other single blanket, a blew Rugg, & two curtins of dornix stuff, a foulding livery cubberd, a low waynscott chare, and another litle dutch greene chaire, an iron chymeney, tonges and bellowes, a presse, & other litle cubberdes.

In that p[r]esse 12 dozen of mapple trenchers never yet vsed, 2 dozen of trencher plaites, two dozen of scales of all sortes, 3 paire of butter caps, 4 pitched cans all of a peece.

A trundle bedsteed, a feather bed, a boulster, a paire of vncutt blankettes, & a green Rugg.

IN THE WARDROBE.

A standing bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulster, a blanket, a counter pointe, a dornix curtine, & an iron curtain rod.

In the presse in Peters charg, 3 peeces of hanginges & an old turkey carpet, 7 bed knops, the fine counter point belonging the best chamber, the fine carpet cloth for the West chamber, the irish stitched cloth for the round table, the covering for the winged couch chaire in the west chamber, half a dozen sutable cushions for it fringed ready to cover stooles with all, half a dozen cushions in like manner sutable to the couch chare in the best chamber, half

^a Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, wife of Sir Thomas Layton.

a dozen greene cushions vnmade upp for which ther wantes some fringe, a white damask bed tester laced with vailance sutable & fringed, & five white sarcnet curtaines belonging them, the tester & cutt taffaty vallance with the head of the bed for it of taffety which stood in the new turret at Gilling, a flat bed tester of velvet & murrey sattin imbrodered, the head peece belonging defaced, a old vallance fringed which went with it, a pad saddle, with bridle, bittes, stirrups, & all the furniture to it, the sumpter cloth, a white fustian blancket, and old broken peeces of stuffs & bed testers, a flat bed tester & head with vallance all imbrodered with yellow & greene & fringed with curtines sutable of taffetye sarcnet & a counter pointe.

A chest which Barbara keeps, two trunckes, in the open presse a base violin & the singing bookes.

IN THE VTTER NURSERY.

A standing bedsteed with greene cloth curtins, tester, & vallance, laced & fringed, a mat, a featherbed, a boulster, a pillow, a paire of new vncutt & another blanket & a green Rugg.

A litle table for the children & six low wainscott buffet stooles belougeing to it.

A cubberd with lockes on it, a great leather chest, 2 trunckes, & a wainscott panneld chest.

IN THE INNER NURSERY ROOMES.

In the midle nursery two standing bedsteedes, two feather bedes, two mattes, two boulsters, 2 pillowes, 2 paire of blankettes, a counter pointe & a couerlet, a presse wherein hanges my ladys clothes & 3 trunckes.

In M^{rs} Nutters chamber a trundle bedsteed, a mat, a featherbed, a boulster, a paire of blankettes and a coverlet, a great chest, a candle chest, & a trunk.

In the childrens chamber, a standing and a trundle bedsteed, two feather bedes, 2 boulsters, a paire of blankettes, a counter point & a coverlet, two trunckes with damask, diaper, & fine linnen.

IN YOUR OWNE CHAMBER.

A standing bedsteed with tester and head peece wrought with black velvet & yellow silk & five curtins of red cloth, a matt, a feather bed, a fine quilt, 2 paire of blankettes, a boulster, 2 pillowes & a counter pointe, a trundle bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulster, a pillow, a paire of blankettes, a couerlet, & a Red Rugg.

The white damask chare, a little red chare, an orpharion,^a five pictures, a standing cubberd, a great chest, a cabinet, 2 long cushions, the flat box & cyprus coffer, two window curtins & an iron rod for them. In your closet a litle chare, the marble mortar, the stove, your owne cabinet & bookes, a target, your guilt sword & two litle greene carpetes.

^a A musical instrument. "The orpharion was shaped like a lute, but differed in being strung with wire." Nares, *Glossary*, *sub voc.*

IN BAXTERS PARLER.

Two bedstedes, 2 mattes, 2 feather bedes, 2 boulsters, 2 pillowes, 4 blankettes & 2 greene Rugges, a table, a trunek, & 3 wyndow shuttes.

IN THE OUTER PARLER.

Three bed steddes, three featherbedes, three mattes, 3 boulsters, a matteresse, 3 blankettes, 3 couerletes & a peece of an old quilt.

IN PRESTOWS PARLER.

3 bedstockes, a feather bed, 2 mattresses, 2 paire of blankettes, 2 happinges^a & a couerlet, a peece of an old counterpoint.

IN THE BREWHOUSE CHAMBER.

A bedsted, a feather bed, 2 boulsters, a blanket, a happin & a counterpoint, a standing table to tailers to work on.

IN THE STABLE.

A bed stockes, a matteresse, a boulster, a blanket, & 2 happins & a couerlet.

IN THE MILKHOUSE.

A bed stockes, a paire of sheetes stopt with new feathers, a boulster, a paire of blankettes, 2 couerletes & a matteresse.

IN THE LAUNDRY.

A matteresse, a boulster, a blanket, & 2 old happins.

IN THE STILL HOUSE.

Four stills, a seller for glasses, two shelves, & thre in the wall all full of glasses with distilled waters.

IN THE HALL.

A long standing table, with a long forme and bench fastened in the ground, a round table, a bench of waynscott, six high buffet stooles vnecovered but bottomed with wood & wrought feet, seaven plaine high stooles of the newest making by Bar. Dickinson, six high stooles with wrought feet, eleaven older stooles; all these stooles have wooden covers, one of the old green cushion stooles & 2 of ther frames without covers, a paire of tables.

IN THE GREAT CHAMBER.

A drawing table, a rownd table, a livery cubberd, and a litle table, all having carpetes of greene cloth, a couch chare & 2 other high chares covered with greene cloth, a frame on which

^a A covering of any kind, frequently used in the northern dialects for the clothes of a bed.

stands a paire of virgenalls, a chare with other chares and stooles in it, a paire of white & black checkered tables, six high buffet stooles of set work, other six high stooles covered with leather seates & covers of greene cloth & fring on them, which may be taken of at pleasure, one other greene stoole, a childs chare, two dornix window curtins & an iron rod for them, two formes, 3 irish stitched low stooles, two set work low stooles, an iron chimney, a clock, cushions.

IN MY L. CLOSET.

A low bed steed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulster, a Red rugg, a high green buffet stoole, a litle cabinet, a dozen of pictures, litle basketes & boxes, bookes, glasse plates, drinking glasses & glasse bottles, a cheney voider & knife in its couer, a table & a carpet wrought with silk & fringed.

IN THE PRESSE IN THE OUTER NURSERY.

Cheney dishes, a box to serve sweet meates in of cheney stuff, gally potes, glasses and boxes furnished with sweet meates.

OTHER THINGS NOT SET IN ANY PARTICULAR PLACE AS BELONGING TO IT, BUT SOME IN ONE & SOME IN ANOTHER.

An old greene carpet in the outer presse, two low square waynscot buffet stooles in the Nursery, two chares of set worke both of one worke, the one greater the other lesse, a paire of andirons, a litle iron chimney, the high skreen & teeth to heckle^a out lynseed on the stare head at the outer closet doore, a warmeing pan.

THE NOTE OF LYNNEN.

In M^{rs} Tomazins charge.

five fine damaske table clothes	}	1	}	in length 7 yardes 1 q ^r .
		2		each in length 7 yardes.
		1		in length 5 yardes 3 q.
		1		in length 5 yardes 1 q.
Nyne damask towells	}	1	}	in length 9 yardes.
		1		longe 6 yardes 3 q.
		1		longe 6 yardes & a halfe.
		1		longe 4 yardes 1 q.
		1		longe 4 yardes.
		1		longe 3 yardes & a halfe.
		1		longe 2 yardes.
		2		long each 2 yards 1 q.

^a A heckle is an instrument made of steel pins fixed in blocks of wood, by means of which the fibres of flax and hemp were worked. Wooden heckles are yet in use in Switzerland.

Six damask cupberd clothes	}	1	}	longe 2 yardes 3 q.
		2		longe 2 yardes & a halfe.
		2		longe 2 yardes.
		1		one made since her last note.

She had 2 square damask table clothes each square 2 yardes 1 q^r, and 4 dozen & a half of Napkins to these, wheof one was lost last summer which my lady did know of, and the rest she hath.

FFYNE DIAPER.

Nyne table clothes	}	1	}	of 8 yardes 1 q ^r	} in length.
		1		of 6 yardes 1 q ^r	
		1		of 6 yardes	
		1		of 5 yardes 1 q ^r	
		1		of 5 yardes	
		2		of 4 yardes & a halfe	
		2		each of 4 yardes 1 q ^r	

Two cupberd clothes in length each 2 yards 1 q^r, ffive dozen and 9 Napkins, to these she had wherof 2 was lost when the damask napkin was lost, and knowne then to my lady, all the rest of these she hath still.

COURSE DIAPER.

Two table clothes, each 3 yardes q^r longe.

All the damask & diaper aboue writt is in the trunk next the door in the childrens chamber.

IN THE OTHER TRUNCK WHICH STANDES THER LIKWISE & IN M^{rs} TOMAZINS
CHARGE THERE IS

M^{rs} Katherina Stapletons^a cushion pillow.

One pallet sheet of holland 2 bredthes, 3 yardes 2 q^r longe.

A black wrought cushion cloth.

4 paire of black wrought pillowes, one paire wherof is made since the last note, they are all done with silk.

A plaine lawne sheet of 4 bredths & 4 yards longe.

A lawne head sheet of 4 yards.

A plaine lawne cushion cloth of 3 yards.

A cutwork cushion cloth spangled & edged with silver 2 yardes & 3 q. long.

A cutwork cushion cloth 2 yardes and a halfe.

4 paire of fine holland pillowe beares.

A paire of fine houswife cloth sheetes of 3 bredths and 4 yards longe, these are now edged.

^a Second daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, wife of Robert Stapleton of Wighill.

2 paire and oon odd sheet of fine holland, the fellow to which my lady was wound in, one paire of these is of 3 bredths & 4 yards & a q. long, the other paire of 3 bredthes 3 yards 3 q. long, the odd sheet is of 2 bredths & a halfe & 2 yards 3 q. longe.

One paire of old fyne holland sheetes 2 bredths & half.

THE LYNNEN IN BARBARA'S CHARGE.

2 dozen of course diaper napkins, wrought in the house.

9 diaper towells.

9 course diaper table clothes, wherof 7 each 4 yards long & 2 3 yards one q.

9 lynn table clothes.

9 lynn cupboord clothes.

4 square clothes for the hall table.

One dozen and a halfe of towells.

8 paire of pillow beares & one odd pillow.

8 paire of canvas sheetes.

16 paire of lyn sheetes.

22 paire of hemp lynn sheetes & one odd one.

12 harden paire of sheetes.

1 paire M^{rs} Nutter hath.

THE NOTE OF THE PLATE.

In Thomas Slagges charg.

White plait.

Two silver basons with ewers.

Eight silver bowles & a silver bowle for the buttery.

four silver livery pottes.

Three silver hall pottes.

Two & twenty silver spownes.

Two silver saltes, wherof one wanteth a cover.

Three silver candle stickes.

Guilt plaite.

A bason & ewer gilted.

Two great gilt bowles with covers.

Two lesse gilt boules with covers.

Three litle git bowles without covers.

Two livery gilt potes.

Three gilt saltes with covers.

A gilt bowle with a couer woone at Bellman lawne.^a

^a This seems to have been a piece of plate won at a race. I have not identified Bellman Lawne.

Bought by my lord 1627.

One silver possnet which weighs 37 : 8^d.
 A silver morter and pestell 43 : 22^d.^a

Bought 1629 by my lord.

A perfumeing candlestick with a couer 27. $\frac{5}{8}$.
 One paire of lesser candlestickes 42. $\frac{7}{8}$.
 One paire of bigger candlestickes 43. $\frac{1}{2}$. $\frac{3}{4}$.
 A paire of wyer siluer candlestickes 30 $\frac{7}{8}$. $\frac{5}{8}$.

PEWTER AND BRASSE IN THOMAS SLAGGES CHARGE.

One pewter bason & 2 ewers.
 Two pewter saltes without covers.
 foure pewter flagons wherof 2 great & 2 lesse.
 ffyve pewter candlestickes.
 two pewter voyders.
 A great pewter Sestrene.
 fowreteene brasse candlestickes.

A NOTE OF THE PLATE WHICH STOOD VPON THE CUPBOARD IN YOUR OWN CHAMBER.

A silver bason & ewer, 2 litle silver cruetes, 2 silver cans parcell gilt, a silver chaffin dish, a plaine litle silver bowle, a dozin silver plaites, a plaine silver can, a plaine silver bottle, 2 gilt casting bottles, a silver pott with 2 eares, a silver candlestick, six silver sawcers, one great spown & two lesse spownes, for preserving with, five spownes which were kept for the children, 2 large porringers of silver. Two lesse silver porringers, a litle silver boat, a suger box of silver, a litle childes possnet^b of silver with three feet.

IN A TRUNK IN KATHERINE HICKES KEEPING IN THE OUTER NURSERY.

Two paire of vncutt fine new blanketcs.
 Two peeces of fyne white Jeanes fustion.

^a In 1629 Lord William Howard gave xxs. for "one litle silver morter." *Household Books* (Surttees' Society), p. 266. A lady tells me that she has seen a silver mortar about two and a half inches high, which she thinks was intended for pounding scents.

^b Nares explains "posnet" to be "a small pot or skillet," and adds that the word but seldom occurs. In 1590 John Nevil of Faldingworth, Lincolnshire, had ij posnets valued at six shillings. *Midl. Counties Hist.* col. 11, p. 31.

IN A LITTLE TRUNK IN THE INNER NURSERYE.

fflower yards of Callico, a swans skinn, & a paire of pillow beares begunn to be wrought.
Nothing els but peeces of old lynyng.

IN THE TWO LITTLE CUPBOORDES IN THE GREAT CUPBOORD IN YOUR CHAMBER.

Conserves of Barbaryes Roses, &c. with boxes of the best oyles.

IN THE CYPRESSE CHEST IN THE WARDROBE.

A pair of webster gears for ell wyde cloth, Two dozen of cushions, one long cushion, and 2 armes for a couch chaire all of set work to make vpp, cushions & a long cushion of Irish stitch to make vpp.

Three whole webs vncutt to make Napkins on two fine the other courser, rawed with blew and one of the fine so rawed.^a

A peece of fyne damask of thirty one yardes and a half 3 quarteres broad.

A peece of damask 3 yardes & a halfe 3 q^r broad.

A peece of very fyne damask of 9 q^r broad in length very nigh fiteene yardes.

In two peeces pynned together for napkins to it of very fyne damask 3 q. broad 27 yardes.

A whole peece of 15 yardes & a halfe of stamin^b Carsey for a bed.

A whole peece of Red carsey which was intended for coates for the children of 13 yardes 3 q^r.

An vnbleached web of fyne lynn of 32 yardes.^c

Another vnbleached web of hemp lyn of 20 yardes.^c

A peece of new cloth of gold aboute a yard.

Aboute a yarde of Ash coloured wrought Sattin.

One Nedle work Cushion, not all sewed.

A peece of course canvas to work in.

A peece of mingled stuffe for chyl dren coates 26 yardes.

A paire of plades and part of another.

Crewle fringes & a bagg of other crewles of divers sortes of coloures.

Certaine odd peeces of old silk stuff and of cloth of gold & an old peticoat.

LAYDE VP IN THE SAME CYPRESSE CHEST THE 14th OF AUGUST 1624 WHICH WAS TAKEN FORTH FOR BLEACHING.

one web of fyne lynn, 31 yerdes, worth 20d. a yeard.

six webs of huswife lynn, six score yardes, worth 14d. a yerd.

^a In the margin there is a note, " One of these webbs cutt."

^b Probably a fabric of an inferior red colour.

^c These are run through with a pen and the following note attached, " These 2 webs rased out were taken forth for bleaching, and put in againe the 14 of August."

one web of hemp lynn, 20 yardes, worth 11 d. a yard.
one web of midle hecklinges,^a 22 yardes, worth 10 d. a yard.
two webs of harden, 40 yerdes, worth 9 d. a yard.
one web of course napkins, for 3 dozen of napkins, worth 6 d. a yard.

TAKEN OUT OF THE CYPRESSE CHEST FOR VSE.

for M^r William^b sheetes, a pillow beare, cleaven yardes & a halfe of course lyn, & for lynning the children coates 2 yardes & halfe, for M^r Henry^c 3 yerdes.
taken out & cut into napkins, a web which made one dozen & 11 napkins.
the course web was cut into 3 dozen & 4 napkins.

PEWTER, BRASSE, AND OTHER THINGES BELONGING TO THE KITCHEN.

There should be of Nyne severall sises of pewther dishes which came from Newcastle, and have not your name on them, six dishes of each size, which in all is 54 dishes.

Wherof ther wanteth of the 7th size 2 dishes.

of the 8th size 2

& of the 9th size 5

ther came with the dishes above said two longe dishes for Rabbittes which are both in place.

ther came with them likewise twelve sawcers wher of there is now wanting 8.

ther came also the same tyme two chargers, two long pye plaites, and a voyder which are all in place. All these above came together and are of the silver dishes fashion.

Other silver fashioned dishes changed at Beverley, at severall tymes by Ralph Hickes wherof now in place which are marked with your own & my Lady's name.

There are of them of seaven severall sizes 12.

wherof of the greatest 2

of the second 2

of the third 1

of the 4 3

of the fifth 2

of the six 1

of the seaventh 1

one longe Rabbitt dish.

There wantes of these in all, as appeareth by the last note of them, six dishes.

There are also in the chest with those vessell aboue of the same fashion, six sawcers bought longe since at London.

^a Inferior linen.

^b Third son of Sir Thomas.

^c Second son of Sir Thomas.

Other vessell in the kitchin chest which are now in place

of the greatest size	5
of the second	11
of the third	4
of the fourth	1
of the 5 th size	5
of the sixth	1
there is one charger	
Pye plaites	4
ther are sawcers	5
One Cullander	
One pewther baking pan.	

BRASS.

Eight pottes & a possnet.

3 kettles which will hold betwixt 16 & 20 gallons a peece.

2 lesse kettles each holding betwixt 4 & 6 gallons wherof one of them is of copper.

3 kettles of less quantitye.

2 kettles which M^{rs} Nutter hath.

2 of a lesse size.

6 litle pans of severall greatnes.

1 skellet.^a

There wantes that pan which had a brandred for it, which is still in place.

2 Morters & one pestle.

2 fryeing pans which are good ones & 1 old one.

4 dripinges & 2 brandredes for them.

the beef kettle, The Iron pott.

2 grydirons, wherof one is for cockles.

11 spittes, 2 paire of Rackes.

2 spittes & two paire of Rackes for the chamber.

2 reckon balkes.

9 Reckon crookes, whereof 3 single & 3 in paires.

4 paire of pott kilps, 2 paire of handcrookes.

1 Scummer, 6 ladles, 2 cleavers.

^a Skellet, skillet = a saucepan. "Denying her the liberty so much as to boyl a skillet of milk for her crying and hunger-bitten children." Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, vol. ii. p. 399.

"Like skilletts mix'd with sauss-pans ty'd
Round Tinker Tom on e'ery side."

Edward Ward, *Don Quixote*, vol. i. p. 365.

1 Shreding knife, 2 chopping knives.
1 litle brasse skellet.
2 beef axes & knives & 2 slaughter ropes and 2 beef stanges.^a
4 covers for dishes of white plait.
1 collander of plait. An apple cradle.
1 little brandred 1 great brandred.
1 brasse pott lydd. 2 beife prickes.
4 loose crookes belonging the Rackes.
1 litle crook. A pepper milne.
3 or 4 other thinges of plait.
A paire of irons to make wafers with.
2 fier sholves & a pair of litle tonges, a baking pan of copper.
A paire of brigges^b to set a pan on ouer the fier & a great boll which belonged to the Milne
15 chamber pottes.
2 old chamber pottes in the larder.
In the Beefhouse ther are tubbes kymlynes gyrtthes & and some hogsheads, an iron Range.

IN THE MILKHOUSE.

Bowells 16. Chesfattes 8. Synkers^c 2. Trayes 4, besides 3 which M^{rs} Nutter hath, and 2 in the kitchin.
Skeeles^d 4. Kyne^e 1. Butterkittes 4. Creames pottes 2. Scummner 1. Cheestrough 1. Tubbs 2.
Tables 2.
a paire of weagh scales.
a chafer & a syle.^f

IN THE WASHHOUSE.

Tubbs 3. Swills^g 3. Soaes 3. 2 cloth baskettes.

^a Stang is a stake or pole. Anglo-Saxon *stenge*. Here it means either the pole from which the slaughtered oxen were suspended or the piece of wood used to distend the bodies after they were disembowelled.

^b "Brigs" is a term used to indicate a wooden frame used by brewers to set the tems upon. This seems to have been an iron frame of a like kind.

^c A sinker is a circular board which fits into the cheese vat and is used in pressing the cheese.

^d Pails.

^e Ky[r]ne, *i.e.* churn.

^f A wooden bowl with a linen bottom used for straining milk.

^g Tubs in which refuse food is put. Swill is the common name for hog-wash, and the vessel used to hold it is called a swill-tub.

IN THE LANDRY.

2 tables, one screene, one trunk.

IN THE STORECHAMBER.

Trayes 9. Butterkittes^a 5. Lyne wheeles 4. Barrells 3. A wheele kyrne. A lymbeck.^b
2 Jackes. A paire of wooll combes. Heckles 3. Kymlyn 1. A strowbasket. A wicker
basket and a tubb for oatmeale. A frame of shelves and a table.

IN THE BREWHOUSE.

A lead, a massfatt, a cooler, a sweet woort tubb. A gile fatt. Soaes 3. Scowpes 2. Hopleap^c 1.
Troughs 2. two bread basketes. Sackes 7. Temses 2. A meale sive. A dough trough.
A temsing tubb. A tubb for kneading of manchet in. An iron peepe. 2 hand skeeles.
a scrapple.^d A couerlet for treading of paste.^e Two peckes. A paire of weagh scales
& a pound stone.

November 8 1625.

One paire of sheetes made of 16 yards of fyne lyn, 2 pare of pillow beares, a cubbert cloth made
of 7 yardes and a halfe, 2 dozen of coarse napkins made of fine lyn & eight fyner napkins.

1624.

3. An Inventorye taken the 22th of June of all the houshold stuff at
Gillinge.

Imprimis in the great chamber one long drawing table, one square table and two cubbert tables
with greene covers or carpetes edged with silk fringe for them all, twelve carved stooles
vncouer'd, twelve high stooles covered with greene cloth and fringed with silk, five low

^a Kit usually signifies a vessel into which cows are milked, formed of staves hooped together, with
one of the staves longer than the rest, which forms a handle. These butter-kits were probably vessels of
this sort used for the purpose of containing the butter when removed from the churn before it was made
up into pounds.

^b An alembic, a vessel used for making distillations.

^c A hop-basket.

^d Probably a scraper.

^e When a large quantity of bread was made at once it was formerly the custom in farmhouses
for the kneading to be done by the feet instead of the hands. It was therefore necessary to cover the
dough with a sheet.

stooles covered with greene cloth fringed, six high stooles covered with loome work fringed, one chare sutable to the greene stooles, and another chare, an iron range & a paire of landirons.^a

In the walke, one low table with a greene cloth, two chares, two deskes, one litle chest, a bill, a halbert, & a paire of Rigalles.^b

In the dyning parler, a high drawing table & a low drawing table, one cubbert table, one forme, one chare covered with greene cloth & fringed with greene crewls, a low chaire covered with sett worke, & another chare covered with set worke & the back of wood without armors,^c foure set worke stooles, foure set-work cushions, two neellwork^d cushions, & one lome-work cushion, an iron range, a paire of landirons, a paire of tongs, a fier sholve,^e a violl chest, a wanded^f skreene, a chesse boord & chesse men.

In the bishopp parler, one standing bedsteed, with teaster and vallance of velvet belonging the standing bed, a feather bed, one bolster, one pillow, a paire of blankettes, a counter pointe, a pallet & belonging to it one fether bed, a bolster, a blanket & a counterpointe, a cubbert table with a set work covering, a black chare, a high black stoole coverd with velvet, two lowe stooles covered with black velvet, a low stoole covered with browne velvet, another stoole covered with flowred velvet, an iron range, a paire of landirons, a wanded skreene and fower peece of hanginges with which the chamber is hung aboute.

In the Inner new lodging one standing bedsteed with teaster & vallance of white velvet, one feather bed, two bolsters, a white rugg, one chaire coverd with white flowerd velvet sutable to the bedteaster, one cubert table, a lowe stoole covered with settwork, a paire of landirons & three curtin rodde.

In the outer new lodginge, one standing bedsteed with black & yellow teaster & vallance, a cubbert table, fouer peece of hanginges about the chamber & 3 curtinrodes.

In the wardropp, two standing bedsteedes, one presse, a violl chest, a table for tailers to work on, and Mattes belonging to the inner new lodging.

In the pleasance chamber, one standing bedsteed with a teaster, one chare, two cubbert tables & two curtinrodes.

In the tirret chamber, one cubbert table, two stooles vncoverd & a paire of landirons.

In the Paradise, one square table, two standing bedsteedes, one featherbed, one bolster, one low stoole covered with greene cloth, one high stool vncoverd, a frame of a stoole, & a iron chimney.

In the gallery end chamber, one standing bed with teaster & vallance of black & white velvet, 3 curtin rodes, one feather bed, one bolster, two pillowes, one cubbert table, with a covering cloth, one long cushion of black & white velvet, a chare covered with black velvet, a chare

^a Andirons, fire-dogs.

^b A regal, a musical instrument. See Nares, *Glossary*.

^c Arms.

^d Needlework.

^e Shovel.

^f Wickerwork.

- vnecovered with a falling back for a table, two low stooles, covered with black velvet, two high stooles vnecovered.
- In the Inner chamber, one low bed, one feather bed, two bolsters, two blancketes, a counterpoint, & a closstoole.
- In the outer Nurserye, two standing bedstedes, one canopye & taffaty curtins, one feather bed, a bolster, one pillow, a blanket, a red rugg, a eradle, a barn^a chare, a high stoole covered, a trunk & a long chest.
- In my maisters chamber, one standing bed steed with teaster and vallance of black velvet, 3 curtin rodes, 5 taffaty curtins, one feather bed, one bolster, one pillow, two blancketes, a green rugg, a trunell bed, one feather bed, one bolster, one pillow, one blanket, one whit rugg, one strow^b chare, one throwne^c chare, one barn chare, one square table, 3 low stools covered with red velvet, one low stoole, covered with black velvet, one high stoole vnecovered, one iron range, one eubbert, and one chest.
- In my maisters closet, one high stoole vnecovered & a low stoole vnecovered, a low stoole covered with set work, a low stoole covered with black, a greene table cloth and a long cushion.
- In the inner Nursery, two standing bedstedes, two presses, three trunkes, a pannelld chest, & five boxes.
- In the closet at stare heades, 3 peeces of hanginges, one high stoole vnecovered, an iron rang and a long curtin rodd.
- In Ralph Reedes vault, one standing bedsteed, one feather bed, one bolster, one pillowe, two blancketes, three couerletes, two trunkes, one table, one stoole and a great arke.^d
- In the wyneceller, an iron Chest, three hogsheades and three teases, one stand, one horselitter, a brazen pully and iron bolt belonging the gyn^e for glasers.
- In the midle vault, 2 bedstedes, an old feather bed & one wanded chare.
- In Barnardes parler, two standing bedstedes, one matterice, one bolster, one blanket, & two couerletes, one high stoole, one low stoole, both uncouered, six peeces of old quilted hanginges.
- In the maidens parler, two bed steddes, one feather bed, one bolster, one blanket, one red rugg, & one eubberd.
- In the oxe house, two bed steddes, two mattresses, three bolsters, five couerletes.
- In the stable, one bed steed, one feather bed, one bolster, one couerlet, one rugg, one matterice.
- In the pantrye, one table, one forme, one high stoole, uncouered, one chest, one trunk, one ding, one flagon, two Jackes, a basin & enre, one brasse candle stick, two linyng table clothes, one diber^f table cloth, twelve diber napkins, 20 course napkins, one quilt salt, two silver

^a A child's chair.

^b A chair made of straw.

^c A chair made of turner's work. A turning-lathe is still called a throw.

^d A chest.

^e Some piece of mechanism of which a pulley formed a part. "Gin" formerly had a wider meaning than it now has, and could be used for any uncommon piece of mechanism.

^f Diaper.

spownes, two course hand towells, one glasse vineger crewett, seaven glasses without feet, 2 dozen of trenchers, a hanging plat candlestick and an old hogshhead for bread, three paire of lyn sheetes, foure paire of hemp sheetes, foure paire of harden sheetes.

In the Buttery, five pipes, cleaven hogshheades, besides 2 lent vnto M^r Rose & three old ones that will not hold liquors, Soacs three, floyls five.

In the brewhouse, one copper, a maskfatt, a quilefatt, a cooler, a woorttrough, a long trough and a woort tubb.

In the bouting house, a kneading trough with a couer, one litle tubb, and an old bouting tubb.

In the backhouse, two tables for working past on.

In the beef house, one table & 4 salting tubbs.

In the still house chamber, one standing bedsteed, one feather bed, three blankettes, one red rugg, an old counterpoint, one chare, one high stoole vncovered, one cubbert table, one bolster, and two pillowes.

In the chamber next the milk house, two bedsteedes, a matterice, a bolster, a blancket, a greene rug and a redd rugg.

In the milk house, butter kittes 5, milkbowles 20, foure Inch bourdes layd vppon tressles, shelvs 18, two formes, one table, one high stoole uncouered, 3 cream pottes, one trunck, & a litle stand.

In the landry, one table, a cheestrough, one stand, 3 kyrnes,^a one frame for a kyrne to runn in, & 2 iron crookes to turne it about with, & an old chest.

In the wash house, one table, two formes, 4 stooles, 6 chesfattes, one sinker, 2 kettles, 2 pans, one brass pott, 5 skeeles,^b one swill, 2 kans, 3 chees presses, one buckin^c tub, an old brasse mortar & iron pestle, one brandreth, one copper pan with 2 lugges.^d

In the kitchen, 3 dozen & 8 puder dishes, 3 sawcers, one cullinder, one puder plate, a striking knife, a minching knife, a pasty dish, one paire of rackes, 3 spittes, one dripping pan, one brass pott, an iron range, a frying pan, and a paire of pott hookes.

In the larder, one cubberd, one strow chare, one chest, one table, & a safe for hanging meat in.

In the pastry, one old counter, an old chest, and one high stoole vncovered.

In the hall, one long table & 3 lesser tables, one long forme, one short forme, & a paire of tables.

4. SHEPE AND CATTLE REMAYNINGE ATT GILLINGE THE XXVIJth DAIE OF JULIE 1596.

Item holdeing Ewes ^c	v ^{xx} xiiij	} xix ^{xx} viij.
Item hogges ^f & sheringes ^g	vij ^{xx} viij	
Item weather ^h lambes and gymbr ⁱ lambes v ^{xx} xvj		
Item Tupp lambes	iiij	
Item Rigald ^k lambes	vij	

^a Churns.

^b Pails.

^c A wash-tub.

^d Ears.

^e Ewes of more than one year old.

^f A lamb weaned from its mother but still unshorn.

^g A sheep ouce shorn.

^h A castrated male sheep.

ⁱ Gimmer, gimber = a female sheep that has not been shorn. Cf. Arthur Young, *Lincolnshire Agriculture*, p. 320.

^k An imperfect ram, one that is half castrated, commonly called a rig. See Halliwell, *Dict. sub voc.* riggot. Jackson, *Shropshire Word Book*, *sub voc.* riggil.

Draughte oxen xvj.
 Kynne xvij.
 Bulls j.

SHEPP AND CATTLE REMAYNINGE ATT WALTON YE DAY AFORESAID.

Item holdinge Ewes vj^{xx} viij.
 Item Rames xij.
 Item weather mugges ^a xxvij.
 Item muggge lambes vj^{xx} ix.
 Draughte oxen xiiij.
 Horses ij.
 Mares xij.
 Kynne iiiij.
 Bulles j.

In toto holdinge Ewes	xij ^{xx} j	} vj ^c iiiij ^{xx} v. after v ^{xx} unto the hundrede.
Item shorne shepe	vij ^{xx} xvj	
Item lambes	xij ^{xx} xvj	
Rames	xij	

5. A NOTE OF ALL MY BOOKES REMAYNING AT GILLING. ^b

Latten.

Biblia magna Jeronomi.
 Cronica cronicarum.
 Promptuarium Jeronomi.
 Novum Testamentum.
 Praedium Rusticum.
 Meditationes Sancti Augustini.

ffrench.

Titus Livius.
 Le tierce part de Afrique.
 La description de tous les Pais-bas.
 Le Institution de principe.
 Les discours de Lestat le Machiavelli.
 Le Philocophe de Messire Jean Boccace.
 Le guidon des parens en instrucon de leurs E. ^c

^a "Mug sheep, the white-faced breed from which the improved Leicester breed originated."
 Dickenson, *Cumberland Glossary* (E.D.S.), p. 65.

^b There is no heading in the original. The above is taken from a table of contents near the end of the volume.

^c Probably contraction for "Enfants."

Svetone Tranquille de la vie des xij Caesars.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Du Recueil contenant les choses memorabil.
Comentaries de Jvles Caesar de la Gverre.
Le Peregrin.
Le Thresor des livres Damades de Gaull.
Le dis 1^{me} Livre Damadis de Gavle.

English.

Plutarche.
ffroisarte.
Chaucer.
Scledaile commentaries.
Hollensides Cronickle in ij volumes.
Appian.
Alexander.
Sir Roger Williams booke.
A perfet plote of a hope garden.
The Frenche Academie.
Bilson.
A summons for slepers.
The contrye Guyse.
The book of L. de la Nowe ¹ y E. A.
Fulks answeare to Rhems testament.
Pathway to Martiall disciplyne.
John Nichols pilgrimage.
A booke of hawkyn.
A Register of all the gentlemens armes in ye great chamber.

6. PLAIT REMAYNING AT GILLING THE 25 OF MARCH 1590.

Two Liverye Pottes weighing fourescore & vj ounces.
Two other Leverey pottes weighing eight & fiftye ounces dim.
A spowte pott weighing xxix ounces & a half.
A nest of Bowelles with a cover weighing xlv ounces dim.
Three other Bowelles weighing xlv ounces.
A dooble Bell salt weighing ix ounces & three quarters.
Two dosen spones weighing xlix ounces dim.
ffower Candlestickes weighing xxxvij ounces.
xij Plaites weighing v^{xx} xj ounces.

A Spice Boxc with a sponne weighing xv ounces.
 A chafindishe weighing xxix ounces dim.
 A Basin & an ewer weighing lxxij ounces.
 An other hollow basin weighing xxij ounces.
 Two kannes weighing xxx ounces & a halfe.
 Three french bowelles with a cover conteyning xxvj ounces iij qrs.
 Item iij frenche Bolles with a cover, weyinge xxviij unzes a qr. di.
 Item a laer of silver for water cont. xxij unzes.
 Item ij silver candlestickes.
 Two basens and Eweres of silver.
 Two silver sponnes.
 Two flaggons of silver.
 A dozen silver plaites.
 A bottle of silver weyinge vj ounces j quarteren.
 Item ij little cupes of silver weying xj ounces.
 Item one silver Standishe ^a weighing xviiij ounces.
 Item a shippe bason and ewere cont. iij^{xx} one ounce iij qters.
 Item iij silver drinkege pottes for ye hall cont. iij^{xx} x ounces.
 Item a silver Cullander for orrenge cont.

GILT PLATE.

Two gilt saltes with a cover weighing xxxij ounces & a halfe.
 A square gilt salt with a cover weighing xxij ounces.
 A trencher salt gilt weighing iij ounces & a half and half a quarterne.
 A gilt salt weighing with a cover xvij ounces & a halfe.
 A gilt goblet weighing xiiij ounces & thre quarterns.
 fflower gilt spones weighing viij ounces & a quarterne.
 Item j gilte cuppe weighing x ounces j q^r.
 Item j gilte castinge bottle weighing iij ounces.
 Item twoo leverye pottes gilte cont. iij^{xx} iij ounces.
 Item v gilte bowles and a cover cont. xxxiiij ounces iij q^{rs}.
 Item one gilte basinge and ewere cont. iij^{xx} iij ounces.
 Item one great gilt Bowle with a cover cont. xxx ounces dim.
 Item one gilt bowle with a cover conteyning xxvj ounces dim.
 Item one gilte standinge cupp with a cover cont. x ounces.

7. LYNNONE REMAININGE AT GILLINGE THE Xth OF SEPTEMBRE 590.

Imprimis one dammaske table clothe wrought with ye Spread Egle of vij yerdes long.
 Item one dammaske table clothe wrought with Picturs of vj yerdes dim. longe.

^a An inkstand.

- Item one dammaske table clothe wrought with ye spread Egle of v yerdes iij q^{ters} longe.
- Item one dammaske table clothe wrought with ye marygold & ye rose iiij yards iij q^{ters}.
- Item one dammaske square clothe wrought with Picturs.
- Item one dammaske square clothe wrought with mulberyes.
- Item another dammaske square clothe.
- Item one dammaske Towell iiij yeardes longe wrought with ye marrygolde.
- Item one dammask Towell of viij yerdes longe wrought with ye marygold & ye rose.
- Item one dammaske Towell of iij yeardes iij q^{ters} longe wrought with ye spred egle.
- Item one dammaske Towell of v yerdes longe wrought with the marygold and the Rose.

GOOD DIOPER.

- Item one Dioper table clothe of viij yerdes dim. longe.
- Item one Dioper table clothe of vj yerdes longe.
- Item one Dioper table cloth of iiij yerdes dim. longe.
- Item one Dioper table cloth of iiij yerdes dim. long.
- Item iij Dioper cubbert clothes.
- Item iij large lynnone shetes of holline for a womans chamber in child bed.
- Item a paire of holline shetes.
- Item a paire of duple canvas shetes of a xj yerdes.
- Item one Canvas drawing clothe.

GOOD CANVESES.

- Item one Canvesse table clothe of vij yerdes dim. longe.
- Item one Canvesse table clothe vj yerdes longe.
- Item ij Canvesse table clothes of v yerdes longe.
- Item iiij square clothes.
- Item iiij cubbert clothes.
- Item one Canvesse towell ij yerdes dim. longe.
- Item one Canvesse table clothe iij yerdes longe.
- Item one Canvesse table clothe iij yerdes dim. longe.
- Item ij Canvesse table clothes iij yerdes longe.
- Item one table clothe of Canvesse v yerdes long.
- Item j Canvesse towell iij yerdes j q^r long.
- Item j Towell more.

NAPKINS.

- Item napkins vj dozen.
- Item new napkins vj dozen.

SHEETES.

Item j paire of Canvesse shetes of v ells.

Item v paire of Canvesse shetes.

Item iiij paire of Lynne sheetes.

HEMPLINE.

Item iij paire of hemp line sheetes new maid.

Item j square clothe of hemp line.

Item ij hemp line towells.

HARDEN SHEETES.

Item v paire of harden sheetes new maid.

Item one hold clothe new maid for ye long table.

Item ij square clothes of harden, new maide.

Item iiij plaite Clothcs of harden newe maid.

V.—*Some Account of the Courtenay Tomb in Colyton Church, Devon. Communicated by WILLIAM HENRY HAMILTON ROGERS, Esq., F.S.A. With Remarks by HENRY SALUSBURY MILMAN, Esq., M.A., Director.*

Read Feb. 6, 1879.

IN Colyton church stands a small high tomb, on which is the recumbent effigy of a young lady with a coronet on her head and a dog at her feet. Over the effigy is a shrine-like canopy; in the sides supporting the canopy are angels with *thuribula*; and on the outside of the west end in a niche are the Virgin and Holy Child.

The tomb now finds a place under the first arch of the north aisle of the chancel, whither it was removed by a former vicar from the east wall of the north transept; but it is probable that its original situation was beneath the end window close by, where there is a recess unoccupied.

This effigy has been uniformly assigned by the county historians to represent Margaret Courtenay, daughter of William Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, by the Princess Katherine his wife, daughter of King Edward IV. and sister to Henry Marquis of Exeter, beheaded by King Henry VIII. Tradition declares that she was choked by a fish-bone,^a dying in 1512. All these particulars are engraved on a brass plate, of recent date, affixed to the wall over the effigy, which is still well known as *the little choke-a-bone*. It has, however, long been satisfactorily proved that this Lady Margaret Courtenay lived to woman's estate, married Henry Lord Herbert, and was mentioned in her mother's will, dated 1527, as then living.

^a Cleaveland's *Family of Courtenay*, 1735, p. 247.

The reason of this mis-assignment is not far to seek. At the back of the tomb immediately over the effigy are three shields, which have hitherto been described thus:—1. Courtenay; 2. Courtenay impaling France and England quarterly; 3. France and England quarterly, alone;—through an unfortunately cursory examination of the arms. The mistake which has thus arisen warns us how careful the scrutiny of the herald should be in such cases.

Thus the matter remained until our esteemed Fellow, Mr. Weston Styleman Walford, requested me to examine the shields with great care, and ascertain if the royal coat was not *within a bordure*. This was immediately discovered to be the case, and leads up at once to the unravelling of the secret which has so long remained in abeyance—to the identification of the lady's place in the pedigree, if not of her name.

Thomas Courtenay, fifth Earl of Devonshire of that race, married Margaret, daughter of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, eldest son of John of Gaunt by his third wife. They had three sons, who perished successively in the Wars of the Roses, and five daughters—Joan, married to Roger Clifford, Elizabeth, married to Hugh Conway, and three others—Anne, Matilda, and Eleanor—who died unmarried.^a

Joan, sister of Margaret Beaufort, married James I. King of Scotland, from whom our present Queen is descended. Mr. Walford writes me,—“The gold signet of Queen Joan was found in 1829 at Kinross, and when it was exhibited at a meeting of the Archæological Institute at Edinburgh, in 1856, it was in the possession of—and, I believe, belonged to—Mr. John W. Williamson, a banker at Kinross. There is a cut of it in the *Archæol. Journ.* 1857, vol. xiv. p. 54, and another in Seton's *Scottish Heraldry*, 1863, p. 209.” “On this seal,” continues Mr. Walford, “the bordure of the Beaufort arms, which were impaled with those of Scotland, was overlooked until an experienced eye discovered it.”^b As on the ring, so on the tomb, the bordure appears to have completely escaped notice for a time. The Beaufort *bordure* would be *compony*. Unfortunately all

^a Milles's *Catalogue of Honor*, 1610.

^b This signet was described in Laing's *Scottish Seals*, 1850, No. 44. The cut of its impression in the *Archæol. Journ.* appeared later in *Catal. Archæol. Mus. Edinbr.* 1856, 1859, p. 89; and that in Seton appeared earlier in *Archæol. Scot.* 1857, vol. iv. p. 420. James I. was murdered in February, 1436-7. A seal of the Queen, showing the same impaled coat *on a lozenge*, remains appended to a document of September, 1439, among the Public Records of Scotland. (Seton, p. 208, Pl. IX. fig. 1. Laing's *Scottish Seals, Supplement*, 1866.)

the original colouring (except a mere trace of the ochreous base of the gilding) on the charges of the shields, which are sculptured in relief, is gone, having been scraped and washed off, the bordure being perfectly clean to the surface of the stone.

It still remains to be discovered which of these three unmarried daughters the tomb commemorates.

Colcombe Castle,^a which may be described as the cradle of the noble family of Courtenay, and where this young lady presumably died, is situate about half a mile distant from Colyton. This Earl Thomas Courtenay, as the head of the house, held Colcombe, where the family appear to have dwelled alternately with their other residence of Tiverton Castle, and which probably was apportioned to the eldest son for the time being.

Among the old muniments of the Chamber of Feoffees of Colyton, belonging to the borough of Colyford, anciently part of the possessions of the Courtenays, and now held by the Chamber, is the following deed, to which Thomas Courtenay was a party before he succeeded to the earldom :—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Uphome de Coliford in comitatu Devonie dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Thome Courteney filio et heredi domini Hugonis Courteney Comitibus Devonie Philippo Courteney filio et heredi domini Johannis Courteney militis ac Johanni Loterell filio et heredi domini Hugonis Loterell militis omnia mea terras et tenementa cum omnibus suis pertinentiis in burgo de Coliford predicto &c. Hiis testibus Johanne Stowford Thoma Pyper ac multis aliis. Data apud Coliford predictum undecimo die mensis Novembris anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Anglie octavo.^b

With the deed is a letter of attorney, appointing John Paule to give seisin of the granted lands, dated 20th November in the same year.^b

I enclose a drawing of the three shields, and refer to the engravings of the effigy and tomb which will be found in my volume on *The Antient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devon.*

^a See an engraving of the castle in Polwhele's *Devonshire*, 1790, vol. ii. p. 310.

^b Nov. 1420.

REMARKS.

Mr. W. H. H. Rogers justly appropriates the merit of this rehabilitation of heraldic evidence to our late most learned and highly esteemed Fellow and friend Mr. Weston Styleman Walford, who, when the above communication reached the hands of the Secretary, was still among us, but, by a singularly sad coincidence, died on the very day of its reading.

So long ago as 1853, Mr. Walford was able, through his accurate heraldic knowledge, to propose the true solution of the problem. In that and the two following years he corresponded with Dr. Oliver, and our Fellow Mr. Charles Tucker, both residents in Devonshire and careful students of its antiquities, and obtained through the latter all the information which the Rev. John Comins—then and for some years previously curate of Colyton—could give from his knowledge or from that of other old inhabitants.

From 1855 to 1878 there was no further step taken in the inquiry, although our late distinguished Fellow, Mr. Albert Way, used to express a wish that Mr. Walford would proceed with it. In the latter year our late Fellow Mr. Blore occasioned its revival by showing to Mr. Walford a drawing of the monument which he had made about 1870. Mr. Walford thereupon began an interesting correspondence with Mr. Rogers, and the result was the above communication to the Society, accompanied by new drawings of the three shields. Mr. Walford about the same time handed to the Society his correspondence and references on the subject.

From Farmer's *Colyton Church*, 1842, and from some further notes by Mr. Rogers, the modern history of the monument more fully appears. The book states that it was removed from the north transept and repaired in 1818,^a describes the brass plate as *recently* engraven, and gives the inscription in full. Its original site was certainly under the northern and only window of the transept, a window in a recess somewhat wider than the length of the monument, and ornamented with mouldings running down the splays. The monument was placed as far eastward as possible, so that its head stood clear, and its foot rested against the flat surface of the eastern splay, the mouldings being cut away to allow of this arrangement. There is evidence of an intermediate site under the east wall of the transept,

^a The remains were removed at the same time (Letter of Rev. J. Comins, Nov. 17th, 1854), but no record of the particulars or dimensions of them is known to exist.

occupied from 1818, when a north aisle was added to the nave, to 1830, the date of the brass plate as engraved on its corner, and also probably of the "restoration," that is, of the cornice which overhangs the canopy, and, alas! of the new face of the effigy, both supplied by the zeal and liberality of the then vicar, the Rev. Dr. Barnes, sometime Sub-Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

As the heraldic question turns on features of the shields which have been much affected by time and neglect, the Society, *ex abundanti cautelâ*, and showing respect to long-received opinion and tradition, decided to call, in aid of the engravings,^a the impartial evidence of photography; and Mr. Rogers greatly enhanced the value of his communication by subsequently obtaining and sending to the Society photographs of the tomb and the three shields. That of the tomb supplies the following description; those of the shields are figured on the next page.

The case made by photography is as follows.

The central shield bears Courtenay impaling Beaufort, the dexter and sinister shields showing and verifying the constituent parts of this coat.

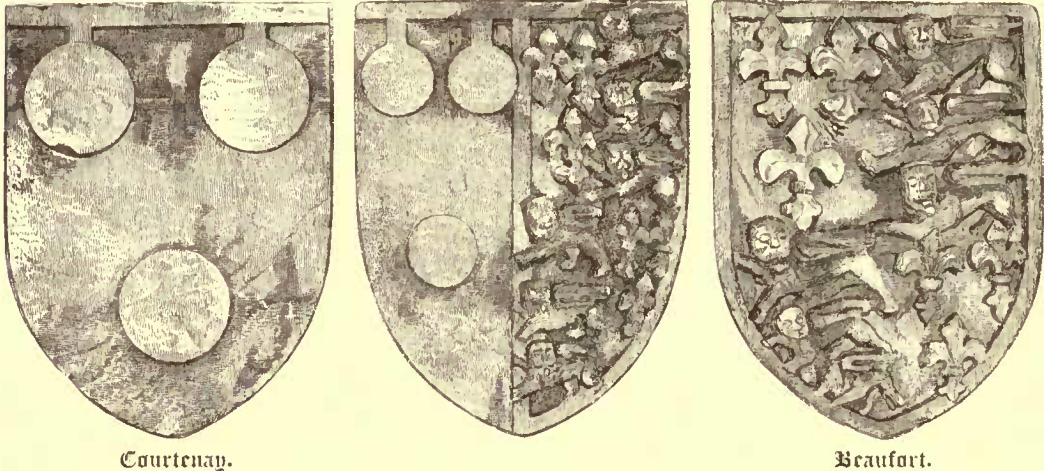
The effigy is dressed thus: On the head is a veil surmounted by a coronet, the edges of the veil on either brow being uneven, as if scalloped or embroidered;^b on the body a plain sleeved kirtle or cote, with an ornament on the bosom, and a plain sleeveless surcote reaching to the feet; and round the waist a girdle buckled, with a long end hanging down on the right side.

^a The following are references to Mr. Rogers's volume, as compiled in 1877 from his communications to the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, which are printed in their *Transactions*.

Mr. R's. Volume.	Transactions, 2nd Ser.
Page 6. Tomb—description	Vol. ii. p. 40
27. Tomb and effigy—description	,, p. 61
84. Coat-armour and coronet—woodcut	Vol. iii. p. 234
147. Tomb—woodcut	,, p. 297
169. Colyton church—woodcut	,, p. 319
Pl. XVIII. Effigy—woodcut	Vol. ii. Pl. XVIII.
Pl. XXIV. Coat-armour and coronet—woodcut	,, Pl. XXIV.
Pl. L. Colyton church—woodcut	Vol. iii. p. 319
Pl. LIII. Tomb—woodcut	,, p. 297
Correction of tradition	,, p. 548
Colyton church—lithograph	Pl. 3

^b The objects described above as a veil and its edges appear to some observers as hair and ears. We lament the loss of the original face as of good evidence on this question.

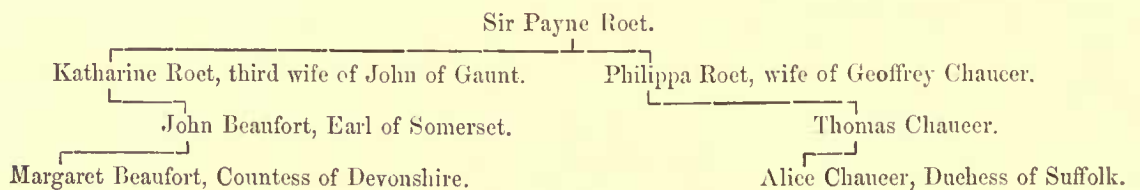
The angels in the sides of the canopy are two, standing, one over the head, the other over the feet, of the effigy; and the Virgin and Holy Child outside it rest upon the capital of a slender column.



THE THREE SHIELDS OVER THE COURTENAY EFFIGY IN COLYTON CHURCH, DEVON.
Originals 11 by 9 inches.

The style of heraldry, the dress, and the architecture, belonging to the middle of the fifteenth century, raise a presumption that Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Devonshire, is the lady commemorated. Whether the size of the effigy affects this presumption or not will be considered further on.

The shield of the Countess, the chief shield at Colyton, appears subordinately on the tomb of her kinsman, Thomas Chaucer, at Ewelme, in Oxfordshire; and the tomb at Colyton resembles in style the more famous and sumptuous one of her kinswoman, Alice Duchess of Suffolk, also at Ewelme.^a The kinship is shown thus :



^a Napier's *Swyncombe and Ewelme*, 1858, pp. 45, 68, 102. Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume*, 1876, Dictionary, "Coronet." Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, 1796, vol. ii. Pl. XCIV. p. 248.

John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, father of the Countess, died on Palm Sunday, the 16th March, 1409–10.^a His widow, Margaret, survived him, and afterwards married Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, whom she also survived; and she died on Thursday, the 1st January, 1438–9,^a having named in her will five executors (Margaret Countess of Devonshire being one), who joined in a petition respecting the administration of the Duchess's estate to the Parliament which began at Westminster on the 12th November, 1439.^b

Thomas Courtenay, the fifth Earl of Devonshire, husband of the Countess, was born on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, 3rd May, 1414, became, at the age of six, a co-trustee of lands at Colyton (as appears from the deed cited by Mr. Rogers), and at the age of eight succeeded to the earldom.^c Thomas, their eldest son, was born before May 1432;^d there were seven more children of their marriage.

From these dates and events it appears that Margaret Beaufort was married to Thomas, the fifth Earl, about the middle of the year 1431, her age being not less than 21, his but 17 years; and that she was living late in the year 1439.

From the size of the effigy (it is but 3 feet 6 inches long) arose a presumption, which ripened into a tradition, that a very young girl is represented.

Such presumptions were long ago refuted by Mr. Walford himself. "An effigy," he wrote, "is *primâ facie* to be considered as representing that to which, having regard to the costume and general appearance, it bears most resemblance, irrespectively of its size; for it is unreasonable from size alone to infer that it was not intended for a full grown person."^e

Several small female effigies have been noticed and recorded both before and since he wrote as above:—that at Coberley, Gloucestershire, by our Fellow, Mr. J. Henry Middleton;^f the two at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, with figures in photograph, by our Fellow, Mr. Octavius Morgan;^g that at Sheinton, Shropshire,^h

^a Milles's *Catalogue of Honor*, 1610.

^b *Rot. Parl.*

^c ^d Inqs. p. m. of Hugh, 4th Earl, and Thomas, 5th Earl.

^e *Archæol. Journ.* 1846, vol. iii. p. 234; 1862, vol. xix. p. 26.

^f *Brist. and Glouc. Archeol. Trans.* 1879, vol. iv. p. 44.

^g *Abergavenny Monuments*, 1872.

^h *Archæol. Journ.* 1854, vol. xi. pp. 417-418.

with a figure; and that at Gayton, Northamptonshire, by Mr. G. Baker,^a and by our Fellow, Mr. Albert Hartshorne.^b

Most of the above instances leave the question—whether the original was full-grown or not—at least open, but two of them carry the argument further, for each is accompanied by evidence that a woman and not a girl is represented.

The effigy at Sheinton, although sculptured on a slab in length 2 ft. 4 in. only, wears on the head a kerchief falling in flowing folds on the shoulders, and a long robe close at the neck but not girded, and bears a clasped book in the bend of the left arm—presenting the appearance of a full-grown woman of some religious order. One of the effigies at Abergavenny is especially in point for our present inquiry, inasmuch as the evidence is chiefly heraldic, and points to a lady who became a wife and a mother of several children. It is 4 ft. 3 in. in length, and not only is its dress apparently that of a woman, but it is under the eover-ture of a shield charged with the arms of Cantelupe, and is hence regarded with great probability as representing Eva de Cantelupe, who, as a coheirress of William de Braose, obtained on petition the barony of Abergavenny, survived her husband William de Cantelupe—who had enjoyed the barony in her right—and died bearing his name, and in sole tenure of the barony, and leaving three children surviving.

With such support of the safe rule laid down by Mr. Walford, one should hesitate to displace the Countess of Devonshire in favour of one of her daughters.

Those who have read the chapter on “Effigies and Funerals,” written long since by our Fellow Mr. Octavius Morgan in *Abergavenny Monuments*, but as yet far too little known, will be prepared for an opinion that a tomb of this kind is a permanent reproduction of the *herse* as it stood immediately after the funeral.^c The *herse* of that day was a stage and canopy of wood, set up for the

^a *Northamptonshire*, 1841, vol. ii. p. 283.

^b *Monumental Effigies of Northamptonshire*, 1876, p. 112.

^c See also *Vet. Mon.* vol. iv. Plate XVIII.; Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, 1866, p. 127; note on “Herse,” Part iv.; Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*, 3rd ed. 1868. “Herse.”

occasion on the floor of the church and hung with sable drapery. On the arrival of the procession the uncoffined corpse, or, if circumstances would not so permit, the coffin with a wooden and waxen fac-simile of the corpse lying thereon, was placed upon the stage under the canopy, and the solemn rites proceeded. When the corpse had been lowered into its grave in the chancel or chapel, the herse was placed over it, and the wooden or canvas achievements which had been carried in the procession were hung about the herse under heraldic direction, and any sacred figure which had also been carried (as here the Holy Virgin and Child) was set up in a place of honour. So the herse remained for many months; during which it was visited by mourners, and might receive a more formal tribute in writing,—a scroll which commemorated, often in verse, the virtues and honours of the deceased. Such a scroll was the *epitaph*.

After a time the herse of wood gave place to the *tomb* of stone; but the principal achievement from the herse might be preserved and set up on the family mansion,—a practice surviving in the modern hatchment,—and the epitaph might pass into literature.

Shakespeare has embalmed the custom of the epitaph, and also left an epitaph of great beauty, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act iv. Sc. 1, and Act v. Scs. 1 and 3. Claudio seeks in the church the spot where Hero is believed to lie recently buried, and hangs over it his scroll.

The whole funeral practice as above explained underlies an exquisite poem of the Jacobean age, an epitaph which was laid on the herse of Mary Sidney, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, in Salisbury Cathedral in 1621. This poem has, ever since the middle of the seventeenth century, been cruelly mis-written, mis-stopped, and mutilated, and subsequently ascribed to Ben Jonson, and loaded with ignorant criticism; but, fortunately, it survives incorrupt in a volume written and signed by the real author, William Browne, with the date 1650,—eight years before the first appearance in print of its supposed text, and more than a century before its first ascription to Ben Jonson by his editor, Peter Whalley. The author's MS. volume^a was privately printed in 1815 by Sir Egerton Brydges, but fancifully re-arranged and incorrectly noted. The poem is not only worth preservation for its own merit, but, as presenting a vivid contemporary picture of the *herse*, the *epitaph*, and the *tomb*, in mutual relation,

^a In Brit. Mus. *Lansd. MS.* 777.

deserves authentic repetition here, quaintly spelt and without stops, as in the original MS. :—

ON THE COUNTESSE DOWAGER OF PEMBROKE.

Underneath this sable Herse
Lyes the subject of all verse
Sydneyes sister Pembrokes mother
Death ere thou hast slaine another
Faire & learn'd & good as she
Tyme shall throw a Dart at thee.

Marble Pyles let no man raise
To her name for after dayes
Some kind woman borne as she
Reading this like Niobe
Shall turne Marble & become
Both her Mourner & her Tombe.

As a historical fact, the poet was obeyed. The hersees at Colyton and at Salisbury alike passed away. That at Colyton revived in the tomb which still excites our interest. That at Salisbury revived, not in a tomb, the custom of the Herberts apparently not sanctioning such a revival, but in a famous epitaph raising the Countess of Pembroke above the crowd of those who lie forgotten, *caerent quia vate sacro*.

It is to be hoped that hereafter the Courtenay tomb at Colyton, with its obscured heraldry brought to light, may be allowed to tell its own story; the Pembroke epitaph, with its mistaken allusion understood, may regain its true place in poetry; and the forgotten pomp and circumstance of the mediæval funeral, which the tomb and the epitaph illustrate, each from its own point of view, may be borne in mind for like antiquarian researches.

VI.—*On a List of the Royal Navy in 1660.* Communicated by CHARLES SPENCER PERCEVAL, Esq., LL.D., Treasurer.

Read Feb. 16, 1882.

I AM enabled, through the kindness of Mr. Henry B. Hull, of Nether Compton, Dorset, to exhibit to the Society a small manuscript volume, 6½ inches high by 3½ inches broad, bound in red morocco, and lettered on one side in blind tooling, EDUARDUS DERING, with the words MERCATOR REGIUS, superposed upside down in gilt letters. On the other side the process is reversed, the blind tooling being applied to the words MERCATOR REGIUS, while the superposed and inverted gilt lettering forms the name of EDUARDUS DERING. The manuscript bears the date 1660, and begins with “A List of His Ma^{ty} Navie Royall, with their Dimensions, Number of Men, and Gunns,” &c.

It was in the year 1660 that Pepys entered on his duties as Clerk of the Acts of Navy, and the List may have been drawn upon the occasion of his advent to office in the Admiralty. It seems probable that it was drawn up before December 1660, because one of the ships named the Assurance went to the bottom (as we learn from *Pepys's Diary*) on the 9th of that month. It must also have been transcribed after May in that year, for the altered names of ships recorded by Pepys as having been settled by the king on May 23rd are here entered.

Edward Dering, the owner of this book, was probably the son of Sir Edward Dering, the first baronet, by his third wife, Unton Gibbes. According to the pedigree in Berry's *County Genealogies, Kent*, 398, he was a merchant, and was commonly called “Red Ned,” to distinguish him, no doubt, from his half-brother Edward, the second baronet.

In August 1660 he had a grant of “the office of King's Merchant in the East for buying and providing necessaries for appareling the Navy: fee 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*” (*Docquet Book*, p. 37).^a He was knighted at some time before 1686, and was dead on May 13, 1691.^b He is doubtless to be identified with the person referred to in the following passages of *Pepys's Diary* :—

1663, Dec. 12. Mr. Luellin began to tell me that Mr. Deering had been with him to desire him to speak to me that if I would get him off with these goods^c upon his hands, he would give

^a *Cal. State. Papers, Dom. Chas. II.* 1660—1661.

^b See *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1557—1696, pp. 18, 175.

^c What the goods were does not appear.

me 50 pieces; and further, that if I would stand his friend to helpe him to the benefit of his patent as the King's merchant, he would spare 200*l.* per annum out of his profits. I was glad to hear both of these, but answered him no further than as I would not by anything be bribed to be unjust in my dealings, so I was not so squeamish as not to take people's acknowledgment where I had the good fortune by my pains to do them good and just offices; and so I would not come to any agreement with him, but I would labour to do him this service and to expect his consideration thereof afterwards as he thought fit.

1665, September 30. Hither came Luellin to me, and would force me to take Mr. Deering's 20 pieces in gold he did offer me a good while since, which I did, yet really and sincerely against my will and content, being not likely to reap any comfort in having to do with and being beholden to a man that minds more his pleasure and company than his business.

The principal article contained in Mr. Hull's MS. is the Navy List. A full notice of the contents and a transcript of the most interesting portions (including the list) will be found further on. Some notes have been added by me, mainly extracts from *Pepys's Diary*, which afford particulars of the fate of many of the vessels named in the list.

In 1825 the late Mr. Charles Knight printed a *Diary of the Reverend Henry Teonge*, as Chaplain on board his Majesty's ships "Assistance," "Bristol," and "Royal Oak," from 1675 to 1679. At the end of this curious volume are given two lists of the Royal Navy, one from MS. Harl. 6277, being a copy of a document delivered to the House of Commons in 1675 by Pepys himself, the other from a paper in Teonge's handwriting of about the same date.

Pepys's list gives, in addition to the names of the ships, merely the date of building, the tonnage, and complement of men and guns.

I have indicated by the letter (s) after the names in Dering's List those ships which were still on the books of the Navy in 1675.

The entire Navy in 1660 was divided into six rates, and comprised in all 151 sail thus distributed :—

1st rates	3
2nd rates	12
3rd rates	15
4th rates	46
5th rates	36
6th rates	39
	151 sail

Two 4th rates, the "Princess" and "New Galley," and perhaps one 5th rate, the "Hound," from their position at the end of the list of their respective rates instead of in their place according to the alphabet, appear to have been added to

the navy after the list was made out; and the last two 6th rates, "Giles" and "Swallow," are expressly stated to have been bought in 1661.

The note (5) shows that the line of demarcation between the rates was not very certainly defined.

In 1675 the composition of the fleet had altered considerably. It was then as follows:—

1st rates	8
2nd rates	9
3rd rates	22
4th rates	37
5th rates	15
6th rates	8
	99

The 4th, 5th, and 6th rates had been given up to a great extent, and the 1st and 3rd rates alone show an increase.

Pepys's list of 1675, however, adds 49 vessels, called doggers, fireships, galleys, hoyes, hulks, yachts, &c., some of which, or boats of a similar description, were probably included among Dering's 6th rates.

Some alteration appears to have taken place in the dockyard rules for estimating the tonnage between the years 1660 and 1675; for even where the measurement of the elements—length, width, and depth—of individual ships agree, which they do not always exactly do, the tonnage in the later list is always, so far as I have observed, larger than in the earlier ones.^a

Thus, in the case of the "Rainbow," the elements of calculation are the same to an inch; but in Dering's List the "tonns" are set down as 782, in Pepys's as 817. Similarly, in the case of the "Unicorn," with identical data, the tonnage is given at 723 tons in the list of 1660, at 845 in 1675.

The armament and crews also present some discrepancies. Generally the same ship in 1675 carried more guns than in 1660. Teonge's own list (p. 311 of his *Diary*) has columns showing a different armament and establishment for war, at home and abroad, and for peace. The curious in such matters can compare the three lists. I give one example—the "Royal Sovereign," the only surviving first rate in 1675. In 1660 she carried 600 men and 100 guns. Pepys's list assigns to her 850 men and 100 guns. Teonge's list states that at "warr" she carried "at home" 100 guns and 815 men, "abroad" 90 guns and 710 men. In time of peace her complement was 90 guns and 605 men.

^a The dates of construction agreeing, there is no doubt as to the identity of the vessels.

The contents of Mr. Hull's MS. are as follows :—

pp. 1, 2.]

A LIST of his *MA^{TS}* NAVIE ROYALL, with their

SHIPPS NAMES.		Men.	Gunns.	Length by the Keele.		Breadth at the Beame.		Depth in Hold.	
Old.	New.*			fee.	in.	fee.	in.	fee.	in.
¹ Sovereigne ^s - - - -	- - - - -	600	100	127	0	47	0	19	0
² Resolucon - - - - -	Prince - - - -	500	80	125	0	45	0	18	0
³ Nasebie - - - - -	R. Charles - - -	500	80	131	0	42	0	18	0
pp. 3-4.]									
2ND RATE.									
Andrew - - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	117	0	38	9	15	9
⁴ Dunbar - - - - -	Henry ^s - - - -	340	64	123	0	46	0	17	2
George ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	117	0	38	9	15	9
⁵ James ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	300	60	116	0	39	0	16	0
⁶ London - - - - -	- - - - -	360	64	123	6	41	0	16	6
Rainbow ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	114	0	36	6	15	0
⁵ Richard - - - - -	R. James - - -	400	70	124	0	41	0	18	0
⁷ Swiftsure - - - - -	- - - - -	300	60	116	0	37	11	14	10
Tryumph ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	300	64	117	0	38	6	15	6
Victory - - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	110	0	35	0	17	0
Vanguard - - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	112	0	38	6	17	0
Vnicorne ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	110	0	35	8	16	0
pp. 5-6.]									
3RD RATE.									
Bridgwater - - - - -	Anne - - - - -	210	52	116	9	34	7	14	2
Essex - - - - -	- - - - -	200	48	115	0	33	0	13	8
Fairfax - - - - -	- - - - -	220	52	120	0	35	2	14	6
Glouster ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	210	50	117	0	34	10	14	6
⁸ Langport - - - - -	Henrietta ^s - - -	210	50	116	0	35	7	14	4
Lyon - - - - -	- - - - -	200	48	95	0	35	0	16	6
⁹ Lime - - - - -	Mountague ^s - -	220	52	117	0	35	2	14	4
Marston moor - - - - -	York ^s - - - -	210	52	116	0	34	6	14	2
Newbury - - - - -	Revenge ^s - - -	220	52	117	6	35	0	14	5
Plymouth ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	210	54	116	0	34	8	14	6
¹⁰ Speaker - - - - -	Mary ^s - - - -	220	52	116	0	34	9	14	6
Torrington - - - - -	Dreadnaught ^s -	210	52	116	8	34	6	14	2
¹¹ Tredagh - - - - -	Resolution - - -	210	50	117	3	35	2	14	5
¹² Worcester - - - - -	Dunkirk ^s - - -	200	48	112	0	32	6	14	0
Monck ^s - - - - -	- - - - -								

* Names altered by the King, May 23, 1660.

(^s) The ships thus marked remained on the Books in 1675.

Dimensions, Number of Men, and Gunns, &c.

Draught of Water.		Tonns.	Tons & tonage.	When built.	Where.	By whome.
fee.	in.					
21	0	1554	2072	1637	} Woolwich	²⁶ Cap. Phin Pett, sen ^r C. Ph. Pett, sen ^r Chr. Pett
20	0	1295	1726	1641		
21	0	1229	1638	1655		
18	6	775	1033	1622	} Deptford	Mr Burrell Mr Callis
21	0	1047	1396	1656		
18	6	775	1033	1622	} Deptford	Mr Burrell Pet ^r Pett
18	6	792	1056	1633		
18	0	1050	1906	1657	Chatham	Cap. Tayler
17	6	782	1042	1617	Deptford	Mr Bright
20	0	1108	1477	1658	Woolwich	Ch ^r Pett
18	0	740	986	1654	Rebuilt at Woolwich	Ch ^r Pett
18	0	719	1038	1623	Dept.	Mr Burrell
18	6	600	800	1620	Dept.	Mr Baker
18	0	786	1048	1630	Chath.	Mr Bright
17	6	723	964	1633	Woolwich	Mr Boat
17	0	742	989	1654	Deptford	Mr Chamberlain
17	0	666	888	1653	Dept.	Phin Pett
16	6	745	993		Rebuilt at Chatham	Cap. Tayler
18	0	755	1006	1654	Lymehouse	Mr Graves
17	0	781	1041	1654	Horslydowne	Mr Bright
17	0	550	699	1640	Chath.	Mr Asplin
18	0	769	1025	1654	Portsmouth	Mr Tippet
17	0	734	978	1654	Blackwall	Mr Johnson
17	6	765	1020	1654	Lymehouse	Mr Graves
17	0	741	988	1654	Wapping	Cap. Tayler
17	0	696	928	1649	Woolw.	Ch ^r Pett
17	0	738	984	1654	Blackwall	Mr Johnson
17	0	771	1208	1654	Ractliffe	Phin. Pett
16	0	629	838	1651	Woolwich	Mr Russell
				1659	Portsmo.	Mr Tippetts

Draught of Water.		Tonns.	Tons & tonnage.	When built.	Where.	By whom.
fec.	in.					
12	6	341	456	1646	Dept.	P. Pett, sen ^r
13	9	385	510	1646	Woolw.	P. Pett, jun ^r
15	0	521	694	1650	Dept.	M ^r Johnson
		354	472		Bought	
16	0	516	690	1650	Woolw.	P. Pett, jun ^r
15	6	532	680	1653	Portsm.	M ^r Tippetts
14	6	395	526	1653	Then taken from Dutch	
16	0	531	690	1650	Ratcliffe	P. Pett, sen ^r
		500	666		Portugall	Prize
14	0	400	553	1651	Prize taken from Dutch	
16	0	547	740	1651	Dept.	P. Pett, sen ^r
		511	681	1650	Redriffe	M ^r Castle
15	0	414	556	1647	Chath.	M ^r Goddard
15	6	474	643	1647	Dept.	P. Pett, sen ^r
		323	430	1637		M ^r Graves
14	6	400	533		Dutch pr.	
14	6	524	698	1650	Deptford	²⁷ Ion ^{as} Shish
14	0	543	724	1653	Pitchhouse	Tho. Tayler
		375	500	1649	King's man of Warr taken	by the Constant Warwick
14	10	481	594	1653	Dept.	Ph. Pett
14	0	560	746	1654	Malden	M ^r Starling
15	0	601	801	1652	Dept.	M ^r Johnson
17	0	636	847	1659	Dept.	M ^r Shish
15	0	566	754	1654	Woodbridge	
		400	533		Prize	
15	0	631	841	1653	Ractcliffe	Ph. Pett
14	6	389	518	1646	Dept.	Pet. Pett, jun.
12	6	319	425	1654	Bristoll	M ^r Bailey
15	0	422	600	1649	Portsmo.	M ^r Eastwood
15	0	605	806	1653	Wapping	Cap. Tailor
16	0	550	642	1654	Woodbridge	
15	0	445	593	1649	Dept.	Pe. Pett, sen.
15	0	414	556	1647	Wolv.	Pe. Pett, jun.
		323	430	1637	Thames	M ^r Trankmo ^r ^a
16	0	556	745	1651	Dept.	Pet. Pett, sen.
16	0	513	688	1650	Woodbridge	Pet. Pett, jun.
13	6	442	589	1651	Ractcliffe	Pet. Pett, sen.
14	6	536	714	1654	Redriffe	M ^r Castle
12	0	247	331		Ractcliffe	Pet. Pett
14	9	442	608	1647	Dept.	Pet. Pett, sen.
		607	809	1654	Yarmouth	M ^r Edgar
		608	810	1653	Yarmo.	M ^r Edgar
		500	666			
		400	533		Dutch pr.	
				1660	Lydney	M ^r Furzer
					Chath.	Cap. Tayler

^a The edge of the paper is cut a little.

Old.	New.	Men.	Gunns.	Length by the Keele.		Breadth at the Beame.		Depth in Hold.	
				fee.	in.	fee.	in.	fee.	in.
pp. 11, 12.]									
5TH RATE.									
Augustine - - - - -	- - - - -	90	26	100	0	26	0	14	0
²² Basing - - - - -	Guernsey ^s - - - - -	100	22	80	0	24	6	10	0
Bryer - - - - -	- - - - -	80	18						
Bradford - - - - -	Success ^s - - - - -	105	24						
Colchester - - - - -	- - - - -	100	24	83	0	25	6	10	0
Cherriton - - - - -	Speedwell ^s - - - - -	90	20	76	0	24	0	10	0
Coventry - - - - -	- - - - -	90	20						
Dartmouth - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22						
Faggons - - - - -	Milford - - - - -	105	22	82	0	24	8	10	0
Forrester - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22						
Fame - - - - -	- - - - -	85	22						
Grantham - - - - -	Garland ^s - - - - -	100	22	80	0	25	0	10	0
Greyhound - - - - -	- - - - -	85	20	60	0	26	6	11	6
Gift maior - - - - -	- - - - -	85	26	98	0	30	8	11	6
Hector - - - - -	- - - - -	85	20						
Lizard - - - - -	- - - - -	60	16						
Litchfield - - - - -	HEntrance - - - - -	90	20						
Mermaid ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22	86	0	25	2	10	0
Nightingall - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22	86	0	25	2	10	0
Norwich ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	100	24	81	0	25	0	10	6
Oxford - - - - -	- - - - -	95	22	72	0	24	0	10	0
Pearl ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22	86	0	25	0	10	0
Pembrook - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22	81	0	25	0	11	6
Paul - - - - -	- - - - -	85	24	84	0	26	0	9	6
Rosebush - - - - -	- - - - -	85	24						
Selbie - - - - -	Eagle ^s - - - - -	100	22	85	6	25	8	10	0
Old Successe - - - - -	- - - - -	100	34						
pp. 13-14.]									
Sophia - - - - -	- - - - -	85	26						
²² Satisfaction - - - - -	- - - - -	100	26						
Sortings - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22						
Wakefield - - - - -	Richmond ^s - - - - -	100	22						
Westergate - - - - -	- - - - -	85	26	86	0	24	6	11	6
Waxford - - - - -	Dolphin - - - - -	75	14						
Old Warwick - - - - -	- - - - -	80	22	80	0	23	9	9	0
Hound - - - - -	- - - - -	50	22						
Mary yacht - - - - -	- - - - -								
pp. 15-16.]									
6TH RATE.									
Blackmoor - - - - -	- - - - -	40	12	47	0	19	0	10	0
Bramble - - - - -	- - - - -	60	14						
Cagway - - - - -	- - - - -	35	8						

Draught of Water.		Tonns.	Tons & tonnage.	When built.	Where.	By whome.
fee.	in.					
14	0	359	478	1552	Taken then from Dutch	
12	0	255	340	1654	Walderwick	Mr Shish
		180	240			Prize
		230	306	1657	Chatham	Cap. Tayler
12	0	287	382	1654	Yarmouth	Mr Edgar
11	0	194	261	1655	Deptford	Mr Callis
		200	266			
		230	306	1655	Portsmo.	Mr Tippetts
12	0	262	349	1654	Weavenow ^a	Mr Page
		230	306	1657	Lydney	Mr Furzer
						prize
11	6	265	323	1654	Southampton	Mr Furzer
		150	200			prize
13	6	490	653	1652	Dutch prize	
		150	200			
		100	133			prizes
		200	266			
12	0	289	385	1651	Limehouse	Mr Graves
12	0	289	385	1651	Horslydowne	Mr Bright
12	0	246	328	1655	Chatham	Ph: Pett
11	0	240	320	1655	Dept.	Mr Callis
12	0	285	380	1651	Ractliffe	Pe. Pett
12	0	269	358	1655	Woolwich	Mr Raven
10	6	290	384	1652		prize
		300	400		Dutch	pr.
12	0	299	398	1654	Wapping	Cap. Tayler
		380	506		Portugall	pr.
		300	400		Dutch pr.	
		220	293		Dutch pr.	
		250	333			pr.
		235	313	1655	Portsmo.	Mr Tippetts
13	0	274	365		Dutch pr.	
		130	173			pr.
10	6	140	186			
					Pleasure boate sent from	ye States of Holland
		90	110	1656	Chath.	Cap. Tayler
		112	160			pr.
		60	80			pr.

^a *i.e.* Wivenhoe.

Old.	New.	Men.	Gunns.	Length by the Keele.	Breadth at the Beame.	Depth in Hold.
				fee. in.	fee. in.	fee. in.
Chesnut - - - - -	- - - - -	40	10			
Cygnat - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6			
Dolphin - - - - -	- - - - -	24	4			
Drake ^s - - - - -	- - - - -	60	12	85 0	18 0	7 0
Diver - - - - -	(Vacant)					
Eaglett - - - - -	- - - - -	35	8			
Francis - - - - -	- - - - -	45	10			
Fox - - - - -	- - - - -	60	14	72 0	23 0	18 6
Gift minor - - - - -	- - - - -	60	12			
Griffin - - - - -	- - - - -	40	12			
²⁴ Harpe - - - - -	- - - - -	40	8			
Hinde - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6			
Hunter - - - - -	- - - - -	30	6			
Hart - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6	50 0	14 6	5 6
Kinsale - - - - -	- - - - -	45	10			
Lillie - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6			
Larke - - - - -	- - - - -	40	10			
Martin - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12	64 0	19 4	7 0
Merlin - - - - -	- - - - -	60	12	75 0	18 0	7 8
Minion - - - - -	(Vacant)					
Maria - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12			
Marygold - - - - -	- - - - -					
Nonsuch K. - - - - -	- - - - -	35	8	27 0	15 6	6 0
Pearl brigant - - - - -	(Vacant)					
pp. 17-18.]						
²⁵ Parradox - - - - -	- - - - -	60	12			
Roe - - - - -	- - - - -	35	8			
Rose - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6	50 0	14 0	5 6
Swallow K. - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6			
Sparrow - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12			
Truelove - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12			
Vulture - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12			
Weymouth - - - - -	- - - - -	60	19			
Wolf - - - - -	- - - - -	60	16			
Hawk - - - - -	- - - - -	40	8	42 0	16 0	8 0
Giles - - - - -	- - - - -					
Swallow - - - - -	- - - - -					

Draught of Water.	Tonns.	Tons & tonnage.	When built.	Where.	By whom.
fee. in.	90	110	1656	Portsmo.	Mr Tippet
	60	80	1657	Chath.	Cap. Tayler
9 0	50	60			pr.
	113	153	1653	Dept.	Peter Pett.
	60	80	1655	Horselydown	Mr Huggins.
10 0	90	110			pr.
	120	160			p ^r
	120	160			p ^r
	90	120			p ^r
7 6			1656	Dublin	
	60	80	1655	Wavneie	Mr Page
5 0	50	66			
	55	75	1657	Woolwich	Chr Pett
		90	120		p ^r
	60	80	1657	Dept.	Mr Calles
	80	100			p ^r
9 0	92	124	1653	Portsmo.	M. Tippetts
	105	141	1653	Chath.	Cap ^t Tayler
	120	180			p ^r
	60	80	1653	Bought	
	120	160			p ^r
5 0	60	80	1655	Weaunoe	Ma ^r Page
	55	75	1657	Woolwich	Chr. Pett
	60	80	1657	Dept.	Mr Callis
	60	80		Sold	p ^r
	100	133			p ^r
	100	133			p ^r
	120	160			p ^r
	120	160			p ^r
	60	80	1655	Woolwich	Mr Cooper
	40			Bought 61	cost 230 ^{li}
	65			Bought 61	cost 400 ^{li}

The list of ships ends here, and is immediately followed (pp. 19-20) by a table of the wages of officers and seamen. This is also given at full length, being of some interest, not only as a contribution to the history of prices two hundred years ago, but also on account of the insight which it affords into the composition of the crews of the ships. It will be noticed that one lieutenant only was carried on board of ships of the 1st to the 4th rates, while on board the 5th and 6th rates the captain was not seconded by any officer with this designation.

A surgeon and a surgeon's mate formed part of the complement of every ship. "Grometts" appear as an intermediate rating between ordinary seamen and boys.

The Wages of Officers and Seamen serving in his Ma^{ty} Shipp^s at Sea.

Officers.	1st Rate.			2nd Rate.			3rd Rate.			4th Rate.			5th Rate.			6th Rate.								
Captaine		21	0	0		16	16	0		14	0	0		10	0	0		8	8	0		7	0	0
Lieutenant		4	4	0		4	4	0		3	10	0		3	10	0								
Master		7	0	0		6	6	0		4	13	8		4	6	2		3	17	6				
Mates	6	3	6	0	3	3	0	0	2	2	16	2	2	2	7	10		2	2	0		2	2	0
Midshipmen	8	2	5	0	6	2	0	0	4	1	17	6	3	1	13	9	2	1	10	0	1	1	10	0
Boatswaine		4	0	0		3	10	0		3	0	0		2	10	0		2	5	0		2	0	0
Gunner		4	0	0		3	10	0		3	0	0		2	10	0		2	5	0		2	0	0
Purser		2	0	0		1	16	0		1	10	0		1	6	8		1	3	4		1	3	4
Carpenter		4	0	0		3	10	0		3	0	0		2	10	0		2	5	0		2	0	0
Quart ^r Maysters	4	1	15	0	4	1	15	0	4	1	12	0	4	1	10	0	3	1	8	0	2	1	6	6
Boatsn mates	2	1	15	0	2	1	15	0	1	1	12	0		1	10	0		1	8	0		1	6	0
Gunn: mates	2	1	15	0	2	1	15	0		1	12	0		1	10	0		1	8	0		1	6	0
Chyruwgeon		2	10	0		2	10	0		2	10	0		2	10	0		2	10	0		2	10	0
Chyruw: mates	1	1	10	0		1	10	0		1	10	0		1	10	0		1	10	0		1	10	0
Q ⁿ maysters ma	4	1	10	0	4	1	10	0	2	1	8	0	2	1	8	0	1	1	6	0		1	5	0
Yeomen	4	1	12	0	4	1	10	0	2	1	8	0	2	1	8	0								
Cockswaine		1	12	0		1	10	0		1	8	0		1	8	0		1	6	0				
Corporall		1	15	0		1	12	0		1	10	0		1	10	0		1	8	0		1	5	0
Cooke		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	4	0
Armorer		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	5	0								
Gunsmith		1	5	0		1	5	0																
Carp ^s mates	2	2	0	0	1	2	0	0		1	16	0		1	14	0		1	12	0		1	10	0
M ^r Trumpeter		1	10	0		1	8	0		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	5	0				
Q ^r Gunners	4	1	6	0	4	1	6	0	4	1	5	0	4	1	5	0	2	1	5	0	2	1	5	0
Carp ^s Crew	9	1	6	0	6	1	6	0	4	1	5	0	3	1	5	0	1	1	5	0				
Steward		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	5	0		1	3	4		1	6	8		0	17	6
Stew: mates		1	0	8		1	0	8		1	0	8		1	0	8								
Able seamen		1	4	0																				
Ord: seamen		0	19	0																				
Grometts		0	14	3																				
Boyes		0	9	6																				

The next two pages contain a ready reckoner, showing rate of wages from one month to one day.

Page 23 contains “The Wages of Officers and Seamen in Rigging time,” and “The number of Officers borne upon each rate in Forraign service”; on page 24 is a table of “The monthly wages of officers and seamen in harbour”; pages 25 and 26 are occupied by tables showing “The Weight of Cordage, being the Moderation of severall men’s Collections at Chatham and Woolwich.”

The following tables, from pages 27 and 28, may be worth transcribing:—

The Weight of ORDNANCE on board severall of his Ma^{ts} Shipp, each rate.

		Tonn	c.	qr
1st	Prince	141	12	0
2nd	{ Roy ^l James	134	6	1
	{ London, &c.	120	0	0
3rd	Revenge, &c.	75	10	0
4th	{ Breda, &c.	50	13	0
	{ Phœnix	40	0	0
	{ Saphire	35	0	0
5th	{ Sucesse, frig ^t	30	0	0
	{ Colchester, &c.	23	0	0

His Ma^{ts} allowance of Sea Victuall, on boord the Shipp in his Navie of all kindes on our owne Coast.

	1 day.	A week.	A month.	6 mon.	For one man 10 mo. or for 10 men one mo.
Bread, Bisket - - -	1 ^{li}	7 ^{li}	28 ^{li}	168 ^{li}	280 ^{li}
Beere - - - - -	1 gall.	7 gall.	28 gall.	168 gall.	280 gall.
Beefe - - - - -	2 ^{li}	4 ^{li}	16 ^{li}	96 ^{li}	40 4 ^{li} pieces
Porke - - - - -	1 ^{li}	2 ^{li}	8 ^{li}	48 ^{li}	40 2 ^{li} pieces
Pease - - - - -	1 pint	1 quart	1 gall.	6 gall.	40 quarts
Fish - - - - -	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$	9	15 sized
Butter - - - - -	2 oz.	6 oz.	1 ^{li} 8 oz.	9 ^{li}	15 ^{li}
Cheese - - - - -	4 oz.	12 oz.	3 ^{li}	18 ^{li}	30 ^{li}

Not all y^e kinds in one day.

Pages 29 and 30 give “The allowance for Tideworkes to workmen in his Ma^{ts} yards.” “For Lodging.” “What Quantity of Cordage may Rigge some of his Ma^{ts} Shipp of the severall Rates.”

P. 31 contains a Table of “His Ma^{ty} Allowance of Freeguift and Imprest to Chirurgeons serving at sea for six months.”

The next seven pages are occupied by an “Estimate of the Ordinary Charge of y^e Navy for a yeare from June, '60 to June '61.”

This estimate may be thus abstracted :—

	£	s.	d.
Principle (<i>sic</i>) Officers of the N ^y per Patent	Thrēr (Treasurer)	254	0 0
	Comptroller	500	0 0
	Surveyor	490	0 0
	Clerk of y ^e Acts	350	0 0
Commissioners	2 Comm ^{rs} at 500 li p ^r annum each .	1000	0 0
	1 Comm ^r at	300	0 0

The salaries of the clerks in the Navy office, purveyors, and messengers, &c., follow, producing altogether a total of 3830*l.* 10*s.*

Then come the salaries of the different officers on the establishments at Chatham (1610*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*), Deptford (970*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*), Woolwich (603*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*), Portsmouth (713*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*), making a total of 7735*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* The harbour wages of 505 men are put at 7849*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*, and their victuals at 5605*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*^a The materials and workmanship for ordinary repairs (for which the items are given), 28,080*l.* to which is added the gross sum (without items) for cordage for mooring yearly of 22,700*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (curiously large). The total amounting to 72,051*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* This is stated to be “the whole ordinary charge of his Mat^{ty} for one yeare.”

Then follows “the estimate of the charge in building severall shipp.

	Tonnes.	Li.
A shipp of	900	9000
”	650	5525
”	450	3600
”	350	2275
”	140	630

Except mastes and yards.”

The last article in the book is “A ready way for judgement of any shipp’s burthen ”:

Let her length be multiplied by her breadth,
Her breadth by y^e draught of water.
The 2 last figures cutt of
Nearly shows it.

^a A leaf of items of this sub-head is lost here.

NOTES TO THE LIST OF SHIPS.

The column headed "New" refers to the alteration in certain ships' names by the King, May 23, 1660.—See *Pepys's Diary*, same day.

^s The ships with this letter appended to their names alone survived in April, 1675.—See *Pepys's list*, MSS. Harl. 6277, printed in Teonge's *Diary*, London, 1825.

¹ *Sovereigne*.—*Diary*, April 9, 1661: "The ladies and I and Captain Pett and Mr. Castle took barge and down we went to see the *Sovereigne* [lying at Chatham], which we did, taking great pleasure therein, singing all the way; and, among other pleasures, I put my Lady [Batten], Mrs. Turnor, Mrs. Hempson, and the two Mrs. Allens into the lanthorn, and I went in and kissed them, demanding it as a fee due to a principall officer."

² *Resolution*, *alias Prince*.—*Diary*, April 10, 1661: "Then on board the *Prince*, now in the docke [at Chatham], and indeed it has one and no more rich cabins for carved work, but no golde in her."

July 11, 1663: "At noon to the Hill House (Chatham), and, after seeing the guard-ships, to dinner, and after dinner to the docke by coach, it raining hard, to see 'The *Prince*' launched, which hath lain in the docke in repairing these three years. I went into her, and was launched in her."

In the great fight with the Dutch on June 1, 1666, and subsequent days, the *Prince* went aground on the Galloper Sand, and there stuck, and was burnt by the Dutch, who could not get her off. "The *Royal Charles* and *Royal Katherine* both come aground twice over at the same place, but got off."—See *Diary*, June 7, 1666.

³ *Nazeby*, *alias Royal Charles*.—Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, was appointed on Friday, March 2nd, 1659-60, jointly with General George Monck to be "Generals of the Fleet for the next summer expedition,"^a and immediately went to sea with a fleet, which, after lying some little time in the Channel off Sandwich and Dover, proceeded to Breda to bring back the King. *Pepys* on this occasion sailed with Lord Sandwich as his secretary. The *Nazeby* not being ready for sea, they embarked on board the *Swiftsure*, and were there on March 30, 1660, as appears from the *Diary*: "This day, while my lord and I were at dinner, the *Nazeby* came in sight towards us, and at last came to anchor close by us. After dinner my lord and many other went on board of her."^b On the second of April they seem to have transferred themselves to the *Nazeby*.

The *Royal Charles* bore the flag of the Duke of York as Admiral on the occasion of his victory over the Dutch off the Texel, June 3, 1665. On the disastrous occasion of the attack on Chatham

^a *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 610.

^b Lord Sandwich's flag was on board the *Nazeby* when he went to the Sound. (See note 7 on "Swiftsure.")

by the Dutch in January, 1667, the Royal Charles was taken and carried off to sea in triumph.—*Diary*, June 12 and 13, 1667.

⁴ Dunbar, *alias* Henry.—*Diary*, April 18, 1661: "And hither come Sir John Minnes to us [at Chatham], who is come to-day to see 'the Henery,' in which he intends to ride as Vice-Admiral in the narrow seas all this summer."

⁵ Richard, *alias* Royal James.—*Diary*, July 1, 1662: "Captain Cuttance and I to Deptford, where the 'Royal James' in which my Lord [Sandwich] went out the last voyage [to Algiers, &c.], though he came back in the Charles [bringing back from Lisbon Catherine of Braganza], was paying off by Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen. So to dinner, and from thence I sent to my Lord to know whether she should be a first rate, as the men would have her, or a second."

This ship would appear to have been burned by the Dutch in their raid on Chatham, June, 1667 (*Diary*, 13 June); but *quære* if this were not the "James," another second rate mentioned in the list as built in 1633; for in the copy of an old map descriptive of this disaster, given in Bright's edition of *Pepys*, iv. 363, "the old James" is marked as destroyed. The "Royal James," bearing the flag of the gallant Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral of England, was burned by the Dutch in the action off the Suffolk coast, May 28, 1672, when the Admiral lost his life.

⁶ London.—*Diary*, 1660, April 24. In the Straits of Dover Pepys went from the 'Nazeby' to dine with the Vice-Admiral on board "the London, which hath a state-room much bigger than the Nazeby, but not so rich."

The London carried Queen Henrietta Maria back to France in January, 1661 (*Diary*, Jan. 11 and 27 of that year).

March 8, 1665: "This morning is brought me to the office the sad newes of the London, in which Sir J. Lawson's men were all bringing her from Chatham to the 'Hope,' and thence he was to go to sea in her, but a little on this side the buoy of the Nower she suddenly blew up. About 24 men and a woman that were in the round-house and coach saved; the rest, being above 300, drowned; the ship breaking all in pieces with 80 pieces of brass ordnance."

The ship, however, cannot have been totally destroyed, for she survived to be burned by the Dutch in June, 1667, when lying in Chatham harbour.—*Diary*, June 13, 1667.

⁷ Swiftsure.—*Diary*, March 23, 1660: "My Lord [Sandwich] and Captain [Isham] in one barge and I, &c., in the other to the Long Reach, where the Swiftsure lay at anchor."

March 26 [on board the Swiftsure]: "This morning I rose early, and went about making of an establishment of the whole fleet, and a list of all the ships, with the number of men and guns."

⁸ Langport, *alias* Henrietta.—This may be a mistake for "Lambert," as a ship with this designation had her name changed (for obvious reasons) by the King on May 23, 1660.

⁹ Lime, *alias* Mountague.—*Diary*, May 2, 1661: "Then we and our wives are to see the Montagu [then lying at Portsmouth], which is a fine ship."

¹⁰ Speaker, *alias* Mary.—*Diary*, April 25, 1660: "Off Deal, dined with Captain Cleslee on board the Speaker. A very brave ship."

¹¹ Tredagh, *alias* Resolution.—It was in this ship that Lord Sandwich, in September 1660,

brought the widowed Princess of Orange, eldest daughter of Charles I. and mother of William III., from Holland to England, where she soon after died. On the homeward voyage the ship "did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock, which put them in great fear for the ship, but got off well."—*Diary*, Sept. 25, 1660.

¹² Worcester, *alias* Dunkirk.—*Diary*, April 15, 1660: Off Dover, "Commission for Captain Robert Blake to be captain of the Worcester, in the room of Captain Dekings, an Anabaptist, and one that had witnessed a great deal of discontent with the present proceedings."

¹³ Assurance.—*Diary*, Dec. 9, 1660: "Ill news from Woolwich that the Assurance (formerly Captain Holland's ship and now Captain Stoakes's, destined for Guiny, and manned and victualled) was by a gush of wind sunk down to the bottom. Twenty men drowned." The ship was weighed by Dec. 17, and was but little the worse.

¹⁴ Elias.—Nov. 14, 1664: "The Elias, coming from New England (Captain Hill, commander), is sunk; only the captain and a few men saved. She foundered in the sea."

¹⁵ Hampshire.—*Diary*, Feb. 27, 1661: "This day the Commissioners of Parliament begin to pay off the fleet, beginning with the Hampshire, and do it at the Guildhall, for fear of going out of towne into the power of the seamen, who are highly incensed against them."

¹⁶ Nonsuch.—*Diary*, May 1, 1660: Captain Barker had a commission for the Nonsuch, "he being now in the Cheriton." Captain H. Cuttance had a commission for the Cheriton. The Nonsuch ran aground, and was lost in the Bay of Gibraltar.—*Diary*, January 23, 1665.

¹⁷ Phoenix.—*Diary*, Jan. 23, 1665: News of the Phoenix being lost in the Bay of Gibraltar. Run aground.

¹⁸ "C. Warwick" stands for "Constant Warwick." She was built in 1655, according to the list of 1675.

¹⁹ "HReturne" stands for "Happy Return."

²⁰ Mathias.—*Diary*, July 21, 1663: Pepys heard an excellent sermon on board the Mathias, lying at Chatham.

²¹ The particulars of the Princess, on the stocks in 1660, are given in the list of 1675, as follows: Men, 240; Guns, 54; Tons, 602.

²² Basing, *alias* Guernsey.—*Diary*, March 27, 1661: "We settled to pay the Guernsey, a small ship, but came to a great deal of money, it having been unpaid ever since before the King came in, by which means not only the King pays wages, while the ship has lain still, but the poor men have most of them been forced to borrow all the money due for their wages before they received it, and that at a dear rate. God knows," &c.

²³ Satisfaction.—*Diary*, Oct. 4, 1662: "The Satisfaction sank the other day on the Dutch coast through the negligence of the pilot."

²⁴ Harp.—*Diary*, March 17, 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{2}{0}$: "In the evening, at the Admiralty. I met my lord there, and got a commission for Williamson to be captain of the Harp frigate. 18th: Then to my lord's lodging, where I found Captain Williamson, and gave him his commission to be captain of the Harp, and he gave me a piece of gold and 20*s.* in silver."

²⁵ Paradox.—*Diary*, April 23, 1660: "This afternoon I had 40s. given me by Captain Cowes of the Paradox."

²⁶ Phineas Pett, the shipbuilder, was a kinsman of Mr. Pett, a Commissioner of the Navy, frequently mentioned in Pepys.—See *Diary*, Aug. 23, 1660.

²⁷ *Diary*, 1664, July 24: Mr. Shish is mentioned as being at Deptford. *Evelyn's Diary*, May 13, 1680, gives some particulars of this shipwright on the occasion of his funeral (footnote by Mr. M. Bright). Elsewhere his death is stated to have occurred in June, not May, 1680.

Diary, July 12, 1663. The neglect of discipline at this time in the British Navy lying in harbour is strikingly shown in the following passage:—"July 12, 1663. I took Mr. Whitfield, one of the clerks, and walked to the Docke about eleven at night, and there got a boat and a crew, and rowed down to the guardships, it being a most pleasant moonshine evening that ever I saw almost. The guardships were very ready to hail us, being, no doubt, commanded thereto by their Captain, who remembers how I surprised them the last time I was here. However, I found him ashore, but the ship in pretty good order, and the arms well fixed, charged, and primed. Thence to the Sovereigne, where I found no officers aboard, no arms fixed, nor any powder to prime their few guns, which were charged, without bullet though. So to the London, where neither officers nor anybody awake. I boarded her, and might have done what I would, and at last did find but three little boys; and so spent the whole night in visiting all the ships, in which I found, for the most part, neither an officer aboard, nor any men so much as awake, which I was grieved to find," &c.

VII.—*The Church of St. Augustine, Hedon, Yorkshire.*
Communicated by the late GEORGE EDMUND STREET, Esq., R.A., F.S.A.

Read June 16, 1870.

IN venturing to lay before the Society of Antiquaries some notes on the architectural features of the church of Saint Augustine, at Hedon, near Hull, I have taken it for granted that I should be excused if I did not try at the same time to go into the archæological history of the town or churches; what is here expected from an architect being, I presume, that he should prepare a simple architectural description of the various parts of the building, such as might be given without any knowledge at all of the men who built it, or of any documentary evidence as to the dates at which they built. The truth is that we architects have not often the leisure necessary for the investigation of this part of the subject, and in this case I doubt whether if I had leisure I could have learnt much beyond what is told by Mr. Poulson in his careful *History of Holderness*.

There seem to have been originally, according to this writer, four churches in Hedon: St. Nicholas, St. James, St. Mary, and St. Augustine; and it is to the last of these, which alone still stands, that I shall confine my attention.

I can find, I regret to say, no references in Poulson's book to the fabric of St. Augustine which are of any value. We have items for the purchase of lead and of nails, 6*d.* for washing "woolen surplices" for a year, charges for mending vestments, for the difference in cost of exchanging two "little chalices belonging to the high altar, for two other chalices bought of Edward Clough, goldsmith, of Lincoln," and various other similar items of churchwardens' expenditure, but none which indicate the period at which any of the great works were undertaken in the building.

This is much to be regretted, for, though I may state to you with tolerable assurance what I consider the dates of the various parts of the work to be, it is impossible to say that such statements are absolutely to be depended on, and it is obviously somewhat difficult to say exactly where one man's work ended and

another took up the thread in a building in which (as in this) works of some kind were almost always in progress for a period of somewhere about three hundred years.

The four churches of Hedon have but followed the fortunes of the poor old town. This no doubt had once much trade. It has none now. It still boasts a Mayor and Corporation, and, until the time of the Reform Bill, I believe it returned two Members to Parliament. The main duty of its Members was at each election to contribute something to the repair of the church,—a form of bribery as to which one may be lenient. Nowadays there are no Members for Hedon, but had it not been for the zeal and liberality of Mr. Christopher Sykes, the Member for the East Riding, who started a subscription for the repair of the church, I should probably have had no interest in it, and should not have had to trouble you with a Paper on it to night.

Having now said as much as seems to be necessary on this part of the subject, I turn to that of which you will naturally expect me to speak rather more at length,—the architectural character of the building.^a

If I were not reading a Paper upon a great Yorkshire church, I should have to dilate with no little enthusiasm upon the magnificent size and fine architectural character of the work. Almost anywhere out of Yorkshire such a church would be the glory of a whole county, but with Beverley and Hull, Howden, Selby, Bridlington, Patrington, and a number of other churches in its neighbourhood (each of which is fit in scale and architectural beauty to be used as a cathedral church), its claims are liable to be overlooked or forgotten. Even in Yorkshire, however, it may rank among the first of its own order,—that of parish churches, as distinguished from the minsters, abbeys, and collegiate churches which abound in its neighbourhood; and to us at this day, as practical men, the study of ancient parish churches is of even more value generally than that of any other class of building, pressed as we are on all sides by the necessity of erecting buildings of the same description to meet the wants of our ever increasing population.

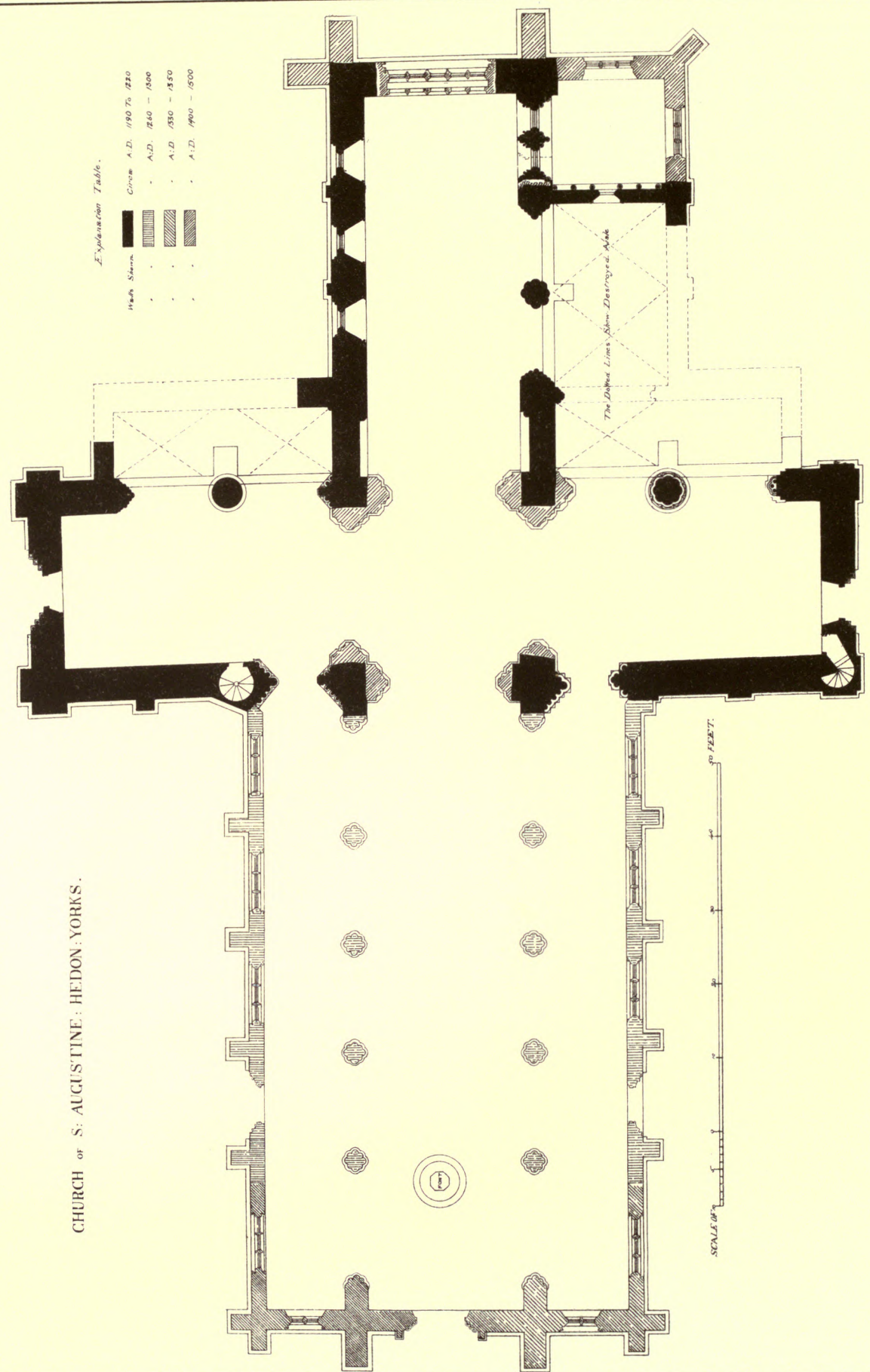
The ground-plan of the church which I exhibit will show you at a glance the shape of the building, whilst the shading on the walls will show roughly the varying ages of the several portions of the structure. It will be seen how very gradual the construction of the building was, and how much alteration it has undergone from time to time. The men who began it had no intention

^a Plan, Pl. VII.; which Plate, made for the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association, is here inserted by their permission, courteously given through our Fellow, G. W. Tomlinson, Esq. their Honorary Secretary. Elevation, Pl. VIII.

CHURCH of S. AUGUSTINE, HEDON, YORKS.

Explanation Table.

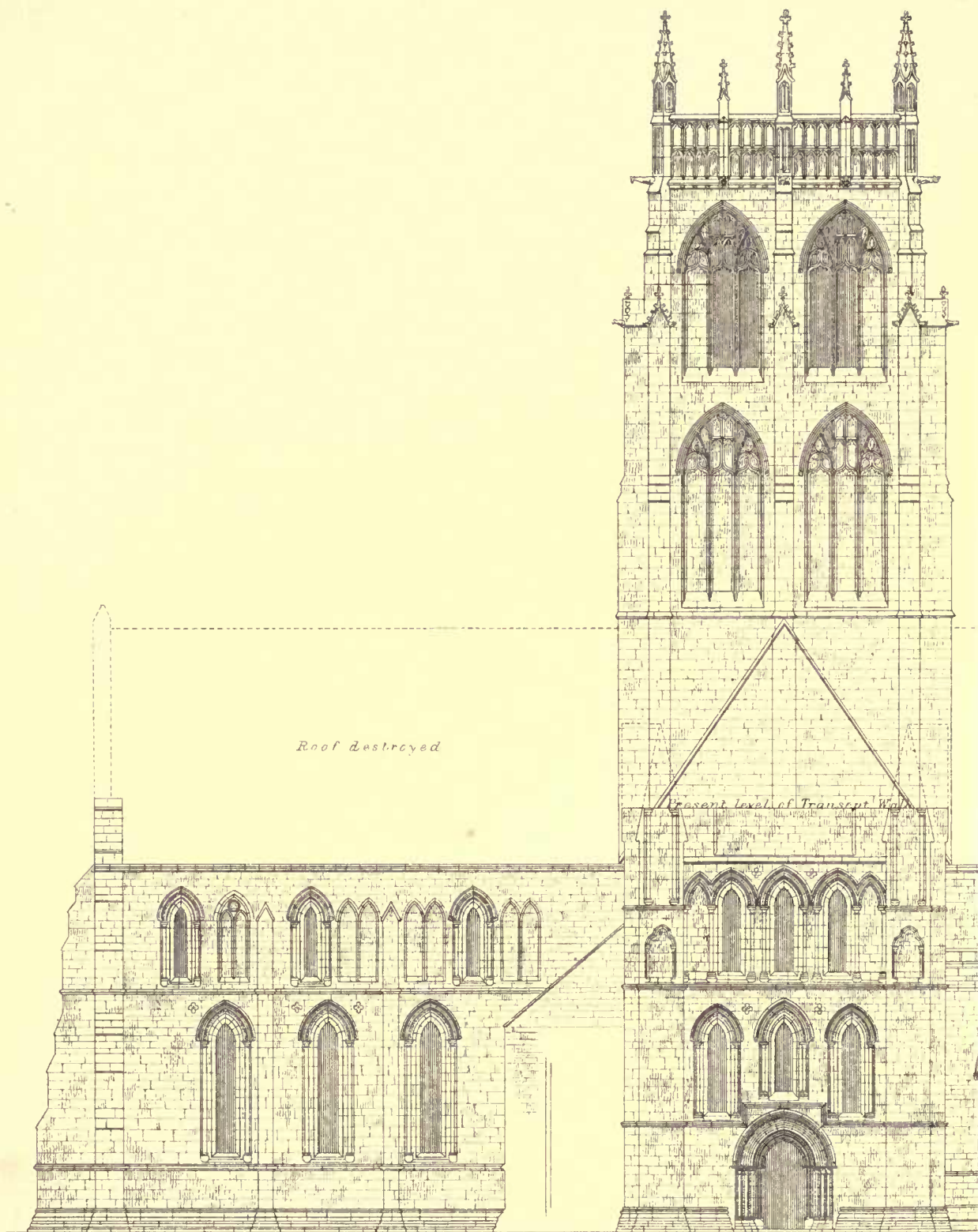
Work Shewn	Circle	A.D.	1190 To 1220
•	•	A.D.	1260 - 1500
•	•	A.D.	1530 - 1550
•	•	A.D.	1600 - 1500



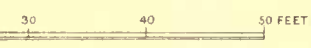
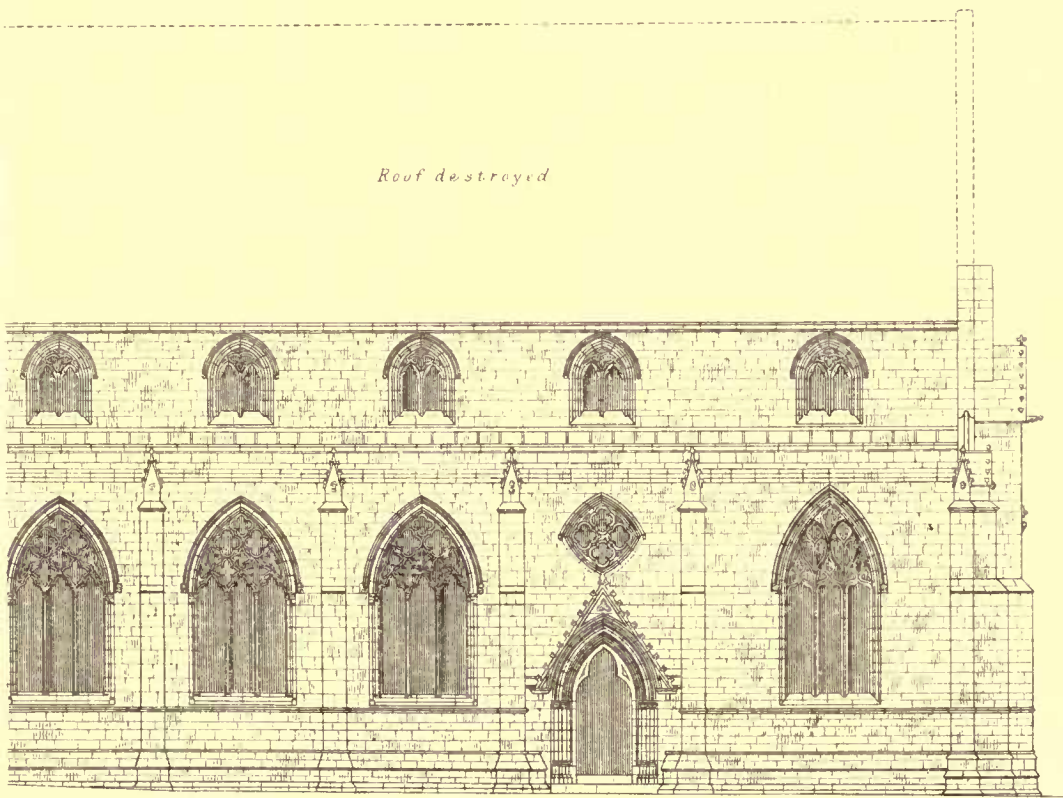
whatever of completing the whole church, unless they found themselves able to do so upon a noble scale. Fortunately, in the good old days of church building, when faith and act were both more thorough-going than they usually are now, there was less impatience, less desire to see rapid results, and less weak pride in very small successes than are common among ourselves. Had it been otherwise we should have seen no such church as this occupying this site. You all know what we should have seen. Nowadays, hardly any one is satisfied to build a church by degrees. Not only must a perfect plan be made, but it must be one which, without any very great amount of self-denial, is capable of completion within a twelvemonth; it must be one which shall keep out wind and water for a time, but which must sail as close as possible to the wind for fear its cost should exceed the calculated cost per head of the people who are to use it; a cost which has now been so accurately calculated and tabulated that the character of the architect to whom the work is entrusted is valued not according to the knowledge of and feeling for his art which he displays, but according to the cheapness of the sheds he is willing to erect! The old Hedon architects were as reckless of cost in the thickness they gave to their walls as they were regardless of personal trouble in the delicacy and beauty which they gave to their detail; and the consequences were, first, that the work they commenced was constantly receiving new and stately additions; and, secondly, that in place of a mound of rubbish (which, if the world lasts long enough, will be the only mark of most of our buildings in three or four hundred years' time) we still have for our study and delight a work of art which, if carefully examined, gives us a complete epitome of all the changes of our national architecture from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century; an open book, so to say, in which those who run may read the whole history of the greatest of the arts during one of the most interesting periods of our national history,—of the only art in which Englishmen have ever been surpassingly successful; and of that art in which, among Englishmen, Yorkshiremen have undoubtedly held the highest place. Let me now point out in detail the order in which this work was executed so far as the architectural character of the work enables me to do so.

The first architect about the end of the twelfth century seems to have prepared a scheme for a cruciform church of about the scale of that which now exists. There is (as far as I know) no evidence whatever that an earlier church ever stood on the same site; but, as the oldest part of the existing church appears to me to date from quite the end of the twelfth century, it is probable that an older building was standing when this was commenced, and that the south

transept, which is the oldest portion now remaining, was first of all undertaken in order that the older building might not be removed until there was some portion of the new church ready for the use of worshippers. The south transept certainly appears to be earlier in date than the chancel; and it is usual to find where there is no church already standing that the chancel and not a transept was the part first of all commenced. This was natural, indeed necessary, to men whose worship centred in the altar. And for this reason I assume with some confidence that an earlier church did exist here before the south transept was commenced. I believe that the south transept was commenced about A.D. 1190—1195; and that in the course of the next thirty or thirty-five years the north transept, the chancel, the south chancel aisle, and the eastern aisles of the transepts were all completed. So important a church no doubt had its central steeple either really built or prepared for in the substructure; and by the middle of the thirteenth century the people of Hedon were able to boast of a church whose transepts measured from north to south no less than 150 feet, a choir 57 feet long, and the base at any rate of a great central steeple. The men who built the work so far had made their scheme with a view to a nave and aisle of corresponding scale, measuring 51 feet wide in the clear, as is proved by the planning of the arches in the west walls of the transepts. Here there was a pause; the work had been so costly that no doubt men required a little breathing-space, and it was necessary for a time to give up the attempt to complete the work, the people meanwhile having room enough to carry on the services, and very probably having still standing the untouched nave of an earlier church within the site of the present nave. It was probably about the year 1275 that the present nave was commenced; but its progress must have been slow, for though the four eastern bays are of this period, the western bay, including the west front, cannot have been completed earlier than A.D. 1325. After this there was again a long pause; and the next work, the new east window, was rendered necessary, probably, by some failure in the older window; at any rate, the greater part of the east end was taken down and rebuilt about the year 1400. About the middle of the fifteenth century the magnificent central steeple was erected; soon after this a vestry was built in the angle between the choir and its south aisle; and, about the end of the fifteenth century, arches were inserted under the central tower, to counteract some tendency to settlement, which had no doubt then shown itself. The last act of all, before the Reformation, was one which I chronicle without commending,—the destruction of the old windows in the south transept façade, and the substitution for them of a large traceried



Roof destroyed



George Edmund Street, R.A.

HEDON, YORKS.

(N.)

Views of London 1884.

window of poor character, apparently, and which had again, in its turn, been nearly destroyed before I saw the church.

It needs not to chronicle the fate of the church after the end of the sixteenth century. It was a fate only too common and too sad. As roofs decayed they were altered and reduced in pitch, the old timbers being generally made to do service again in a new shape; whilst the walls, as they decayed, were either left to fall down, or deliberately pulled down. Finally, inside the church every single ancient feature was obscured, either by useless partitions and pews, by raising of floors and lowering of roofs, or by reiterated coats of paint and whitewash; and we have, in truth, to be grateful to our forefathers for the last three centuries for having shown no more active hostility than is implied in the utter indifference to the whole building which induced them not more determinedly to alter or mutilate what did not, by reason of its decay, come to ruin!

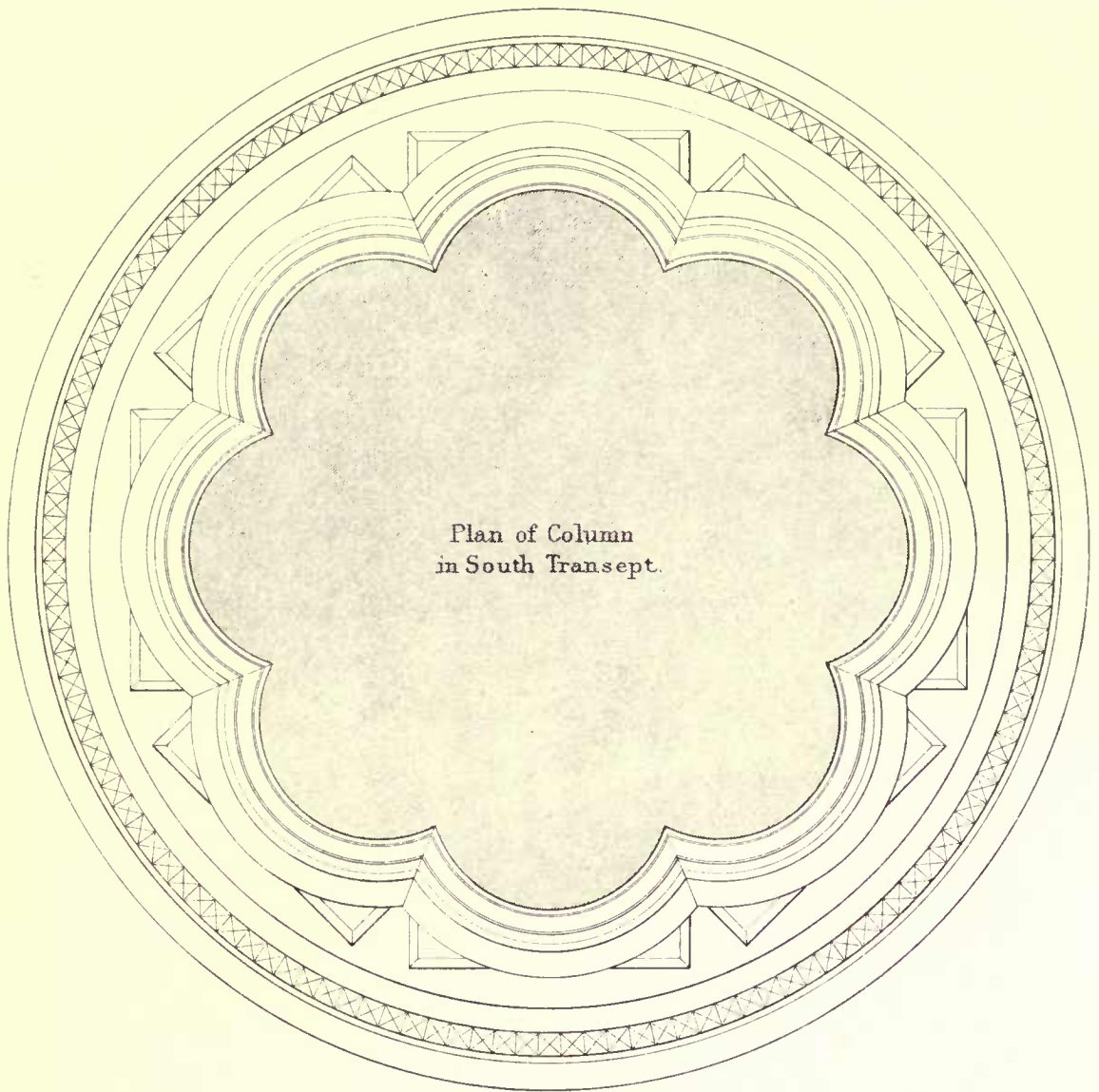
You see, therefore, by this short summary of events, that from and after the year 1200 for 300 years the works in the church were constantly in progress, and each generation was doing its part—and generally a noble part—towards the complete work. This is a frequent tale as regards our old churches; but, as I think you will see, it is seldom that we find in any one building of moderate scale so many good examples of work of various ages.

We will now, if you please, examine the various portions of the work more in detail, taking them in the order of their erection, which I have thus briefly stated. And first, let us take the Transepts. These are remarkable, not only for their fine scale but also for the elaborate character of much of their detail. The South Transept measures 21 feet \times 36 feet 6 inches inside, the north transept 21 feet \times 37 feet 6 inches, and the latter is (as will be seen by the drawing of the plan) set somewhat askew; rather, it would seem, in this case, owing to the carelessness of workmen than with any mystical or symbolical intention. There was formerly an aisle on the east side of each transept, giving space for two chapels on each side. This common feature in churches of this scale and date is, however, somewhat unusually treated on the south side, where the aisle appears to have been returned along the south side of the chancel, forming a chancel aisle. These aisles are now almost entirely destroyed, and the only evidence of the old design of any portion of them is to be seen inside the fifteenth-century vestry, the erection of which against the east wall of the chancel aisle has had the good result of preserving its east wall. The transepts of course lose much of their effect owing to the blocking up of their eastern arches. The columns supporting these arches are very different. In the south transept the column is a fine

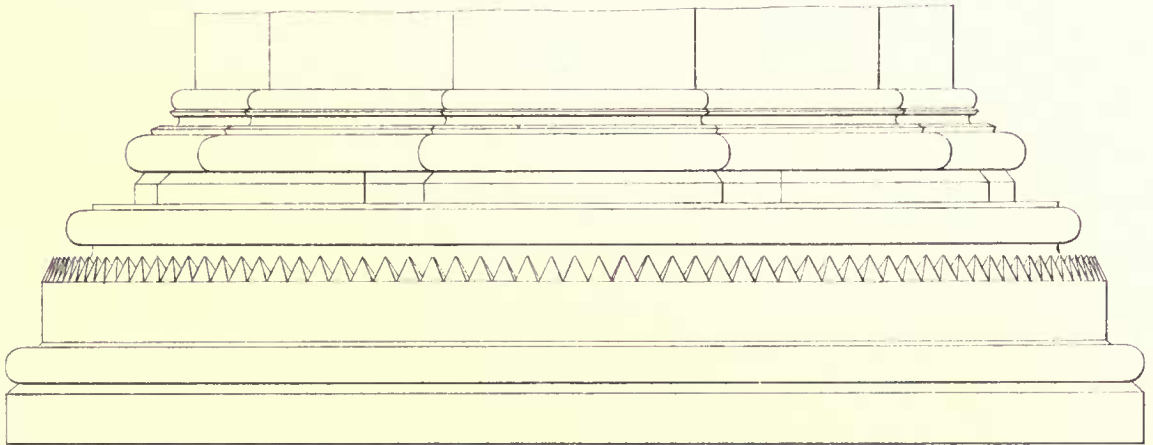
clustered pier of eight,^a with a base moulding which I commend to your notice because it is eminently characteristic of Yorkshire thirteenth-century work. Observe particularly the way in which the nail-head enrichment is introduced, and the vigorous effect of light and shade in the mouldings. Unfortunately, owing to the raising of the floor, a portion of this base was buried, and so the general effect was damaged, but it is now to be seen in all its old beauty of proportion. The corresponding column in the north transept is a plain cylinder, rude-looking by comparison with the rich and varied section of its responds. The arches opening into the aisles of the nave are equally deserving of admiration: that into the south aisle being planned with nook-shafts set in square recesses, that into the north aisle with a succession of filleted shafts set on a splay. It is quite worth notice that of these six arches there are no two which are alike. The detail is varied in all, and hence the work is infinitely interesting and worthy of examination. The love of the artist for his work is manifest everywhere. The artist has not given place to the manufacturer; and every detail of the work gave pleasure, no doubt, to the man who designed it.

There are doors to both transepts. The southern door is round arched, rather narrow in opening, and placed to the west of the centre of the front. It has a peculiar imitation of the chevron enrichment at intervals on its label, but the mouldings generally are of decidedly pointed character. The north transept doorway is much richer, but may best be described with the rest of the façade—of which it forms an important part. The south transept front had unfortunately been very much altered. A large window was inserted not long before the Reformation in place of the original window, and this in its turn had been so much mutilated and damaged as to be uninteresting in the highest degree. Enough, however, remained of the original south wall to show that the system of windows and string-courses which remain in the side walls was continued across it. These side walls are divided by string-courses into three divisions in height. The first corresponding with the aisle columns is plain walling; the next is pierced with simple windows, with round internal arches; and the third, or upper stage, has a continuous arcade carried on clustered shafts, and pierced at intervals with windows. Passages in the thickness of the walls at this level led from the staircase in the south-west angle of the transept to the central steeple, and so on again to the north transept. Here again you must notice the eccentric variations of detail in the design. Some of the arches are divided into two, with an intermediate shaft. Some are moulded, some chamfered, some enriched with nail-

^a Pl. IX.



Elevation of Base.



1 IN 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 FEET

George Edmund Street, R. A.

CPKell, Lith.

CHURCH OF S. AUGUSTINE, HEDON, YORKS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

head, and some only with a single dog-tooth enrichment in the very centre of the point of the arch.

The west wall of this south transept is the only part of it which preserves the old design of the exterior nearly intact. Here the bays are divided by flat buttresses, and the lower windows are simply chamfered, whilst the upper windows are very elegant and have jamb shafts, the broad Yorkshire chamfer next the glass, and carved capitals. The abaci of the caps throughout this transept are square and circular, the two forms being used capriciously—save that the square abacus is oftenest used outside and the circular abacus inside the building.

The whole of this transept has now been carefully restored under my direction. The south front was in a dangerously insecure state. It has, therefore, been rebuilt from the ground. Every thirteenth-century stone has as far as possible been marked and restored to its old place; and, as you will see by the elevation before you, I have attempted to restore the whole façade as nearly as I could to its old state. The old roof was of timber, and an open roof has now been erected. This leads to a notice of the fact that this fine church was never apparently meant to be groined in stone, the arcading of the walls inside having been so arranged as to make vaulting impossible.

The north transept has suffered much less than the other; save its roof and gable, the exterior is really in very perfect condition, and it is rarely that a more delicate or graceful work is seen. Here, as on the other side, the wall is divided by string-courses into a succession of nearly equal stages; but the door is more important than the other, and placed in the centre; and the windows in both stages are equally ornate, and enriched considerably with dog-tooth ornaments as well as with delicate mouldings and engaged shafts. The buttresses are varied in design, those in front having recessed arched panels in the upper stages, and having been finished originally with very acute gables, and one on the west side having the broad chamfer on the angles,—so common a feature in the best Yorkshire work. The staircase, instead of being at the angle (as it is in the south transept), is in the west wall next to the north aisle. The mouldings throughout this transept are very delicate and good. The common thirteenth-century enrichment, the dog-tooth, is used not only in arch and jamb-mouldings, but also in capitals and bases. It is very much to be regretted that no indication exists of the original treatment of the gable. If this had been complete, few fronts of the period would have been more worthy of admiration than that of this north transept; and in a church full of good work it is, no doubt, the part which most of all challenges and merits our admiration.

The design of the interior of this transept is not so fine as that of the exterior. Passages are carried round the wall at two levels, and the detail of the upper windows is as in the south transept richer than that of the lower. But there is a poverty about the work which is inconsistent with the extremely ornate character of the exterior.

Of the original tower arches nothing now is visible, though it is probable that they still remain above the arches which were inserted under them, in order to strengthen the work, about the time that the steeple was built. The next portion of the work to be described is therefore—

The Chancel.—This is all of the thirteenth-century, with the exception of the east window. It had three arches opening into its south aisle, and one arch opening into the north transept aisle; these are now all completely blocked. The columns supporting them are clustered, and the detail generally very similar to that of the transepts. The north wall is of two stages in height, the lower stage pierced with single-light windows, the upper stage having windows connected by an arcading very irregularly divided and designed. The original buttresses are of shallow proportions and finished with gablets. A very fine two-light window, with double shafts in the jamb and a profusion of dog-tooth ornament, is preserved in the south wall where the vestry abuts against it; and an arcade of five divisions, with a lancet window pierced in the centre, which now forms the west wall of the vestry, formed originally the east wall of the south chancel aisle, and gives a high idea of the extreme loveliness of the work which has been destroyed in this part of the building.

No doubt the beautiful detail of the south chancel window and the east wall of the aisle were designed by the same man who ventured to plan the north wall of the chancel in the somewhat irregular fashion shown on the elevation which I exhibit. It is well therefore to notice that the artist who was so accomplished (as every one will admit) in one part of his work allowed himself some very decided departures from mere regularity in other portions of it. In truth he saw no merit in regularity, except where it was convenient; and so when he had a long plain wall to deal with he treated it to some extent in a playful spirit—arcading, piercing, and buttressing it as happened best to please him, and tying himself down by no rule as to regularity either in plan or in elevation.

In fact, what one cannot help feeling in presence of such a work as this is the extreme variety of character and interest which marks it, and the evidence thus afforded of intense zeal and love of his work on the part of its architect or architects. The work is all far too refined and good to make it possible for us to say

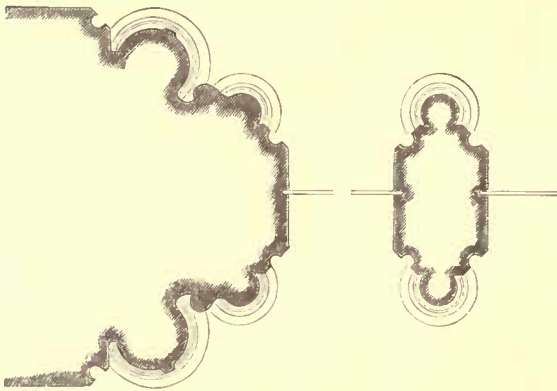
that it was the work of men who did not know the virtue of regularity or repetition of parts in architecture. I might without risk defy any one at the present day to draw mouldings more delicately, or designed with greater appreciation of their proper office and function; and when we find the man who was able to work so well going out of his way to vary his work everywhere, it is surely worth while to inquire why he did so. The answer is, I believe, not very far to seek. This love of variety is in fact only an evidence of the love of his work without which no artist's work is worthy even of the shortest attention. It is the possession of this and the want of it which are really the most marked distinctions between the average architect of the present day and the average architect of the Middle Ages. I thoroughly believe that this work at Hedon bears internal evidence everywhere of the devotion of the artist to his art; and I am certain that the only way in which we can hope to do work as good as this is by working much more in the same way and spirit instead of in the unreal and unloving mode which modern customs have taught us to be satisfied with at the hands of two out of three of the arts;—painting alone at the present day being practised generally with the belief that it is wrong for an artist not to bestow himself on his work to the utmost of his energy, his knowledge, and his enthusiasm!

Nowhere can we modern men so well receive such lessons as in Yorkshire; for nowhere in Europe, in the thirteenth century, were there architects superior to those who lived here, and, if we are ever to rival them, it can only be by following their example exactly.

Having thus chronicled the works of the thirteenth century at Hedon, let me now detain you for some short notice of the works of later schools and periods.

The church, so far as we have seen its history, may have remained for many years uncompleted. Its transepts and choir were finished, and no doubt used for service. It is possible, of course, as I have already hinted, that an older nave also existed. But towards the end of the thirteenth century a new endeavour was made to complete the church by the removal of any such earlier building and the erection of a nave and aisles worthy of the eastern portion of the fabric. The old architect was no doubt dead and forgotten, and his successor proceeded to build in what was the style of the day, quite disregarding the intentions of his predecessor, and not even adhering to the dimensions which he had marked out for the aisles of the nave. He designed his work also upon a different and much more economical plan than his predecessor. The elder architect had thought little about waste of stone, about unnecessary thickness in the walls, or

about mere economy in the work he was asked to do. But by the end of the thirteenth century men had become more careful; they asked their architects, just as people do now, to build as economically as possible, and their architect in this case plainly tried to comply with their demand. That his means were limited seems to be proved by the difference in character between the western bay and the four other bays of the nave, which seems to show that the latter were as much as they could first of all contrive to erect, and that then a long pause occurred before the west front was undertaken. But other evidence of this is to be seen in the work itself. Ornamental and elaborate as the detail is you will find that it is also economical just where the older work was lavish; *e. g.* the aisle-walls of the nave are only two feet in thickness, a dimension quite below what we usually find in such works; and giving, as it seems to me, too great an air of weakness to this part of the work. On the other hand, the main walls, and their columns and arches, are of bold dimensions; and the scientific character of the architect is certainly proved by the fact that here, where strength was most required, it was supplied; and that in the outer walls, where no great strength was required, they were reduced to the minimum of thickness. The detail throughout the nave is extremely interesting. The columns are not unlike the Early English columns in the choir, but the archivolt is well and richly



JAMB MOULDINGS OF WINDOWS IN NAVE-AISLES.

moulded, and the whole detail is most characteristic of the period. The main arcades used to suffer much in appearance owing to the nave floor being raised about two feet above its original level, so as entirely to conceal the fine old moulded bases of the columns. This, I am happy to say, is no longer the case, the whole nave having been repaved at its old level.

The detail of the jamb and arch mouldings of the aisle windows is rich and beautiful, and the tracery a capital example of the Early Decorated style. The doorways, with the small windows of spherical squares filled with tracery above them, are full of beauty; and, in fact, I know few examples which show better the general features of Early Middle-pointed English work than this. I cannot praise the clerestory so much. It seems to me to be small and insignificant for the scale of the church, and the

plain chamfered jambs of the windows inside do not satisfy the eye when seen close above the rich mouldings of the nave arcade; and I can hardly help suspecting that before the builders reached the clerestory they had found it necessary to economise.

If we now look at the western bay of the nave we shall at once see that it is of later date than the rest. The window traceries are more developed, with flowing ogee lines, and the mouldings are all later in character. What is curious also is that this bay is larger from east to west by about 2 feet 6 inches or 3 feet than any of the others in the nave. There seems to be no reason whatever for this departure from uniformity, and I cannot pretend to explain it. Externally the whole of this work is very fine. The buttresses have crocketed pediments, and the steep roofs and west window tracery are alone wanting to give the whole its old character.

It is well here to notice the difference in idea between this and the earlier work. The thirteenth-century architect gives the impression that his church is one for the use of a conventual body. His work is somewhat austere and dignified, and too solemn for mere worldly men. The nave, on the contrary, is the *beau idéal* of one for a fine parish church, elegant and well proportioned, but wanting in the sort of dignified severity that marks the earlier works, and suggesting something of a worldly desire to exhibit to the greatest effect all its gaiety, and beauties, and finery. In short, this nave is much more such a work as might be rivalled by modern architects and builders than are the transepts or the choir, because it seems to reflect a rather secular spirit akin to that of our own day.

After the completion of the nave the men of Hedon paused again; they had a noble church, what need to make it nobler? So at any rate they thought for three-quarters of a century; when some one undertook to put a new window in the east end, and to buttress the choir, so as to counteract a settlement which is still visible in the side walls. This window was one of a class which was common in the fifteenth century in Yorkshire. Examples of it are to be seen at Beverley and York minsters. The peculiarity consists in the addition of a second system of monials and traceries set in a line with the inside face of the wall. The east window here was certainly originally designed to be so constructed, though, if the design was ever completely carried out, the whole of the inner tracery has disappeared, leaving only the monials which were intended for its support.

It was about this time also that the noble central steeple, which so fitly crowns the whole work, was undertaken. It is really difficult to speak too well of

such a work as this. It is rich without being gaudy, stately without being heavy, and lofty without in the least destroying the effect of size and proportion of the church out of which it rises. We are too much in the habit of assuming nowadays that every tower must have a spire, and that every church must be finished with tower and spire complete before the day of its consecration. The study of such a work as this is therefore of the greatest value if it serves to convince us that a nobler effect may be obtained by the simple stateliness of such a scheme, than by the weak and frivolous character of many of our cheap modern Gothic spires. Steeples are architectural luxuries, and those who indulge in such luxuries should do so in such a way as to command the world's admiration. It is just the part of the building which is built mainly for display, and in which, if the display is not good, it had better never have been attempted. So at any rate thought the Hedon architect who reared this steeple, and who taxed the liberality of the people, no doubt heavily, to pay for his work. I doubt whether he did not build on the arches which were built to carry the older steeple, but he probably found the work giving some signs of failure, and so inserted the new arches,—which we now see,—under the old ones; for, if these arches were inserted when he began his work, there would not have been much reason for leaving any mark of older work above, which, if I remember right, there is. These arches are rather plain and bald when compared with the beautiful early work with which they are associated. Above the roof the tower rises in two stages, each side being divided vertically by buttresses at the angles and in the centre. There is no horizontal string-course dividing the whole tower in height, but the effects of separate stages is produced by the repetition of the belfry windows as arched and unpierced panels in the stage below. The parapet, though not very elaborate, is of large proportions; and, like the windows just mentioned, is partly pierced, partly solid. Clusters of pinnacles at the angles and in the centre of each side crown very fitly a noble work. The construction of this tower is very good, and the walls are nowhere unnecessarily thick. In the belfry stage they are 2 feet 11 inches thick, and they are built of stone and brick used together. The bricks are of the old English dimensions, 11 inches long, 5½ inches broad, and 2 inches thick. The old weather mouldings on this steeple are valuable as marking the exact pitch of the early roofs of the church.

No doubt, fine as the effect of this steeple is, it has defects which make it inferior in architectural design to many examples which might be mentioned. The arrangement, for instance, of the belfry windows, two lights of which are pierced and one solid, is not very happy. Again, the mouldings are somewhat

thin and poor in effect, and no doubt the real value of the work is its outline and fine mass, which on all sides is seen towering high above the houses of the town, so as to make the church a conspicuous landmark on all sides.

The steeple completed, there was not much more to be done. The people of Hedon might well thank God for their noble church, and might fairly ask to be allowed to rest as well as to be thankful. In truth, they did so; for the only work done between the building of the steeple and the Reformation was the erection of a small sacristy at the east end of the south chancel aisle. This was a poor room, and its one redeeming feature now is what was at first its great sin. This is the fact that, owing to its erection against the east wall of the aisle, this still remains, though all the rest of the aisle is destroyed.

With this work the architectural history of Hedon church may fitly end. All that remains is to say that in succeeding ages this noble church has been somewhat mercilessly used, defaced, or allowed to fall to decay. My object in the works which have been in part executed lately is to do nothing but restore the church, as far as I can, exactly to its original state. We were obliged to begin with the restoration of the south transept, including the complete rebuilding of its south front and the re-erection of the steep-pitched roof. Here there was, of course, opening for discussion as to what ought to be done. If the late-fifteenth-century window had been retained it must have been entirely new, and restored conjecturally in most of its parts. So, though my rule is not to disturb such additions to the original fabric, I was really obliged to do so in this case; and accordingly I have erected a front somewhat after the model of the beautiful north transept, using up again all old stones in their old place in the most scrupulous manner. After this there still remains much to be done to bring the church into tolerable order; but there can be little to do about which there can be any difference of opinion. I should not think of touching the east window except to restore the inner order of tracery, as to the existence and design of which there need be no doubt; whilst the restoration of the other roofs to their old pitch is a work against which no one could cavil.

Fortunately such a church as this requires gentle treatment, and no more, to put it back into its old state of order and beauty. There is not much room and less necessity for ingenious additions or alterations. The old colour of the walls, the old look of the work, must nowhere be disturbed; and I hope that even the most conservative of archæologists will not be able to say when the work has been done that I have destroyed or altered any one portion of the work. What I have said in this Paper will, I hope, prove that I have too much reverence for

such a masterwork to do so; and I can only express a hope that the great liberality of those who have commenced this much-needed work of restoration will be backed, when necessary, by the liberality of all those who feel that our honour is really bound up with the conservation of these great works of art, which we are bound to hand down to our children in as fair and good a state as is possible, without any sordid considerations of the cruel neglect with which our predecessors have visited them.

And here shall I be pardoned if I diverge a little from the particular church to the general subject of the preservation of architectural antiquities, on which, as I think, the influence of this old and important Society is not exerted quite so vigorously as it ought to be. Here, for instance, at Hedon, is a parish of extremely small acreage, a population of about one thousand, and an endowment, according to the Clergy List, of 45*l.* per annum, without any house for the priest. The town is poor, without trade, and, I dare say, without one wealthy resident. Now, how is it possible that such a town or parish can do all that is required to keep such a building as I have been describing in decent repair? Occasionally by accident or good luck, or by some grand effort, something may be done to stave off the evil day when the ruin of a whole fabric seems imminent. This is exactly what has happened at Hedon. In a year or two the front of the south transept might have fallen had it not been rebuilt. In a few more years the ruin of the beautiful nave will be imminent, unless some external help is afforded. Then what external help has such a building a right to demand? Has it a claim of any kind on any one on higher grounds than mere personal or local attachment? Surely if in all foreign countries it is found prudent and necessary to inscribe certain buildings on a list of public monuments to be cared for by the State, there may at any rate be some exceptional cases—such as this of Hedon—in which even in this self-governing country the Government might step in to save that which the people on the spot are unable or unwilling to save. Any one interested in our national antiquities has only to examine the state of many buildings from time to time in order to arrive at a very certain conclusion, that many of them are suffering a steady deterioration. This is especially the case with our ruined abbeys and castles. By accident, one may almost say, they have fallen into the hands of their present owners. Their roofs have been stripped of lead, their windows of glass, their walls of copings and buttresses. Each autumn a saturated wall paves the way for the disruption of some portion of the walls during the winter frosts; and each fragment that falls makes the fall of something else more certain and more serious in its consequences. Within the life-

time of men still alive Whitby Abbey has lost its central steeple. What should we say if we heard that some other grand erection—such, *e.g.* as the steeple of Fountains—was likely also to come to ruin solely or mainly for lack of its roof? How can we measure the loss to history or to art of any one of these features of an old architecture? And if there is any risk in regard to these buildings of which every one is so proud, what shall we say of the prospects of those of which only a few of us know of the existence or the value? It is our own age that has seen the Guesten Hall of Worcester converted into a ruin by the removal of its exquisite roof. And such a step as this was taken, unless I much mistake, in spite of a protest from the Society of Antiquaries, by the authority of its guardians—a corporate body of dean and canons!^a

I am sure I speak the feeling of most of the Fellows when I say that we ought on all occasions to offer the most hearty opposition to any attempt to deal in this way with any of our ancient buildings. It seems to me, indeed, that such a Society as ours, with its old and complete organization, its prestige, its wealth, is one of the natural guardians of all our English antiquities. I, with many others, wish to see it active not only in such curious archæological questions as generally engage its attention, but still more in jealous care for, and earnest promotion of the study of, those objects of national art which are in themselves more noble and more interesting, and in their influence on mankind far more valuable and serious. The success of our school of architectural art in this country depends mainly upon the conservation of every portion of our mediæval antiquities. And it seems to me that the Society of Antiquaries might well do more than it has latterly done with this view. Where, if not here, should we expect to find a careful catalogue of every single ancient building in this country? Where, if not here, should we find the machinery for forming such a catalogue? And with such a catalogue in existence do you not think that one great step would be taken towards instructing the owners of ancient monuments in the best way of preserving them, and in suggesting to them a greater reverence than they now have for what they possess? If the Society of Antiquaries could and would do some such work as this, I should hope, in course of time, to see some steps taken to prevent the destruction of any ancient building without the consent of some really competent constituted authority. At least, if the Society cannot of its own resources undertake so important a work, could it not very properly entreat Government to extend the inquiry commenced last

^a See *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2d S. vol. i. pp. 178-184.

year, I believe, into the remains of royal monuments—an inquiry in which our Society took an active part. Some steps, also, I should hope to see taken for the repair of buildings of vast interest, and wholly beyond the means of those who are directly responsible for them. Not only should entire buildings be catalogued, but equally should their fittings and furniture be included. If this had been done long ago perhaps we should have lost less than we have. Museums might have been poorer; but, as the interest of old things is always greatest in their old places, art would not have suffered. Brasses would not so often have been torn from floors to adorn the collection of an antiquary; old tiles would still lie where they did of yore; old stained glass windows would not be seen in numerous curiosity-shops, and the shops of repairers, but would still adorn our old windows.

Some of you may think that all this is very unnecessary. My experience tells me just the reverse. It has been my happiness from time to time to save many an old building from the destruction with which it has been threatened. Especially is this destruction likely where incompetent architects are employed to restore ancient buildings; and it is good policy, therefore, whenever any one advises such destruction, at any rate to take a second opinion as to whether such a course is absolutely unavoidable.

You must pardon the liberty I have taken in straying from Hedon church into so very wide and general a subject. I have ventured to do so because I notice that architects like myself, who live, so to speak, among these old buildings, do not generally appear to take so active a part in the proceedings of this Society as they ought. And because the consideration of so glorious a church in so poor a case led naturally, as it seemed to me, to the question whether the Society of Antiquaries could not do a great work and enlist our most active sympathy by influencing popular opinion in favour of more vigorous measures for the support and preservation of fine examples of English art than have hitherto been taken, either by Government or, generally speaking, our ecclesiastical authorities.

VIII.—*Account of Papers relating to the Royal Jewel-house in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, in the possession of Captain HERVEY GEORGE ST. JOHN-MILDMAY, R.N., of Hazelgrove House, Somerset. Communicated by the Rev. JAMES ARTHUR BENNETT, B.A., F.S.A.*

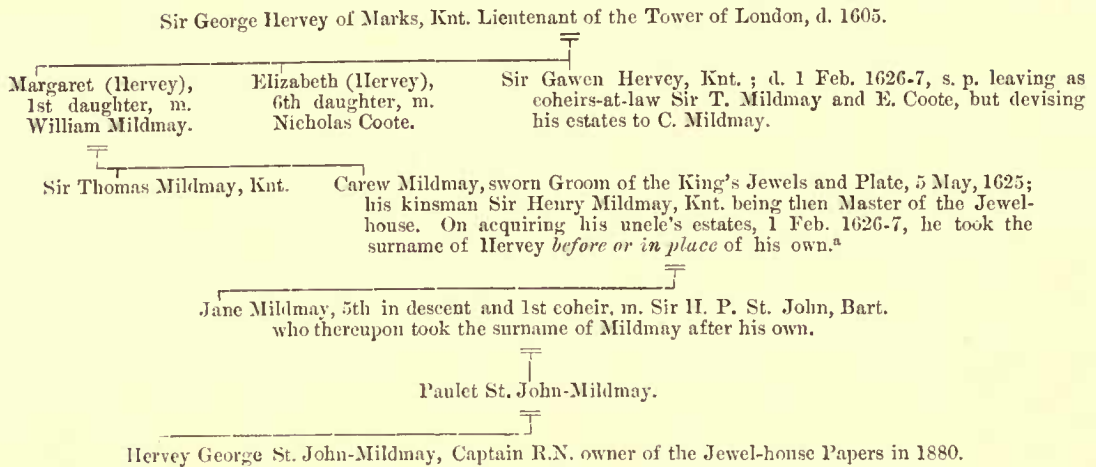
Read Feb. 5, 1880.

THE following Papers, relating to the Crown Jewels and Plate in the times of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., are a selection from a number of Jewel-house Accounts and Papers, which are now in the possession of Captain Hervey George St. John-Mildmay, R.N., of Hazelgrove House, Somerset. The full catalogue will be found in the Seventh Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission.

This collection has but lately come to light, and is, I believe, the most complete, if it is not the only, set of documents now known to be in existence, which relate to the times when the magnificent gold and silver plate, which belonged to the Crown at the beginning of the reign of Charles I., was dispersed.

Before going further into any account of these papers, I should wish to acknowledge the obligations that I am under to our Fellows, Mr. John Charles Robinson and Mr. Charles Trice Martin, for assistance and information, and to Mr. Samuel Rawson Gardiner for his kindness in adding some historical notes.

Mr. Carew Hervey Mildmay, of Marks, in the Liberty of Havering, Essex, was the original owner of the papers. The following Pedigree explains his name, and their transmission to the present time.



When King Charles left London in 1642, the other officers of the Jewel-house followed him, but Carew Hervey Mildmay remained in London, and kept his charge until he was forcibly turned out of it in 1649. It was in this year that a Parliamentary Committee called upon Sir Henry Mildmay to render accounts of his charge. The materials for these accounts were supplied by Mr. Mildmay, and it would seem that some of these papers now under consideration are either such materials—namely, rough notes and extracts from the office-books which were made for the purpose of these returns—or copies of the accounts rendered. It is quite possible that some of the office-books are still in existence, for Mr. Mildmay complains in one of his notes that the books which remained were taken from him in 1649 by the Parliamentary Committee. But these books, if they ever should be found, would give but a very imperfect account of the Jewel-house, for Mr. Mildmay complains in another paper that even he found it difficult to make an accurate return, for that many of the office-books had been destroyed “when the soldiers first came to London, and the office was made a suckling-house, common to all sorts.”

As to Mr. Mildmay himself, it would appear that he occupied a difficult and uncertain position. Though nominally a servant of the King, and left in charge of the Jewel-house by him, and executing orders transmitted to him from the King, yet he is not without sympathy for the Parliament; he held a command for

^a He became a Verderer of the Forest of Essex, *State Papers, Dom.* 1639, Mar. 26.

a time upon the Parliamentary side in Essex, and also contributed money and arms. His own explanation, in a memorandum of his services and claims, drawn up at the Restoration, is, that he only accepted the command for the purpose of maintaining tranquillity in Essex; and he says that he never fought, nor ever would fight, against the King; and he declares that at a later time he opposed, at the risk of his life, and opposed with success, "the develish petition" desiring the execution of the King, which Colonel Pride and others had brought before a meeting of the gentlemen of Essex.

But whatever may have been his difficulties in striving to reconcile the conflicting claims of his absent master, the King, and the powers in possession, it is at least clear that he is determined to be faithful to his charge of the Jewel-house. He may be ready to co-operate with the Parliamentary powers for the recovery of valuables which have been taken away, or not returned, by some of the King's servants, but he is not at all inclined to admit the claim of the Parliament itself, when its Commissioners seek to put themselves into the place of the King. Letters from the Commissioners, and peremptory orders from them, desiring him "to deliver up the offices," "to appear before them," "to deliver up his keys," &c. come to Mr. Mildmay one after another in the year 1649, but upon letter after letter appears the endorsement, in Mr. Mildmay's own hand, "not obeyed," "not obeyed," "Sir Henry Mildmay came himself and delivered up the keys"; and then, at last, it is noted, "They break into the office and commit me to the Fleet."

As a specimen of the correspondence a copy of one of these letters is inserted here:—

SIR,

Wee were waitinge at the Tower this morning to have delivered over to the contractors the plate in your custody, where wee received an unsatisfactory answer from you, whereby wee are put upon such a strait as wee know not what to doe, the publication beeing past for the sale of it, the plate beeing the first resolved upon for sale, before either the Upper Jewel-House or any other duplicate bee meddled with, and the publication cannot bee now recalled. Wherefore wee, with the contractors, beeing sensible of the very great prejudice that is likely to fall out to the publike by your failinge to meet with us, we concluded to send our messenger on purpose to you to desire you not to faile to meet us at the Tower on Saturday next, aboute nine of the clock in the morninge, where wee may doe what should have been done this day. If you come not then, or send not your keys, which you have direction from Sir Hen. Mildmay to doe, we must be forced against our wills to follow the direction of the Act. Wee hope wee so well understood our

business that wee shall doe what may bee most advantagious to that service wee are employed in.
Wee remaine this 20 Septemb. 1649,

Yours,

N. LEMPRIÈRE.

HENRY . . .

JOHN FFOCHE.

PH. CARTERET.

WILL. ALLEN.

HENRY PARRE.

JOHN HEILES.

Sir,—You must please to take notice that there must be a good deale of time in sortinge the plate before it can bee fit to shew, and after that some days for the buyers to looke upon it.

Before coming to any remarks upon the several papers which are presented here, I should wish to point out that, though the originals are many in number, yet that they do not form any connected general statement of the affairs of the Jewel-house between 1625 and 1649. They are evidently only a part of a much larger number of extracts and notes from the office-books. Many of the entries also occur again and again. Instead, therefore, of copying out all the papers, a few only of the most complete, or of those which seem to be the most interesting, are presented here; but these are copied verbatim from the originals, even though this may involve some repetition.

The papers are of two kinds or periods; those which existed before, and those which were drawn up in consequence of, the Parliamentary inquiry—those which record objects and transactions in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I., and those which record the like during the Commonwealth and at the Restoration.

The only papers in the collection which give any account of plate in the time of Elizabeth are four in number; being three “certificates” in different hands of certain presents given by her from the 30th to the 44th years of her reign, and a list of christening gifts from her, the first dated as of her 30th year. For illustration of the names in these papers see Nichols’s *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.

1.

A Certyficat of Presents given by Queene Elizabeth from the thirtieth until the last year of her raigne to Ambassadors, Agents and Gent^l, sent from fforaine Princes & att Christenings.

Sweden.	Given to an Ambassador from Duke Charles of Sweeden, A° 30 Eliz. A chaine	oz.
	of gold	poj. 16 gold
Fesse.	To an Ambassador from the kinge of fresse, A° 31 Eliz. A chaine of gold	poj. 45 gold

		oz.	
Wettemberg.	To the Duke of Wettemberg, A° 32 Eliz. in gilt	400	plate
France.	To Mons ^r vidam de Chartoys, Ambassad. from the kinge of France, 36 Eliz. in gilt plate	po3.	650 plate
France.	To Mons ^r d'Beauvois Ledger Ambassad. from the kinge of ffrance, 37 Eliz. in gilt plate	po3.	2200 plate
Bullon.	To the Duke of Bullen, A° 39 Eliz. in gilt plate		3000 plate
Denmarke.	To the Chancell ^r of Denmarke, Ambassad. A° 40 Eliz. in gilt plate	po3.	900 plate
	To Christian Barracowe, Ambassade ffrom the kinge of Denmarke, A° 40 Eliz. in gilt plate	po3.	850 plate
Italian.	To John Virginio, duke of Bracciano, an Italian, A° 43 Eliz. A cupp and cover of gold		26 gold
France.	To Mons ^r Boysire Ledger Ambassador from the kinge of ffrance, A° 44 Eliz. in gilt plate		1500 plate

2.—Gent^l and Messengers.

		oz.	
Germany.	Given to a Gent ^l sent from Duke Cashmere, A° 30 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3.	22
Denmark.	Given to a Gent ^l sent from the kinge of Denmarke, A° 31 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3.	10
Denmark.	To a gent ^l sent from the kinge of Denmark, A° 31 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3.	14
Sweeden.	To Theophilus Homodius, D ^r of the law, sent from Duke Charles of Sweeden, A° 33 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3.	14
Holland.	To Mr. Burylake, a Gent ^l sent out of the Lowe Countries, A° 33 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3.	18
Denmark.	To Geo. Schomaker, D ^r of the law, sent from the kinge of Denmark, A° 33 Eliz. A gold chaine	po3.	14
France.	To Mons ^r Gedenere, a gent ^l sent from the kinge of France, A° 36 Eliz. A chaine of gold		20
France.	To a ffrench gent ^l , A° 39 Eliz. A chaine of gold		18
Denmark.	To Hanse Reweam, secretary to the Chancellor of Denmark, Ambassad. A° 40 Eliz. A chaine of gold		22
Wettemberg.	To Adam Vinam, a gent ^l sent from the Duke of Wettemberg, 40 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3.	10
Sweeden.	To John Nicholai, a gent ^l sent from the Duke of Sweeden, A° 41 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3.	17
Holland.	To Mons ^r Caron, agent for the state of Holland, A° 42 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3.	68

3.—Presents to Gent^l & Ambassadors.

Swede.	30 Eliz.	To a Ambassador from Duke Charles brother to kinge of Sweeden, A chaine	oz.	
		of gold	p03.	xvi gold
ffesse.	31 Eliz.	A Ambassador from the kinge of ffesse, A chaine of gold		xlvi gold
		To Count Whittembirge, in gilt plate		iiiii ^c
		To Duke Philip, in gilt plate		cc
		To Mons ^r Durant, in gilt plate		cxiiiij
		To Mons ^r Vidam de Chartois, in gilt plate		vi ^e lvij
		To Mons. de Beauvois, Ambass. from y ^e ffrench king, in gilt plate		iii iii cc
		To the Duke of Bullion, in gilt plate	ij ij ij	iiij ^{xx} x
		To Christian Barracow, sent from y ^e kinge of Denmark, in gilt plate		viiij ^e l
		To Mons ^r Bloysire, in gilt plate		ij v ^c

Christninge.

			oz.	
30 Eliz.		To the Lord S ^t John Hallatt his child, in gilt plate		xxvij
		To M ^r Harrington's child, in gilt plate	p03.	xxx ^l
		To Sir Richard Knightley sonne, in gilt plate		xxiiij
		To the Lord Ritches child, in gilt plate		li
		To the Lord Wentworth his child	p03.	xxvj
		To the Sir Oratio Palavisino his child		liiiij
		To Sir Robert Sydney his child		xlj
		To M ^r Henry Mordaunt child	p03.	xl
		To Sir Thomas West his child		lv
		To the Earl of Northumberland his child		clxviij
		To Sir Edward Winter his child		lxiiiij
		To M ^r Barkley his child	p03.	lxx
		To the Lord Winsor his child	p03.	liiiij
		To M ^r Henry Colford his child		cviiij
		To Sir Thomas Germaine his child		l
		To the Lord Herbert his child		lx

Earl of Ormond, Robert Sewell, Earl of Kildare, Earl of Darby, the Landesgrave von Hest, Arnold Whitfield, Earl of Northumberland, & Count de Beaumont, *all scratched out.*

Endorsed—A cobby of little use, for one more perfect of 18 Dec. 1629.

The occasion of the issue of plate for the service of Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I., by the list and letter following, is noticed in Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* (1828), vol. ii. p. 460, as follows:—

From London, on the 11th of August, 1612, Mr. [John] Chamberlain thus writes to Sir Dudley Carleton:—

“The Queen begins her Progress to-morrow to Windsor; and so by Sir Robert Dormer's Ascot House, in Wing, Bucks, and Sir Richard Blount's, Mapledereham, Oxfordshire, to [meet the King at] Woodstock.”

It further appears from the present letter, that the Queen was officially attended on her progress by John Lord Harrington of Exton. The signature to the letter is that of Sir Henry Cary, Master of the Jewel-house at the time. His name, and that of Mr. Pigeon, appear at the foot of a Jewel-house document, printed in Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* vol. i. p. 607.

Plat for her grae service this pgrae to Woodstocke:

Basons ij.
Ewers ij.
Flagons for bere ij.
Flagons for wine ij.
Boles iiij.
Salts ij.
Spounes xij.
Candelsticks vj.

Mr Pidgeon—I praye fayle not to [*illegible*] these peells for her Grace's service, and lett this remayne with you for a warrant, that whensoever my Lord Harrington shall send for anything in the office you make no scruple of my absnee or farther privitye but deliver it as if my Lord Chamberlayn sent his warrant, and I will undertake to get it allowed afterwards.

Soc I rest

Y^r well wishing ffreind,

H. CARYE.

Maribone p'ke this

20th of August, 1612.

The first paper of Charles's reign is dated October 26, 1625, and consists of five pages, containing a minute description of each one of forty pieces of rich plate, “wonderful masterpieces of goldsmith's work.” All this great treasure is said to be given by the King's “express command to the Duke of Buckingham, and carried into Holland.” An enormous value is put upon it, 200,000*l.*

And there is no slip or mistake in these figures, for the same thing is repeated in several different papers, and once the value is given in words as well as in figures. Indeed, that the value of the Crown jewels was very great, and that this transaction was known and not approved of, is well put by Sir John Eliot, in his great speech in Parliament on the 27th of March, 1626 :—

That we might view [he says] that ancient garden, and those sweet flowers of the crown! That we might see them even what they are now become; and how, the enclosure being let down, it is made a common pasture! Would that such a commission might be granted, if only that we then could search for the treasures and jewels that were left by that ever blessed princess of never dying memory, Queen Elizabeth! Oh, those jewels! The pride and glory of this kingdom! which have made it so far shining before others! Would that they were here, within the compass of these walls, to be viewed and seen by us, to be examined in this place! Their very name and memory have transported me.—Forster's *Sir John Eliot*, 1864, vol. i. p. 523.

There are two patents, dated respectively the 7th and 16th December, 1 Car. 1625, in favour of George Duke of Buckingham and others, each containing the list of plate and jewels delivered out of the Jewel-house on the 26th October previous, of which list that among the Mildmay papers is doubtless a draft.^a These patents being printed, the first with the list as finally settled, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1726, vol. xviii. pp. 236 and 246, it seems superfluous to print a draft list now. The later patent authorised the pledging of the plate and jewels to the Lords of the United Provinces for 300,000*l.*^b

In *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, VIII. App. Pt. i. p. 209, is printed in full length a royal warrant, dated December 5, 1634, for a commission to Sir W. Boswell and Nathaniel Gerrard to redeem certain jewels remaining in Holland impawned for 13,000*l.* and yet unsold or undisposed of, to sell them, and with

^a The very interesting fact that two of these splendid pieces were at least as early as the time of Henry VIII. has been pointed out to me by our Fellow, Mr. Martin. He has informed me that "the cup of golde called 'the Dreame of Parris,'" and "the Salte of golde called the 'Morris Dance,'" are both described in the "Account of the Jewels delivered by the widow of Rob^t Amadas, late Master of the Jewels, to Tho^s Cromwell on his appointment in 1532."—*Chapter-house book*, $\frac{A}{\frac{6}{22}}$. Since Mr. Martin gave me this information I have myself examined the Inventory, but have not been able to identify any other pieces.

^b A patent dated 29th August, 5 Car. 1629, authorised the redemption of some of the jewels pledged in Holland out of the proceeds of the sale of some ordnance to the Lords of the United Provinces.—*Ibid.* vol. xix. p. 99.

the proceeds of sale to redeem certain other jewels there, worth 64,000*l.* All these jewels are said to be part of those entrusted to the Duke of Buckingham "in the first year of our reign to dispose of for taking up money in the Low Countries for our use."

It is certain, as Mr. Gardiner points out in the note below, that the project of 1625 was never carried out in its entirety.^a

The next step in the dispersion of the Crown jewels and plate is a sale authorised by patent under the Great Seal to take place at the Tower in 1626.

Two parcels of plate are sold, one of 20,000 ozs. the other of 20,325 ozs. A list of the latter remains among these papers, dated 25th August, being a draft of that printed, as finally settled, by Nichols in his *Manners and Expenses of Antient Times*, 1797.

In consequence of letters patent, dated 13th Sept. 2 Car. 1626, to Sir Henry Mildmay, for delivery of 20,000 ozs. or thereabouts of plate to John Acton, the King's goldsmith, indentures were made two days afterwards between those two persons on such delivery, mentioning the particular pieces and their weights. The indenture, signed by Mildmay and delivered to Acton, came into the possession of William Herrick, Esq. of Beaumanor, Leicestershire, who permitted it to be printed as above stated. It is well worth perusal.

There is "An Account of the Plate in general, total 22,737 : 3," dated 1626 ; whether made before or after the sale at the Tower does not appear. It contains no particulars of interest.

"A note taken out of the Jewel-house Book the last daie of January, 1632,

^a It appears from the despatches of Sir Dudley Carleton (*State Papers, Holland*) that it was found impossible to complete the transaction. Only a certain part of the plate was taken. In a paper in the Harleian MSS. 3796, fol. 27, it is stated that there were, in 1635, 40,000*l.* worth of jewels in pawn. There was a privy seal, dated December 15, 1635, for 47,500*l.*, for the redemption of jewels, and Job Harby, a London merchant, was employed to go into Holland to bring them back; and the following entry in the *Pells Declarations*, Mich. 1635-6, shows that the money was actually paid to him :

"Job Harby, merchant, on his account to be by him disbursed for the redempcion of such his Ma^ts Jewells as remaine impawned with divers merchants of Amsterdam and others in the Low Countries per breve dat. xvth Decembris, 1635 . . . 47,500*l.*" See also *State Papers, Dom.* 16 Dec. 1635.

As there is no entry of the money being repaid to the Exchequer we may conclude that the jewels were actually redeemed. It therefore follows that the statement in a letter of June 26, 1660—that "there is a Dutch ambassador coming over with very rich presents : a suit of gold plate, two of silver plate, and all the jewels of the crown that were pawned there" (*Hist. MSS. Report*, V. App. p. 154)—refers to a second pledging of the jewels at the time of the Civil War.—(S.R.G.)

of all the plate in the M^r's pⁿ." The weight is 3,410 ozs. Sir Henry Mildmay still had this plate, or a similar quantity, in his possession in 1649, and then paid the value of it to the Parliamentary Committee, and retained it as his own. No portion of it, however, is known to be now in the possession of the family. It was probably reclaimed by the Crown in 1660.

Plate delivered out of the office of the Jewel-house for the service of the Princesses, the King's children; the lists are merely of ordinary pieces for daily use, without special descriptions, and are headed and dated thus:—

- 1639, July 27. To Mrs. Susan Fulcher for the service of the Princess Elizabeth.
 To Mr. Robert Carr, page to the Princess Elizabeth.
1639. To Mrs. Conant for the Princess Anne, in the hands of the Lady Roseborrow.
 More of it the Countess of Dorset had as governess.
1639. To Mrs. Mary De la Gard for the Princess Mary.
 To Alexander Taylor, yeoman of the pantry to the Princess Mary.
 To William Langley, yeoman of the Princess's chaundry.
 To Jeremiah Gregory, yeoman of the field to the Princess.
- 1645, Nov. 21. Plate delivered out of the office of Jewel-house for the service of Henry Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth, by order of both Houses of Parliament, 11th Sept. 1645.
- 1645, Sept. 11th, and
 1645, 6, March 18th. } Delivered for the service of Henry Duke of Gloucester.
- 1646, { Aug. 30th. }
 { Oct. 29th. } For the service of the Duke of York.
 { Nov. 10th. }
- 1647, Sept. 29th. Taken out of the Jewel-house in the Tower by order of the Committee of Revenue for the service of His Majesty at Hampton Court.
- 1649, June 22nd. An account, signed by the Earl of Northumberland, of plate lost in the service of the King's children.

Plate delivered out of the Jewel-house of the charge of Sir Henry Mildmay (whose patent as Master began 1618):—

Plate to the value of 236,797*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* besides the Duke of Bucks.

25 July 1618.

Vicessimo quinto Julii xv Jacobi 1618. Given by his Ma^{tie} to Conde de Gondemer Amb^r Ledger from the king of Spaine in gilt plate of severall sorts parte of the charge of Sir Henry Mildmay of the Jewel House . . .

oz. dwt. grs.

1998 3 1

21 feeb. 1618.

Given by the Queen's Ma^{tie} 21st february xv Jacobi 1618 to be presented at the Christening of the Prince Palatine's second sonne one cupp and cover of gold

305 0 0

		oz.	dwt.	grs
17 ^o Jacobi 18 ^{g^{br}} 1618.	Given 18 ^o November xvij Jacobi 1618 to Pietro Contarini Amb ^r from the State of Venice in gilt plate	1500	0	0
13 ^o Dec. 1620.	Delivered to Mr. John Aston the king's goldsmith xij Dec. 1620 by warrant from Henry Viscount Mandeville Lord High Treasurer of England and the Vice Chancellor in gold plate	827	0	1
Eod ^m die et anno.	Delivered more then by that order in silver plate set with stones and garnished with mother of pearl	2818	3	1
22 Marcii 1622.	Delivered xxij Marcii 1622, to Sir Nowell Caron Knt. one of the Com[mis- sioners] of the States from the Low Countries in faire gilt plate	503	0	0
2 ^o Maii 1623.	Given the second of May 1623 by the kinge's owne hands to the Ladie Marquesse of Buckingham a cupp of gold and cover enameled with a cupp of Assay suitable oz. 7966 : 3 : 1	14	0	0
2 ^o Maii 1623.	Delivered and given by his Ma ^{tie} the ij of May 1623 to Baron Dona Amb ^r from the Kinge of Bohemia in fayer gilt plate	1504	0	0
16 Nov. 1624.	Given by the King's Ma ^{tie} 16 Nov. 1624 to one Bonner keeper of the silk- worms, one gilt cupp and cover	17	0	0
5 April 1625.	Given by his Ma ^{tie} to the Earl of Kelly v ^o Aprill 1625 severall parcells of plate used in the Kinge's bedchamber at the time of his death	381	3	0
10 Junii 1625.	Delivered to the Kinge's owne hands x Junii 1625 a standish of silver gilt curiously wrought	49	0	0
28 Nov. 1625.	Delivered xxvij November 1625 to the Duke of Buckingham by the Kinge's express comānds divers parcels of gold plate sett with stones by Indenture under the Duke's owne hand. <i>Valued at least to bee worth the some of 200,000l.</i>			
11 Junii 1626.	Delivered to the King's Ma ^{tie} and by him given to the Queen xi Junii 1626 one cupp and cover of christall ovall fashion with two lipps and yeares of gold and a ringe of christall	27	0	0
Eod ^m die et anno.	Delivered then to his Ma ^{tie} and by him given to the Queene one bowle of christall with a cover garnished with gold	20	0	0
Eod ^m die et anno.	Delivered then to his Majestic and by him given to the Queene a broken cupp of christall with a cover of gold garnished with ffroggs and wasps and dayzies and flowers in the topp of the cover	12	0	0
13 September 1626.	Delivered by vertue of the Kinge's L ^{res} Patents dated the xij day of Sep- tember 1626 to Mr. John Acton goldsmith to the Kinge in silver and gilt plate	20,022	0	1 ^a
28 Decem. 1626.	Delivered xxvij December 1626 to his Ma ^{ties} own hande a silver standish with a drawer, box and dust box	83	3	0
13 Oct. 1626.	Delivered by vertue of the Kinge's Letters Patents dated xij Oct. 1626 to John Acton goldsmith to the Kinge in silver and gilt plate in divers parcells	20,003	0	0 ^b
12 ffebr. 1628.	Delivered to William Kirke, given him by a warrant under the Kinge's owne hand xij ffebruary 1628 in silver plate of severall parcells	397	19	0

^{a b} The two parcels mentioned two pages back.

		oz.	dwt.	grs.
	Given by his Ma ^{tie} owne hands to the Queene xxix of September 1629 one faier silver basket of wyer worke with the Kinge's armes in y ^e bottome	414	0	0
Eod ^m die et anno.	Given then by his Ma ^{tie} owne hand to the Queene one gilt shipp and cover with a manikin on the topp	411	3	1
13 Julii 1630.	Given xiiij July 1630 to Collonell Daniell Dumaney sent from the Kinge of Sweden one chayne and meddall of gold	58	8	0
24 July 1632.	Given by his Ma ^{tie} xxiiij July 1632 to the Lady Mary Crofts in faire gilt plate	1750	0	0
24 Nov. 1634.	Given by his Ma ^{tie} warrant dated xxiiij Nov. 1634 to Sir Henry Wotton knt. severall parcells of gilt plate	715	1	1
	Delivered by his Ma ^{ties} warrant dated xi July 1638 to Henry Lawton Clerke of the Kinge's Closet two altar candlesticks	57	3	0
30 April 1641.	Given by the Kinge to the Princess Mary at her marriage with the Prince of Orange a castinge bottle of christall garnished with gold rubies and diamonds and a chayne with letters AR.	8	0	0

A list for the Parliamentary Trustees to aid them in recovering such of the King's plate and jewels as were outstanding in the hands of various persons:—

23 Nov. 1649.

This Lyst delv^d in to y^e Trustees for Sale of y^e K. Goods.

Plate belonging to y^e late King, remayning in the hands of the severall persons heerafter mençoned. Taken out of y^e Jewel-house.

			oz.	dwt.	grs.
Indent.	Mr. G. Kirke, Gent. of y ^e Robes.				
May 1635.	A collar of gold of y ^e Order	po3.	35	0	0
	A George of gold garnished w th dyamonds		7	2	2
April 1635.	Sent back from Sweden.				
	A collar of gold of y ^e Order contayninge 23 roses and 23 knotts.				
	A George of gold set all over with faire dyamonds.				
	A lesser George of gold sett all over on both sides w th dyamonds.				
	A garter, richly set with dyamonds.				
May 15 1620.	The Earl of Annandell.				
	A silver standish w th drawers	po3.	78	1	8
	A gilt standish	po3.	34	2	0
	One standish of gold presented to y ^e King by y ^e Countesse of Oxford	po3.	35	0	0
	A collar and George of gold, set w th stones		42	2	2

					oz. dwt. grs.	
	One standish of silver	.	.	.	.	. 78 1 2
	One gilt standish	.	.	.	.	. 34 2 0
						} produced.

4 March 1641.

The Lord Fawkland, Secretary.

	A bason and ewer, 2 p ^r of flaggons, a pott, a gilt bole, 2 candlesticks, a salt,				oz. dwt. grs.	
	12 trencher plates, 12 spoones, 14 dishes	.	.	.	poz.	992 1 0

6 Aug. 1641.

Sir Peter Wich, Comptroller.

	In plate and vessels, by y ^e hands of M ^r R ^t Squib, his secretary	1307 2 0
--	---	---	---	---	---	----------

20 Dec. 1641.

The Lord Savile, Tre^r.

	Twenty dishes and one pott	1089 3 0
--	----------------------------	---	---	---	---	----------

Mr W. Rosse and
Th^o Grant hands
or it.

Sir J^o Burrowes, K. at Armes.

1636.	A crowne of gold	.	.	.	.	poz. 22 0 0
	A chaine of gold	.	.	.	.	6 0 0
	A jewel of gold and garnished	.	.	.	.	3 21 17

1628.

The Earle of Dorset as L^d Chamberlain to y^e Q.

	Three dozen of trencher plats	482 0 0
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1628.

The Countesse of Dorset, as governess to the y^e Duke of Yorke.

	In plate	267 1 0
--	----------	---	---	---	---	---------

The Earle of Holland, Groom of y^e Stoole.

	Eighteene silver dishes of severall sorts	1004 14 0
--	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

1619.

Lord Wootton, Ambassador to Venice.

	In plate	715 0 0
--	----------	---	---	---	---	---------

1624.

Sir Isaac Wake, Ambassador to Venice.

	In plate	711 0 0
--	----------	---	---	---	---	---------

The Lord Moreton.

	Lent him 6 silver dishes	261 3 0
--	--------------------------	---	---	---	---	---------

1619.

The Earle of Munmoth.

	A rapier hilt chape and handle of gold	.	.	.	poz.	17 1 18
--	--	---	---	---	------	---------

To M^r Th^o Watkins, for y^e service of y^e Prince of Orange.

	In plate, 7 trencher plates	118 0 0
--	-----------------------------	---	---	---	---	---------

1619.

To y^e L^d Chamberlin Pembroke.

	A folding table covered all over with silver plate ingraven.					Without weight.
--	--	--	--	--	--	-----------------

		oz.	
A gilt standish, with boxes and counters, w ^{out} w ^{ght} .			
A fountain of silver gilt cont. a bason with 3 satyrs y ^e one a woman w th a flagg po3. 376 3 0			
My lord produceth a full discharge under y ^e hands of Fr. Layton and Aston upon y ^e payment of 150 <i>l</i> . to J ^o Acton.			
1645.	To y ^e E. of Northumberland and lost in service	212	0 0
Mr. E ^d Aston charge an officer in y ^e Jewel-house.			
June 1640.	Suffolk cup and cover	25	0 0
	A cup of assay of gold	5	3 2
	A gold salt	16	2 2
	A gold cup and cover	35	0 0
And many others, chiefly members of the Household.			
<i>Note at the end:—</i>			

Ye pticulers dd in to y ^e Trustees, 28 Dec. 1649.			
In gold plate	314	3 2	} Valued at 1000 <i>l</i> . in money 7300 <i>l</i> .
In silver plate	29150	1 0	

Two statements concerning the royal plate and jewels drawn up in reference to the inquiry by the Parliamentary Trustees:—

An Abstract and Collection of Plate taken out of Sir Hen' Mildmay's office of Jewel-house by several order & command of K. James & y^e late K. Charles.

		£	s.	d.
30 Dec. 1620.	A warrant to deliver severall p'cells of gold & silver plate appoynted by y ^e king to be sold. To y ^e valewe of	1731	18	0
This was but a remanet of Two other p'cells formerly delivered out, as appears by y ^e s ^d warrant.				
1 Charoli 1625.	A warrant under the K. hand to S. Hen. Mildmay to deliver to y ^e Duke of Buckingham the gold plate set w th rich stones Jewels being y ^e cheifest parte of y ^e Treas ^r remaying in his hands. To y ^e valewe as is conceaved of	200,000	0	0
<i>oz.</i>				
2 ^o Charoli 1626. 15 Sept.	A warrant to deliv ^r out of y ^e plate remaying in his charge, to be sold	20,000		
20 Jan. 2 Charoli.	A warrant to Sir Hen. Mildmay to deliver to y ^e goldsmith plate in his charge to be sold	20,323		
Which was done.				
3 warrants to Sir Hen Mildmay to discharge several persons		} E. of Kelly 381 0 0 Mr G. Kirke 397 0 0 Hen. Lawton 50 0 0		
y ^t had plate in th ^r hands, viz.:				

		oz.
1634.	Delivered to y ^e Lords Commission ^r & to y ^e K ^s Attorney y ^e names of several persons y ^t had plate in their hands taken out of y ^e Jewel-house to be psecuted in the Exchequer to y ^e valewe of	10,304
	And in gold plate	90 2 0
1644.	Taken out of Sir Hen Mild: office by order of Parl ^t to be sold to pay y ^e sould ^s at Abbington	lb. wt. 500

The six Spanish Candlesticks & 500^l. w^t in gilt plate. oz. dwt. grs.

1650.	Delivered in a lyst to y ^e Trustees of plate to several persons taken out of y ^e office	}	In gold plate	314 3 0
			In silver plate	29,150 0 0
1651.	An addiconall lyst delivered in to y ^e Trustees of plate belonging to y ^e office	}	In gold plate	82 2 0
			In silver plate	12,923 0 0

Severall other pcells of gold & silver plate hath been given away by y^e King's owne hands to y^e Queene and other ladyes some of w^h there is no discharge for other pcells may be found discharged in y^e office rolls w^h requires a long & diligent search.

There was a great ppeon of plate given out for y^e service of y^e King in his journey towards Scotland anno 1641. As also at his going away from London to Yorke 1642 w^h is credebly beleaved was never all set downe in charge upon any pson. Because two of y^e officers went away, one of them in y^e lifeguard to y^e King, the other stayed a while & then met y^e K at Oxford & there died. So that it is not possible to know what plate or books of discharge hath been conveyed away. Thereby utterly to disable Sir Hen. Mild: from making a ptticular accompt.

There have been these severall officers in y^e Jewel-house since S^r Hen. Mild: was y^e M^r of it. For whose fidelity it is hard to answer.

- | | |
|--|---|
| M ^r Pigeon
M ^r Rob ^t Hazard
M ^r Fran. Layton
M ^r Car. Mildmay
M ^r Chelsham | . . . Robinson
Sir Rob ^t Seymer
M ^r Cranmore
M ^r E ^d Aston
M ^r Wright
M ^r Acton
M ^r Williams } Goldsmiths. |
|--|---|

Many office books and papers are missinge for in these tymes y^e office was common to all sorts, it being made a suckling house for y^e souldery at their first coming to London: and had they knowne of any plate of y^e King within y^e office noe question but it would have been judged good plunder.

Sir H. Mildmay after due allowance for waste is charged with 4344 oz. 1 dwt. 0 gr.

Oct. 1649. Y^e Trustees took away all y^e plate in y^e Jewel-house at Whithall, Sir H. Mildmay himself being thⁿ present.

Sept. 1649. Sir H. Mild. letter of command to me to deliver up all y^e plate in y^e office at y^e Tower & Whithall to y^e Trustees or my keyes.

- 25 Sept. 1649. A warrant from y^e Trustees to deliv up my keys of y^e Tower to them I refusing they committed me to y^e Fleete.
- 18 & 19 Feb. 1649. 2 orders from y^e Trustees to me to deliver up y^e office books & records.
19. Ordered that Sir H. Mild. send in y^e office books & treasure in his hand to y^e Trustees & that he command his officers & servants to attend them with it.
- 3 Jan. 1651. Orders to Sir H. Mildmay to deliver up y^e indent^o of y^e office.
- 30 Jan. An order to Sir H. Mildmay to deliver up y^e indent^o of y^e office.
- 10 Oct. 1651. An order to Sir H. Mildmay to bring all y^e books & papers to Trustees.
- 23 Nov. 1652. An order for me personally to appeere & bring in all y^e Jewel-house books.
- Ult. Nov. 1652. A peremtory order to me to bring in y^e books.
1641. 26 indent^s delivered in to M^r Bechamp's clarke of y^e committee. By their order.

Plate of the late King in y^e office of Jewel-house for y^e use of the Counsel of State by order of Parl^t.

By order of Parl^t 1649 there was left in y^e office of Jewel-house for y^e use of
y^e Counsel of State severall parcells of plate to y^e value of 1023 0 0
oz. dwt. gr.

And one great Bible covered with silver gilt valued at 0 0 0

The Bible by (the order) was delivered in by order to y^e Counsell of State.

The other parcels of plate of divers sorts, viz. candlesticks & flaggons. Potts
g^t to y^e valew of 1023 oz. weare by order of y^e Counsell dated 3 Octob^r 1653
given & allowed unto me in liewe of a debt of 1047l. 4s. 0d. due unto me from y^e
late King at Michael. 1649. By an order of Parl. 1649, y^e Trustees £6500 0 0

Plate & jewels of y^e late K. J. G. Taken out of the Jewel-house by y^e Trustees
at Somerset House & by oth. by ord. of Parl^t Goldsmiths' Hall £3000 0 0

June 1649. Plate for y^e use of y^e K. child by order of y^e Committee of Revenue to y^e La.
Leicester for y^e use of y^e late K. children at S^t James House & after at Harborrow
Castle 406 0 0
oz.

Oct. 1644. Plate pawned for 3000l. to y^e Com. at Goldsmiths' Hall worth as much more . £3000 0 0

Plate in y^e hands of severall Lords & other great officers of state servants of y^e
household to a very great valew. oz. dwt. gr.

In y^e Goldsmith's hand, W. J^o Acton 1109 0 2

More in a gold chaine 40 0 0

As for any other y^e goods of y^e late K. reserved for sale I have none in my custody or charge
nor know I any employed in y^e service of his Highness y^e Lord Protector of y^e Commonwealth.
But I bet there are other goods & plate of the late K. & Q. not yet accompted for, w^h may be a
great releife to y^e creditors & servants.

Certificates in favour of Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Carew Hervey Mildmay
in reference to the royal plate and jewels and an extract from a memorandum
of Mr. Mildmay's services :—

Sir H. Mildmay's Certificate from y^e Trustees.

These are humbly to certifie that Sir Henry Mildmay K^{nt} Master of y^e Jewel-house according to the Act of Parl^t for sale of y^e late King's goods hath caused to bee delivered unto us Trustees the King's & Queen's crowns & also one other crowne called Edward the Sixt, likewise gold & silver plate with divers vessels of christall & aggots &c. belonging as aforesaid valued by us at 20,320*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*; together with 15 parcells of rich plate w^h we are certified was by order of Parl^t dd. into Gouldsmith's Hall for y^e securinge 3000*l.* in money for y^e use of y^e publike w^h were by his faithfulness and care preserved in y^e late times of trouble: he hath likewise paid into y^e treasury for sale of y^e s^d goodes y^e sum of 1001*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* in full satisfaction for y^e plate as he is Master of y^e Jewel-house beeloning to his table: he hath also cheerefully taken great paines in searching & causing to be searched y^e books of y^e said Office for indentures & charges of plate owing by divers late Courte officers & severall other persons & caused them all to be delivered unto us amounting unto 54,759 ozs. 1 dwt. 0 gr. in silver & gilt plate & 373 ozs. 1 dwt. 0 gr. of gould plate in y^e performance of w^h wee humbly conceave he hath done soe careful & considerable a service to the comonwealth as we cannot but in justice present it he hath likewise further so exprest his uprightness and sincere discharge of y^e s^d trust voluntarily taken his oath before us that beyond what he hath dd. to the two late Kings & for their use & by order of Parl^t unto us & paid for in money & returned in plate hee knows not of one ounce of plate y^e vallew of it owinge to y^e s^d office.

. . . . you that he hath delivered in by order from y^e Parl^t in

Apparently a rough copy, with several erasures and interlineations.

Certificate presented by the Trustees Somerset House to Parl^t that Carew Mildmay hath served the late King & Parliament in y^e office of y^e Jewel-house for 25 years last past, the which place was worth unto him for wages, bord wages, liverye, & New Yeaere's gifts, y^e summe of 129*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* of constant allowances, besides all other just belonging to y^e s^d place. We likewise certify that he hath not received any money since Michael^s 1640, nor any part of his wages since Mich. 1642, so that there is due unto him at Mich. 1649, 1,047*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* Wee likewise certify that wee found in his custody in y^e Lower Jewel-house in gilt & white plate to the value of 16,496*l.*, which is employed for y^e use of y^e state. All which plate we humbly conceve was by his care & faithfulness preserved, he staying & faithfully serving y^e Parliament when the rest of his fellows deserted the Parliament & went to y^e Kinge. All w^h hath made his trust, charge, and attendance farre greater since the beginning of y^e warre than formerly. As for his good affection to & suffering for y^e Parl^t we humbly certify y^t hee from y^e beginning freely served y^e Parl^t in all eminent places of trust in y^e country, both civil and military, at his owne charge, readily observing all their orders & comānds & voluntarily bent upon the proposi 1642, in money & plate y^e summe of 382*l.*, besides large contribution for England & Ireland. Lastly, wee humbly certify y^t hee hath not only served y^e aforesaid Treasury of plate, but hath by his industry

y their orders
before 1642.

& paines discovered great quantities of plate concealed in y^e hands of others to a considerable valew, w^h may be recovered for y^e use of y^e State.

Somerset House,
Feb. 1649.
Vera Copia.

Michal. 1642. 155 4 0.
,, 1649. 892.

JOHN FFOCHE.	JO. HUMPHRY.
HENRY CREECH.	H. MILDMAI.
RALF GRAFTON.	JO. BELCHAMP.
DAVID POWELL.	J. LEMPRIÈRE.

Certificate of Coll. Mannering.

I doe hereby certify whome it may concerne that Carew Harvey al^s Myldmay of Marke in y^e county of Essex Esq. did upon severall Ordinances of Parl^t lend these severall somes following: On y^e 5th of July 1642 by plate & money payd to the treasurer att Guildhall the some of 60*l.* for which he had a receipt in the name of M^r Francis Harvey his sonne

	£	s.	d.
Francis Harvey his sonne	60	0	0

On the 6th August 1642 by horse and armes valued by the commissary at 30*l.* for which hee tooke a receipt in the name of the said ffrancis Harvey

	30	0	0
--	----	---	---

On the 8th Sept. 1642 by plate and money paid att Guildhall in the name of y^e saide ffrancis Harvey al^s Mildmay

	50	0	0
--	----	---	---

And on 19 June 1644 for releivinge of the countyes of Radnor Hereford & Monmouth in the name of the s^d ffrancis Harvey al^s Mildmay the some of

	2	0	0
--	---	---	---

All of w^h s^d severall somes of money together with interest due for the same amountinge to the some of 190*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* were doubled upon the Ordinance of Parl^t of 16 Nov. 1646 for the appointing the sale of Bpps lands ffor w^h the treasurers appointed by the s^d Ordinance have given their receipt as by severall certificates & receipts remaininge in my hands appeares. Given under my hand 14 Jan^{ry} A.D. 1649.

ROBT. MANNERING.

Extract from Mem. of C. II. Mildmay's Services.

"That your Petičon^r was then necessitated often to petition the pretended Par^t & their Counsell for his arreares of wages due unto him before his Mat^{ies} death out of such monie as was raised by y^e sale of y^e s^d plate and goods (as other of y^e poore servants of his Ma^{tie}). And after 4 yeares solicitation 3 Oct. 1653 it was ordered by y^e then Counsell that y^e plate reserved for their owne use should be allowed y^r Petičon^r w^h was valewed att 250*l.* in liewe of 1047*l.* w^h was made appeare to be then dewe w^h your Petičon^r was forced to accept of rather than to loose all. But as soone as this glorious sunshine day appeared in bringing his Royal Ma^{tie} to his Throne, y^r Petičon^r immediately resolved to bring again into y^e office of Jewel-house y^e s^d plate in kind. And that verie same day he brought in a good part of it, and had taken order for pviding y^e remainder with all speed had not Col. Halley and Coll. Loc peured a warrant from his Ma^{ty} to receive y^e value of y^e plate in money —"

State Papers, Dom. 1653, July 25, "Council of State" (19); Oct. 3, "C. of S." (7).

Two receipts for clocks taken from the Jewel-house at Whitehall, by order of the Parliamentary Trustees, soon after King Charles's death:—

18^o die february 1649.

Rec^d then by vertue of this order one Clocke with divers mo^ons, two Globes, one Case for a Clocke and a Glasse, one Bullet Clocke, one Clocke with five Bells & one other Clocke, all w^h were lying at Whithall late in the charge of David Ramsy. Witness our hands,

THOMAS GREENE.

JOSEPH MASHAM.

Rec^d the 18th of febr^y one other Clocke in a Bow by vertue of this order w^h with those above men^oned were all that were left at the Jewel-house by the above-named David Ramsey.

THOMAS GREENE.

JOSEPH MASHAM.

In *Archaeologia*, vol. xv. p. 271, was printed (from a MS. then (1804) in the possession of the Rev. John Brand, Secretary of the Society) a series of Inventories, forming a return made by the Parliamentary Trustees in or soon after 1649. The documents are as follows :—

(1.) An Inventory of the Plate in the Lower Jewel-house of the Tower in the custody of Mr. Carew Mildmay, taken 13th Aug. 1649. (2.) An Inventory of the Plate and Jewels, including the Regalia, in the Upper Jewel-house of the Tower, in the charge of Sir Henry Mildmay, taken 13th, 14th, and 15th Aug. 1649 (exclusive of an Inventory of the Plate in the Whitehall Jewel-house, delivered to the Council 3rd Aug. 1649). (3.) An Inventory of part of the Regalia removed from Westminster to the Tower Jewel-house. (4.) An Inventory of part of the Regalia in an iron chest in Westminster Abbey. (5.) An Inventory of several things remaining in Somerset House Closet in Mr. Browne's charge.

In *The Antiquarian Repertory*, ed. 1807, vol. i. p. 79, was printed an "Inventory of Plate in the Upper Jewel-house in the Tower, 15th August, 1649, from a loose sheet among Mr. Aubrey's MS. Collections relating to North Wilts, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxon. Communicated by T. Astle, Esq., F.R.S. and F.A.S." This document is but another form of part of the *Archaeologia* Inventory (2) in *Archaeologia*, vol. xv. p. 285. The King's crown, the Queen's crown, King Edward the Sixth's crown, the globe, two sceptres, and the bracelets, are described and valued, and this note is added :—" N.B.—Colonel John Dove, of Surry, kept, in his chamber at the Middle Temple, the book of the King's plate and jewels. I transcribed this of the crown, for which Mr. Simpson, &c. were much beholden to me when King Charles the Second's crown was made.— J. AUBREY."

Among the Mildmay papers are drafts or notes from which this return was made up, incidentally informing us that the Whitehall Jewel-house, as well as the Lower Tower Jewel-house, was in the charge of Mr. Carew Mildmay, and

that the return was delivered to the Council of State in 165 $\frac{2}{3}$. There is also the following memorandum :—

Y^e Trustees names who took away the King's plate out of the Jewel-house, both at Whitehall and in the Tower.

25 Sept.
1649.

Geo. Withers.	}	The keys of y ^e Tower to be deliv ^d to th ^m .
Anth. Mildmay.		
P ^h Carteret.		
J ^o Forche.		
J ^o Belcampe.		
Hen. Creech.		
Ralph Grafton.		
David Powel.		
J ^o Humphreys.		

There are some points of difference between the account of the regalia in the Mildmay MS. and that in the fifteenth volume of *Archaeologia*, p. 271, and one quoted by the Rev. W. L. Blackley in a letter in *The Times* of Jan. 29, 1879, from a MS. of G. Vertue in the British Museum.

The King's and the Queen's crown are the same in all three lists. But a crown called King Edward's crown, valued at 428*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* is only mentioned in the Mildmay list. The gold however of this crown is of exactly the same value, 73*l.* 16*s.*, as a "small crown" in the *Archaeologia* list; and the jewels in King Edward's crown are of the same value, 355*l.*, as the diamonds, &c., which are given as a separate item in the Vertue list.

IX.—*New Points in the History of Roman Britain, as illustrated by Discoveries at Warwick Square, in the City of London.* By ALFRED TYLOR, ESQ., F.G.S., &c.

Read May 5, 1881.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this Paper is to describe certain Roman remains discovered in the year 1881 during extensive alterations on the premises of Messrs. J. Tylor and Sons (of which firm the writer is a member) in Warwick Square, adjoining the last of the three successive Roman walls of London, and near one of the gates of that wall (Newgate), and to draw therefrom certain conclusions as to the state in which Britain was found by the Romans, and the nature and object of their occupation. The more important of the points discussed are six in number. They relate to :

1st. The origin and growth of London, which the writer thinks was primarily built to guard the ferry across the Thames.

2nd. The British origin of the art of lead-working, a department of ancient British industry hitherto unnoticed.

3rd. The Roman occupation being connected principally with the development of an ancient mineral industry, to supply the wants of Imperial Rome, and not with mere agricultural colonisation.

4th. London being not so much the shipping-port of Britain as the junction of land-routes to and from the shipping-ports north and south of the Thames.

5th. Bembridge, Culver, and Brading district, in the Isle of Wight, being for the first time identified as the Ictis of the ancients, formerly an island and peninsula, and by name and position as part of the Island Vectis answering the description of Diodorus Siculus.

6th. The Mithraic or Pagan character of certain symbols, many of which have been referred to the Christian religion.

A great deal of the argument turns upon the question how far the prehistoric state of Britain affected the historic civilisation of the Romans.

II.—SITE OF THE ROMAN REMAINS.

The ground upon which the Roman remains were found became the property of the great Warwick family in the Middle Ages.^a

The Warwicks resided in Warwick Square and Warwick Lane during their great prosperity, on the east side of the city wall, which bounded the property. They had on the west or south-west of the wall a turret or tower,^b by which they had access from Warwick Lane to the street outside, now called the Old Bailey, without going through the "new" gate. In rebuilding we have erected a campanile tower 150 feet high near this spot, on a line passing through the centre of Cheapside. The city wall, bounding the Warwick property, passed through what is now the prison of Newgate.

The ground is about 1,360 yards west of Gracechurch Street, which, I suggest, was the first western boundary of London. Its level is 59 feet 4 inches above Ordnance datum.

Its section is represented in Pl. X. and is as follows :

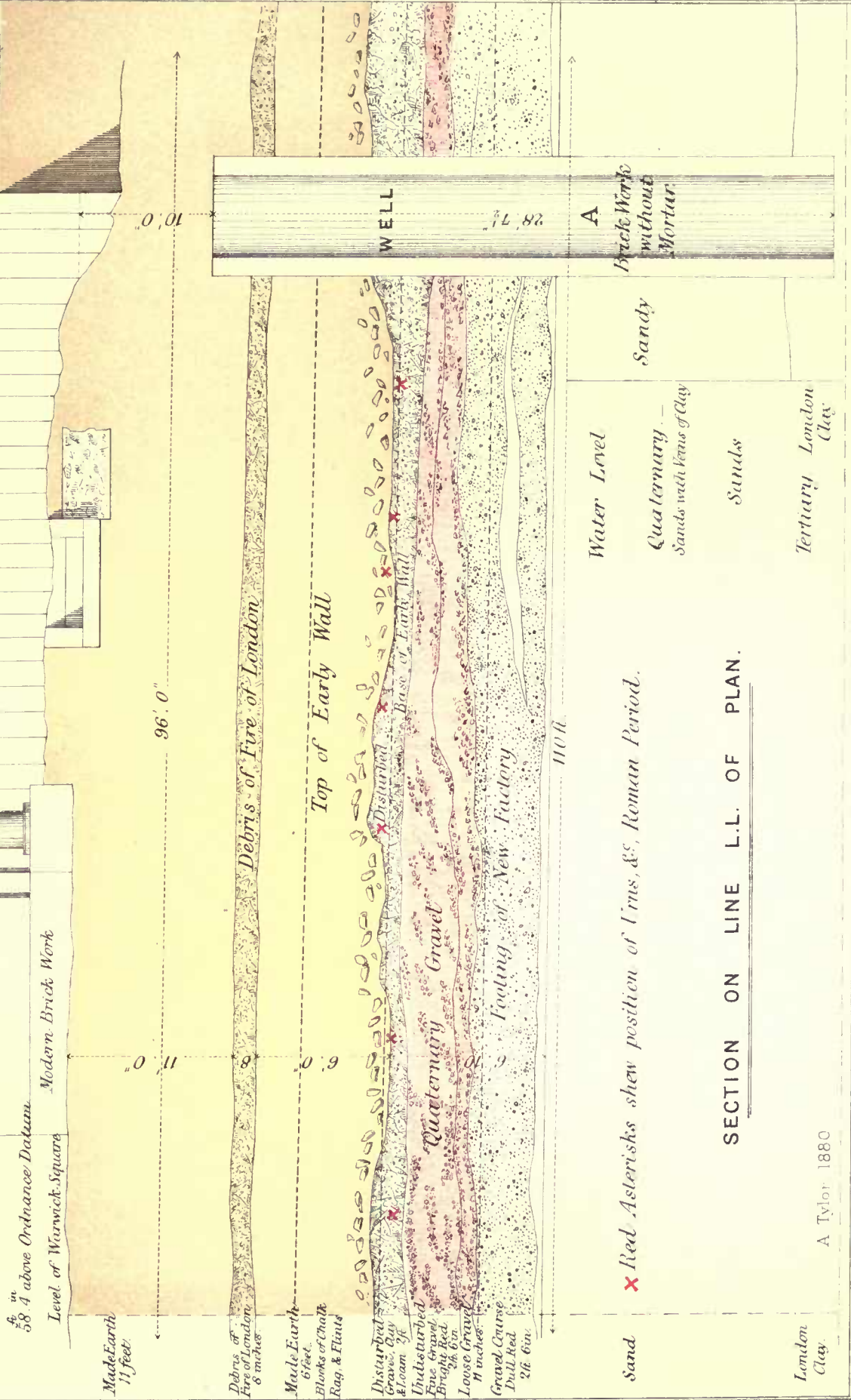
	Feet.	Inches.
1. Made earth	11	0
2. Débris of the Fire of London	0	8
3. Made earth, with blocks of chalk, rag, and flints at base	6	0
4. Disturbed gravel, clay, and loam	2	0
5. Quaternary gravel, undisturbed, fine bright red	2	6
6. Loose gravel	0	11
7. Dull red gravel	2	6
8. Quaternary sands with veins of clay		
9. London clay		

The chalk is here at a depth of 256 feet.

^a The site passed to the College of Physicians in 1667, and afterwards to the Tylor family in 1827. It adjoins property which belongs to the Church, and has been let at the same rent for 600 years, fines being taken.

^b See MSS. in Record Office, 15.

EXCAVATIONS IN WARWICK SQUARE 1880



Red Asterisks show position of Urns, &c., Roman Period.

The débris of the Fire of London, No. 2, forms a very regular dark bed about 11 feet from the surface.

The Roman remains were found at a depth of from 18 to 19 feet, in disturbed gravel No. 4. This gravel, known as the "covering bed,"^a had been temporarily removed in order to get at a bed of brick-earth which lay immediately beneath. At the rebuilding of St. Paul's, traces of brickworks were found, and St. Paul's probably stands on the site of an old temple. This brick-earth the Romans had evidently, by the position of the moved gravel, worked out at this spot for brick-making, the gravel being thrown back again when the brick-earth was removed, as is the practice to this day in modern brickfields. Doubtless the bricks made here were used on the spot for the Roman wall. This gravel yielded no prehistoric remains, but a flint implement of palæolithic type was found in gravel of the same age in Gray's Inn Lane, early in the last century, and was figured in Hearne's Pref. to Leland's *Collectanea* (1715), vol. i. p. lxxv. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. (1860), Pl. xvi., and Evans's *Stone Implements* (1872), p. 522. The brick-earth is continuous with and of the same age as that containing elephant's bones at Clapton, Highbury, Balls Pond, and Hackney. On the surface of this bed I found a palæolithic flint implement at Highbury, in the year 1868,^b associated with freshwater shells, among which at Hackney was *Cyrena fluminalis*, now living only in the Nile and India.^c In No. 4 we have, therefore, the original level of the land at the time of the Roman occupation, and the bones of our conquerors are buried in a deposit which belongs to the human era, but to an early portion of it. The base of the Roman wall rests upon this stratum.

III.--DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMAN REMAINS.

The Roman remains were in all cases carefully noted with respect to position and depth, and their sites are marked upon the accompanying Plan, Pl. XI. and upon other sections which are not published.

Stone Vase.—A magnificent stone vase (Pl. XII. fig. 4) was found at the point marked 8 in the Plan. Its height is 2 feet 3 inches, and the handles are formed out of the solid stone. It is peculiarly interesting as showing clear proofs of having been turned in a pole^d-lathe. It was found close to a leaden ossuarium.

^a So named by A. Tylor, *Geol. Soc. Quart. Journ.* 1869, vol. xxv. p. 96.

^b Evans's *Stone Implements*, p. 525.

^c Discovered by S. B. J. Skertchley in 1865.

^d A survival of the form of bow-drill, or fire-making drill.

The material seems to be a porphyry or serpentine, but I have seen no vase of similar shape or of similar material in any museum, and although a similar rock, the *verde di prado*, is largely used at Florence and elsewhere, no ancient examples of porphyry or serpentine vases are known, except of Egyptian origin. As a similar rock occurs near St. Davids, the vase may be of British origin and workmanship. It was full of calcined bones and contained a coin of Claudius I., described in Appendix A. Mr. A. W. Franks of the British Museum points out that this coin being a solitary one indicates the date, and so we are enabled to fix the date of this and the adjoining interments at some time in the first century.

Leaden Ossuaria.—Four leaden ossuaria were found near to the stone vase. They are all made of lead, cast flat and bent round into cylinders, the edges being joined by the blow-pipe without solder. Writers speak sometimes of ossuaria being formed of rolled lead, but this is an error, rolling being a process unknown to the ancients, and first invented in England in the sixteenth century. The Romans, however, in common with many ancient races, perfectly understood the art of casting and use of the blow-pipe.^a

The coffin or ossuarium represented in Pl. XII. fig. 2,^b has upon it an ornament known as the *reel pattern*. This pattern is found on all the coffins of this age that I have seen, and is always so placed as to act as a support or rib, and is, furthermore, cast hollow to save metal. Its position strengthens the flat top or sides of the coffin. In modern engineering the lattice-bracing is placed diagonally in all cases, and is clearly a survival from Roman work; but even barbarous races design lattice-work of bamboo for bridges, &c., upon true mechanical principles. This ossuarium has a figure of Sol in his quadriga cast on the outside, and it contained a glass vase of the best workmanship, with double handles (fig. 1). The vase was full of calcined bones.

Plate XII. fig. 3, is a leaden ossuarium, ornamented with plain circlets.

The chief interest of another leaden ossuarium lies in an eight-rayed star, cast on the inside of the flat bottom (Pl. XII. fig. 5). This, I shall presently endeavour to show, proves the coffin to contain the bones of a worshipper of Mithras.

A number of funeral urns of ordinary Durobrivian or of Upchurch pottery

^a For leaden coffins and ossuaria, see Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, 1854, vol. iii. p. 46, and 1880, vol. vii. p. 170. Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, Rouen, 1854, and *Mémoire sur les Cercueils de Plomb dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age*, Rouen, 1870-71.

^b Found at "1 and 7" on the plan.

were found on a similar level to the above relics, and coins dating from A.D. 40 to A.D. 330 occurred in the disturbed gravel, a list of which coins will be given in Appendix A.

About a hundred feet west of where these relics were found, we some years ago came upon a piece of Roman brick-work, part of the city wall. There were numerous foundation walls of chalk with bricks from older walls of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The above, and three specimens of true Samian ware, are the most important of the relics.

IV.—ROMAN LONDON.

a. Its Strategic and Commercial Position.—The date of the founding of Roman London is not exactly known. We may assume from the evidence of the roads through Kent and Hampshire and to the North of England, and from the absence of special London coins or traditions of its existence, that Londinium was practically a new town founded some time after the visit of Julius Cæsar to Britain, B.C. 54. The first site of Roman London appears to have been fixed at the most convenient point for passing, and guarding the ferry or bridge over the Thames, and for keeping up the direct communication between Eboracum (York) and Rome. Thus from its important strategical position Londinium became the southern capital. York, probably an old British city, was doubtless chosen as the northern capital because it commanded the northern lead district of Alston Moor, and some southern Yorkshire lead-mines. The great road between Italy and the Roman Wall of Antoninus in North Britain was through these two cities *via* Gessoriacum (Boulogne) and Dubris (Dover).

b. Leadenhall Market.—That the first great building in London was close to the ferry over the Thames, where old London Bridge stood at the beginning of this century, is proved by the recent discovery of a Roman basilica. This was placed close to Gracechurch Street, and nearly at right angles to the Thames at London Bridge. The foundation walls were 12 feet thick, 130 feet long, 40 feet apart, and there was a circular apse at the southern end. This spot afterwards became the site of Leadenhall Market; hence we see that the Roman forum or market has been continued to our time, for it appears that this particular piece of ground has never been private property.

c. Growth of the City.—No funeral relics have been found between Gracechurch Street and the Tower. This area then seems to me to have been the site of the original city, whose western boundary wall we may thus place near Gracechurch Street, and the eastern wall near Tower Hill.

The second extension of the city westwards was to Wall-Brook, an increase of 455 yards, and the third and last to the Old Bailey near Ludgate and Newgate, a further increase of 930 yards. It was part of this third wall that was found on our premises.

The third wall was so placed as to command the Fleet Valley, and to make the Fleet river, then an important stream, serve as a moat to the Roman city wall. Most probably a Roman castle stood at the angle where the rivers Thames and Fleet join, forming the western protection of the city, just as the Tower commanded the eastern extremity. Nothing now remains to mark the exact site of this western castle; but a Norman fortress, Baynard's Castle, probably succeeded^a the Roman structure in the same place. This castle is well known to history, a small portion still remains in a building now occupied by the Carron Company, and gives its name to Castle Baynard Ward. The importance of the Fleet river in early times is proved, *inter alia*, by the fact that a great battle was fought for its possession at Battle Bridge (near King's Cross Station) in British times.

The city of London thus laid out remained practically the same as late as the time of Elizabeth, in whose reign there were as many houses within the city walls as without them.

The date of the third wall cannot be fixed with certainty, but from inscriptions and other evidence we know that a great many Roman stations were founded in Britain during the first century. The extension of the area within that period occupied would necessitate a larger capital; therefore I presume the third wall was built near the Old Bailey not long after these funeral remains were deposited, between A.D. 50 and A.D. 100.

It is remarkable how the Roman wall (only passed by a few gates) and the street plans laid down by the Roman road-surveyor turn even modern city traffic in the old directions. Traffic for the north often has to traverse London in an east and west direction owing to the lack of streets running north and south. Within this century have several diagonal streets been constructed, such as King William Street and Queen Victoria Street. Lombard Street itself is not

^a E. Freshfield, Esq. F.S.A. drew the attention of antiquaries to this fact.

Fig 1. Glass.



Fig 3 Cast Lead.

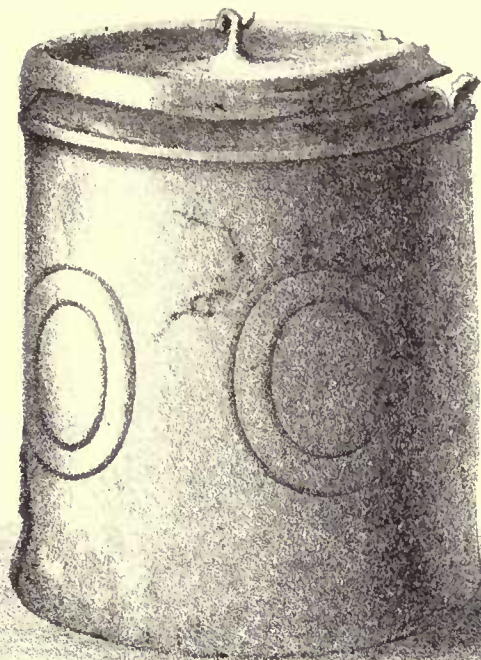


Fig 2. Cast Lead



Fig 5.

Fig 4 Stone



Roman, but most of the streets and lanes leading to the Thames from Watling Street and Cheapside, and also those parallel to the river, are evidently Roman. Only in the last century the City Road was made to displace St. John Street Road, the principal mediæval northern route for traffic. Until the year 1829 the mail traffic from the General Post Office in Lombard Street went up the narrow streets Old Jewry and Coleman Street to the north, and thence by the (new) City Road. This continued to be the case until Princees Street and Moorgate Street were made after 1832, when London Bridge was opened.

In Chaucer's time the same Roman route is shown; for the pilgrims started from the Tabard Inn, situated on a Roman street, and travelled on the Roman road to Canterbury. It may here be recorded that Chaucer's father's house had a garden bounded by the Wall-Brook, which though formerly a winding stream is now a straight sewer. Chaucer's house was on the north side of Thames Street, three doors west (as I consider) from the corner of Wall-Brook. Surely an inscription might be placed on the birth-place of the father of English poetry.

Formerly the northern and north-eastern traffic went either by Gracechurch Street to Tottenham by the old Roman road, or, starting from east to west, it left the city by one of the western gates, Ludgate or Newgate, and thence by St. John Street to the north. The western traffic also passed by Newgate or Ludgate.^a There was no break in the city wall between Aldersgate and Newgate, and this made the east and west streets within the city very important. The large block of ground without carriage-way about Austin Friars is a consequence of the Roman wall affording no passage.

As late as the year 1563 the Moorfields had no main road through them, and were open for the public. They were the lungs of the City, but were unfortunately allowed to be built over about a century ago by the carelessness or cupidity of the civic authorities. In consequence of the city authorities forgetting to give notice to renew the lease the estate has passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Moorfields joined the Shepherd and Shepherdess Fields, which were open until fifty years ago. Had they been preserved as open spaces they would have been of the greatest value.

We thus see how much of Roman influence still pervades London.

^a A corruption of Fludgate or "Fleet" Gate.

V.—ROMAN COMMERCE ON BRITISH LINES.—BRITISH LEAD-WORK.

a. Early British Commerce.—The specimens of lead-work discovered in Warwick Square are amongst the most remarkable ever found, and I desire now to state the grounds upon which I claim this work as an indigenous British industry. It will be advisable, first, to give a brief sketch of the commercial relations of the Britons at the period of the Roman occupation.

The earliest written record of British commerce is afforded by Pytheas of Marseilles, a Greek traveller who lived B.C. 330, and visited Britain. We learn from the quotations of parts of his diary that long before the Roman period the British occupied themselves with various industries, and, as he describes the British-made chariots, we may assume that the smelting and working of tin, lead (copper?), and iron were British occupations, as these metals are used in the manufacture of chariots and weapons. The Western Cassiterides,^a so frequently mentioned by old writers, were almost certainly our Cornish metal districts, though this explanation has been doubted.^b

We know also that the Britons had a good gold coinage of Greek pattern a century before Julius Cæsar landed on our shores. This discovery was made by Mr. John Evans, although previous antiquaries had approximated to the truth, rather, however, by shrewd guesses than by precise scientific evidence. If the Britons in B.C. 150 were able to institute a gold coinage, there can be but little improbability in suggesting their ability to execute such lead-work as is now in question. Nor were British manufactures of a slight character, for Pliny himself ordered a chariot from Britain in the first century.

Indeed the civilisation of the Britons at this time was of a much higher character in some respects than has till recently been supposed. It is true our ancestors had no alphabet of their own, but borrowed from the Scandinavians and others. They may have had a later literary civilisation than the mainland; but metallurgy is an art that in early times was quite independent of literature. The Runic alphabet was itself of Greek origin, indicating an early communica-

^a I consider hereafter fully the precise point, that the tin from Cornwall was conveyed to Brading Harbour, where larger ships could be loaded dry at low water in Vectis (the Isle of Wight).

^b Elton, *Origins of English History* (1882). [He distinguishes the tin trade with Cornwall from that with the Cassiterides, which was of a much higher antiquity, p. 37.—H.S.M.]

tion between Greece and Northern Europe. Indeed, as Isaac Taylor points out, a close affinity existed in dress, games, ornaments, and even in numerals, amongst the European races from Northern Scandinavia and Finland to Etruria. Gold ornaments seem, in Europe, to have been first made in Etruria,^a whence they were spread by trade throughout the Continent. Tin, lead, and copper may have gone by land-routes on high and dry ground to the east coast of Britain, and then by sea to the mouths of the Elbe and Vistula, and thence by various routes to Italy, in exchange for gold. The numerous relics found in interments, &c. along certain routes prove that there was a close and early connection by land between the amber-producing countries without gold and the gold-producing amber-consuming countries of the south; just as the compass was first used on land and then transferred to the sea, so the travelling was at first as much as possible by land, gradually to be superseded by coasting-vessels.

b. Early British Commerce as guiding Roman Organisation.—Having thus indicated the comparatively advanced state of civilisation of the Britons, let us see if the distribution of the centres of population help us to show that the metallurgical wealth of Britain gave it the importance it possessed in the eyes of the Romans.

In the first place we notice that a large majority of the British towns were situated near the sea or on rivers, showing that water-carriage was the prevailing mode of transit. Thus we have Colchester on the Stour, Durobrivæ on the Medway, Peterborough (Caistor) on the Nene, York on the Ouse, Chester (Deva) on the Dee, Lydney, Gloucester, and a town on the site of Uriconium, on the Severn, Caerleon (Isca) on the Usk, Southampton and Portsmouth on arms of the sea, and so on.

The Britons did not make durable roads between their towns, but rather tracks from the high ground where they resided, to the shipping ports, with, however, several notable exceptions. A British road, according to Mr. S. Skertchly (author of *The Fenland*), has become durable accidentally. This road led from Earith in Huntingdenshire, across part of the fen-land of Cambridge-shire to Downham Market in Norfolk. By an accident, water, charged with carbonate of iron, or with iron made soluble by the presence of carbonic acid gas, has percolated through the stones of the road to the wattles or fascines below, put there by the Britons to keep the road dry, and the iron has preserved the wood. The oldest builders in stone preferred stones for building squared

* Probably on the Egyptian system of working gold into wires and soldering with the blow-pipe.

instead of making joints with mortar. This was the case with the earlier Egyptian and Cyclopean architects. The Britons at Worle Hill, Somerset, built enormous walls of unhewn stones without mortar. Then was made the grand invention of building with good mortar, and a cement invented that would set under water for building constructions. I have seen part of a Roman road in an exposed position on a cliff at the edge of the sea-shore, near Palazzo Arengo, Mentone, in the Riviera, in which the stones are still held together by the good mortar or cement. This was, however, on limestone, which was a favourable soil. The British roads were not constructed on a good plan, and this accounts for their disappearance in most places. Still the presence of a great number of chariots in the war with Cæsar proves to a certain extent the existence of a system of British roads. The duration of the steps and road or path at Worle Hill proves that the Britons understood paving. The superficial head or drift at Worle Hill in which the British stones are imbedded has fixed the stones in a natural bed, and saved them from the destruction by weather which other British roads have suffered.

The Romans, on the other hand, made a complete system of permanent inland roads to connect the Continent with the military posts, London, York, Colchester, Chester, Uriconium, Gloucester, Winchester, Silchester, Porchester and Brading, and chief trading towns with each other. At commanding points along or near these roads the Romans constructed camps, and so placed their legions as to protect the centres of metallurgical industry and the roads leading to them. Thus Silchester commands the approach to five roads within a distance of thirty miles. The Romans did not originate the sites of many new seaport towns, or towns on large navigable rivers, and when they did so, as in the cases of London, Richborough, Uriconium, Rochester, Canterbury, it was for strategical reasons or indirectly connected with the traffic with minerals, the great industry of Britain during the Roman occupation as it was before it. We have negative evidence also. Hibernia was mentioned in the earliest accounts as an island close to Britannia. It had as early a civilisation, but not sufficient minerals to tempt a Roman occupation; gold was however worked in Ireland. A building of stones fitted without mortar, containing a bee-hive cell dwelling, still stands on the shore at Valentia on the west coast of Ireland as firmly as it did when Cæsar landed in Kent.

Brading is only lately known to have been a Roman station, to which I now add the term "port." I adduce evidence for the first time to show that this district near Bembridge was really the port of Ictis, "the Channel" (Gwyth),

divortium, being now silted up. The Romans followed more ancient routes of commerce, just as the moderns followed the Romans.

It is a curious instance of the survival of Roman ideas that the founders of Benedictine Abbeys a thousand years later laid out all their thousands of monasteries on one plan. They erected buildings in squares for each special purpose, in the same relative positions, somewhat similar to that followed in laying out such a Roman town as Silchester; the church occupying the place of the pagan basilica, and being somewhat similar in shape.

It is even now easy to understand the considerations which regulated the Roman road-makers in their route from the Kentish ports (Sandwich, Deal, Dover and Lymne) to London and thence to York and Scotland. Cæsar landed between Deal and Walmer, and there was also hard ground for a good road nearly all the way to London from the coast.

The point of departure, between Deal and Walmer, was probably taken to commemorate the spot where Julius Cæsar landed. (See Napoleon's *Cæsar*, and map.)

The Roman road-surveyor first drew a line straight from near Walmer to the site of Canterbury; then, after bending a little near Rochester ferry, it resumed the original direction, and continued it to the Thames at Greenwich; then it passed the Bricklayers' Arms, Kent Road, where a Roman villa has been found, and thence to a point near St. George's Church, Southwark. From this junction-point the great North Road started in one direction across the Thames, where London Bridge now is, the Western Road in another, to Pontes (Staines).

Silchester (which possesses a basilica three times the size of that found near Leadenhall Market, and thus seems to have been thought of more importance strategically than London) was forty-five miles from London, and was on high ground away from river or forests, and not far from the junction of a number of land-routes. It was on dry ground on which wagons could travel. It was convenient for roads giving access to Cornwall for tin; to the Mendips for lead, copper, or brass; Gloucester and South Wales for iron; and from these termini there were routes passable to the east and south coasts of England. Silchester commanded the junction of the great south-south-west route from London to Brading in the Isle of Wight to the south-west routes from Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) and Salisbury (*Sorbiodunum*) and the great western route to Gloucester (for South Wales) and Bath (for the Mendips). Silchester is supposed to be the *Callea* of Antoninus, but is not described with sufficient exactness by the makers of the Roman Itineraries. They probably missed Silchester because it is a little off the

main roads, and they would not expect a large Roman camp at such a short distance from other Roman towns, where travellers would find lodgings, and where a main Roman road passed directly through the town.

I was much struck by the isolation of Silchester in driving to it 16 miles from Steventon Manor,—a mediæval building which has been partly rebuilt by Mr. Henry Harris, a gentleman belonging to a family that were settled at Fordingbridge three centuries ago. I feel certain that the Roman Silchester could never have been built for trade, that its purpose was simply for a garrison. At Steventon Manor are some interesting Runic remains not described, showing there was once an early settlement on this open and high land. "The Vine," which has been supposed to be Vindomis, is between Steventon and Silchester.

Silchester British amphitheatre is 45 miles W.S.W. of Charing Cross, and is distant from the following Roman stations thus: $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles S.W. by S. from Reading,^a the junction of the rivers Thames and Kennet, where stood a great abbey in the Middle Ages, no doubt on the site of an ancient temple; $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. of Basingstoke market-place, which is on a straight line between London and Exeter; 29 miles from Guildford; 25 miles from Staines (Pontes); 29 miles from Winechester (Venta Belgarum); 45 miles from Salisbury (Sorbiodunum); 13 miles from Spinæ (Speen); 47 miles from (Porchester) or Portus Hamonis; 47 miles from Chichester; 25 miles from the Roman portways at Andover; 48 miles from Bittern, Southampton (Clausentum); 55 miles from Stans Ore Point, four miles E. of Lymington in Hampshire. Silchester Camp has a large area, enclosed by a Roman wall, which has still the gates perfect, and, according to the frequent ruins of settlement, is close to a British fort or amphitheatre. The population of the district is now insignificant.

This position, taken with the great size of Silchester, and the regularity of its plan, proves that, like Uriconium on the Severn, commanding the Denbighshire lead districts, Silchester was built to command a number of the great junction roads, so as to be a most convenient station suitable for strategical purposes, and for the important purpose of protecting the land and sea transit of the products of the metallurgical industries of Cornwall, of the Mendips, and of South Wales, on the passage to the Continent or to London.

c. Identification of Ictis at Brading and Bembridge.—We must remember that the first British tin-commerce with the Continent in prehistoric times moved, either on packhorses or by chariots, in hilly districts, towards Essex,

^a Roman remains are rare at Reading, but in laying pipes some pieces of Roman pottery have been found.

Norfolk, and Suffolk, that is, in the direction from west to east; then by sea from the eastern British shipping-ports, of which Camulodunum on the Stour, close to the Thames (Colchester), is a type, to the Baltic. Thus at first the "tin" used to find its way partly by land and partly by sea from Cornwall to the mouths of the Elbe and Vistula, there to meet the land caravans of the Baltic amber-commerce from the north of Europe to the south; for amber from the Baltic first reached the Mediterranean markets by the land routes to the Adriatic, Etruria, and other parts of Italy. When the land route throughout Gaul was established, the tin had to go across the English Channel, not to Brittany across the rougher and wider part, but to Normandy. The Isle of Wight was nearer Normandy, and a suitable entrepôt for the coasters meeting the fleets of ocean trading-ships. The transshipment was described by early writers as taking place at Vectis, six days' sail from Cornwall. In reference to the coasters, we must remember that the early descriptions of British boats show they were coracles made of skin, and not of planks like those of the Carthaginians or Greeks, and were therefore more fitted for coasting than for crossing from Cornwall to Brittany or Spain. The British mariners were probably less advanced in the art of navigation than the foreign traders who came to Vectis.

Iron and lead were also valuable British productions, and could easily reach the Isle of Wight by coasting vessels or by the British or Roman roads *viâ* Salisbury or Winchester to the Beaulieu River mouth, where there is a remarkable point near the end of the Southampton Water. Stans Ore Point is said to be named from Stannum (tin). It was about two miles from Stans Ore Point to Gurnard's or Gurnet's Bay in the Isle of Wight. This name may be a corruption of the Roman name Gubernalis, as Stans Ore seems to retain the Roman word Stannum. Needs Ore Point is another curious name. Gurnet's Bay in the Isle of Wight is a little to the west of the mouth of Medina River. Medina is evidently a corruption of Medium Insulæ, not of Medium only, as has been supposed. Thence the road passed by Carisbrooke to Brading near Bembridge (Bem Briga), a part of what has always been known as the Island of Vectis. Witgar is found in the old Saxon Chronicles. Vectis is a bolt or security, equivalent to Gwyth, meaning the safe channel. I suggest that this island with a channel may refer to what is now Brading. Nodes Point, opposite Bembridge Point, may derive its name from the British divinity Nodens, as may perhaps Needs Ore. At all these places named, Roman remains have been found on sites probably British.

^a With-gara-burh, Saxon.

I would remark that all ancient roads to British shipping-ports were of course British. The immense quantity of chariots possessed by the Britons at the time of Cæsar's invasion indicate that they took the trouble to make roads. Without roads it would be impossible to get over the low, often clay, grounds, or to reach the seaports in chariots, as the seaports were constantly on the clay. I have shown that the height of ground depends often upon stability of the material forming the land to resist the action of rain, in a Paper, *Geol. Mag.* 1875, p. 466.^a The stability of limestone, chalk, and sandrock is so much greater than clay or sand, and these hard rocks form the cliffs and high ground generally, and the clays the valleys or low grounds. If we walk along a coast section the height of the cliff varies according to the stability and instability of the rocks, sands, or clays cropping out.^b Consequently it was impossible to reach the shipping-ports, which are all at low levels, without roads, as the clay and sand would be impassable for chariots. Of course pack-horses could travel where chariots could not, but if the main roads were made for chariots they would be equally good for pack-horses. The Romans established stations every eight or ten miles, and no doubt the British had some like arrangement.

The making of roads with wattles was known to the Britons, and the term Watling Street records the process used. The British roads were crooked and poor compared with the Roman roads, which were straight and paved and often formed of stones cemented together. There is however a British paved path near Weston-super-Mare. As I have remarked, the roads over the low clay grounds were probably made by the Britons with wattles or fascines.

I would suggest that the reason why nearly all British forts and habitations are on high ground, and generally why that population lived on dry soil like chalk or rock, was because of the great stability or stand-up of sand, rock, chalk, and the comparative dryness of the soils on chalk and limestone. British chariots could run on mere tracks, also chariots and pack-horses could travel without difficulty on the grass or on imperfect roads on these rocky hills, which are smoothed naturally, sometimes by denudation. The Britons did not clear the low ground from trees, perhaps partly from superstitious feelings, and their chariots could only move with difficulty over the clay valleys. The

^a Also *Geol. Mag.* 1872, p. 487.

^b Also during and some time after the Glacial Epoch the Baltic was dry and the amber-bearing pines grew on what is now the sea-bed. The Solent was also dry, and Spain and Ireland united, forming a real Celto-Iberian period, when area and height of sea and land differed much from the present.—A. Tylor, *G.S.Q.J.* 1869, vol. xxv. p. 9.

stability of the clay was small, and therefore the stand-up of the clay above the sea or river level was low, and sub-aërial denudation was rapid in the Pluvial period.^a Then there was difficulty with valley streams, while the high rocky ground was comparatively free from large watercourses. I have never seen any satisfactory explanation of the peculiar tendency of our predecessors to settle on high ground, and therefore offer these suggestions.

The researches of Mr. Petrie, F.S.A., published in the *Memoirs of the Anthropological Institute*, 1878, page 112, on Metrology, prove that the Britons possessed accurate knowledge of geometry; that they built their camps often in ellipses with scarcely any error. I showed in the *Journ. Anthro. Inst.* 1876, vol. vi. p. 125, that the constructors of Stonehenge possessed considerable astronomical knowledge, by the correct position of the pointer or man-stone in relation to sunrise on Midsummer Day.

What have been described often as "the four Roman roads" turn out to comprise at least two British roads.

We are certain, therefore, that the Britons really possessed a considerable amount of civilisation before the Roman invasion. They made their own steel for their scythes. As Mr. Henry Seebohm saw a Siberian in 1880 produce steel in a forge, this is not too difficult an operation for the discoverers of the art of smelting tin and lead to be able to accomplish.

Amber was a most important article of commerce in prehistoric times. It was only produced in the north of Europe, and it passed by land-routes all over the south. The early importance of amber in Europe is proved by its presence throughout the long neolithic age, in so many European burials of importance, long prior to the bronze age. Amber was only an ornament, although the most important, while tin was an absolute necessity in Europe in the bronze age for use in the founding of bronze celts, for service as weapons in the chase and war. These European land-trading routes I have mentioned, combined with short sea or coast-routes, are no doubt much older than the long and hazardous sea-route from Cornwall to the Mediterranean *viâ* Gades and Marseilles, as is proved by the voyage of Pytheas to seek a new sea-route to replace the existing land-route.

The position of Brading in Vectis (the Isle of Wight) opposite the coast of Normandy would be a point from whence very conveniently goods and travellers by the short sea-route from Britain combined with the land-route *viâ* Normandy could reach Italy. They would proceed to a point not far from the mouth of the Seine for the journey to Marseilles. Brading has a good sheltered harbour

^a So named by A. Tylor, *G.S.Q.J.* 1868, vol. xxiv. p. 105.

under Bembridge Point, in fact an excellent entrepôt harbour. We may infer that in prehistoric times this town must have been chosen as a safe place for the transshipment of the tin, lead, and iron brought by coasting vessels or by land-route from Cornwall, the Mendips,^a and South Wales and North Wales. The land-routes start from the north and west of Britain and Wales, running as much as possible on high ground through London, from Gloucester and Bath and Cornwall, and by Silchester to Porchester^b (Portus Hamonis), or cutting off a corner *vid* Salisbury and Southampton, and thence to the Isle of Wight by short sea passage. Brading probably received the metals there for carriage to France and North Germany. Classical writers particularly mention Ictis as a port for transshipment. The Itium of Strabo probably means only a term for a Channel port.

No harbour could be more convenient than Brading, in Vectis or Ictis, for the purpose of receiving coasting vessels and for exchange or transshipment of cargoes. St. Michael's Mount is a steep rock and does not form a harbour at all, or answer in description the accounts of early writers as an island at high water.

The Rev. E. Kell (*Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* 1866, vol. xxii.) brought much evidence to bear on this point, of Ictis being Vectis, or Isle of Wight, but did not observe that at the south-eastern part of the Isle of Wight was a tract five miles by one and a half miles, and till lately a peninsula at low water, and an island at high water. He had a theory like Sir H. Englefield, and Mr. T. Webster previously, that the Solent had been excavated since the third century B.C. No doubt the Solent is geologically a comparatively modern sea excavation, but there is no proof that this excavation occurred in historic times. There are no islands answering to the description of Diodorus Siculus on the coast of Britain except Bembridge and Thanet.

Then there is another argument that should be considered, viz. the circumstance that early trade was never direct but local, of which we have proofs in Diodorus Siculus. To imagine that traders from Gaul went to Cornwall is against probability. Also we know, by the position in Egypt of so many towns lying so closely together and of such great size, that these towns must have been

^a See Tacitus respecting a British prince who amassed great treasures by transporting metals to the Channel coast from the Mendips.

^b The name of Portus Hamonis near Porchester has an aspect as of a foreign trading port. There may have been a foreign settlement there to match that on the Seine, or between the Seine and Atheic rivers. Ptolemy writes of *Trisantonis*, probably the Celtic name for the original town *Antonis* situated near where Southampton now stands, the Celtic *Tre* becoming Latin *Tris* in error.

built by the means of wealth gained by local and not by direct trade. Even in Egypt it is probable that distant direct trade was unknown till a late period. Each great town on the Nile, I consider, traded with one just below it, because goods could be stopped or taxed. Goods were constantly transhipped and a new start made at every town on the route in the infancy of trade. The only possible explanation of the position and of the great wealth of Egyptian towns situated on great trade routes, but which produced no exchangeable product, is that at each stage transhipment occurred, and a profit was taken. This custom would explain the origin of many great towns and their greatness. The extensive, but until lately unknown, Roman settlement, in a remote place like Brading Harbour, can only be accounted for from Brading, near Bembridge,^a being a shipping-port for the Continent. There is no other opinion possible or probable.

This part of the Isle of Wight also answers to the description of Ictis in Diodorus Siculus.^b I venture to assert that an arm of the sea divided the Isle of Wight in comparatively recent times into two unequal parts, and that it has been filled up, like the channel which divided the Isle of Thanet from the rest of Kent. This is shown on some ancient maps.^c There is now only recent alluvial soil between Sandown Bay and Brading Harbour. The Bembridge and Culver district was therefore in ancient times a peninsula at low water and an island at high water. That an arm of the sea once passed right through the east part of the Isle of Wight has also been proved by the levels, and by the sea in storms in historical times passing right over the embankment of Sandown Bay to Brading Harbour, and temporarily covering the new dry land.

Celtic Gwyth, or Gwith, is in Latin *divortium* = channel, and it is to this channel now closed that the ancients referred to, as I believe. White Cliff Bay, near Sandown, is conspicuous for lofty chalk cliffs called Culver, from the headland of Sandown Bay. These white cliffs would be a good mark for vessels entering the *divortium* or channel in Sandown Bay. They were no doubt originally known as "Gwyth" Cliffs, the Channel Cliffs, afterwards corrupted into White Cliff at their westernmost extremity. The channel mouth in Sandown Bay was 350 yards wide, and at the other extremity, at the Brading Harbour entrance, near Bembridge Point, was 500 yards wide.

^a When the termination *briga* appears in the Celtic name of a place, it means always a town on the *bank* of a river or estuary. It is often changed into *bridge*.

^b See a literal translation from the Greek of Diodorus in Appendix B.

^c The maps in the Latin Ptolemy, 1525. The groyne at Sandown was made previously to 1670.

The term islands is used in the old accounts of Ictis as well as island. Vectis on this point of view was an island, having a peninsula at low water at its south-east corner, and therefore the term islands might be employed to describe it. According to Nennius there were three islands, Ore (Orkney), Gwyth (Wight), Menaw (Man). Also in Celtic, we read Ynys yr Wyth, the Island of the Channel. The splendid Roman remains described by Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., and Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1880-1, show that the usual custom by which a substantial town was placed by the Romans on the site of an old badly-built but well-situated British trading-town, is followed near Bembridge and at Brading.

For these reasons, that is from geographical position, from philological name, and from history, we may infer that the Brading district was referred to as Ictis, and was a station from whence tin was shipped from the earliest period, long before direct trade with the Mediterranean was established, *i.e.*, before 330 B.C.^a

Having now seen the arrangement of Roman roads near and towards London, we return to London itself.

It seems certain, from the position of the Thames dividing the south-east of England from the east, and the difficulties of crossing it, that the site of London was chosen on a low cliff or stratum of gravel, on the bank of the Thames, as a most convenient point for crossing the river, so as to connect Rome with the northern and western metal-producing and shipping districts of Britain. This view is confirmed if we consider the route to Gaul; from Vectis to the Seine was the general route before that from Dover to Gessoriacum (Boulogne) was established. The shorter sea passage to Gaul afterwards no doubt interfered with the longer one, as it does now. The fact that British towns are so often on estuaries or large rivers, and that no three British towns lie in a straight line, proves that the Dover route was a new one. The position of Canterbury, Rochester (Dur-o-brivis, literally "on the river banks"), and London, three towns built on a straight Roman road, proves their foundation to be due to other circumstances than those which determined the position of old British towns. We must consider two of these three towns as of purely Roman origin, directly connected with the formation of the Roman road from Dover to London. They were all towns at junctions, and intended for the protection and use of through traffic more than for local traffic.

^a A remarkably marked ingot of lead has been found in the Isle of Wight.

The Roman potteries were established at Upchurch, near the Medway. The greatest recent discoveries have been made by Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., at Sittingbourne and Milton, British and Roman pottery being found in large quantities here between Rochester and Canterbury.

Three Roman roads,—one from Rutupiæ (Richborough), the centre of the oyster trade, another from Portus Lemanis (Romney Marsh), and another from Dover,—joined together at Canterbury.

To show that the Romans followed the British plan of keeping the routes on high and dry ground, I would point out that the direct route from Portus Lemanis to London would be along the valley of the Weald, on the Weald clay which carries the present South Eastern Railway. This country was then thickly wooded, and the strong clay soil was unsuitable for good roads in the opinion of the Roman road-surveyor; who therefore avoided the direct route to London and made a straight road on high dry ground (chalk principally) from Portus Lemanis to join the Dover and Richborough routes at Canterbury. Thence the road was nearly straight to London, as I have stated.

We may infer from the action of the Romans in these matters that for communication with London they contrived to have the choice of all the Kentish ports, and also of Regulbium, &c., so as to be able to cross the Channel to Kent in almost any way, and get to London by land. The Downs were made accessible by the road from London to Canterbury. They were then a refuge for shipping, and their great importance for the same purpose down to the present time is a testimony to the skill of the Roman surveyors.

d. Lead in Britain.—The importance of the mineral wealth of Britain to the Romans having been pointed out, it remains to bring forward my suggestion that working in lead, or plumbing, is a native industry.

In the first place it is a known law that metallurgical discoveries are made in metallurgical districts, and to this hardly an exception is known. It is highly improbable that the art of plumbing should be an exception to this rule. Therefore we may assume that the art arose in a lead-producing country. The question would be only, which was the most probable of the lead-producing countries.

Now Spain and Britain were almost the only two lead-producing countries known to the Romans at this early period. Italy may have had a few mines. As the Britons had long before developed their tin industry themselves, we may infer they were capable of applying a similar process to another material. It is not likely that Britons obtained the knowledge from Spain, but rather the contrary; neither is it likely that the art was of Italian origin, for Italy has little lead.

Unfortunately (probably for this reason) classic authors make but slight mention of lead, as it never came within their notice. When we examine the leaden funereal reliefs from England, Italy, France, and even Sidon, and the pipes for conveying water, the similarity of shape, design, and mode of manufacture, is so striking as naturally to suggest a common origin.

The collection at the British Museum proves that the names of Emperors were placed on pigs of lead, but this by no means proves that the metal was smelted or moulded at first by the Romans. I have, however, more direct evidence, for upon a piece of a cast lead coffin found at Caistor, near Peterborough,^a and upon cast lead pipes discovered near Lyons,^b I find two British names, Cunobarrus upon the former and Cantius (the Kentishman) on the latter. The workmanship upon the Lyons pipes accords with that of the Roman pipes at York. We may then conclude, I think, from the evidence and reasons which I have adduced, that the art of smelting and working lead is probably a native British industry, and taught by the conquered to the conquerors.

VI.—ROMAN SYMBOLISM.

a. Symbols on the Ossuaria.—The lead-work found in Warwick Square is peculiarly interesting from the character of the symbolism which it presents. The Romans were in the habit of decorating their tombs with representations of games, legends from the Odyssey, Bacchanalian subjects, or mythic secular scenes, and were in this respect in strong contrast to the Egyptians, who invariably selected subjects relating to death, to funeral rites, or to religious or moral tenets.

It is singular that all the ornamentation on the leaden ossuaria found in Warwick Square is more allied to the Egyptian than to the Roman practice.

Plate XII. fig. 2, for instance, possesses the reel pattern, which appears to have been, as usual, a rude representation of thread-reels, and most probably had reference to the thread of life. Upon this coffin is also a representation of Sol in his *quadriga*, a symbol of the race of life; perhaps also a suggestion of the solar myth of the sun making his journey from light to darkness, here signifying the passage from the light of life to the darkness of death. The circlets in the

^a There is a fine collection of Roman remains from Caistor at the Dowager Lady Huntly's at Orton-Longueville, about three miles from Caistor.

^b This specimen is in the British Museum.

ossuarium (fig. 3) appear to be the well-known emblem of eternity. This emblem is often modified into a serpent, such as is figured upon the leaden coffin-lid of a lead interment at Colchester.

b. Mithraic Worship.—The most interesting ornament, however, is an eight-rayed star, cast upon the *inside* of the flat bottom of a leaden coffin (Pl. XII. fig. 5). This emblem I believe to be Mithraic, and advance the following arguments in support of that idea.

In the first place, there is no *primâ facie* objection to the supposition that we have here the remains of a worshipper of the Persian deity, Mithras, for the Roman legions included many foreigners. Further, many Romans were numbered among the votaries of Mithras, of whom we may mention Severus, who was adopted by Eliogabalus (sometimes written Heliogabalus), a priest of Mithras. He was made Cæsar A.D. 221, and took the names of Marcus Aurelius Alexander. After the death of Eliogabalus he was made Augustus and Emperor, A.D. 222, when he added Severus to his name. He was assassinated in A.D. 235, near Mayence; his cremated relics were preserved in the superb urn known as the Portland Vase, now in the British Museum. Upon the base of this wonderful work of art Mithras is represented adorned with a Phrygian cap. The fact of finding these emblems in so public a spot as the tomb or mausoleum of Severus demonstrated the prevalence of Mithraism in Rome during the third century.

Mithras was the Persian name for the representative of the principal solar deity. In Sanscrit the word *mitra* signifies a friend, and the Reg-veda contains hymns to this "friend of the gods." In the Zend-avesta, the parallel work to the Reg-veda, the name is spelt Mithras. The Mithraic idea arose in Assyria or in some preceding nation in that part of Asia. It appears in the cuneiform writing of both the Semitic and Aryan races, and spread from Persia to Phœnicia and Egypt, and thence throughout the world. As a monotheistic religion it gained ground in Rome, and almost superseded Polytheism, and hence was a rival to Christianity, whose Fathers have consistently decried it. Like Gnosticism, it was a secret religion, and left no manuscript records. Hence it is that Gibbon, relying upon written evidence, was unaware of the prevalence of Mithraic faith in Rome; but since his time much light has been thrown upon this question, especially by the discovery of a catacomb containing interments of many Mithraists. In Britain the faith was so common among the Romans that more altars were dedicated to the Invincible Mithras than to any other god.

The eight-rayed star has been claimed as a Christian emblem, and as a modification of the Christian Chi-Rho. I shall now proceed to show, firstly, that the

star is Mithraic and not Christian; secondly, that it is not a modification of the Chi-Rho, but a solar symbol; and thirdly, that the Chi-Rho itself is of Pagan, not Christian, origin.

In the first place it must be remembered that not a single manuscript, sculpture, inscription, coin, altar, or any sign peculiar to Christianity, has ever been found of earlier date than A.D. 320. This is admitted by the best recent authorities. There are many Pagan emblems which were adopted by the Christians, like the Chi-Rho on coins of Ptolemy Euergetes 200 B.C.

If then the star upon this ossuarium be Christian it is the only piece of Christian work extant before the fourth century; hence very strong evidence is needed to establish the point. But the evidence is in reality all the other way.

The earliest trace of the use of the eight-rayed star as a solar emblem that I know is an Assyrian example. Two Assyrian Gods revolve the sun, represented as an eight-rayed star, by means of a rope. The date of this relic is B.C. 840, or a thousand years before the date of our coffin, and 800 years before the Christian era. Three figures are seen adoring the solar luminary.

Another example shows Assyrian trappings with standards, spear-heads, and crosses, and an eight-rayed sun. A third example is an Assyrian sculpture, also in the British Museum. It is a rounded boulder stone, on which are the mystic signs of an eight-rayed sun, a head-dress, the crescent moon above it, and a turtle. The opposite side of the stone is covered with a cuneiform inscription recording a conveyance of land, and the occult signs are evidently a ratification of the compact by calling upon the gods to witness and protect the rights of the purchaser.

Space will not permit me to trace this star down to Roman times, though the evidence is clear and convincing, similar stars being of common occurrence on Gnostic gems or Mithraic sculptures down to and after Roman times. Many such gems have been found in Egypt, Greece, &c.

From prehistoric times the custom of wearing magical rings as talismans to avert the evil eye has prevailed, and was known to the Greeks as *dactylomanteia*. The early Christian bishops were as devout believers in magic or necromancy as the Pagans, and adopted similar means of preservation from its fell influence. Hence St. Clement of Alexandria, about 200 A.D., recommended his flock to wear rings with Christian instead of Pagan characters engraved upon them. Some of these rings are still preserved, and certain specimens have the inscription *Spes in Deo* associated with the eight-rayed star. Thus we see how Mithraism was continued into the Christian era.

The supposition that the Chi-Rho is derived from the eight-rayed star is contradicted by illustrations like Pl. XII. fig. 5, from Warwick Square, in which the rays are straightened and crossed with a straight line. But figures from Mithraic or Gnostic gems show the same modification, and clearly have no association with any Christian emblem. Other signs upon these curious talismans are derived from the Demotic alphabet, and are evidently the originals of many of the Freemasons' signs, such as are seen in Roslyn Abbey and other mediæval buildings all over Europe. This connection of Freemasonry and Mithraism receives further confirmation from the fact that in the old faith there were ten mysteries as there are ten grades in the Masons' craft.

c. Origin of the Chi-Rho (X P).—The Chi-Rho has been confidently claimed as a Christian symbol, but though it was certainly adopted by the Christians it is of Pagan origin. This is at once proved by its occurrence upon a coin of Ptolemy III. B.C. 230. The same symbol is also seen upon a medal of the date A.D. 250, to commemorate a Pagan prefect whose title was probably Archon.

In the time of Constantine, A.D. 320, the Chi-Rho was definitely adopted as a Christian emblem, appearing as a standard on many of his coins. It is also frequently found on coins of Decentius, A.D. 350.

What the original signification of this symbol was we do not know, but Constantine invested it with a new meaning, and it soon became popular. In some of the catacombs of the fourth century we find it combined with the ordinary cross.

d. Christian Symbolism.—Just as the X P was adopted from Paganism, so other emblems were taken over by the early Church. The cross itself is a case in point. M. de Mortillet has brought forward evidence of this fact, and I have found fresh testimony. A Maltese cross is represented as adorning the breast of an Assyrian priest, and on an Assyrian standard we find a perfect cross. A Maltese cross is shown on the pediment of a Phœnician temple, represented on the obverse of a Phœnician or Celt-Iberian coin, bearing the name of the town of Abdera, in Spain, in Phœnician characters. An ordinary cross is also represented, formed by a cross-bar on one of the pilasters within the portico of the temple. The head of a Roman Emperor on the reverse dates this coin and shows it to be pre-Christian.

The ceremony of baptism, or initiation, is again older than our era. Thus an engraved stone, in which the eight-rayed sun appears, represents a neophyte about to be baptized, simulating death in order to come to life a new being. Many sculptures, indeed, represent sprinkling or baptism before the time of

Christ, as an important religious ceremony of initiation. Among the Australian aborigines at the present time, according to Howitt's paper read in February, 1884, at the Anthropological Institute, one part of the ceremony of initiation is still to cover a living man with leaves in a shallow grave, a survival of pre-historic practices.

VII.—CONCLUSION.

From the study of the Roman remains found in Warwick Square, and researches arising therefrom, we have been able to draw the following conclusions :—

1. That Britain was chiefly valued by the Romans for its mineral wealth.
2. That London is of Roman origin, and that its site was chosen for strategic reasons to guard the ferry over the Thames, which was also the junction of many of the northern with the southern land-routes in Britain.
3. That Leadenhall Market occupies the site of the ancient Forum, and has never been private property.
4. That three successive walls from north to south mark as many westward extensions of London during the Roman occupation.
5. That the Roman roads were made primarily to afford ready access by land to the mineral districts, and to connect shipping ports, and their strategic value was a necessary consequence.
6. That the consideration of the reasons for which particular Roman roads were constructed may be deduced from external evidence and from analogy. This points to the conclusion, therefore, that Diodorus Siculus referred to Bembridge and Brading Harbour as the Ictis of the ancients, a point that has not hitherto been suggested.
7. That the art of plumbing is probably of British origin as well as that of smelting lead.
8. That Mithraism is represented by the emblem, an eight-rayed star on one of the leaden ossuaria discovered in Warwick Square.
9. That the eight-rayed star is a Mithraic symbol representing the sun.

10. That it is not the prototype of the Chi-Rho, and is not of Christian origin.

11. That the Chi-Rho is of Pagan extraction.

Some few other points are detailed in the text, and in conclusion I may add that these interesting relics, which were preserved on our premises in Warwick Square, are now deposited in the British Museum under the charge of Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A.

My brother Mr. William Henry Tylor inspected the excavations daily. I attended to the position of the Roman remains being duly and clearly marked on the plan and sections, which were prepared under my direction. Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., visited the excavations constantly, and put many broken specimens of pottery together. Mr. White, F.S.A., cleaned the leadwork himself with the greatest care. Mr. H. S. Milman, Director S.A., has translated the succeeding passage very carefully and given other valuable assistance.

A P P E N D I X A .

LIST OF COINS, COUNTERS, AND TOKENS, FOUND IN WARWICK SQUARE.

ROMAN COINS.

Claudius I.

Obv. Head of Claudius, laureate, to left. *Leg.* TI . CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG . P . M . TR .
P . IMP .

Rev. Pallas Promachos to right; in the field s . c .

A dupondius, struck A.D. 41. Found in stone vase (p. 4).

Nero.

Head of Nero to right. *Leg.* IMP . NERO CAESAR AVG . P . MAX . TR . P . P . P .

Rev. Victory flying to left and bearing a shield, inscribed, s . P . Q . R . ; in the field, s . c .

A second brass or dupondius, described in Cohen,^a vol. i. No. 253, p. 206.

^a Cohen, H., *Monnaies Frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, vols. i.-viii. 1860-1868.

Vespasian.

Head of Vespasian to right. *Leg.* IMP . CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG . COS . IIII .

Rev. Fortune standing to left, holding a branch of olive and a cornucopia ; in the field s . C .

Leg. FORTVNAE REDVCI .

A second brass described in Cohen, vol. i. No. 296, p. 304, but much worn, the inscriptions being scarcely traceable.

There are two other dupondii of this emperor but the types of the reverses cannot be made out.

Trajan.

Bust of Trajan to right, laureate. *Leg.* IMP . CAESA . NERVAE . TRAIANO AVG . GER . DAC . P . M . TR . P . COS . V . P . P .

Rev. Abundantia standing to left, holding ears of corn and a cornucopia : at her feet a modius ; behind her a prow ; in the field, s . C . *Leg.* S . P . Q . R . OPTIMO . PRINCIPI . A large brass or sestertius (See Cohen, vol. i. No. 452, p. 471). Struck between A.D. 104-110.

A second brass of the same emperor, with the type of the reverse, Roma seated on shields holding a Victory and her spear, and placing her left foot on the head of a Dacian. *Leg.* S . P . Q . R . OPTIMO PRINCIPI . (See Cohen, vol. ii. No. 419, p. 466.) The inscription on the obverse cannot be read.

Hadrian.

A large brass of this emperor, with the type of the reverse so much rubbed that it cannot be identified.

Faustina Junior.

A second brass, the type of the reverse of which cannot be identified.

Commodus.

A large brass of this emperor with the type of the reverse Fortuna ? seated to left. The inscription on this piece cannot be read and the type on the reverse is somewhat uncertain.

Tetricus or Victorinus.

Four copper denarii, probably of these Emperors, two of which have on the reverse figures of Providentia and Victory. These coins were struck in Gaul.

Maximian Hercules.

Bust of Maximian to right, laureate and wearing armour. *Leg.* DN . MAXIMIANO . P . F . S . AVG .

Rev. The genius of Rome holding a patera and a cornucopia. *Leg.* GENIO POP . ROM .
Ev. PLN .

A follis struck in London between the years 306-312.

There are, besides the above, twenty-two coins or fragments of coins, all of which appear to be of a date anterior to the last piece, with the exception of a small *nummus*? of Constantius II. struck about A.D. 340, but of which the type of the reverse cannot be made out.

MODERN COINS.

These consist of a farthing of Charles II., dated 1679; halfpennies (two) of William III., dated 1700; a similar coin of George I., dated 1718, and a farthing of 1724; four halfpennies of George II., two of which are dated 1740 and 1741; and several much worn tokens of the end of the last century. There is also a Spanish dollar of Charles IV. of base silver, struck for currency in the American colonies; and a four-kopec piece, Russian, date 1762.

COUNTERS.

Most of these, fourteen in number, were struck at Nuremberg during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Some of them bear the names of the moneyers, Wolfgang Laufer, Mathew Laufer, and Hans Laufer, the first two being of the sixteenth century. The legends on those pieces are GOTES REICH BLEIBT EWIG; GOTES GABEN SOL MAN [HABEN], &c.

TRADESMEN'S TOKENS—SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

London (Blow Bladder Street).

ROBERT . BOYS . IN . 1654 = Three sugar loaves.

Rev. BLOW . BLADDER . STREET . = R . B .

London (Custom House Quay).

IOSEPH . DREW . AT . THE . BLAK = A negro smoking.

Rev. BOY . ON . CVSTOM . HOVSE . KAY = HIS . HALF PENY.

GREENHITHE.

RICHARD . SMITH . = A goat's head and a shoemaker's knife.

Rev. IN . GREENHIVE . KENT . = R . ^S . S .

NEWMARKET.

RICHARD . SKELSON . IN ROSE . = A large Rose.

Rev. ALEY . IN . NEWMARKET . = R . ^S . M . HALFPENNY .

APPENDIX B.

According to Diodorus Siculus (v. 22), the dwellers at Belerium, a cape of Britain, are especially fond of foreigners, and through intercourse with foreign merchants are civilised in their habits. They mine and smelt tin. (2.) "And beating it up into knuckle-bone shapes they carry it to a certain island lying off Britain named Ictis; for at ebb-tides, the space between drying up, they carry the tin in plenty by waggons thither. (3.) (A singular thing happens about the 'near' islands [τὰς πλησίου νήσους] lying between Europe and Britain; for at flood-tides, the strait between filling, they appear as islands, while at ebb-tides, the sea running back and leaving much space dry, they are seen as peninsulas.) (4.) And thence [Ἐντεῦθεν] the merchants buy it from the inhabitants and carry it over to Gaul; and lastly, travelling by land through Gaul about thirty days, they bring down the loads on horses to the mouth of the river Rhone."

On this passage, the portion between commas being a literal translation from the Greek, some remarks occur.

Sentence 3 is a parenthesis inserted by the author on revision, as appears not only from its language but also from "thence," the beginning of sentence 4, referring over to sentence 2. It states generally a tidal feature of the British Ocean, in explanation of the special case of Ictis; a statement which a Sicilian historian, writing for Mediterranean readers, has properly inserted, as showing a strange contrast between the tides of that ocean and those of the inland sea to which he and they were accustomed. Its subject is the *near* islands, that is to say, the islands near both main-lands, as distinguished from any that may be in mid-channel. At the same time it is as explanatory concerning small islands near large islands, as concerning large islands near main-lands; and therefore illustrates the relation between Ictis and its island-peninsula, although not limited thereto.

The land-carriage is described as on waggons in Britain, on horse-back through Gaul,—a description suggesting that the roads of Britain were better than those of Gaul.

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